TRANSACTIONS
of the
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY – KOREA BRANCH

Volume 83 – 2008

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TRANSACTIONS

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

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COVER: The seal-shaped emblem of the RAS-KB consists of the following Chinese characters: 檀 (top right), 域 (bottom right), 青 (top left), 萌 (bottom left), pronounced Kŭn yŏk Ch’ŏng A in Korean. The first two characters mean “the hibiscus region,” referring to Korea, while the other two (“luxuriant mugwort”) are a metaphor inspired by Confucian commentaries on the Chinese Book of Odes, and could be translated as “enjoy encouraging erudition.”

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The Inquiring Literatus: Yi Sugwang’s “Brush-Talks” with Phùng Khắc Khoan in Beijing in 1598

WILLIAM F. PORE

The 1597-1598 Korean winter solstice embassy to Ming China is noteworthy for its contact in Beijing with an embassy from Vietnam, and, in particular, for the meeting between the Korean envoy, Yi Sugwang (1563-1628), and his Vietnamese counterpart, Phùng Khắc Khoan (1528-1613). Although the meeting between these two envoys is a relatively well known event in East Asian history, the content of their “brush-talks,” the written dialogue they held in classical Chinese, is not. In his collected works, Chibongjip, Yi Sugwang recorded this dialogue and the several poems the envoys exchanged. As such, Yi’s collected works preserve one of the most detailed accounts of a contact between tribute envoys while on a mission in China.1 Besides the substance of this dialogue amounting to a virtual late sixteenth century intelligence report on Vietnam, the communication between these two envoys provides a greater

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1 The Korean veritable records, in their usually succinct style, also provide an account of the meeting between the two envoys. See Chosŏn wangjo sillok (The Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty), kwŏn 23, 17 nyŏn, sinmi, 12 wŏl cho. A Vietnamese source that verifies the meeting between the two envoys is that provided by Phan Hui Chú (1782-1840), a nineteenth century Vietnamese envoy to China, who stated that Phùng Khắc Khoan’s poetry collection (Thi tập loài bàn), totaling one hundred and sixty selections, included poems by Yi Sugwang. See Han’guk kwa Wŏllam kwa ūi gwan’gye (Korea-Vietnam Relations), (Seoul: Han-Wŏl hyŏphoe 1966), p. 92. Other than Phan’s testimony to the existence of Phùng’s poetry collection there is no other known Vietnamese work that verifies his meeting with Yi in 1597-1598.
understanding of the nature of knowledge and identity within the Chinese cultural sphere. Moreover, Yi Sugwang’s probing exchange with Phùng Khắc Khoan connects him with other broadly learned and inquiring Korean thinkers such as Ch’oe Ch’iwôn (859-c. 910)\(^2\) and Yi I [Yulgok] (1536-1584),\(^3\) whose minds likewise interrogated the world beyond their immediate place.

**The Envoys**

In 1597 Yi Sugwang was appointed *chinwisa*, envoy for conveying condolences, to the Ming court in the retinue of the Korean annual winter solstice embassy\(^4\) to China. The particular duty incumbent in Yi’s appointment was the destruction by fire of the Hall of Supreme Harmony and the Hall of Preserving Harmony, Ming palace buildings in Beijing.\(^5\) He was 35 years old, a kinsman of the reigning king, Sŏnjo

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\(^2\) Born in Kyŏngju, at the age of twelve Ch’oe went to Tang to study. After passing the civil examinations, he received official appointments in the Tang bureaucracy. He also served as secretary to Gao Pian, a Chinese field commander, who in the 860s conducted a campaign in northern Vietnam, where he was governor for a time and centuries later was still remembered by learned Vietnamese for his magnanimity and broadmindedness. In 887, Ch’oe returned to Korea and held official posts. His known writings include works on Buddhism, Daoism, Confucianism, history and official documents. He is sometimes regarded as the creator of Korean literature.

\(^3\) Along with Yi Hwang (T’oege), with whom he famously took part in the Four-Seven Debate, Yi I is considered one of Korea’s foremost Neo-Confucian scholars and a distinguished Chosŏn government official. He was widely read in the learning of the Chinese cultural sphere, including Buddhism. Besides his philosophical works, he also authored treatises on ethics, the economy and the well-being of the people.

\(^4\) A discussion in Korean of the purpose of this embassy, Yi’s role in it and the meeting with Phùng is in Han’guk kwa Wŏllam kwa ʿii gwan’gie, pp. 70-94. For the background information on Korean embassies to China, I have relied upon Gari Ledyard’s comprehensive and detailed summary, “Korean Travelers to China over Four Hundred Years, 1488-1887,” *Occasional Papers on Korea*, 4, 1975, pp. 1-41.

\(^5\) It is not a little ironic that Yi Sugwang was sent as a condolence official in the
(1568-1608), the holder of a chinsa degree and director of the Sŏnggyun’gwan. It would be his second trip to China, having previously served in 1590 as secretary to the envoy who in that year had led a special Korean delegation to extend birthday felicitations to the Wanli Emperor.

Phùng Khắc Khoan (1528-1613) was the senior member of the 1597-1598 Vietnamese embassy to China. He was 70 years old, a tiến sĩ (the Vietnamese equivalent of chinsa), a very talented literatus and an eminent Lê dynasty (1428-1777) official, having most prominently served as vice-director on the board of the secretariat of state. When the Lê dynasty was interrupted by the insurrection and brief control of the northern part of Vietnam by the militant, pro-Ming Mạc dynasty (1527-

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Korean embassy to Ming in 1597-1598 on the occasion of the destruction of the Ming palace buildings, in as much the already seven-year-long, very destructive Japanese invasions and occupation of Korea and their related popular suffering, had not yet completely come to an end. Further, when their dialogue is examined, it is difficult to understand why the Japanese invasions, which the Ming at great cost had sent forces to counter and which Yi had also helped to defend against, did not enter into his talks with Phùng.

6 This biographical information on Yi is from Han’guk minjok munhwa taebaekhwa sajŏn (The Encyclopedia of Korean Culture), Yi Hyŏnjae, editor (Seoul: Han’guk chŏngsin munhwa yŏn’guwŏn 1991), pp. 26-27

7 There had been a brief, earlier period in Vietnamese history (c. 983-1010), when, after gaining independence, the state was ruled by a dynasty also named Lê. The Lê dynasty of the early fifteenth to late eighteenth centuries which had recently returned to power is therefore designated the Later Lê. The founding date of the Later Lê (1428) corresponds closely with the founding date of the Ming and Yi dynasties, but in its longevity extended one hundred and fifteen years beyond the end of the Ming and was replaced by the Nguyễn dynasty one hundred and thirty years before the end of the Yi dynasty.

8 These details of Phùng’s career combine his biographical sketch in Tư Điển Nhân Vật Lịch Sử Việt Nam (A Dictionary of Vietnamese Historical Figures), (Sài Gòn: Nhà Xuất Bút Khoa Học Xã Hội 1991) pp. 790-792 and that supplied by Iwamura Namakoto in his Annan tōshi (A Comprehensive History of Annam) cited in Han’guk kwa Wŏllam kwa ūi gwangye, p. 90, et passim.
1592), Phùng had remained loyal to the Lê. Like Yi, Phùng had also previously gone to Beijing in 1590 as an envoy on the occasion of the Wanli Emperor's birthday. It has been suggested that it was at that time that he and Yi may have first become acquainted.⁹ In 1597-1598 it was Phùng's particular duty during this typically irregular Vietnamese embassy to China¹⁰ to inform the Ming of the removal of the Mạc and to seek restoration of the legitimacy of the Lê king,¹¹ or emperor, as the Vietnamese since their independence in 938 had begun to self-style their rulers.

**Going to China: The Routes of the Korean and Vietnamese Embassies**

According to Gari K. Ledyard's prior research on Korean embassies to China from 1488 to 1887, these were frequent occurrences. There were not only the annual tribute missions, but also a variety of others for special purposes. The retinues of these embassies could typically include hundreds of people: the chief delegates, secretaries, translators, cooks, a variety of other attendants and merchants. Korean embassies to China followed long-established routes but were slow-moving, and, by present-day standards, they would have seemed decidedly arduous journeys. Although the embassies at times took a land-and-sea route, the usual route seems to have been entirely over land. From Seoul, the embassy party required two to three weeks to reach the Yalu River, and, after crossing the river, two to three more days to reach the Willow Palisade. The Korean embassies formally entered China at a customs station east of Fenghuang. From there they journeyed to Shenyang, turned south, passed through the Great Wall at Shanhaiguan and then traveled east to Beijing. In all, the land journey was about 5,600 li (933 miles) and usually took about sixty

⁹ *Han’guk kwa Wŏllam kwa ūi gwangye*, p. 91.

¹⁰ Since 954 the Vietnamese had sent delegations to several Chinese states as frequently as annually and as widely separated as ten years. See Nguyễn Thế Long, *Chuyên Đi Sứ - Tiệp Sứ Thời Xưa* (Tribute Missions to China Throughout the Years), (Hà Nội: Nhà Xuất Bản Văn Hóa Thông Tin 2001), pp. 466-481

¹¹ *Tục Điển Nhân Vật Lịch Sử Việt Nam*, pp. 790-792; see also *Han’guk kwa Wŏllam kwa ūi gwangye*, pp. 89-92.
days. The combined land and sea route, which may not have taken as long as the journey by land only, departed Seoul, went to P’yŏngyang, then to Sŏnch’ŏn and Ch’ŏlsan, where, from the nearby island of Kado, the embassy party boarded ships to cross the Yellow Sea to Dengzhou in Shandong, then went overland to Beijing. Since the lunar New Year of 1598 was on February 6 (according to the Gregorian calendar), the embassy to which Yi Sugwang was attached, having gone by land only, would probably have departed Seoul at the beginning of the tenth lunar month (November) of 1597.

Compared to the shorter route of the Korean embassies to the Chinese capital and their well staffed retinues, the Vietnamese embassies, such as that of which Phùng Khắc Khoan was a member, had to traverse a much longer route and typically seem to have numbered fewer in personnel. One authority has put the number of personnel in the Vietnamese embassy of 1597-1598 at twenty-three. Because of the greater distance, the route of the Vietnamese embassies to Beijing covered more varied terrain and was more arduous than the Korean. Based on Liam C. Kelley’s study of Vietnamese embassies to China from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, they followed one of two routes designated eastern and western. Both routes entered the south China

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12 The number of days for a typical Korean embassy’s land journey to Beijing is from Ledyard, p. 3. The distance in 里 is provided by the Cambridge History of China, volume eight, “The Ming Dynasty,” edited by Frederick W. Mote and Denis Twitchett, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1988), p 282. The length of a 里 has varied over time and according to place. Here I have given it a value of one sixth of a mile, in order to approximate a reasonably accurate distance that the embassy may have traveled.


14 Han’guk kwa Wŏllam kwa ŭi gwan’gye, p. 89

province of Guangxi from northeastern Vietnam, passed through what the Vietnamese termed South Holding Pass (Trú Chân Nam Quan) and Ghost Gate Pass (Qủy Môn Quan) and made their way to Guilin. From there, the western route, which Phùng more than likely took, followed waterways through Jiangxi and Zhejiang provinces, went to Wuchang (Wuhan) in Hubei province, then overland to Beijing. A later, alternate, eastern route which came to be favored from late in the eighteenth century, also followed waterways through the same Chinese provinces but went to Hangzhou, where the Vietnamese ambassadorial parties then took the Grand Canal to Beijing. Phùng Khắc Khoan wrote that his journey was 13,000 li (c. 2,166 miles) in length and had taken about eighteen months, having begun in the fourth lunar month of 1596 and ended with his arrival in Beijing in the tenth lunar month (Gregorian November) of 1597.

By custom, during their stay in China, the tribute embassies were considered to be guests of the Chinese emperor. The Korean embassies are known to have lodged for about fifty days at a permanent hostel established for them by the Ming in the southeastern part of Beijing. In light of the meeting between Yi and Phùng in 1597-1598, this hostel also seems to have been used by the members of other embassies, in this case, that of Vietnam. This building was known as the Yuheguan, because it was close to the Jade River Bridge (Yuheqiao).

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16 Alternatively and in less detail, Han’guk kwa Wŏllam kwa ūi gwan’yge, p. 88, states that Phùng’s route through China was from Guangxi to Guangdong to Nanjing and from there to Beijing.

17 The length of a li, as above, has here been calculated at one sixth of a mile, in order to approximate a reasonably accurate distance that Phùng’s figure of 13,000 li might represent.

18 This schedule is at variance with Yi Sugwang’s statement in his Chibongjip that Phùng had departed Vietnam in the seventh month of 1596 and arrived in Beijing in the eighth month of 1597. The more likely schedule presented here is according to Iwamura’s research, as found in Han’guk kwa Wŏllam kwa ūi gwangye, p. 88-89, 90.

19 Ledyard, p. 4
“Korea” and “Vietnam”

For convenience, I have used “Korea” and “Vietnam” throughout, the names by which these present-day nation-states are known in English. In the late sixteenth century, however, Vietnam was a state that Yi Sŏngwang and other contemporary, learned Koreans and Chinese would have frequently referred to as Annan/Annam (“the Pacified South”). Since 938 when the Vietnamese had gained their independence by defeating the Chinese Five Dynasties kingdom of Southern Han, they had begun to use Đại Cồ Việt as the name of their state. In 1054 the Lý dynasty (1009-1225) simplified that name to Đại Việt. In the sixteenth century, even though the Chinese and Koreans may have been aware of these name changes, they still often continued to use Annan/Annam, a name originally applied to the Vietnamese homeland during the first period of the long Chinese domination (111 B.C.E.-938 C.E.), when it was made a Han colony. By continuing to use Annan/Annam as the name for the Vietnamese state, the Chinese and Koreans of the late sixteenth century thus perpetuated a name that to its inhabitants was not only passé but also defamatory. In what may have been a certain quid pro quo, it was not uncommon for the Vietnamese of this and later times to continue to refer to Korea, not by its then current dynastic name, Chosŏn, but by its historically early, pre-unified name, Sam Han, the Three Han.

The Brush Talks

On a certain winter day, or over a period of days, late in 1597 or early 1598 during their stay at the Yuheguan guest house, Yi Sŏngwang and Phùng Khắc Khoan met, exchanged poems and conducted “brush-talks” their written dialogue in Classical Chinese, their sole, mutually understood medium of communication. Here, presented first in English then in the original Chinese, is the text of the exchange between Yi and Phùng, as it is found in Yi’s collected works. The dialogue appears to

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20 The veritable records of the Koryŏ dynasty indicate that the first official Korean mention of Vietnam/Annam was apparently in the early fourteenth century. See Koryŏsa (History of Koryŏ), Ch’unghye Wang cho, 1331-1332.

21 The primary version of the “brush-talks” that I have used for my translation is a copy of Yi Sŏngwang’s Chibongjip (The Collected Works of Chibong [Yi Sŏngwang], Han’guk munjip ch’onggan (Reprints of Korean Collected Works),
have been completely initiated and directed by Yi, since it is he who presents the series of questions to which Phùng responds. Yi’s query is clearly, even somewhat relentlessly, an interrogation intended to acquire historical, political, economic and geographic information about Vietnam. Unfortunately, Yi has left only a very summary statement on Phùng’s questions to him and his responses.

The questioning begins when Yi asks Phùng to verify Yi’s knowledge of early Vietnam’s history, in the process demonstrating that Yi was apparently already quite well informed about his counterpart’s place of origin. Phùng’s reply to this first question, as to most of the others, is typically terse, or perhaps modest.

(Yi) Question: In ancient times, Việt thượng and Giao chi were territories of your state, were they not?

(Phùng) Answer: Yes. This is so.

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volume 66 (Seoul: Samsŏng inswae chusik hoesa 1981). The portion of this work in which the meeting with Phùng Khắc Khoan is recorded appears on pp. 85-92. For comparison, I also consulted the Classical Chinese text and a translation into Korean in Han’guk kwa Wŏllam kwa ŭi gwangye, pp. 84-88.

22 Based on the references in the poems Yi exchanged with Phùng, his knowledge of Vietnam was acquired from reading Chinese dynastic histories of the Han. Yi is also assumed to have been familiar with information about Vietnam obtained by the previous Korean missions to China.

23 This is the name of an obscure kingdom from the time of the Chinese Zhou dynasty (1122-256 B.C.E.), which Medieval Vietnamese historians claimed was the source of the “Việt” used in Đại Việt, the name the state adopted in 1054. See Alexander Barton Woodside, Vietnam and the Chinese Model (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University Press 1988) p. 20. Whether accurate or not, the origination of the Vietnamese people in China has been a longstanding and strong element of their national myth.

24 This was a circuit comprised of seven prefectures in northern Vietnam, the founding of which is traditionally dated to 111 B.C.E., when it was organized as a Han domain known in Chinese as Jiao Zhi. For further on Giao chi and the related history of early Vietnam, see Keith Weller Taylor, The Birth of Vietnam (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press 1983) pp. 30-37
答曰是也

The only type of recorded personal question Yi directed to Phùng is a detached, routine inquiry concerning his official duties, to which Yi receives another very terse reply. In so far as Confucian “tradition” customarily placed esteem for others ahead of concern for oneself in social situations and autobiography never developed as a literary genre in the Chinese cultural sphere, this sort of reply might not be completely unexpected.

(Yi) Question: What is your official position?
問大人何官
(Phùng) Answer: I have long served my humble state in an official capacity.
答曰愚老在賤國參侍郎識

Yi then asks about the government and customs of Vietnam. The answer he receives is disappointing in its lack of detail — even disjointed — but, to Yi, it perhaps was important for its affirmation of one of Vietnam’s similarities to Korea: its Confucian heritage.

(Yi) Question: What is the governing system and what are the customs of your state?
問貴國官制風俗何如
(Phùng) Answer: We study the teachings of Confucius and Mencius, The Book of Poetry, The Book of Rites and music. We also use the learning of Tang and Song in the tiến sĩ [i.e. professional-level civil] examinations.

答曰習孔孟詩書禮樂之教唐宋進士科舉之文

Because of the fact of Phùng’s presence in Beijing as an envoy and his knowledge of written Chinese, Yi could have presumed certain institutional similarities were shared between Korea and Vietnam. The institution he specifically asks about here is the civil and military examinations. In Phùng’s reply, the Vietnamese Confucian examination process as he describes it, though at variance from other sources on this period, probably would have revealed to Yi that the Vietnamese examinations, despite some obvious differences, in both the civil and
military branches were more similar to the Chinese than to the Korean.\footnote{See Woodside’s *Vietnam and the Chinese*, pp. 169-233, “Education and Examinations in Nguyễn Vietnam.”}

(Yi) Question: Do you choose people [for the bureaucracy] on the basis of their poetry and compositions or on the basis of questions and themes? In addition, do you have a military examination?

(Phung) Answer: We do choose people on the basis of examinations. There is a provincial examination in two parts. The provincial examination is the first stage. In the first part, the examination is on the *Five Classics* and *Four Books*. In the second stage, one of the parts of the examination is on evaluating imperial decrees and royal edicts. In the third stage, poetry forms a part. In the fourth stage, the theme requires a response on the best way to rule the country. For the general examination, there are first, second, third and forth stages. It is like the provincial examinations. In the fifth stage, there is the palace examination, which requires composition and the reply to questions. As for the military examination, the examinees’ use of strategy is most important. There are talent competitions in horseback riding, elephant riding and shooting from horseback. Candidates are chosen every five years.

Yi Sugwang was not only relatively well informed about Vietnam’s early history, but he was also evidently conversant with some of its more recent events, as his next question concerning the Mạc dynasty interregnum demonstrates. Through information obtained by its embassies to China prior to 1597-1598, the Korean government had already become aware of the circumstances of the earlier Ming invasion and occupation of Vietnam (1407-1427), as well as the Mạc coup in 1527. Indeed, the *Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty* for the seventh year of the reign of T’aejong (1401-1418) describe at some length the overthrow of the Trần dynasty (1225-1400) by one of its officials, Hồ Quý Ly (1336-
who then established his own very brief dynasty, as well as how an appeal to Ming by a descendent of the removed Trần king had led to the twenty-year Chinese occupation of Vietnam. From later envoy reconnaissance in Beijing, and in nearly as much detail, the Korean *Veritable Records* for the thirty-second year of the reign of Chungjong (1506-1544) recount the Mạc insurrection that Yi refers to in his next question. These accounts of events in Vietnam collected by prior Korean envoys while in Beijing very likely supplied Yi with much of the information he knew about recent Vietnamese history and could have been the inspiration for the recording of his own interrogation of Phùng. Of note in Yi’s question is his interest in civil unrest having been a part of the restoration of the Lê, since this was a topic that had been dealt with in the two previous *Veritable Records* entries on Vietnam. Of some further interest, it is worth noting that, despite the militant nature of the Mạc

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26 Vietnamese sources frequently note that Hồ Quý Ly was descended from a family that was originally Chinese, and that his surname was changed when he was adopted by a Vietnamese family named Lê. He served as a minister during the Trần dynasty (which itself is often said to be Chinese in origin), and his aunt and daughter were married into the king’s family. When the last Trần king abdicated, Lê Quý Ly seized power as regent for the king’s son, whom he soon removed and made himself sovereign in 1400. At this point, he reverted to using his original surname, Hồ, hence the name of the dynasty. After the Ming invasion of Vietnam in 1406, the Hồ dynasty came to an end in the following year and for the next twenty years Vietnam was again under Chinese domination. For an account of Hồ’s life in Vietnamese, see Từ Điển Nhân Vật Lịch Sử Việt Nam, pp. 279-282. In Korean, an abbreviated biography is in Han ‘guk kwa Wŏllam kwa ŭi gwan’gye, pp. 123-125. In English, see Victor Lieberman, *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context*, c. 800-1830 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003), pp. 352-365. He is also treated at some length in all standard Vietnamese history texts which include the fifteenth century.

27 *Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty*, Taejong, seventh year, fifth month (Chosŏn wangjio sillok, Taegyong taewong, 7 nyŏn, 5 wol cho); cited in Han ‘guk kwa Wŏllam kwa ŭi gwan’gye, pp. 115-125.

takeover of Vietnam, this family had been an eminent Đông Kinh (northern) literati family.

(Yi) Question: I have heard that the surname of the former king of your state was Mạc. Has the Lê family now resumed its duty as head of state? Was there a disturbance or a coup?

問舊聞貴國王是莫姓今黎氏乃創業之主耶 由何變亂而革命耶

Since he was in Beijing to seek the restoration of the legitimacy of the Lê, Phùng’s reply to this question amounts to his mission’s statement of purpose.

(Phùng) Answer: Our state was formerly ruled by the Lê kings. The Mạc family carried out an insurrection and ruled after them. Now the Lê house has resumed its former position and is seeking investiture [from the Chinese emperor].

答曰前者賤國是黎王管封後為莫氏篡僭今黎氏復舊業再請封
Still wishing to pursue the events surrounding the Lê restoration, Yi asks for further information and adds a second question. Phùng’s answer, though again brief, is approximately accurate.

(Yi) Question: For how long did the Lê house lose the kingship of the state? When did they regain their former position?
問黎王失國幾年始復舊物

(Phùng) Answer: It was for a period of fifty years.
答曰經五十年

In his next question, Yi inquires about a particular title bestowed by the Ming on the Mạc rulers of Vietnam. When the Mạc came to power, even though they submitted to the Ming, Vietnam’s status within the tribute system was reduced from that of a monarchy to a form which harkened back to the Han colonial designation “the pacified south,” i.e. Annan/Annam. This form, known in Chinese as dutongshi si, was in effect a “pacification system,” which imposed a lower status on Vietnam, but still recognized that Vietnam was above an aboriginal office, in that it was administered by Confucian literati, not by tribal chiefs, such as were the Burmese, Shan, Tai and Lao.²⁹

(Yi) Question: Does your state have a “pacification commander”

What duties does this officer have?

Phùng’s reply implies that the Ming authorities may have denied the stated purpose of his mission to obtain the investiture of the restored Lê monarch as king of Vietnam. This was, in fact, the case. Vietnam was to remain in its lowered position within the hierarchy of Ming tribute states until the end of the Lê dynasty, even though the Mạc were overthrown and the Lê were restored in 1592.

(Phùng) Answer: Ever since we have had a state, the title of “pacification commander” had never existed. That title was a special feature of the Mạc insurrection and their rise to power. The Celestial Dynasty was generous in not putting them [the Mạc] to death. The title is temporary and carries a second grade status, because it is dependent upon the holder’s abilities. Now the [Lê] king is seeking deliberation and a decision regarding the disposition of this title.31

答曰: 貴國自古有國以來未嘗有都統使之職特以莫氏僭逆天朝有以不死權置都統師秩從二品以待扳臣耳如今要王方議定思賞

Yi, having displayed that he is knowledgeable even about the Mạc dynasty, next asks about one member of that family in particular who had

30 A footnote in the Cambridge History of China, p. 330, states: “Charles O. Hucker, in A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China (Stanford 1985), p. 545, suggests the tu t’ung as a military title equivalent to campaign commander. This title, however, was not regularly used during the Ming, when Vietnam’s status may have been demoted. I suggest that the context was one comparable to that of the Burmese and the Shan-Tai-Lao hsuan-fu or hsuan-wei-fu (pacification commissioner), but higher. Therefore, I think ‘a superior form of pacification commissioner’ is appropriate.”

31 According to Iwamura’s Annan tsūshi (A Comprehensive History of Annam), Han’guk kwa Wŏllam kwa ūi gwangye, p. 90, Phùng Khắc Khoan declared that he had come to China to seek the re-enfeoffment of the Lê as kings of Vietnam and that the Ming emperor Shenzong (Wanli) had presented the restored and then reigning Lê king (Thế Tông) with the title of dutongshi. Iwamura states that this was a provisionalary military title in Ming China. I have not been able to ascertain whether the granting of this title was tantamount to the accomplishment of Phùng’s stated mission to Ming, was an adjunct to it or granted instead of it.
recently been a king of Vietnam. Phùng simply affirms the existence of this person. It could be assumed that Phùng did not want to dwell on this person’s life and career because, as a Lê dynasty loyalist, Phùng would have regarded him as a usurper.

(Yi) Question: Is there a Mạc Mậu Hợp who is a member of this Mạc family of whom you have been speaking?

問莫氏是莫茂治耶

(Phùng) Answer: Government officials were uneasy with him for a long time. But the name, Mạc Mậu Hợp, is that of the former king. I am surprised that you knew of him.

答曰使臣乃驚視良久然莫茂治及其故王姓名蓋訝其知之也

At this point, Yi inserts a comment stating that, because of his (Yi’s) curiosity about this person, Phùng had offered the information that Mạc Mậu Hợp was the name of one who had recently been the king of Vietnam.

Yi then once again pursues his previous questioning on the issue of civil unrest and whether there had been any in connection with the resumption of Lê rule.

(Yi) Question: When the Lê king retook control of the state, did he have to put down a disturbance, or did he simply resume his position?

問黎王得國是討亂逆耶抑出推載耶

(Phùng) Answer: The Lê king succeeded the Trần family, but he did not perform the sacrifices. The people all pressed for his advancement and accession.

答曰黎王是代陳氏不祀國人共推載

Yi’s following question is seemingly straight-forward, but it is one which in effect sounds out Phùng on dynastic loyalty. For contemporary Vietnamese literati, however, this question would have presented some ambiguity as regards their position in Vietnam just a few years before.

(Yi) Question: In what capacity did you serve the Mạc family and their court?

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32 Mạc Mậu Hợp (1563-1592) was a great-nephew of two Mạc kings and was later himself king. In battle, he was defeated by Lê-Trịnh forces, captured and beheaded. See Từ Điển Nhân Vật Lịch Sử Việt Nam, pp. 434-435.
問大人在莫氏朝仕衛何官
Phùng’s reply is constructed to fit with the sense of Confucian morality that both he and Yi largely shared. As a Lê official, Phùng would have been assumed to be loyal to that dynasty. The ambiguity that Phùng does not divulge is that most of the Đông Kinh literati had supported the Mạc usurpation, just as perhaps most of their predecessors had supported the Ming occupation in the early fifteenth century.\(^{33}\) It should also be pointed out that when Phùng went to Ming as an envoy in 1590, he would have to have gone under the auspices of a Mạc, not a Lê, ruler.

(Phùng) Answer: Having for a long time been a subject of the Lê house, even when it was out of power, I did not serve the Mạc in any official capacity.

答曰愚老是黎氏邏臣未嘗仕莫
As a relief from the inquiry into high, state-related matters, in his next two questions Yi’s interest shifts to Vietnam’s natural environment and agriculture. Such an inquiry is arresting, because Yi was later to be regarded as one of Korea’s leading Sirhak, or “practical learning,” scholars, who took natural phenomena and the improvement of agriculture as among their primary interests.

(Yi) Question: In your state, the winter is as warm as spring. It is said you have no ice or snow. Is this to be believed?
問貴國冬暖如春無冰無雪云信否
(Phùng) Answer: In the south, the days are mostly like spring and the winter is brief.
答曰南天春多冬少
(Yi) Question: In addition, your state has a rice harvest twice a year and produces eight kinds of silk from your sericulture. Is this to be believed?
問貴國有再孰之稻八蠶之絲信否
In this instance, the spare, but adequate, reply that Phùng offers to Yi’s question might be interpreted as indicative of a mind here turned to the ponderous state of Vietnam’s agriculture. One historian has found that,

due to agricultural failures and severe pestilence, the fourteen-year interval from 1561 to 1610 "was perhaps the longest period of disaster in Vietnamese history."\(^{34}\)

(Phùng) Answer: From our fields, we harvest rice and barley twice a year. We do have eight kinds of silk.

答曰歲有再熟之稻麥有八蠶之絲蠶

After this exchange, Yi turns to questions about Vietnam’s land area and geolocation in regard to China

(Yi) Question: What is the size of your state?
問貴國地方幾許

(Phùng) Answer: Our state measures more than 5,000 li.
答曰地方五千餘里

(Yi) Question: How many li is it from your state to Yunnan?
問貴國距雲南幾里

(Phùng) Answer: We are separated [from Yunnan] by numerous mountains where our borders adjoin.
答曰隔山千重接壤一界

It would seem that, given the knowledge about Vietnam that Yi has already demonstrated and has just received from Phùng, he should have been able to surmise its general geographic location, including the fact that it was far removed from Japan. Given that, his question to Phùng about the proximity of Japan to Vietnam seems probing or more relevant to Korean and Chinese concerns than to Vietnamese ones. Phùng’s answer may simply have assured Yi of what he already knew.

(Yi) Question: How many li distant is your state from the Ryūkyū Islands and Japan?
問距琉球日本幾里

If other than official contact between Japan and Vietnam is considered, Phùng’s reply to this question is disingenuous, in that since at least the early 1400s Vietnam had been trading far and wide in ceramic wares with a number of countries including Japan.\(^ {35}\)

(Phùng) Answer: We are divided from them by the sea. They are

\(^{34}\) Quotation from Li Tana, in Lieberman, pp. 396-397

\(^{35}\) Lieberman, pp. 383-384
distant and we do not have contact with them.

答曰隔海道遠不通

Finally, Yi asks Phùng about the legendary bronze pillars which may have been erected in northern Vietnam by the Han general Ma Yuan in 43 C.E. This is something of an astonishing display of knowledge of Vietnamese history on Yi’s part, but is again probably a result of his having read Han dynastic history. According to several accounts, the intent of the placement of these pillars, the exact location, size and number of which is unclear, was to commemorate General Ma’s suppression of a revolt in what was then the southern extreme of the Han empire, but well within the territory of what is now the northern part of Vietnam. Reflecting on this much earlier event and Yi’s question concerning it, the implication of this question to his sixteenth century Vietnamese counterpart can only be conjectured, but it suggests the reach and military might of China.

(Yi) Question: As to Ma Fubo’s\(^{36}\) bronze pillars, where are they located?

問馬伏波銅柱堅在何地

(Phùng) Answer: According to old legends, they were in Me Linh.\(^{37}\) They are not there now.

答曰古傳在於梅領今無矣

Yi closes the transcription of his written conversation with Phùng by briefly summarizing the questions the Vietnamese envoy had asked of

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\(^{36}\) *Fubo* ("wave calming") was Ma Yuan’s courtesy title.

\(^{37}\) The pronunciation in Vietnamese of the Chinese characters for this place name is various, but previous scholarship and the historical context very strongly suggest that they should be read as rendered here. This is because this is the district in which the rebellion against Han rule led by the Trung sisters originated and where it was defeated by Ma Yuan. It would, therefore, seem likely that the Chinese general placed the bronze pillars at this location. For further background on the Trung sisters, this rebellion and its place in early Vietnamese history, see Taylor, *The Birth of Vietnam*, pp. 37-41. For a much more detailed account of the placement and existence of the bronze pillars, as well as their significance in Vietnamese history, see Liam Kelley’s dissertation, pp. 1-14 or his published monograph.
him:

The [Vietnamese] envoy asked what the laws and system of our state were. I answered that we are governed by officials and regulations. In accord with the Celestial Empire, our officials are arranged in three ranks and six departments in ascending levels. As for our other laws and systems, they all respect the usages of China. The [Vietnamese] envoy commented, “Korea has long been regarded as a state gifted in the literary arts. My humble state cannot dare to approach its respect.”

天朝置三公六部臺省自餘法度悉導用華制。使臣曰貴大國舊稱文獻之國賤國非敢望也。

In a commentary which serves as a postscript to his exchange with Phùng, Yi adds the following self-assured, perhaps even proud, but nonetheless factual, statement on the Chinese emperor’s morning audience for the foreign envoys. It might be possible to regard Yi’s comment as expressing either sympathy toward Vietnam or as suggesting that competition for imperial favor existed between Korea and Vietnam. Yet, Yi should undoubtedly have been aware that the hierarchical ranking of tributary states that he is commenting on at this particular audience was not an imperial whim, but followed a preset arrangement of longstanding that the Ming was simply perpetuating.

At the morning audience [with the emperor], our state’s delegation took a position at the front of the procession. According to the way in which the envoys were arrayed, those from Annam were placed more distantly. I determined that the significance of this was that their tribute was humble.

朝會時我國使臣為首立於前行安南使臣次於後行相接之條每致恭遜意。

Concluding Remarks

The meeting between Yi Sugwang and Phùng Khắc Khoan is significant not because of the two participants themselves. Primary source materials specifically on the two envoys are not extensive and largely stereotyped. Given that, even if a deeper analysis of the content of their
poems and dialogue were attempted and an imaginative construction of their milieu devised, we would still only be able to conjecture what they may have been like individually. It is far more beneficial to try to understand them and their meeting holistically, as parts of the historical setting. This approach, unlike the Western emphasis on the individual, conforms closely to the “traditional” East Asian conceptualization of history as a tableau in which people and their actions are meaningful, not separately, but contextually. By way of summary, then, it is useful briefly to consider the historical context.

Because of China’s early and long influence on East Asia, it has long been accepted that states on its periphery, such as Korea and Vietnam, developed as more or less pronounced microcosms of the macrocosmic Chinese cultural sphere. However, since Korean and Vietnamese literati, the local representatives of the macrocosm, both accepted and from time to time had to negotiate their status within that macrocosm, they periodically came to question its epistemology, their role in it and even, at times, themselves.

While both Korea and Vietnam in their early histories had similarly experienced periods of direct Chinese rule, notably during the Han dynasty (Korea: 108 B.C.E.-314 C.E.; Vietnam: 111 B.C.E.-938 C.E.), in the course of their later historical development, by their own efforts, they had been successful in avoiding absorption into China. However, because their separate autonomy was at times so precarious, China remained the power and the “other” that Koreans and Vietnamese had to lean toward, or deal with or appease the most, until a different order was introduced by outside pressures in the late nineteenth century. Until then, as states territorially separate from China, Korea and Vietnam quite willingly remained within its macrocosmic cultural and political orbit, in the process satisfying Chinese pride and maintaining their autonomy.

Datong, “the great unity,” suggests it as the plausible conceptual

38 Japan is not included in the macrocosm because, although it is geographically and culturally an East Asian nation, its formal participation in the Chinese cultural sphere through tribute relations ended in the Heian period in 894 corresponding to China’s Tang dynasty.
underpinning which held the macrocosm together. Both inside and outside of China this unity was likely derived from the perceived universality of the cultural sphere's concept of ren (i.e. humane benevolence or reciprocity; Korean: in; Vietnamese: nhân) reinforced by literati who were connected to the sphere mainly through the written classical language. However, in states politically separate from China, this unity was more symbolic than real, or, as expressed in the form of embassies, more ritualistic than concrete. Korea and Vietnam remained self-governing states, they did not become provinces of a greater China. Yet, to classically educated Koreans and Vietnamese, such as Yi and Phùng in the sixteenth century and to others like them later, their states' separate national identities were not marked by a narrow self-absorption such as that associated with nationalism, but by a consciousness of being Korean or Vietnamese and, at the same time, by valuing the cosmopolitanism they had acquired as participants in the Chinese cultural sphere. The significance of General Ma's bronze pillars in the Han province of Zhao Zhi in northern Vietnam, like the stelae and artifacts from the Han Lelang commandery in northern Korea, was that they were physical representations of the extent, interaction and spread of Chinese civilization into those areas. Such areas, according to Hyung Il Pai, "had an indelible impact on the surrounding regions, for [they] introduced such highlights of Han dynasty civilization as bureaucracy, administration, writing, and metal technology to Japan and Korea." The impact on Vietnam was very similar and nearly as pervasive. Although the state boundaries with China were rather well defined, the Han bronze pillars in Vietnam and the stelae and artifacts in Korea (nearly forgotten though they may have been in later times) served as symbolic markers of the boundaries of the Chinese cultural sphere and its overspread of state

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39 On the Korean embassies to China as ritual, see Ledyard, pp. 11-13.
borders. These boundaries of the cultural sphere were indicative of its "civilization" and learning. Besides Confucianism, this learning came to encompass Mahayana Buddhism, Daoism and other beliefs and practices in combination that were frequently modified through indigenization. In other words, this learning was diverse and had never been based on Confucianism alone, the "innerworldly morality of laymen" that sought "adjustment to the world," as Max Weber judged it, and the importance of which he and some others since have often over-interpreted. Moreover, Confucianism and the Chinese, or modified-Chinese, religio-philosophical systems did not override practical realities that extended to state interests. As inhabitants of autonomous states, a practical part of being Korean and Vietnamese became knowing the "other," whether China or other states on its periphery. As the dialogue between the two envoys demonstrates, knowledge of Confucianism was a means of marking and affirming membership in the Chinese cultural sphere, but it also demonstrates, especially when regarding the breadth of Yi Sugwang's inquiries and astuteness of Phùng's replies, that the world in which they lived was complex and did not necessarily follow a single, universal pattern.

Because Yi's questions to Phùng are far ranging, well informed and specific, he seems to have understood this complexity and they give his inquiry a modern sensibility. It is also evident that Yi was captivated by the varied otherness of Vietnam. In fact, in another testimony to the lack of nationalistic concerns, Yi was able to avoid crudely turning his questions about Vietnam into mere referents in a solipsistic endeavor.

intended to make Korea the true subject. Overall, the dialogue suggests that Yi, and Phùng as well, may have been approaching a synthesizing mode of thought comparable to that which arose later in the West out of Enlightenment inquiry.

In a final analysis, however, it would have to be conceded that the information Yi Sugwang derived from his dialogue with Phùng Khắc Khoan, while interesting as a period piece, had little or no intelligence value, in the way that such value is assessed today. Vietnam was not a military threat to Korea or China, nor did the information Yi derived on Vietnam compromise its security, lead to innovation or find application in Korea or anywhere else.

Perhaps the true value of the dialogue between Yi and Phùng rests mainly in it being a tribute to the value of intercultural contact, to curiosity about the world one inhabits, and, however illusive it might be, to the knowledge gained from history. In this latter sense, the last word belongs to Phùng Khắc Khoan. In the concluding lines of one of his poems to Yi Sugwang, Phùng writes:

The Kingly Way has its conformity and universalism,  
But in the emperor's realm, the compilation of annals,  
The writing of poetry, and even the writings of envoys,  
Are as the radiance of a sunset, sea clouds and mist.
Chibongjip 芝峯集
chinsa 進士
chinwisa 進慰使
cho 條
Ch’oe Ch’iwôn 崔致遠
Chosôn 朝鮮
Chosôn wangjo sillok 朝鮮實錄
Ch’unghye Wang 忠恵王
Chungjong 中宗
Đại Cố Việt 大[瞿] 越
Đại Việt 大越
datong 大同
dutongsi si 都統使司
Đông Kinh 東京
Giao chi (Jiao Zhi) 交趾
Guangdong 廣東
Guangxi 廣西
Guilin 貴林
Han 漢
Hò 胡
Hò Quí Ly 胡季犛
Iwamura Shigemitsu (?) 石村成允
Jiangxi 江西
Jiao Zhi (Giao chi) 交趾
Koryôsa 高歷史
kwôn 卷
Lê 黎
Lelang 樂浪
li 里
Lý 李
Mã Yuan 莫
Mạc 莫
Mạc Mậu Hợp 莫茂洽
Me Linh 梅嶺
Ming 明
Nguyễn 阮

myŏn 年

Phùng Khắc Khoan 馮克寛

ren 仁

Ryūkyū (Islands) 琉球 (島)

Sam Han 三韓

Shenzong (Wanli) 神宗 (萬曆)

Sinmi 辛未

Sīrhak 實學

Sŏnggyun’gwan 成均館

Sŏnjo 宣祖

T’aegong 太宗

Thế Tông 世宗

Thị tập loại bản 詩集類本

tiện sĩ 進士

Trần 陳

Trịnh 鄭

Trung 徵

tu t’ung (dutong) 都統

Việt 越

Việt thượng 越裳

Wanli (Shenzong) 萬曆 (神宗)

wŏl cho 月條

Yi Hwang 李潢

Yi I 李珥 (Yulgok)

Yi Sugwang 李晦光

Yuheguan 玉河館

Yuheqiao 玉河橋

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An Expedition to Korea to Rescue the Crew of The Narwal in April 1851

ROBERT NEFF

Introduction
In 1851 Shanghai had a small but bustling enclave of Westerners who were mainly traders and missionaries. Tea was an important part of the port’s trade and its harbor was often filled with American tea clippers and British ships incoming with cloth and other goods and leaving with holds full of tea. Shanghai’s strategic location, was also an idea stopping point for whalers to re-supply going to and from the rich hunting grounds off the coasts of Korea and Japan.

On April 19th, nine sailors from the French whaler, Narwal, made their way to Shanghai with the news that their whaling ship had been wrecked off the coast of Korea and their fellow crew members detained by the Koreans. They made their way to the French consulate and presented their story to him and pleaded with him for his assistance.

The French Consul at Shanghai was Louis Charles Nicholas Maximillian de Montigny, an ambitious and proud man who took his role as French Consul very seriously. It was through his efforts that France gained its concession in Shanghai, a concession that was not always viewed in a positive light.1

Usually a warship would be sent in a situation such as this, but with no French warships in the harbor, and no time to wait for one, Montigny realized that he had only three options if he were to save the Narwal’s crew. First, he could make an unofficial call upon the English

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1 “A large and absurdly disproportionate tract” described one British official who added: “The national vanity of the French leading them to an absurd and useless acquisition.” Alexander Michie, The Englishman in China, p. 435
Consul and request an English warship be sent and rescue the crew. Second, he could send Mr. Arnaud and his fellow sailors aboard a chartered boat and have them bring back their fellow crew members, and third, he could go himself.

He rejected the first idea not only out of French pride but also because he did not want to cause tensions between his government and the English. If an English warship, with its crew of 120-130 men, was sent and lost trying to save the lives of twenty French sailors, the French government would be left greatly indebted to the English. He rejected the second idea fearing that the sailors, if faced with a hardship, might easily abandon their quest—a fact that was later proven.

The only sensible thing he could do was to go himself. Two members of the French Consulate, Michel-Alexandre de Kleczkowski and Benoit Edan, volunteered to accompany the Consul, but only Kleczkowski, the consulate's interpreter, was accepted. Montigny explained to Edan that he needed to remain behind and run the consulate in his absence and to be prepared to send assistance if some misfortune occurred. A twenty-year-old Frenchman named Bidet, an employee in a French firm in Shanghai, was allowed to accompany the expedition.

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3 Benoit Edan (1803-1871) arrived in Shanghai where he worked for the French firm of Remi and in 1850 joined the French consulate. Following Montigny, he served as consul from June 1853 through 1857, when Montigny returned, and again from June 1859 until February 1863.

4 The Remi firm, owned by Dominique Remi, arrived in Shanghai from Canton in 1848 and was the first French landowner in the French concession. He sold watches and later expanded into wines and alcohols. Pierre-Emmanuel Roux
because he was related to the Narwal's captain. Five members of the Narwal's crew, including Mr. Arnoud, were also included in the expedition. The final member was the Englishman, James MacDonald. MacDonald ran a very successful commercial firm in Shanghai and judging from his actions and his account, was well educated with an interest in Greek mythology, skilled at Chinese, and had a fondness for adventure.

What follows is James MacDonald's account of the expedition as printed in the North China Herald in a series of articles from May through August 1851, and supplemented with notes from Consul Montigny's report to his government.

**James MacDonald's Account**

From the notice which appeared in the columns of the North-China Herald last month, the object of the short voyage of which I am about to narrate the particulars, is already well known to its readers. It will be recollected that on the 19th of April, the chief officer and eight men of the crew of the Narwal of Havre, Captain Rivalan, a ship of about 450 tons burden, arrived here from Lookong, and reported to Monsieur de Montigny the French Consul, the total loss of that vessel, during the night of 2nd-3rd April, on one of the islands of the Amherst group, on the southwest coast of Corea, and their subsequent escape in a whale-boat after being a week upon the island; the Captain, Doctor, and eighteen men remaining behind.

Ill luck had attended Captain Rivalan on his present voyage, having been out twelve months without fish; and he and his officers having formerly visited the seas of Corea and Japan he intended cruising in those parts until the season should be sufficiently advanced for him to proceed to Behring's Straits. He entered the Yellow Sea in March, and after sighting the Shantung promontory, crossed over to the coast of Corea, seeing several whales which however they did not succeed in capturing.

citing Nicole Bensacq-Tixier, *Dictionary of the French Diplomatic Corps in China (1840-1911)*, Paris, the Eurdite Indies, 2003, p. 197
Having made the coast of Corea he turned southwards, and proceeding through the archipelago, had reached the last group, named the Amherst Islands on the English Map, when on the 2nd April, the vessel struck on a sand bank, near to a rocky islet lying a few miles to the northwest of the island called Fei-kin-taou. N. Lat. 34-11. From this danger they succeeded in recovering the ship, which after being got off was brought to anchor. During the following night a hard gale suddenly sprung up from the northwest, which aided by a strong ebb tide caused the vessel to drag her anchors, unperceived by the watch until too late, and at about three o’clock in the morning of the 3rd she struck on the rocky and precipitous coast of that island. In a few minutes after striking, the destruction of the ship was complete – the masts went over the side – the decks burst up with a loud report, and she was literally crushed to pieces. Meanwhile the Captain and chief portion of the crew had pushed off from the ship in the whale-boats, while the others sprang upon a projecting ledge of rock, and with the exception of one man who was drowned in the attempt, they succeeded in climbing up the precipice. The boats kept off until daylight, when they entertained a small cove at about a furlong’s distance to the north, and the men landing joined their unfortunate companions already on shore. They whole coast was by this time strewn with the wreck, and collecting empty casks, spars, &c., they set to work to establish a camp. So sudden was the disaster that little else had been saved beyond the clothes on their persons, and a small quantity of biscuit. Fortunately the natives of the island, although they showed a propensity to pilfer, yet seemed otherwise well disposed, and the head men of the nearest village brought supplies of rice to the shipwrecked crew. Thus they remained for a week, on good terms with the natives, when the Chief officer Mr. Arnaud and eight of the men, having come to a resolution to attempt to reach the coast of China, secretly prepared one of the three whale-boats saved, with a small supply of biscuit and water, and under cover of night took their departure from the island. [The next day,] steering for the southwest, they passed Alceste island at a distance, and continuing on their course they had not reached more than half way across the Yellow Sea when a northerly gale came on, so strong that they could no send before it. Lashing several oars together they attached them by a rope to
the bow to serve as a breakwater, and for thirty hours during which the gale continued they with difficulty kept their boat from being swamped, although planks had been raised on her gunwales to aid in keeping her dry. After considerable suffering from cold and wet, and from want of room being unable to lie down to rest, they at last after a five day’s passage sighted the Chusan islands, and were shown the way to the harbour of Lookong by a Chinese fishing boat, where they were equally surprised and glad to find European vessels, having never been on this coast before. Seldom, perhaps never, had so small a bark crossed the Yellow Sea in safety, and Mr. Arnaud who on his own responsibility undertook the voyage with his eight volunteers, surely deserves to have his name favourably recorded in this narrative; and moreover is entitled to the lasting gratitude of those of his comrades who by his enterprise and determination were relieved from a wearisome captivity.

On the arrival of Mr. Arnaud and his companions at Shanghai on the 19th April, Monsieur de Montigny the French Consul, bearing in mind the peculiar position of Corea in reference to foreign nations, took the resolution to proceed himself to the rescue of his countrymen. On the afternoon of that day, a friend of the writer attached to the French Consulate, called on him with an invitation to join the approaching expedition. So novel a voyage at once seized my fancy. I easily contrived to excuse myself to myself for a ten or twenty day’s absence, on the score of the great benefit of a sea voyage to one’s health, although I happened to be perfectly well at the time. But a trip to Corea, I reflected — a real terra incognita! Never get another opportunity perhaps, - I must go. We accordingly proceeded to the French Consulate, and from thence presently accompanied Monsieur de Montigny to examine two Macao Lorchas5 lying in the river. One of these was soon engaged for the voyage. The wind being favourable it was resolved to depart without loss of time, and we returned on shore to make our preparations.

Next morning, Sunday 20th April, the Consul proceeded in the

5 A lorchas is a vessel with a western style hull but the upper deck and riggings are Chinese in design. They were popular armed merchant ships in Chinese waters.
Lorcha down the river with the tide, and I joined at Woosung shortly after noon; we left the anchorage there about four o’clock that day on the first turn of the tide, with a light favourable wind.

Next morning, Monday 21st April, we were in the mouth of the Yang-tze-kiang. While waiting at anchor for the change of the tide two fine merchant ships passed close to us, - the Carrington, American for New York,6 and Albemarle, British for London. In the afternoon we got under weigh and stood over behind the banks towards Sha-wei-shan. This, as is well known, is a lofty barren rock off the north entrance of the Yang-tze-kiang, and was not long ago a notorious rendezvous for Chinese pirates, where they lay in wait to capture the Shanghai junks proceeding to, and returning from Shang-tung, Leao-tung, and the Pei-ho. Many of these fell an easy prey. The cargo when valuable was plundered and both junks and crew held to ransom, the latter being cruelly ill treated if their friends did not speedily relieve them. In 1846, 1847, and 1848 their ravages were particularly destructive, scores of junks being repeatedly in their clutches at one time. For their suppression, the Shanghai Authorities engaged a number of Macao Lorchas, well armed. They also have built a small fleet of war junks after the model of the Lorchas, and they purchased an old American schooner, the Boxer. They were cruising this day and passed us going to the islands, the Boxer bringing up the line. By these means the pirates have for the most part been put down in this quarter, while the authorities have been rewarded for the relief given to commerce.7

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6 The Carrington, under the command of Captain Abbott, was one of the fast tea clippers that sailed between New York and China.
7 Piracy would continue to plague the coasts of China and Korea. In the late 1890s the American bark, White Squall, under the command of Captain White, was chartered by the Chinese government to transport $100,000 worth of freshly minted silver coins from Fuchau, China to Korea. The White Squall was provided with four cannons and twelve Chinese soldiers, but while the ship was taking on supplies, word got out concerning the ship’s mission, and preparations were made to intercept it. A short distance from the port the White Squall was suddenly set upon by several junks, but Captain White was able to fend off the pirates until a British warship could offer assistance. The Newark Daily
The same evening, Monday 21st April, about 7 o’clock we took our departure from Shang-wei-shan steering northeast with a fine breeze from the southeast.

Next day, Tuesday 22nd, April, the weather was cloudy with slight showers of rain at intervals. The wind continued at southeast by east, and although rather light we made fair progress. From the thick muddy colour of the Yang-tze-kiang the water had now changed to green. We were in the direct line of the Shantung junks this day but none were seen. Being now fairly at sea we had leisure to observe the capabilities of our Lorcha and her crew. She was a stout built but roughly finished craft of about 21 feet beam, drawing with the rudder down about 8 feet water, having one large and two smaller masts as usual, with mat sails. The armament consisted of two 6-pound guns, one long 9 on a revolving slide, and two 16 pound caronades, with abundance of small arms, and gunpowder, I must say ad nauseam. Compared with the crack Lorchas newly built, which carry as many as eighteen guns, and are nicely finished, our bark was inferior, although not many years old. Outside she was pointed of a gay green colour, but the owner had not considered it requisite to decorate her within, not even the cabin. It is just however to suppose he had intended the vessel more for the convoy trade than for

Advocate, November 30, 1897, pp. 3; North Adams Transcript, December 30, 1897, pp. 5  Perhaps one of the most infamous pirates was Eli Boggs, an American renegade sailor, who for three years, along with his fleet of thirty to forty Chinese junks, was the terror along the coast of southern China. In 1857, he was captured by another American, Captain Bully Hayes, who, ironically, was later accused of piracy in the South Pacific. George Wingrove Cooke described Eli Boggs as a “handsome boy” with “a face of feminine beauty. Not a down upon the upper lip; large lustrous eyes; a mouth the smile of which might woo coy maidens; affluent black hair, not carelessly parted; hands so small and so delicately white that they would create a sensation in Belgravia...” Boggs was convicted, but because of his youth and probably his looks, he was sentenced to life imprisonment. However, in 1860, after only three years of hard labor in Hong Kong’s prison, Boggs was released because of poor health and his name faded from history. A.D. Blue, “Piracy on the China Coast,” Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 5, 1965, pp. 69-85
carrying passengers.

Our crew was composed of two classes – Portuguese and Canton Chinese. The former were the officers so to speak, and the latter the working seamen, steersmen, &c. The Captain who was destined to carry us across the seas, and show the flag by the by, was a worthy person in his way of whom it may at least be said, that if his abilities were not great, his pretensions were small. He was a native of Macao, a colony which although pleasant as a place of residence, can scarce lay claim to be regarded as a nursery for seamen – as we English are wont to consider of our own. The others were also all natives of the east. Captain and all spoke Chinese with facility, in the same dialect as the crew, and the whole body took their meals together in the most sociable manner.

In respect to the means of navigation our vessel was apparently guided ordinarily upon the Compass, Lead, and Look out principal; no log-line was in use, but as we were supplied with both a Chinese and English compass. Such superfluities as Charts, Sextant, &c., had to be procured by ourselves.

Mr. Arnaud, the officer of the wrecked ship and four of his men also accompanied us on the voyage in search of their late companions.

Thus equipped, we proceeded on that day with moderate weather, but rather adverse wind, and on Wednesday 23rd April, the wind changed N.N.E., and compelled us to tack to the eastward. Previous to doing so, two Shanghai junks were in sight coming from the north with a fair wind. The first passed at some distance, and the second junk evidently getting alarmed at seeing us in that quarter, luffed up suddenly as he saw us stand across his bows, but on showing our flag he became reassured, and held on course. The sea had now become of a dark colour, and these two junks we were informed by our Shanghai Pilot were to eastward of their usual track. At noon this day we were in Latitude 33° 40 and Longitude 122° 42 (from Pers.) Several small land birds were caught today, having alighted on our rigging to rest; and not a day passed but we saw some, both in going and returning, although the distance from China to the Corean islands in this meridian is about 400 miles.

Thursday 24th April. In the latter part of yesterday the wind had gradually veered round to the westward of north, so as to enable us to
make good our northeast course, and continued in that quarter this day, but not fresh. The weather was also thick, with occasional showers of rain. About noon it cleared up somewhat and Mr. Arnaud conceived he had got a correct observation by which he made our position to be in Lat. 34 – 50 and consequently about half a degree to the northward of the island on which the shipwreck took place. He therefore altered our course to E.S.E., and with the wind now free, although not very fresh. We made rapid progress for some hours. But this alteration of our course was not made without opposition for we knew without pretending to a deep knowledge of the science of navigation, that a northeast course made good, would carry us to Corea, and once among the islands we could find the latitude at our convenience, while a course to the southward of east, we felt would be more likely to lead us to Japan. We yielded however to the sincere conviction of our practical guide, although unable to comprehend how a Lorcha could possibly make such progress beating to windward, as his reckoning showed, and quite incredulous of the existence of a northerly current so early in the season, as he seemed to believe and thereby try to account for it. Towards evening of this day the wind became lighter, when after dusk our Leader (the Consul) was the first to detect a land smell on the breeze, which was sensible at intervals, and this night we kept a good look out.

Next morning, Friday 25th April, the weather was thick and cloudy, the barometer falling. The latter circumstance we considered merely to indicate the approach of rain with a southerly wind. Between six and seven o' clock, we saw the land at a short distance, but from the extreme thickness of the atmosphere could not determine whether it was a large island or not. Perceiving an opening in the coast just before us which seemed calculated to afford shelter from easterly winds, we ran in and cast anchor in eight fathoms. We found we were now in the middle of an open roadstead, formed by a sudden turn pf the coast line to the east for about a mile or more, where a high hill terminated in an abrupt precipice, from which a rugged islet at about two hundred yards' distance seemed to have been detached by volcanic action. Beyond this islet seawards, at the distance of about half a mile, was a small but a lofty island with a curved sandy bay on the side fronting the main island.
With this slight exception, the shores around the anchorage were entirely lined with rocks of black basalt, on which the heavy seas swell broke with a sudden roar. Towards the southern side of the anchorage a rock appeared a few feet above water, and altogether the appearance of the place was most uninviting, which was heightened by a drizzling rain.

We had arrived as we afterwards ascertained at the western point of Quelpart Island in Lat. 33 – 19, the center island above referred to being that named Eden Island, by Sir E. Belcher in his Survey of Quelpart. Throughout its extent of coast Quelpart possesses "but one safe anchorage," according to the same authority, and that is at the eastern or opposite end of the island. No houses were visible except one beyond the hill, but we soon observed people collecting on the beach above our anchorage, to gaze at the unusual visitor: and a catamaran sculled by one man passed over from the rocky islet to the shore.\(^8\) Having breakfasted we all proceeded on shore in our little sampan, which required to make two trips to convey us, with our European sailors, all well armed.\(^9\) We landed on the rocks opposite to the islet above mentioned, at a point were a small stream found its way through a very rocky channel into the sea. In the mouth of this rivulet we found about a dozen catamarans aground on the rocks it being low water. They are formed by ten or twelve pine logs of about 14 feet in length securely lashed together, with a top work of a few upright and cross bars of wood, and are perhaps well adapted for such a rocky coast.

The people on the beach were of the lowest class, clad in the usual wide quilted jacket and trousers of unbleached coarse hempen cloth, yet their appearance did not seem to indicate less cleanliness or comfort than that of the same order of Chinese. Their complexions were similar to Chinese of a corresponding latitude, yet their tout ensemble was very

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\(^8\) MacDonald almost never mentions it, but apparently Montigny had three shots fired every time the ship anchored in a new location or when they were visited by Korean officials as a salute, and possibly as a means of attracting the Korean population's attention.

\(^9\) According to Montigny, there were ten men in the party – six French, MacDonald, and three Chinese – and that six were armed with shotguns charged with lead.
different, arising chiefly from the head not being shaved as in China, the men wearing the hair tied up in a knot on the crown of the head, and the boys having it long and hanging over the back. They were food humoured, cheerfully collecting shells, sponges, &c., for us in hope of being rewarded with a cigar. Presently the whole of our party had landed, and our attention was called to the top of the beach where an officer appeared who was talking in a loud key and gesticulating with some vehemence of manner. He had just arrived on a little rough pony, and as we approached he beckoned to us to return on board in a way not to be misunderstood; but his rapidity of gestures and volubility of speech were alike lost upon us, as we merely replied by handing him a slip of paper with a line in Chinese intimating that we intended to have a parley with him at his house, but not there in a crowd.\footnote{Montigny described it as: the rain fell in torrents and it was impossible to write in the middle of the noisy crowd, and that we needed shelter. I made the signs of this to him be he continued his cries and gestures without appearing to notice me. I then took his arm forced him, without violence but with firmness and coolness, to walk with me towards the houses.} This he read off in a loud and interrogative sort of tone, then talked on for some minutes in a vociferous voice as before, and then as we showed no intention of returning, he suddenly mounted his little horse, whose height was about equal to the diameter of his master’s hat, and trotted off somewhat to my disappointment, as I was just forming the intention of having a ride on my own account. Off, however, he went, faster than we could follow, making more noise than a magpie all the while; and the import of which I am sorry for the reader’s sake we could not precisely understand, not being “ripe” in Korean language.\footnote{According to Montigny, the Korean official was assisted to his horse by one of the French sailors who also held the horse while they walked, but when the road became rough, one of the sailors inadvertently released his hold on the horse and the Korean official fled.}

The day was most unpleasantly wet, and the appearance of the country dreary, but we trudged on by a narrow road confined within stone dikes on either hand, and at the time little better than a watercourse. Around the foot of the hill by which our path led, were small fields of
young wheat; farther down on our other hand the land was marshy and of a mossy nature. We soon descried the walls of the fort in the distance of about a half a mile across some wet field land, reserved for rice crops apparently, but then unploughed. One of the Coreans, a numerous retinue of whom accompanied us, beckoned us to follow him into the fort, we approached within a short distance, but as the official cavalier did not show himself to us, and the gate being shut, we turned off and entered the first cottage in the adjacent hamlet. It was that of a poor husbandman, having three small apartments nearly filled with agricultural implements, &c., walls not six feet high, and thatched roof; a rough stone dyke of about five feet enclosing the premises. Finding seats as best could, we sat down under the projecting eaves of the house which sheltered us from the rain, and as the yard in front was soon thronged by Coreans, who were not deterred by the wet, we soon ascertained that most of them could read and write Chinese, and accordingly addressed ourselves to one of the principal men, enquiring regarding the officer and the fort. The former we were told in reply was a Great-Frontier-Protecting-General, on reading which I am afraid some of us laughed rather disrespectfully, but our peasant scribe was not decomposed. "Send and tell the Great-Frontier-Protecting-General that we guests are waiting to be received," we added. "The General has no time for idle conversation" answered the old fellow. "Not very polite," said we: "our country is distinguished for propriety of manners and rectitude of principal," he rejoined. "How many men and guns are there in that fort," we asked. "The laws of our country are very severe, and forbid communication with you, so I cannot tell you," he replied, moving away, as he drew his hand across his throat, giving a very significant sight there by.

Finding nothing could be learned thus, we advanced to the fort. The gate was still shut, but one of our European sailors climbed over the walls to open it from inside, while our Canton braves, several of whom had accompanied us, each armed with a pair of the double short swords, put on a fierce look, as if expectation of a desperate sortie from the
garrison. Great was our amusement therefore to perceive on the gate being opened that the interior contained nothing but a field of young wheat, with several small huts and two ponies at the further end. The wall of the fort was built of rough stone, about twenty feet in height, having numerous embrasures in the parapet, and of a quadrangular form, with a projecting bastion at each of the four corners, and a covered gateway. Its extent was about two hundred yards in length and about nine hundred yards in breadth, and to judge from its decayed appearance was probably built during the war with Japan about 150 years ago, and neglected since that time.

As we advanced up the path in the centre we perceived the General bristling about. He, finding us in possession of his stronghold, put on a good face on the matter, and received us courteously in the only place he seemed to possess adapted for public occasions. It was a small square cottage, open to the west which direction it fronted, and partly at the sides, being covered with a good thatch roof, which was supported by four substantial wood pillars about eight feet high, the base resting on stone pedestals, and having a plank floor and tolerably clean appearance. Mats were spread for us on the floor, chairs not being in use in the parts of Corea we visited, but finding the posture a la Turque not very convenient, the general did his best to procure substitutes for chairs. His surname was ascertained as Lee, his rank he evaded telling us, and the warlike

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12 Unlike MacDonald's account which seems to indicate they were followed to the fort by the Korean crowd, Montigny states that all the Koreans disappeared and he, concerned about an ambush, ordered his riflemen to spread out on both sides of the road so that they would not be grouped together and provide an easier target. Montigny states he had Kleczkowski write a letter in Chinese and then tried to give it to one of the Koreans to take to the fort but they indicated through sign language that they would be killed (heads cut off) if they complied. So Montigny had one of the Chinese sailors from the lorcha carry the note to the fort and received the prompt answer that the "General of the Frontier" was not able to leave his stronghold and that Montigny would have to go and visit him. Montigny does not mention sending a French sailor over the walls but instead claims that apprehensively he went to the fort's gate, unarmed, and after several attempts, opened the door and walked into the courtyard.
weapons at his command consisted as far as we could discover of only his own rusty Toledo.

Shortly after conversation commenced in Chinese writing, the people collected around our little hall began to express their interest in the proceedings with more noise than was agreeable, intimation of which being given, our host gave a loud order, and one man was instantly seized in the crowd. Making not resistance by word or action, he quietly submitted to be thrown on the ground with his face downwards, his clothes were then drawn down bare from the waist to the knees, and the instrument of flagellation was being applied to the hams of his legs, when we interfered, giving the General to understand that no punishment of this nature could be permitted before us. The instrument I allude to, resembled somewhat in size and shape the blade of a wherry’s oar, having a round handle of about two feet, and would seem to be in much more diligent use than even the bamboo in China for the same purpose. It is a cruel and severe punishment, tearing the flesh, and making the blood spurt after a few strokes are given. And yet we learn that in former times these Quelpart officials have even dared to treat Europeans [in a similar manner]. About the middle of the 17th century, a Dutch vessel, the Sparrow-hawk, was wrecked on the island, and the crew detained in slavery there for nineteen year, during which time they were often cruelly bastinadoed, until at length an opportunity offered of seizing a small junk, in which they escaped to Japan.13

The independent tone we had adopted towards our so-distant General Lee, had the designed effect of reducing the boisterous manner

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13 Hamel described a beating in which the offenders had the soles of their feet beat with sticks and sometimes the offender ended up losing some of their toes. Vibeke Roeper and Boudewijn Walraven, ed., Hamel’s World: A Dutch-Korean Encounter in the Seventeenth Century, Amsterdam: Sun Publishers, 2003, pp. 113, 139-140. Montigny was convinced that the “contemptible” punishment of the offenders by the Korean officials was an attempt to intimidate or awe him with their power. He was not impressed and warned the Korean officials that he considered it an insult for them to punish people in such a manner in front of him. Evidently his protests were successful as the officials ceased to administer these beatings in front of him and seemed more attentive and refined in his presence.
with which he at first attempted to repel us, into the most deferential attention. Nevertheless we did not succeed in accomplishing the object of our visit on shore. To our repeated enquiries as to the name of the country, the island, and locality, the replies were "Tchaou-sin," their pronunciation of the name of Corea in Chinese, and Ying-chow-san the name of the locality; while Tsee-chow the name of Quelpart Island, as we believed, we were told lay some hundreds of lee to the eastward, and we found it would be necessary to shew our Charts to the General to remedy the confusion. And in reference to our ulterior object, he protested he had heard of no European vessel having been lately ship-wrecked on that Coast. We therefore concluded to remain in that neighbourhood until the weather permitted us to ascertain our exact position by observation.

Our host after we had been some time with him ordered a repast to be spread for us, consisting of boiled rice, dried fish, slices of beef, vegetables, sea weed, and a species of sea slug, accompanied by samshoo and a beverage tasting like cider. The whole was served up on small tables of about 15 inches in altitude, a convenient height for the posture of the natives. The rice &c., was served up in bowls made of metal, a mixture of brass and tutenague apparently, with small flat dishes of common earthenware; and the chopsticks were composed of the same metal and flat in shape.

We now prepared to return on board, having arranged that the General visit us on the morrow; and this reminds me that I have not described his appearance. He was a man of middle stature olive complexion, features somewhat sharp but interesting, and his eyes resembled the Japanese more than Chinese. His look was intelligent and penetrating. His hands and feet were small, his hair was dressed in a knot on the top of the head, and secured by a broad band of delicate network composed of black silk and hair. "The hat," says Belcher, speaking of another Quelpart Military officer, "which is a light fabric, and most beautiful piece of workmanship, is composed of the fine outré fibres of the bamboo, dyed black, (many are not) and woven into gauze, like our finest network. The rim is about two feet in diameter; the cone rises to nine inches, having a diameter at the truncated vortex of three inches, and has one or more peacock's feathers attached in a kind of swivel, forming a
graceful head-dress, and one not unbecoming a military character (?) Beneath this hat our chief was decorated by two necklaces or collars, one composed of large ultra-marine-blue balls, apparently of porcelain, the centre being about nine-tenths of an inch in diameter, diminishing in size towards the extremities. The other fastened behind the left ear and crossing the breast, but this was composed a long tubular pieces, about a quarter of an inch in diameter, by two inches in length, tapering at the extremes, and apparently amber having a dark coloured red bead between each.

His personal dress consisted of a fine loose shirt of grass cloth, trousers and stockings in one, of a species of (white) Nankoen, and leather boots of very neat workmanship in the loose Wellington style (!) the upper part being of a black velvet; a loose tunic of open texture approaching to coarse grass cloth or muslin, having the cuffs lined and turned up with scarlet silk, confined by a broad sash of blue at the waist completed the house dress.” The only article of foreign manufacture that we observed in our host’s dress was his hat strings, which were composed of fine white twilled Manchester cotton cloth. We subsequently at the Amherst group observed one of the officials who visited us had the wide sleeves of his gown turned up with fine white long cloth. These were the only instances we perceived of European manufactures being in use.

Such articles are doubtless an expensive luxury to the Corea, and must reach them by their northern frontier, from Niew-chwang in Leaou-tung, to which place considerable quantities are sent from Shanghai direct, in part payment for the bulky produce thence imported, and perhaps also from Peking, since the Corean Ambassadors are said on the weighty authority of Montgomery Martin14 to be given to doing a smart stroke of business, in the buying and selling line, on the occasion of each visit to that capital.

On our return on board in the afternoon my first remark was how

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14 Sir Robert Montgomery Martin was an expert on British trade in China. At one time he served as the British colonial treasurer and wrote “British Relations with the Chinese Empire in 1832,” along with several other books dealing with China and British colonies throughout the world.
An Expedition to Korea

desirable it would be to obtain a better anchorage, the bottom being bad, putting aside the exposed situation, but the day was too far advanced to go in search of another, and we passed the evening in hopes of clear weather on the morrow when we intended to make a thorough exploration. Little did we anticipate the danger that was to overtake us that night, or the varied emotions, the hopes and fears, with which we should contend ere we should see another sun.

At dusks there were no threatening signs of a gale; the barometer had been low all day, but not so as to excite great apprehension, being accompanied with much wet. We lay at single anchor and there in was the peril in such a place, with a negligent watch.

It was about one o'clock in the morning when I was roused from a profound sleep by hearing my name loudly and rapidly called several times by the Consul with the addition to “come up on deck quickly, - we are going on shore – we are on the rocks – don’t stop to dress – come up quickly.” I turned round in my berth at the first call – the cause of the danger flashed across my mind – I sprang on my feet – jumped into my trousers, and snatching my vest without waiting for coat or cloak I rushed on deck. The imminence of the danger was but too obvious. A most violent gale had come thundering upon us from E.S.E. accompanied by a cold and cutting rain. We were driving fast down upon Eden Island, and although the night was black as Erebus\textsuperscript{15} we could already discern the white foam lashing the shores of the island which we were rapidly approaching. All hands were on deck in a few moments after the first alarm was given – our best anchor was let go, and still she dragged – the halyards were laid on the capstan, and the sail run up “with a will” – no luggers then – but of course we drifted faster than before, and they tried but in vain to heave up the anchors, till at last the black rocks were frowning high close behind us. At this time I perceived the Shanghai pilot come on deck – he went to the stern, - and as he realized the danger of our situation, he turned round and stamping on the deck broke out in

\textsuperscript{15} Erebus, whose name means darkness or shadow, was the son of the god Chaos. According to some legends Erebus was the part of Hades in which the dead had to pass through right after death.
frantic cried, “cut the cable or we’ll all die.” One of best Canton men—and they were a crew of picked men—was at the tiller—he joined the pilot in the cry to “cut the cable,” and our officer Mr. Arnaud exclaimed about the same time “Ah mon Dieu” if they would but cut the cable quickly. Then indeed, I did think No. 51 was near her latter end.

Till now we passengers had scarcely exchanged a word, when the Consul addressed me in terms, I must not as a faithful narrator shrink from declaring, worthy of the generous reputation of the man. “We will go on shore,” he said, in a tone, firm, but as if regarding it as inevitable, “and the only circumstance I regret is, that I should have been the means of bringing you into danger; as for us, we did our duty in coming to relieve our countrymen and must take the risk.” “No fear,” I replied, “they are calling out to cut the cables—if they do so, that sail will take her through anything.”

Yet I doubted much the chance of escape by that manoeuvre. The sail was three-fourths up, the lorch quivering in every timber as it shook in the gale, and the mast in all probability would have given away, being so poorly supported by stays. But it became evident to me that on cutting the cable, so light a vessel would rapidly surge to leeward, and ere the sails could draw her forward, would have struck on the rocks. The wind which at first drove us upon the sandy bay, changing a little, we ultimately were drifted, near the South-east point of Eden island, where a reef of rocks a few feet above water ran out to about two hundreds, and ended in an overhanging bluff head about eighty feet high. From the reef three jagged pyramidal rocks shot up to a height of about thirty feet each, and it was between these frightful rocks and the head, that we were threatened with shipwreck.

Luckily the means of cutting the cables were not to be found, when convinced that our only resource for safety lay in “riding it out,” I went forward and gave the orders (in Chinese) “down sail, give her all the cables.” Down came the sail immediately, and then picking out the poor Capitano who was neither to be seen nor heard in the crowd, I desired him give every inch of cable on both anchors, to which he objected, saying, “oh Senhor if I give ten fathoms more w’e’ll go on the rock,” “ha grande perigo!” Decision was necessary. It was not a time to stand upon
ceremony, or to chaff with one whose neglect had nigh ruined our expedition; sharp rang the order — the last inch of cable was given — forty fathoms on both anchors — the strain was great, - but she held her ground, - let those who have been in a similar situation, judge of the relief it afforded us when this was ascertained by the lead. Still we were in a most critical position. The barometer was then at 29.45. and fell shortly to 29. - 40.; we were close on a rocky shore, and should the gale increase much, nothing could save us from shipwreck. But Providence had otherwise decreed, and our time was not yet come. The storm had reached its height, when shortly after we observed lights moving on the shore where we landed the previous day, at which point a watch guard had been established. The native shad discovered our disappearance from our first position.

All this time I was half clad and now began to feel the piercing cold and wet, and bethinking myself of the proverb “dum vivimus, vivamus,” I observed to our leader, “I'll go down below and get my coat,” adding, “I think we are all right now.” But he was not sufficiently assured of our safety to let me out of his sight for some time, until it was evident the gale was abating. The crowing of the cock that morning was welcome music to us, for it heralded the approach of dawn. By daylight the gale had died away — the larks rose from the grassy bank on the back of the bluff, chanting their notes over our heads — never before did I heartily wish to be out of hearing of them, for it made me shudder to look round at the rocks. We lost no time in sending out a kedge anchor and warped out into the middle of the anchorage. We had drifted about a mile that night, on first night in the Corean dominions — a night never to be forgotten by us who escaped its dangers.

Saturday 26th April. Our narrow escape from shipwreck last night determined us to move in search of a better anchorage, and we accordingly got under weigh this morning, but shortly after leaving the bay the wind failed us, so that we could make little progress, while a turbulent sea tossed and tumbled us about in a manner threatening accident to our rudder, the barometer also began to fall again, and we were fain to return in the forenoon to our former position.

On our return the reader may be sure we did not neglect to look
well to our "ground tackle." Our best anchors were put out, and full scope of cable given. As a further precaution it was proposed and seconded that our two 16 pound carronades should be stowed away in the hold, where they were likely to prove more useful as ballast than they were necessary for our defense. This was soon safely affected, and in the agitated state of the sea, even in the bay, was a relief to the vessel.

Shortly after our return, a boat entered the bay from the northeast, but the surf on the rocks prevented its communicating with the shore. In the afternoon, this boat left the bay shortly before we went in our sampan to examine the anchorage of the northeast of the islet where we found a better bottom in suitable depth but no shelter from the sea. Returning, we rowed along the foot of the precipitous head I have before alluded to, at as near a distance as safety permitted, passing by numerous lofty caverns which perforated the rock, and gave shelter to myriads of seabirds. These were very tame and many flew around us making much noise, being disturbed by our unusual appearance, or perhaps in their own way demanding satisfaction for the loss of certain of their kindred, whose career had been shortened by powder and lead on the previous day.

As we slowly passed, all gazing in wonder, I asked one of the Canton men, "have you any such great caverns in your Kiangtung coast?" "No," replied he, "I never say any, but I have heard there are great caverns in the province of Yunnan."

On our return on board a note was sent on shore to the General desiring him to visit us on board, but the messenger after effecting a landing, found he had already left the tent for his fort, the day being far advanced. We were glad when our sampan returned in safety, for towards dusk [the light breeze from the west] increased to a gale, and blew hard, with a driving rain. We now congratulated ourselves in having disposed of our heavy artillery below, as the bay being open to the quarter from whence the wind now blew, a furious sea ran in, and the violence and rapidity with which we plunged and rolled exceeded anything I ever before experienced. That night was an anxious one for our party, and few on board went to sleep. Below, the creaking and groaning of the bulkheads with the horrid beating and rocking noise of the helm banished all peace: above, the wind and rain howled and beat hard,
while the swelling seas would now and again curl their white crests as we rose upon them, and rolling past spend their fury upon the rocks. Our fears were excited lest the stony bottom should cut our coir cable, in which case our chain one would soon have snapt asunder, and left us to drive among the caverns on our lee, and then – the clear cold sea would soon have demanded us for its prey.

But as on the previous night the gale was short duration. Towards morning of Sunday, 27th April, the wind abated, but a tempestuous sea rolled in.

Another large boat appeared about ten o’clock this forenoon, and after many attempts for about two hours, succeeded at last in embarking the General and the other officials waiting on the racks to come off. They approached soon after noon, their boat being propelled by two great sculls, and full of men; but as it was defended by several strong transverse beams, projecting about three feet over the sides, we were compelled for our own safety, in the dangerous state of the sea, to forbid their coming alongside. They on the other hand were afraid to trust themselves in our sampan and it became a matter of difficulty to transfer them from the boat to the lorch. At last, the General, a Che-hieu or District Magistrate, with four others, and two subordinates were safely got up, being literally “bundled on board,” and their boat was sent astern.

From these officials I need scarcely say, we could extract little information; their sole object was to hasten our departure from the island. When we demanded a pilot they declared compliance was impossible, and would infallibly involve them in the loss of their heads: but this, their usual style of tactics, did not avail them much on the present occasion, for we gave them gently but clearly to understand that we wished to use no compulsion, but must have a pilot, and until supplied with one, we were resolved to enjoy the pleasure of their society on board. We had, I should have before observed, treated them on coming on board, to a dejéuner a la fourchette; but most of them as our vessel was rolling heavily, soon began to feel the horrors of sea sickness. Our friend the General was particularly affected with it, lying on the deck with his head on the side, his servant nursing him, as he emitted the most doleful sounds, and with misery lugubriously depicted in his countenance. The state of
things perhaps hastened their acceding to our demand for a pilot, when
they found we would not otherwise permit their boat to approach the
gangway; and finding they had determined people to deal with, they
consulted together, and ended by proposing to give us two pilots from the
crew of the boat. In the end they transferred four of the boat’s crew over
to us, with one of the secretaries in charge of them, after which our
visitors took their departure.

The weather had now cleared up – the sea shone forth – and with
a fine fresh northerly breeze we again left the anchorage, which from our
severe experience we had named the bay of Tribulation, and stood along
the west coast of the island to the southwards, maintaining a distance of
about half a mile from the shore. The sea seemed deep, and dark
coloured to the very shore, which was rocky but not lofty, and we now
beheld in a clear sky, the hills in the interior rising top over top in a
gradual series to the loftiest range, an altitude of six thousand five
hundred feet according to Captain Belcher’s survey. How exhilarating
we felt the change as we scudded along before a brisk breeze! Our
Corean pilots, too, seemed to enjoy the fine sail, and divided their
attention between the biscuits, &c., with which we supplied them, and the
various, to them well-known objects, we rapidly passed in succession
along the coast. Under the southwest head which is a lofty rocky bluff
rising perpendicular from the water we were a short time becalmed, but
gradually rounding the head we opened up the south coast of the island,
and tacking in shore, anchored about half a mile from a fine sandy beach.

On this side Quelpart, I doubt not, presents its most favourable
aspect. The panorama now before us was imposing, and worthy to be
described by a more experienced pen.

On our left was the bold head recently passed, its black rocks
mingled with several masses of iron-stone; before us a hill extending
nearly to the beach, bold, rugged and nearly perpendicular on three sides,
towered up to a height of about 600 feet, its flattened top, and bleak
withered sides of grey basalt, standing out in strong relief, against the
sylvan ranges and conical shaped hills which skirted the vale behind;
while on the right, the sandy bay terminated at the distance of a few miles
in another rocky headland rising like a vast wall sheer out of the water,
and behind which the mountains rose to the highest summit on the island.

The sun was now well down, - the wind had sunk to a whisper, -
and the blue smoke ascended in curling wreaths from the hamlets in the
valley before us, - nature inviting us to land on the forbidden shores.
Several natives appeared on the beach as we disembarked, but offered no
molestation, and we had proceeded beyond the sandy ridges which skirted
the beach when the alarm was give threat the Coreans were driving away
our sampan. There was no cause for it however, beyond the usual
pantomime of pointing seawards, the head men writing on the sand as we
approached, how very strictly their country was prohibited to us. To
prevent accident we made our boat lie off at a short distance from the
beach, and then resumed our walk. And it was such a pleasure to stroll
along that Corean strand, listening to the murmur of the waves beating the
sand at our feet, as only those who have long dwelt on diluvial mud can
well appreciate! Leaving the beach we passed by several fields whose
borders were marked by dikes of stone, within which we saw several
cattle grazing. It was now dusk, and we returned on board.

In the evening we showed a Manuscript Chart of Corea to the
Secretary who was a pleasant and intelligent man. We had now anchored
off Tai-tsing district, the island being divided into three districts, Tsee-
chow on the north, where the chief town is situated, and Tsing-ye towards
the south-east, being the other two. The Magistrates of the different
districts are probably the “independent chiefs” mentioned by Belcher.
Independent enough they certainly seem to have been in their bearing
towards him, saluting him in the warmth of their “courtesy” with shotted
guns, and poking his signal men with lighted brands for stubbornly
refusing to jump over a precipice into the sea. Doubtless the Quelpart
appointments emanate from the Corean capital King-ki-tao, but this and
much more, our very short intercourse, owing to the terrible weather we
there experienced, prevented us ascertaining accurately.

In the meantime our pilots had supped and finished a bottle of
whisky, a case of which, by a lucky accident, we had taken with us, when
the Secretary who as the leading man no doubt had received a good share,
for his voice was now become rather husky, wrote to me gravely, “your
distilled spirit is very good and we request some more of it.” They
quaffed off the fiery spirit like water, one and all, and would have actually I believe finished a bottle each man, but as we did not wish to find our pilots “dead drunk” in the morning, or the Secretary unable to give any account of himself, we restricted the alliance. The fame of our whisky, however, spread abroad the next day. We had sent to the village a list of the articles we wished to be supplied with, not knowing how long we might cruise about ere we found out the wreck.

Next morning, Monday 28th April, we started on various excursions on shore. Two of us tried to ascend the steep hill near the shore from whence we could have obtained a fine view, but so abrupt and precipitous were its sides that after several attempts at different places, and no little fatigue, we had to desist. It was in fact only practicable by making a considerable detour into the country, which our limited time did not admit of. Iron seemed to abound in the neighbourhood, and the sea beach under the hill was at one place composed of a conglomerate in which iron formed the chief ingredient. The fields in the uplands contained young crops of Wheat and Barley, while the plough, which is a miserable implement like the Chinese, was at work preparing the low grounds for rice. As we passed by the nearest village the men would run and point to us to go the other way, but finding we invariably acted just contrary to such directions, they let us alone, and contented themselves with shouting to their women to retire, as the barbarians were at hand. Such at least, I presume, was the drift of their bawling, and as the female portion of the Quelpart community it is not to be supposed are devoid of that spirit of intelligent curiosity which happily distinguishes the sex elsewhere, we saw many heads peeping at us over the dikes, but alas! No muse can sing or say much about their charms. They were evidently not given to have their limbs in the crystal floods which poured from the hills around, and that was the only impression they made upon us.

After our return on board in the forenoon our friend C.K.16 was deputed to go on shore to a part of the beach where the Tai-tsing magistrate, our old friend the General Protector, and many more officials had assembled to deliver the supplies we had desired to be provided. He

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16 This was probably Kleczkowski
was furnished with various articles to be given in payment, pieces of cotton, &c., which the dignitaries received with a show of indifference; but when half a dozen bottles of the famous Foreign Spirit were presented, their satisfaction knew no bounds. Corean gravity couldn’t stand it, and their reserve fairly yielded before the potent influence of John Barleycorn.\textsuperscript{17} 

Sly rogues! They hardly deserved such good liquor. When our live stock came off we found the two bullocks and thirty fowls were all old veterans of the masculine gender; and although our two hundred eggs were correct in number, a large portion of them were beyond eating, while many pigeon’s eggs had been put in to make up the account. We also received a small quantity of rice which was good – not unlike that from Formosa – and some firewood.\textsuperscript{18} Our deputy was well bantered about his supplies, and a vote of want of confidence in our Commissariat General unanimously passed. The wind had been from the south all morning, and we hastened to depart. Once more the Capstan was manned, - the anchors got up, and our little bark pursued her way for the Amherst Isles.

I have said that on Monday, the 28\textsuperscript{th} April, the wind having been from the south all morning, we early in the afternoon left our anchorage in the southwest of Quelpart, and rounding the southwest bead called by Sir Edward Belcher Loney’s Bluff, we stood to the north along the west coast of the island.

We had dismissed our whisky drinking pilots at their own request, not desiring to carry them so far away from their island home as the Amherst group, whither we were now bound, a distance of more than eighty miles.

By reference to the Map, for there are no Charts of those parts of much value excepting those of Quelpart and a small portion of the south coast of Corea, from Belcher’s Surveys, the reader will perceive the direct

\textsuperscript{17} Whiskey
\textsuperscript{18} Montigny’s report also mentions the request for two oxen, rice and fuel, but according to Yi Hyon-gong’s report to his own government: ten chickens were sent and there is no mention of cows. Pierre-Emmanuel Roux citing Ilsongok, Ch’oljong 2.5.3
channel across is clear of known dangers; and it was only necessary for us to maintain a course sufficient to the westward of north to prevent any easterly current driving us towards the Basse Island and rocks, a dangerous neighbourhood.

We ran along the west coast of Quelpart with a fresh and increasing breeze, passing by our former anchorage in Tribulation Bay; and it was not without a feeling of deep interest that we gazed at Eden island and the rock, the Scylla and Charybdis\textsuperscript{19} which had so nigh proved fatal to us.

At about five o'clock we took our departure from Quelpart, running fast before a freshening breeze. Mount Auckland the loftiest summit on the island, so named by Belcher, appeared high above the clouds, and was not lost to view until dusk. As the night advanced the wind increased to a gale, and torrents of rain poured down. For several hours we scudded along at such a rate that we deemed it prudent to shorten sail about one o'clock, lest we should overrun our distance, and be amongst unknown islands before day-break. Towards morning the rain ceased and the wind abated; the sun rose clear, and we soon after saw what we believe to be Lyra island.

But our little Argo\textsuperscript{20} was yet destined to a severe trial. Soon after sunrise a yellow haze overspread the sky, the prelude and accompaniment of severe winter gales on the Chinese coast, and a rattling norther burst upon us. To find an anchorage was then our only wish. We tacked up under Lyra island, and approached almost to within a cable's length of the lee-side, but still no bottom in 35 fathoms. It was evidently deep to the very edge of the precipitous rocky shore, and sore against our inclination, we had to sheer off and face the blast.

All that day we bore from island to island seeking in vain for an

\textsuperscript{19} Scylla and Charybdis were two monsters from Greek mythology who were strategically placed on either side of a narrow channel or strait. An attempt to avoid one would put the sailor within reach of the other. Perhaps similar metaphors would be "out of the pan and into the fire" or "between a rock and a hard spot."

\textsuperscript{20} The ship from Greek mythology in which Jason and the Argonauts sailed.
anchorage. Boreas\textsuperscript{21} himself might have pitied us, as we ran from rock to rock, seeking like a hunted deer for a place of refuge. Our foremost was sprung just above the deck, our mainsail very much torn, and poor Demetrius the Captain was in a state bordering on despair. He had never made his account for such a series of gales, so close in succession, and begged me in the afternoon to propose bearing up for China! Our European officer and sailors too, having again and again fancied they recognized several of the islands, only to be disappointed as we approached them, had become disheartened and disgusted, because all knew we were almost in the desired Latitude.\textsuperscript{22} The fact was, we were too far to the west, and the different conformation of the other islands among which we now were, would have been immediately apparent to men of practiced observation. Even some of our amateurs (upon whom, however, I must not be too hard, their nautical inclinations, abilities, and pretensions, being like Demetrius much on a par) were rather mutinously disposed; and all these parties combining, it was proposed and urged on the Consul to be satisfied with leaving a letter on any of the islands, enjoining the Corean Authorities to take proper care of the ship-wrecked crew until relief should arrive. But before this time the nautical direction had been assumed by the winter; and the reader may easily anticipate his opinion on this proposal being referred to him by the Consul.

It was simply this, that there was every reason to believe we should ultimately succeed in the object of the voyage, and there existed no adequate cause for our return. A northerly gale would not last long, so late in the spring; we could work well under half our foresail, provisions were plentiful, the crew satisfied: besides, it was laughingly added, our

\textsuperscript{21} The Greek god of the Northern Wind and the summoner of winter. He was a powerful god with a violent temper who was believed to dwell in ancient Thrace.

\textsuperscript{22} Montigny wrote that he was tired and disappointed, as were the rest of the expedition, because the French whalers had already been mistaken and given false hope with their recognition of the islands. He went on to ask the Minister to take into consideration that he and his staff were not sailors and their stay aboard the ship was far from pleasant; the quarters were cramped and at night they worried about the ship being wrecked upon the numerous rocks that surrounded them on all sides.
nautical reputation was at stake, and if we put back to Shanghai unsuccessful, we should "never hear the end of it," as the phrase goes. Hence, it was added, all that is necessary, is to order the Captain to look to his sails, &c., and not grumble; the Europeans to assist and obey, and no proposal of return to be mooted by anyone, even if we should not get anchorage for a week to come. For this unhesitating support and determination, the Consul's warmest thanks were then received.

Late in the afternoon we discovered a sandy bay, but it being on the north or windward side of an island, and covered by a narrow rocky entrance we dared not venture to run in. That night we lay to carefully keeping on ground as we had already explored, there being islands in sight in every direction, but no bottom to be found with our lead. Fortunately for us the wind gradually fell during the night, and on the following morning, Wednesday, 30th April, became quite light, the weather clearing up beautifully. As before, our Europeans thought they recognized some of the islands, but were undeceived on a nearer approach. From the observation made at noon, we were certain we were within several miles of the desired parallel of latitude. As the tide made north in the afternoon, we beat up and entered a passage between two islands of under a mile in breadth, and probably that named Murray’s Channel, being certainly in the immediate neighbourhood, but if so, the islands are very incorrectly laid down, both in the English and French Charts; in fact, it was difficult to reconcile them with the Charts at all.

Surely the time is not far distant when the coasts of Northern China – of the provinces of Shantung, Chih-lee, and Leao-tung, as well as the coasts of Corea and Japan, will be properly surveyed. It is nonsense to excuse the English Admiralty by saying the people of those countries will oppose it. The Governments of these countries, and I believe their policy does as truly represent the genius and spirit of their inhabitants as that of any country in the world, will invariably debar the presence of the European whenever or wherever they can. Had permission been deemed necessary, the East and South coast of China would never have been surveyed. And although I believe the Chinese Government Officers at the Five Ports were presented with copies of the Coast Charts, I am not aware that any efforts has been made by them to publish and promote their
use by their own shipping. On the contrary, the Charts like every thing else that would reflect credit on the foreigner, are no doubt put aside, and like other things if ever brought into use, their foreign origin will be concealed. Let it not be said that the Chinese Government takes no interest in such things. So recent as 1848 it published in this province works treating amongst other matters of the navigation from Shanghai to Tien-tsin. It also published a Treatise on the Cultivation of Silk, with the view of extending the knowledge of the Silk culture, shortly after this port was opened, and we all know its constant professions of extreme solicitude for "the trading interests" of the country, as I may say. We urge the Survey of those coasts not for the sake of their inhabitants, but for our own interests. The time will come, and may not even now be far off, when trade with Northern China, the West coast of Corea, and the chief ports of Japan, may be as practicable as it is desirable, and would be particularly beneficial to the two first named countries.

In truth, I believe the Chinese, Coreans, and Japanese will not only permit but actually assist such surveyors when they find them determined *nolens volens* to execute them. But it is essential to the success and full benefit of such undertakings, that the Commanding officers be furnished with a proper medium of communication with the natives, by which I mean European Interpreters of the Chinese Language, able to explain correctly their objects and intentions; as also the danger to which the natives will expose themselves if they resort to violent or hostile means to retard or annoy them. No one can doubt, at least I cannot after visiting Quelpart, that the conduct of the officials of that island towards the officers of the *Samarang* would have been very different had Captain Belcher possessed the assistance and advice of any of the Interpreters from the British Consulates in China, instead of a Canton servant boy, who actually as I shall hereafter show, told the officials, the *Samarang* was a private vessel, although sent out by the Queen of England. Such was Aseng, Captain Belcher’s "determined interpreter," as he calls him, whose profound acquaintance with the Mandarin dialect, in which he wrote, so astonished the eastern islanders,
As we are gravely told.\textsuperscript{23}

And I should imagine an occasional three month's cruise would be hailed by the Interpreters as an agreeable relief from the dull routine of Consuarl Chops and Chaou-hwuys, and would prove an invigorating restorative of health to the student, fagged and worn with his dull task.

But I am digressing. We proceeded slowly after entering the passage, the wind becoming very light. Several fishing boats were in sight. They were two masted, the mainmast have a strong rake aft, the mainsail broadest at the yard, and as they sailed along, they much resembled those on the lackered work from Japan. The two islands bounding the passage were extremely rugged and barren, but yet between each spur from the main ridge, little patches of sandy beach appeared on the shore. Small fields of wheat, &c., surrounded the clusters of huts composing the little hamlets in those sequestering spots, their bright verdure pleasantly contrasting with the rocky barrenness around. The shore of the western island was in most parts high and steep, and numerous caverns pierced its rocky sides. Into one of these caverns we actually saw a large fishing boat enter, with masts upright, from which the reader may judge of its height. We formed the intention of exploring them on the following morning, and much regretted that it became inadvisable to delay long enough to do so.

At last, about sunset, we entered a small bay on the western side of the passage at its north end, and anchored in eight fathoms. This bay was of a horse-shoe shape, under two miles in circumference, affording excellent shelter from northerly gales, and a good anchorage and partial protection from south-easterly winds. Assuming to ourselves the right exercised by the most renowned navigators of ancient and modern times, we unanimously decided that in honour of our Leader whose keen eye was the first to perceive it, it should be named Montigny Bay.

Immediately after the anchor was down we proceeded in the sampan to shore and landed on a fine shingle beach. Above the beach the hill side was covered with dwarf firs; following a foot path several

\textsuperscript{23} Aseng was a pupil and servant of John Robert Morrison (1814-1843), a missionary and physician in China.
patches of wheat were passed, bordered by clumps of trees amongst which the wild Camellia was most prominent, enlivening the dark foliage by an abundance of its beautiful flowers in full bloom, while fragrant plants scented the evening breeze. It was indeed a charming spot as we looked around on the fields, the trees, and shrubs, the picturesque rocks — the fishing village on the other side, and the placid bay with our pleasure boat looking Lorcha quietly at anchor on its surface.

But we had little time to linger on its beauties, the “sable goddess” was already throwing her mantle around, and we hastened by a path over the hill towards the nearest village. We arrived almost as soon as the first Corean who had descried us, and had sped to give the alarm. Great was the consternation excited, “the clamour much of men and dogs,” as we entered the yard of the best house at hand, and seated ourselves on the verandah usually fronting the Corean houses. It was already becoming dark, and our interview must be brief. Our Quelpart experience had taught us how prone the Coreans are to evade, and therefore assuming that they knew of the shipwreck we handed to the head man the question, “where is the wreck of the European ship?” Tsai-tung-taou, on the eastern island, was the for once direct and decisive reply. “I am convinced there is no mistake now,” I observed as we discussed the chances of their only deceiving us. They were caught unawares, or very likely would have concealed the fact, for “our Corean Correspondent” immediately recovered himself and refused to give further information, quoting a doggerel rhyme to something like the following effect.

Our National Laws are stern and severe,
Against clandestine intercourse with foreigners here.
It mattered not. They agreed to give us a pilot the next morning, and then feeling that the object of the voyage was all but accomplished, we returned in high spirits on board.

1st May.- By sunrise this morning we were all on the qui vive. The pilot promised us last night did not make his appearance, but as the morning sun lighted up the islands to the eastward, our Europeans recognized in the distance the islet near which their ship struck on a sand bank, and the island beyond on which she was afterwards wrecked. We therefore determined to proceed across without delay, and getting up our
anchor with some difficulty, the bottom being a tenacious blue clay, we bade adieu to Montigny Bay, the most picturesque place we visited during the voyage.

For the last two days the cold has been rather keen, the thermometer standing at little over 40 in the morning. The distance across was about twenty miles, and the wind being very light, the forenoon was well advanced ere we arrived at our destined port—the little harbour on the west side of Fei-kin-tao, close by the scene of the shipwreck. When about a mile distant, we fired a salvo from our guns to notify our approach to the shipwreck crew. Soon we entered and anchored in four fathoms of water. The little haven in which we were at last safely moored is surrounded on three sides by bare and sterile hills, which rise steep from the water to ah height of five or six hundred feet. It opens to the sea on the westward, and is but partially protected from north-westerly gales by a bold rocky head at its entrance. Several spurs diverging from the hills project into the harbour forming rocky points, and cutting it into a singular shape, which when viewed from the surrounding heights resembles that of the leaf of the Dryandra Tree. The shores of the harbour had a desolate appearance, no houses and but one small patch of cultivation being visible.

To our surprise and disappointment, not a man, native or foreign, appeared on the beach to welcome us, although on anchoring we fired a second round from our guns, the report reverberating among the encircling hills in a lively manner. Presently the natives began to show themselves on the heights, and we landed in silent apprehension that we had arrived too late.

It was from this harbour which is in N. Lat. 34°, 11”, that the boat which brought intelligence of the wreck to China had escaped, and the men now led the way up the toilsome ascent towards their former camp. On gaining the crest of the ridge the natives motioned us to proceed towards the camp, which was situated at the mouth of a gorge running into the hills; the beach below was strewed with broken timber, and we were glad to perceive also the two remaining whale boats.

At the camp we found two Corean officials waiting; one of these was the head man of the adjacent village, and he recognized our guides,
expressing much joy at seeing them again. We soon learned that the shipwrecked crew were all well at the village, and would be over presently. We quickly resolved on proceeding there, notwithstanding the endeavours of the two officials to prevent it. They had travelled to the camp in open chairs, attended by servants and runners, and it was on this occasion we first observed to our amusement and surprise that the servants carried not only their master’s tobacco pipe, &c., but also a small brass utensil slung in a net bag, which in other countries is supposed to be exclusively used as an article of bedroom furniture. Specimens of these curiosities were afterwards presented to us, and it is only to be regretted they were received too late for transmission to England in time to embellish the Korean department of the Great Exhibition, being so illustrative of the manners and customs of Coreans.

After leaving the camp, we climbed over a hilly ridge and found ourselves descending towards the central valley of the island. The slopes of the hills were bare and sandy except in those parts which were sheltered from the fury of the northern blasts, on which a scanty soil supported some tracts of stunted firs, which supply the islanders with firewood. Our path led down along the sandy bank of a small brook which issued from the hill giving life to a scattered line of dwarf willows.

One of our men had preceded us carrying the news of our arrival to their former shipmates, and here it was that we at last beheld the crew of the lost Narwal. A grizzled and a motley band they seemed, as they advanced towards us with their Captain at their head. A month in Korea had certainly not refined their appearance, and the meager and broken down looks of some of them bespoke little satisfaction with their diet of rice and aromatic fish thrice a day, varied by the addition of a small portion of beef every seventh day. No wonder then that they should welcome their deliverers with hearty shouts; that our party should feel the pride and gratification of success; so that when both joined, the vivas and

24 Chamber pot?
25 The Great Exhibition, also known as the Crystal Palace, was held in London’s Hyde Park from May 1 – October 15, 1851. It was the first World’s Fair or Expo and was extremely popular with an estimated 6,000,000 visitors.
cheers that arose made the old hills ring again. In fact a rather general enthusiasm prevailed – the liberated Jacks tore off their tickets, and jumped about for joy, and even the brave Demetrius shouted and cheered till the tears ran down.

It was well that relief was not long delayed. After the escape of the first boat as already narrated the head men of the village induced the Captain to leave the camp and remove thither with his men. They quartered them however, not in the village which was situated on a healthy site on the slope of a hill, but in huts at some distance in the midst of the paddy fields. The huts were three in number, two of which were appropriated to the Captain and his men, and the third to the Corean guard. Their dimensions like most others on the island were on the most Lilliputian scale, the principal apartment in each hut measuring about seven feet by nine; hence the twenty men to be accommodated found themselves so crowded that they could not stretch themselves at length when the lay down to sleep; and they were in every respect the most wretched places I saw on the island. There was a small courtyard around each hut, beyond the precincts of which they were strictly prohibited from proceeding. Any attempt of the sort was certain to bring down the vengeance of the “Shang-kwan,” high officers, of the village, upon the guard who were bastinadoed without mercy; and irksome as the confinement was, the sailors refrained from involving these poor fellows in trouble. Shortly after the escape of the boat above noticed four more Officers arrived and took up their residence at the village; the crew were then numbered 1 to 20, beginning with the Captain; and each man had his wood ticket or label with the number in Chinese Characters inscribed on one side, and the same number of bars cut on the other, tied to his breast.

Numbers of people visited the “distinguished foreigners” to gratify their curiosity, and by levying a regular toll in kind the sailors continued to keep up a small supply of tobacco. Some of the villagers

\[26\] Myung-pae, which are described in the next paragraph. They were quite common amongst the Koreans who were required to carry them at all times.

\[27\] Myung-pae. “...marked like animals in a herd...” is how Montigny described them.
also took lessons in the French language in which they succeeded much better than Chinamen could have done; and it was diverting to observe them exhibiting their proficiency, to us, as they pointing upwards would exclaim “Le soleil,” and looking down cry, “La Terre.” The R.’s and L.’s which puzzle the Chinese of the South, are too common sounds in Corean to be difficult to them.28

But to return to our muttions. We all went on to the village where the population young and old, male and female, were in a state of unprecedented excitement, and the whole body of the Shang Kwans came forth to receive us. We were led up to the principal house which was divided into three apartments. Generally speaking the cottages were thus divided – one end compartment forms the kitchen; the middle room is the eating and sleeping chamber, and is not incommoded with chairs, tables, or such like superfluous articles, but being raised two or three feet from the ground, the plank floor is covered with matting on which they sit, the walls are covered with a stout white paper, as also the lattice work doors which fixed – (on iron hinges) – are about four feet in height giving light and ventilation to the apartment; one or two boxes in the corner contain spare clothes, and in the other is a small roll of bedding. The average size is about eight by ten, and the height of the interior barely sufficient to admit of standing upright at the sides. The third room is devoted to agricultural implements, &c., and the eave of the house projecting about three feet is supported by wooden posts, thus forming a verandah about three feet deep, which when floored with plank as is often the case afford an excellent sitting place, being raised from the ground to a level with the floor. The cottage are warmed by underground stoves lighted from without which heat the air under the floors, and in the severe colds of winter these little nests must be snug and comfortable. Each cottage is surrounded by a yard in one corner of which is the humble cow-shed. Close by is the cabbage yard; a clump of dwarf bamboos in the corner yields tubes for their pipes; here and there is a fruit or flowering tree; magnificent specimens of wild Camellia in full blossoms shone

28 Ironically these are two sounds that modern Koreans studying English have problems with pronouncing.
conspicuous above all.

Here let me caution the reader of this narrative against supposing, that like these itinerant writers, chiefly the wandering sons of Escurapius,\(^{29}\) who survey the eighteen provinces of China from the heights of Whampoa, I mean my remarks to apply to all Corea; or that I intend to treat him to any learned disquisition on the political and moral condition of the country, or the state and prospects of its inhabitants. Nor let those interested in opening “new marts for our trade” imagine that I felt animated by so intense a desire to be “useful,” as to trouble the natives much about the latest quotations for Cotton or Hemp. Yet on this I may venture to remark, that I doubt not Drills would be highly popular with the Corean clod-hoppers, - Domestics warmly received into the bosoms of their families, - 66s. will be in current request, and a strong desire will arise for 72s.; - in short, heavy goods will be in heavy demand, while light fabrics will be lightly esteemed.

May 1\(^{st}\), 1851. On our arrival at the principal house in the village, towards which we were escorted by most of the male inhabitants, we found the officials with whom we had to deal were six in number. The chief of these was surnamed Lee, of the rank of Muh-sze, or Village Superintendent, who had been sent to take charge of the Europeans after the escape of the boat, before related. Of the others one surnamed Tsuy called himself a Naval Captain; he was the eldest and most reserved in his manner; another surnamed Lee, was a Clerk of the Records, a man of a jovial appearance; and the remainder, one of whom we styled “Whisky punch” from his fondness for that beverage, stated they were Wanhoo, or heads of ten thousand families.

An entertainment was soon spread out for us in the open yard in front of the cottage, and was served up in a much more inviting way than that of our poor Quelpart General. One favourite dish was veal of excellent quality, cut into small slices and eaten with vinegar, which was also good.

Numerous servants kept the crowd back, so as not to

\(^{29}\) Also spelled as Aesculapius – the god of medicine and healing. He was a Greek hero who later became the god of healing and represents physicians.
inconvenience us, and the women of the village took up positions behind the neighbouring dykes, so as to command a view of the strangers, but did any one of the latter look round, then down went their heads out of sight like ducks. Their personal appearance however as far as we could perceive seemed by no means dangerous, and some we met were almost as dark as Malays.

Our chief entertainer was a man of a more prepossessing aspect than any of his colleagues. Like them he was in the prime of life. His demeanour towards us was not only polite, but even obsequious. The greatest responsibility rested on him, and it was plain he was but ill at ease during our stay.

We were informed that the island of Fei-Kin-Tao forms Lo-chau district, in the department of Tsieun-lo, and lies about 300 lee distant from the mainland. The shipwrecked crew had already understood by signs that they were in a few days to be transferred to the mainland and to ride on horseback, but could not comprehend their destination. The Superintendent explained to us, that they were to have been taken to the Capital King-ki-tao, there to await instructions from Peking, the King of Corea not being at liberty to hold any direct intercourse with Foreign Nations. Had such been their fate, perhaps they might have reached Shanghai in the Shantung Junks next winter, but sickness and misery would have thinned their number.

Many questions and replies were interchanged with the Shang-kwan, as the people generally termed the officials; and the writer took occasion to explain to the Muh-sze, that he was a "British Subject," engaged in trade, and not a Government Officer like the other two voyagers. He was asked if he had heard of the English War with China, but with the caution which was his leading feature, he would not commit his reply to writing, but pronounced some of the few Chinese words he could speak in a very significant way, giving one to understand that he knew all about it, but dare not discuss the subject. Having a copy of the British, French, and American Treaties with us, we gave it to them to copy, which they proceeded to do with much alacrity. They used no table or desk, but squatting on the floor held the roll of stout paper in one hand, wielding the writing pencil with great swiftness and dexterity in the other.
During our visits on shore to-day, we were shown a manuscript Interrogatory of the Crews of two Chinese Junks, which were wrecked in the winter of 1848-49, on one of the islands a short distance to the north. As these junks sailed from Shanghai, we made particular enquiries regarding their crews, and were assured they had been sent to China by the Corean Government.

We took occasion during this visit to intimate to the chief Authority, that while we remained at the island, we should ramble everywhere, over hill and dale, but as we should avoid injuring person or property, it would be unnecessary to set spies to watch or follow us. The explicit declaration saved us all future trouble on the subject.

After our entertainers had been invited to visit the Lorcha on the following day, we took our leave in open chairs provided for us. On our way to the harbour, we turned aside to visit the scene of the shipwreck. It was low water, and on approaching the edge of the precipice we saw beneath us about a hundred feet, the bottom of the ship which, firmly wedged among the rocks, was all that remained of the Narwal.

When the ship was wrecked, one man perished as already related. A little to the south the precipice rose higher and more abrupt. Here a fine Behring's Strait's dog was lost. Another dog a favorite from France more fortunate than the other, escaped with the men who gained the rocks, and after scrambling to the top of the precipice, its joy deprived it of its instinctive caution, for it jumped about until it fell over the rocks, and was killed.

Passing from this melancholy quarter, we returned on board, with all the late prisoners. I may here observe, that they distinctly heard our first salute off the island, but were not allowed by the guard to leave their prison, until it was ascertained we had actually landed, and were on our way to the village.

Thus ended the first of May, the same day it may be remarked, which saw the survivors of the Larpent's crew, delivered from slavery on Formosa.30

30 On May 1, 1851, the American Opium clipper, Antelope, en route to Shanghai was lying off the coast of Formosa (Taiwan) where it observed a boat with three
May 2d. – One of our sailors who was a good shot has been successful among the wild duck yesterday afternoon, and I this morning accompanied the Consul on an excursion to the marshy flat at the northern end of the island. Starting by sunrise we made our way over the hills, enjoying the exercise in the clear bracing atmosphere with a zest heightened by the rarity of the pleasure. Leaving the path I climbed over the highest points in order to command a more extensive view. The whole eastern horizon was filled with a maze of islands and sand banks without end. But wild and sterile as was the chief feature of the scenery it did not the less impart a feeling of pleasure. –

“Who would not rather take his seat,
Beneath those clumps of trees,
The early dawn of day to greet,
And catch the healthful breeze?”

We were too late in reaching the sporting ground; the sun was now well up, and the birds, of which we saw several brace, very shy. Our sporting Jack however, who was enthusiastic enough to crawl on all-fours in the mud was rewarded with a brace in the course of the morning. During winter ducks and geese abound on these islands.

Crowds of people came down to the harbour today, but the men in it rowing towards the ship. The crew, thinking that they were members of the ferocious pirates who infested the Formosan coast, began firing upon them until, surprisingly, the three men hailed them in English. They were the only three survivors of the 31-man crew of the Larpent, an English merchant ship of 614 tons, which had left Liverpool for Shanghai on May 18, the previous year. On September 12th, the ship ran aground and subsequently the crew was killed by the natives. Three men, Blake, Hill, and Beris managed to make their way to a village where they were fed but forced to work like slaves. After five months they were sold to a neighboring village for six dollars each. Fortunately for them, they were treated much better and were allowed to row out to the Antelope. The villagers were later thanked and richly rewarded by Sir Harry Parkes who traveled to the island aboard a British warship.

scarcity of boats prevented their coming on board. Our official friends visited us in grand state about noon, coming off in a large boat that had been sent round to the harbour for their use. They were all got up in their best style, and looked a decent, grave and reverend body of Functionaries. They were clad in the usual whitey-brown coloured stuff; and their dresses, especially at the sleeves, were of the most capacious width imaginable. The official caps which they wore today, resemble in shape those of the ancient Chinese, as seen on the stage: in colour they were the same as the dress, and the rank of the wearer was indicated by the number of black spots on the band surrounding his cap, ten being counted on that of the Superintendent’s. Their wide dresses were confined by the Official girdle, and from this depended a neat pouch containing the Muh-sze Seal of Office.

Our visitors when questioned respecting the general uniformity of colour of the people’s dress, informed us that such was the case in consequence of the Nation being then in mourning for the late king who died two years before. But we have otherwise reason to know, that dyed colours are not in general use in the every day dress of the common people.

The newly ascended King whose designation is Jih-ho (Sun-fire) is said to have sprung from a very humble position in society; he who is now a King, being actually said to have been once a beggar! Verily the age of Romance is not yet past.\footnote{King Chol-Jung (Yi Won-bom) Born July 25, 1831, on Kangwha Island, he was a member of the powerful Yi clan, but from the black sheep side of the clan. He was relatively poor, and uneducated – unable to even read. Yet, in 1849, after King Hong-jong died young and heirless, Yi Won-bom was selected to rule as king. Some speculate that he was chosen because of his illiteracy which enabled him to be controlled by the powerful Andong Kim clan. Like the previous kings, Chol-jung died young and heirless in 1864.}

Such information we did not of course derive from our official writers, who were extremely guarded and reserved in their replies to our numerous enquiries. As they promised to furnish us with various little articles, curiosities to us, such as Corean hats, shoes, &c., we first pressed them to receive presents from us; they were to reluctant to accept anything,
but I had proof that this feeling arose more from the bulky nature of the articles presented, as cotton cloths, &c., which the public necessarily saw, than from any extreme delicacy on their part. The jolly Recorder with whom I was in conversation, after, like the rest, refusing most of the things offered him, observing my Watch, quietly took and dropped it into his sleeve, nodding to me at the same time as much as to say “if you will force your presents on us. I must try to oblige you by accepting this trifle for myself.” This I thought rather cool, and so withdrew it by the guard, at the same time telling him, as we had been just discussing the Currency Question, that if he would bring me a certain number of Taels of Silver as a specimen of the Corean Circulating Medium I should be happy to give him a Watch. On their return to the shore we in a manner forced our presents upon them. They seemed delighted with a piece of Fine Woolen Cloth shewn them, but would not accept it, or a Telescope, apparently conceiving both these articles to be of very high value.

May 3rd. - They sent two cows and various other articles promised us, being no doubt anxious to obtain our early departure. This morning I took a long ramble towards the south end of the island. After passing through several hamlets my intention was called to two natives who were waiting by the roadside: as I approached they beckoned to me to sit down on the grassy bank; then to my surprise the eldest of the two presented a paper to me containing Chinese Stanzas written to congratulate us on our safely crossing the ocean in our lone bark. This man whose surname was Chang was a keen and intelligent looking person, well educated in Chinese, which he wrote with fluency, and even elegance. He was desirous to leave his native country and accompany us. “Woo yu kuen yuh kew wan” (I wish to ramble over the world in your company Sir,) was his desire as I see written by him in my notebook. The number of people already on board the lorch, upwards of fifty, prevented me from encouraging his application: afterwards I found him on board proposing to go on “eternal ramble” with the Canton sailors, who could ill comprehend his fine phrases, and I have since regretted that I did not bring him away on my account.

We brought away, however, two Corean Christians, recognized to be such by their making the sign of the cross to us on our first visit to their
village. These were poor illiterate fellows, unversed in Chinese, and consequently incapable of communicating their ideas to us. Their Christianity did not in my eyes suffice to excuse them for their ignorance and stupidity. On the second day of our return voyage, when out of sight of land, they became seasick and begged us by signs to lower one of the boats and convey them back.\textsuperscript{32}

In reference to the subject of Christianity in Corea I may here say a few words. It was first introduced by the Christians in the invading army from Japan about the close of the 16\textsuperscript{th} century. Its followers would however seem to have dwindled away, until near the end of the last century, when some members of the Corean Embassy at Peking who were studying Mathematics under the Roman Catholic Missionaries there, were converted by them. Returning to their own country, they revived and extended the worship of the Western Faith, Frequent and severe persecutions have harassed its followers, many of whom have died for their religion; and in 1849 when European influence in China, seemed utterly crushed by the Dragon, and persecution against the Christians raged there likewise, the Corean Government which had uniformly endeavoured to prevent the access of Europeans to their country, did not hesitate to condemn to death, three French Missionaries who fell into their hands.\textsuperscript{33} Many natives suffered at the same time; nevertheless it is

\textsuperscript{32} William Elliot Griffis, \textit{Corea The Hermit Nation}, p. 369. "A French whaler having grounded off the coast, the French Consul at Shanghae, with two Englishmen, came to reclaim the vessel's effects, and meeting three young men sent by the ever-alert Thomas Tsoi, took them back to Shanghae, the third remaining to meet his comrades on their return with fresh missionaries to come." Thomas Tsoi (Choi) was a Korean priest who came to Korea with the French expedition in 1846 under the command of Captain Pierre. The mission was to investigate the deaths of the three French missionaries killed in 1839.

\textsuperscript{33} An error in the date seems to have been made by the writer. In late 1835, Pierre Philibert Maubant entered Korea by crossing the frozen Yalu River and making his way to Seoul on foot and horseback. He was joined in January 1837 by Jacques Honore Chastan, and in December 1838 by Laurent Marie-Joseph Imbert. In 1839 the Korean government began persecuting and killing Christians in Korea. The three French missionaries, in a mistaken belief they
computed that there are about 15,000 Christians still in the country. Those of my readers who were residing in Shanghai about five years ago will recollect the visit of a small Corean Junk to this port, with a Corean Priest on board. He was an intelligent and interesting man in the prime of his life; educated in French and Latin, as well as Chinese. He had formerly traveled as he told me from one end of China to the other, and now crossed the sea to procure another European Teacher for Corea. In that, I believe he succeeded, but paid the forfeit with his life, being apprehended and executed not long after his return.34

could prevent further bloodshed, surrendered themselves to the Korean authorities. On September 21, 1839, the three missionaries were led to an execution ground near the Han River where they were beaten by a dozen soldiers who “only when weary of their sport...relieved the agony of their victims by the decapitating blow.” William Elliot Griffis, Corea The Hermit Nation, pp. 361-363

34 He was Kim Tae-gon, but is also known as Andre Kim, Andrew Kim, and Kim Hai-kim. The history of Kim Tae-gon is given briefly in Choe, Ching-Young. The Rule of the Taewon’gun, 1864-1873. Harvard East Asian Monographs No. 45. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988 pp.94. Kim Tae-gon was born in 1821 and was sent to Macao to study at a Portuguese seminary where he was ordained in 1845 and then sent back to Korea. He left Korea on April 30, 1845, and soon arrived in Shanghai where he met the English narrator of the Narwal account. Kim later returned to Korea in October of the same year with two missionaries, Jean Joseph Ferreol and Marie-Antoine-Nicolas Daveluy. Kim was captured on June 5, 1846, and executed on September 15, 1846. William Elliot Griffis, Corea The Hermit Nation, pp. 365-368 “Andrew collected a crew of eleven fellow-believers, only four of whom had ever seen the sea, and none of whom knew their destination, and equipped with but a single compass, put to sea in a rude fishing boat, April 24, 1845. Despite the storms and baffling winds, this uncouth mass of firewood, which the Chinese sailors jeeringly dubbed ‘the Shoe’ reached Shanghae in June. Andrew Kim, never before at sea except as a passenger, had brought this uncalked, deckles, and unseaworthy scow across the entire breadth of the Yellow Sea.” Andrew Kim met many of the British officers and the British Consul at Shanghai prior to returning to Korea. On September 1: 1845, he left Shanghai with the two French priests in the same unworthy ship that they had arrived in, but it was now known as the “Raphael,” and they sailed past Quelpart (Cheju Island) and into the maze of small islands off
There are at this time two European Missionaries in Corea. In that country their lot is much worse than in China. The northern frontier is too strictly guarded to admit of communication by that route, while the coast is so extensive and the islands so numerous that a vessel may long search in vain for their messengers, as was the case when a lorcha sent up last year. Hence from the difficulty of sending them assistance, their life is one of misery and privation; their adherents are among the poorest of the people, and they themselves although satisfied with the plainest fare, have been sometimes at loss for their daily bread.

But to resume my walk: finding the sun get hot on my return, I entered a farm enclosure at one end of a hamlet to obtain a drink of water. As I advanced to the cottage, I perceived perched in a little chamber at one end, an old woman working on a loom. She was of grim aspect, and in truth frightfully ugly to behold; the unexpected apparition seemed to have mesmerized her, for she remained motionless for a few moments; then observing her alarm, I sat down at a distance, and called out the word water in Corean, making the sign of drinking; this seemed to reanimate her, and watching a safe chance as she no doubt thought, she abandoned her loom, and rushed out of the yard, cackling at a rate which soon brought the neighbours, civil people, to see the arrival. The web she was engaged upon, was the common coarse hempen cloth of the country, a strong fabric, but narrow like most of the productions of the Chinese loom.

On October 12th they landed on the mainland in the dead of night, dressed as mourners. Andrew was captured later in Whanghai province on suspicion of being a Chinese spy and taken to Seoul where he was imprisoned and was employed in copying and translating two English maps of the world. He was executed on September 15, 1846: “Put to death for communicating with the Western Barbarians.”

35 Jean Joseph Ferreol and Marie-Antoine-Nicolas Daveluy, dressed in “the garb of native noblemen in mourning” landed somewhere along the coast of Cholla province on October 12, 1845. Their ability to penetrate Korea’s coastal watch is astonishing considering the British warship, Samarang, under the command of Captain Edward Belcher was busy surveying the coast and Quelpart Island and undoubtedly had caused the Korean coastal watch to be more observant than usual.
The evening two of our Europeans who had been on a message to the village reported on their return that they found their Worships engaged in administering the baton on a most extensive scale; the recipients were probably those who had been holding communication with us.\footnote{In Montigny's report he stated that every day there were beatings of Koreans who had approached or spoken with the foreigners.}

May 4\textsuperscript{th}. – Before sunrise this morning we were getting under way and stood out with a light fair wind. The Corean guard on shore, not it seemed, anticipating our immediate departure, set up a loud shout, but we heeded them not, and soon bade farewell to Narwal harbour and Flying-bird Island. About dusk Alceste Island was seen, and night approaching soon hid the Isles of Corea from our view.

Nothing of interest occurred in our return voyage. The wind was fair, the sky clear, and the sea smooth and unruffled. By the afternoon of Tuesday, 6\textsuperscript{th} May, we were within 30 miles of Sha-wei-shan, and holding on continuously during the night, we found the Amherst rocks in sight early on the following morning. Here a calm and ebb-tide detained us till noon; after which with an easterly breeze we entered the Yang-tsze-kiang. Junkos and fishing boats are now passing about. One of the Canton men reported to the Capitano that there was a Kwei-shuen (devil's ship) in sight. "Is that a Kwei-shuen" says the latter, bringing out a telescope, forgetful or unconscious of the degrading and improper term used. We passed the Kwei-shuen, an English clipper-brig, which did not demean itself by taking any notice of our Flag; the Captain probably thinking that the "damned Macao Lorcha" then passing him carried on board representatives of almost every nation.\footnote{"...our lorcha had become a genuine Tower of Babel; I had on board individuals of more than ten various nations..." Montigny in his report.}

But the fresh verdure of the low and level bank was now clear to the eye in striking contrast to the coast we had so recently left. Night came on but with a steady breeze we held over the tide, and by midnight were passing the Opium Fleet at Woosung. A few hours more, and the first streak of day found us landing at Shanghai on the morning of
Thursday, the 8th May, after an absence of eighteen days.

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Yi Toegye, John Calvin, and the Love of Learning in Korea

DANIEL J. ADAMS

The year 2009 marks the 500th anniversary of the birth of the Protestant reformer John Calvin. Special lectures, seminars, concerts, publication events, and ceremonies are being held in countries on four continents. As the West and the Christian churches celebrate the 500th anniversary of John Calvin, we would do well to remember that eight years earlier in 2001, Koreans were celebrating the 500th anniversary of Yi Toegye, the nation’s most famous philosopher whose likeness is engraved on the one-thousand won bank note.¹ There were many events marking the occasion. Universities held seminars and conferences on his thought, a number of books on his life and philosophy were published or reprinted, and special ceremonies were held at the Tosan Sowon and at his nearby ancestral home. An international conference of scholars of Toegye studies was held in Andong drawing lecturers from Korea, Japan, China, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch marked the occasion with a public lecture on “Toegye’s Philosophy” on November 28, 2001, only three days following anniversary of the date of his birth on November 25, 1501.² For Koreans, the anniversary of Yi Toegye was every bit as significant as the anniversary of John Calvin is for the Europeans and those Christians of

¹ Yi Toegye was given the name Yi Hwang by his family. His courtesy name was Kyeho but was later changed to Kyongho. He is commonly known by his honorific name, Yi Toegye, taken from the site of his scholarly retreat. It is sometimes written as Yi T’oege. In this essay I shall use Yi Toegye.
the Reformed-Presbyterian tradition who trace their origins to Calvin’s thought.

What makes the 500th anniversaries of Toegye and Calvin significant is that they have an impact beyond the scholarly academic community and the religious and philosophical communities. Both men have had a deep influence upon their societies and cultures that has continued for five centuries, and indeed, continues and will continue into the future.

Yi Toegye and John Calvin: Contemporaries in Different Worlds

But why compare Yi Toegye and John Calvin at all? The first and most obvious reason is that they were contemporaries. Yi Toegye was born in 1501 and died in 1570. Calvin was born in 1509 and died in 1564. While Calvin died at a relatively early age of 55, Toegye, who was Calvin’s senior by eight years, died at age 69. The fact that two vastly different cultures produced two men of such stature and influence is most remarkable, and the fact that they lived at almost exactly the same time is most extraordinary. This is even more significant when one realizes that the world of Toegye and the world of Calvin had no contact and that neither man was aware of the other’s existence. Indeed, for the most part, sixteenth-century Europe was as unaware of Korea as sixteenth-century Korea was unaware of Europe.3

3 There were, of course, a few Jesuits who had made it into Central Asia and China as well as Korean Buddhist monks who traveled to China and India. Nestorian missionaries had traveled to Asia even earlier. Japanese incursions into Korea as well as several wrecks of Dutch ships in Korean seas did provide an awareness of Europe toward the end of the sixteenth century. In spite of these early contacts, the two worlds of Western Europe and Northeast Asia existed in virtual isolation from each other. Accounts of some of these early contacts can be found in: Tabish Khair, Martin Leer, Justin D. Edwards, & Hanna Ziadeh, eds., Other Routes: 1500 Years of African and Asian Travel Writing (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2005), Juan Ruiz de Medina, SJ, The Catholic Church in Korea: Its Origins 1566-1784, tr. John Bridges, SJ (Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch & Seoul Computer Press,
A second reason for comparing Toegye and Calvin is that there were numerous similarities in their life and work. Both lived in times of political instability and religious and philosophical change. Toegye lived in a time when Neo-Confucian philosophy had replaced the Buddhist religion as the basis of society, and Calvin lived in a time of religious upheaval when the Catholic Church was being challenged by the Protestant Reformation. Both were threatened by opponents to their work of reform. Toegye was threatened by a revival of Buddhism and frequent literary purges within the Neo-Confucian society of the time. Calvin was threatened by Catholics opposing the Reformation as well as by opponents from within the Reformation movement. Both men wrote summaries of their work. Toegye summarized his teachings in the *Ten Diagrams of Sage Learning* published in 1568 and presented to King Sonju to instruct him in the way of virtuous living. Calvin’s *Institutes of the Christian Religion* went through numerous revisions until the final edition in 1559. It was originally written in 1536 to present to King Francis I to defend the principles of the Reformation. Toegye founded the Tosan Sodang or study hall in 1561 which later became the Tosan Sowon or academy. Calvin founded the Geneva Academy in 1559 which later became the University of Geneva. Toegye spent most of the last twenty-one years of his life near Andong in south-central Korea after numerous periods of government service in Seoul. Calvin spent the last twenty-three years of his life in Geneva after many years of moving about in France, Italy, and Switzerland. Finally, both men met with their colleagues and students prior to their death to apologize for their faults and any mistakes they may have made during their lifetime.

Both Toegye and Calvin also shared a similar sorrow in their

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4 This has been noted by Kim Heup Young in an insightful essay “*Imago Dei and T’ien-ming: John Calvin Meets Yi T’oegye.*” See Kim Heup Young, *Christ and the Tao* (Hong Kong: Christian Conference of Asia, 2003), pp. 89-120. To date, Kim is the only scholar I have come across who has noted the similarities between Calvin and Toegye.
personal lives. Toegye’s first wife died shortly after giving birth to their son and he later remarried. Shortly after Calvin’s wife gave birth, their infant son died, and Calvin’s wife never regained her health and died an early death. Both men were made tragically aware of the uncertainties and dangers of childbirth during the sixteenth century—whether in Korea or in Switzerland.

A third reason for comparing Toegye and Calvin is that although they were contemporaries and shared so much in common, their worlds were in other ways very different. They were, truly, contemporaries in different worlds. The world of Calvin was a Christian world. To be sure, there were different kinds of Christians which often considered each other to be heretics, but the overall ethos was Christian whether Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran, Reformed, or Anabaptist. The question of salvation in the sixteenth century was not a matter of religious pluralism as it is today. Rather, the question of salvation concerned other Christians. The battles that were fought and the heretics who were burned were other Christians who were different from oneself. The world of Calvin was a theistic world which was concerned about God and about human salvation in relationship to God. The afterlife was most important and a great deal of human effort was given to securing a place in heaven following one’s death. Calvin firmly believed in a literal heaven and a literal hell as did virtually all of his European contemporaries.

The world of Yi Toegye was a Neo-Confucian world which focused not upon God and the next life, but upon humanity and the present life. Calvin was a theist but Toegye was humanist. Calvin was concerned about salvation history but Toegye was concerned about the unity of humanity and the cosmos and maintaining the harmony of society. The literary purges which threatened Toegye and other reformist thinkers were not about theology and salvation, but about factionalism and gaining social position and political power in the present life. Calvin was concerned about righteousness before God while Toegye was concerned about becoming a sage and living a virtuous life among one’s peers.⁵

⁵ This distinction has been clearly shown in Sung-Hae Kim, The Righteous and the Sage: A Comparative Study on the Ideal Images of Man in Biblical Israel and
Within the Neo-Confucian world of Yi Toegye little concern was given to the afterlife in terms of personal salvation. Rather, the ancestors were venerated in order to assure continuity from one generation to the next and to assure harmony within society. One of the criticisms made against the Buddhists was that they were otherworldly and did not give enough attention to the present world and matters relating to the proper ordering of society. The idea that a person could spend an eternity in either a heaven or a hell was largely foreign to Toegye and his intellectual contemporaries. What was important to them was the idea that one could cultivate the mind so that would could—over time—become a person of virtue, or a sage, and take one’s proper place in society. Toegye believed that it was possible for one to become a sage as did virtually all of his Korean Neo-Confucian contemporaries.

Although Yi Toegye and John Calvin were contemporaries in different worlds they shared one significant characteristic in common—both believed that education was central to the process of attaining salvation or the process of becoming a sage. Both men cultivated a love of learning in their disciples and students, and both men gave considerable attention to the process of education and the founding of educational institutions.

Yi Toegye and the Founding of the Tosan Academy

Yi Toegye exhibited an unusual love of learning from an early age and it was obvious to all who knew him that he was destined to do well in the government examinations and eventually take his place as a government official. Although he entered official life at a relatively late age he served in a number of capacities for approximately fifteen years. All he had to say concerning his government service was summed up in the sentence “I was immersed in the dusty world without a day’s leisure,
and there is nothing else worth mentioning.\textsuperscript{6} Toegye was not the least bit interested in government service and he chafed at the petty conflicts, the power struggles, and the corruption which he witnessed. Being a man of integrity he often took unpopular positions in his opposition to corruption and in his advocating political negotiations with Japan. On a number of occasions he resigned his position and returned to the Andong area to continue his study of Confucian and Neo-Confucian philosophy but he was always called back to Seoul.

In 1545 and 1548 there were severe literary purges as a result of the factionalism among various parties in the government. Toegye’s name appeared on a list of those to be dismissed in the 1545 purge, but friends were able to have his name removed. Toegye was so disgusted with the whole affair—and undoubtedly feared for his own safety—that he was able to fill two posts in a remote rural area near Andong far from the capital city of Seoul. Even then he submitted his resignation three times, and finally in 1549 just left his government posts and retired to the countryside to live as an independent scholar.

His brother, Hae, was not so fortunate, however, and was caught up in these literary purges. In 1550 he was sentenced to a beating and exile. Unfortunately the beating was so severe that Hae died while on route to the place of exile.

It was Toegye’s plan to gather a few students around him, found a sodang, or study hall, and devote his life to reading, writing, and teaching. However he was still called to Seoul on several occasions, especially as his fame increased due to his philosophical writings. During the next twenty-one years he was to write fifty-three letters of resignation from government service or refusal of government appointments and during his entire career over seventy such letters. In the end Toegye prevailed and he was able to devote himself to the scholarly life.

Toegye was a prolific writer but he is known today primarily through his involvement in the famed Four-Seven Debate and the publication of *The Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning*, both of which have a direct bearing upon his understanding and practice of education. The Four-Seven Debate continued for seven years and was the greatest philosophical debate of the time. This debate was significant for several reasons. To begin with the debate was initially carried on between Yi Toegye and Ki Kobing also known as Ki Taesung (1527-1572). Toegye was the senior scholar being 60 years old at the time, while Kobing was the junior scholar being a mere 32 years of age. It was unheard of for a younger scholar to openly challenge the views of a senior scholar in this way, and it was beyond anyone's wildest imagination that a senior scholar would answer the challenge and do so in such a gracious way as Toegye did. The result was the first public philosophical debate in Korean history.

The debate centered around the Four Beginnings taken from the Chinese philosopher Mencius—compassion, modesty and deference, shame and dislike, and the discrimination between right and wrong; and the Seven Feelings taken from the Chinese *Book of Rites*—desire, hate, love, fear, grief, anger, and joy. According to Yi Toegye the Four Beginnings are a product of *li* or reason while the Seven Feelings are a product of *chi* or sensation. Ki Kobing stated that “the Four Beginnings cannot reside outside the Seven Emotions and that *li*, likewise, cannot exist away from *chi*.” Following the deaths of both Toegye and and Ki Kobing the debate was continued by the philosopher Yi Yulgok (1536-

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1584) whose likeness appears on the Korean five-thousand won bank note, and Song Hong (1535-1598). Yi Yulgok took the side of Ki Kobing while Song Hong took the side of Yi Toegye. The Four-Seven Debate was significant because it dealt with the relationship between li or reason and chi or sensation or emotion.

Toegye firmly believed that the Four Beginnings which were always good were based upon reason, while the Seven Feelings which could be either good or bad were based upon sensation or emotion. Thus the ultimate basis for human morality was based upon reason. It was, in other words, reasonable for human beings to be compassionate, to show modesty and deference in their dealings with others, to experience shame and dislike when confronted with evil, and to discriminate between good in evil in one’s thinking and moral life. Edward Y. J. Chung says of Toegye’s views: “As revealed in his Four-Seven thesis in particular, his Neo-Confucianism emphasizes a way to cultivate sagehood, that ultimate truth of human nature, calling for a Neo-Confucian way of life that integrates intellectual insight, moral effort, contemplative discipline, and spiritual cultivation.”[10] Although Toegye softened his dualistic view of li and chi somewhat and Ki Kobing later expressed “general support” for Toegye’s theory, the renewal of the debate by Yi Yulgok and Song Hong brought about a hardening of the positions with Yi Yulgok’s monistic theory which stated that chi alone operates.[11] It is safe to say, however, that within orthodox Neo-Confucian circles Yi Toegye’s views have largely prevailed.

The Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning which was presented to Kong Sonjo in 1568 is a summary of Toegye’s knowledge. It went through twenty-nine printings during the Jeoson Dynasty, has been translated into Japanese and English, and currently circulates in three different Korean translations.[12] The work consists of ten diagrams with extensive commentaries and explanations of each diagram. The first 5 diagrams

[12] Kalton, To Become a Sage, p.24. The original was, of course, written in classical Chinese, which was the language of scholarship at the time.
“help the reader to cultivate a virtuous character by clarifying the morality which is based on Heaven’s process” and the second 5 diagrams “stress self-possession, or reverence which keeps the norm in our daily life firmly rooted in its moral practice.” In the words of the contemporary philosopher Choi Min-Hong, “The Ten Diagrams are short explanations of our life, beginning with a deep study of the mind and ending with its moral practice.” In the Ten Diagrams Toegye sets out to show how li or reason serves as the basis for the cultivation of the mind and the practice of a virtuous life in society.

An innovation in Toegye’s theory of learning was that each of the ten diagrams was to be made into a ten-paneled standing screen to go with the book. The screen was to be placed in the study room where one was repeatedly reading the book. Thus “in moments of leisure the eye could play over the screen and the mind be gently but constantly engaged with its content, so that one might finally totally assimilate this material and make it a part of himself.”

Toegye had spent much of his lifetime attempting to put his philosophy into practice in the world of government, but his heart was really in the love of learning for its own sake and the passing on of that learning to the next generation. In addition to the established government Confucian academies known as hyanggyo there were also private Confucian academies known as sowon. While the hyanggyo were usually located in towns and cities, the sowon were almost always located in rural areas. At one time there were some 327 sowons in Korea. The first sowon in Korea was the Sosu Sowon, established in 1542 as a memorial to An Hyang (1245-1306) a Koryo dynasty Confucian scholar who

14 Ibid. Choi presents a detailed listing of the subject matter of the Ten Diagrams on pp. 77-78.
15 Kalton, To Become a Sage, p. 26.
became known as “the Korean Chu Hsi.” An studied in China and hand copied all of Chu Hsi’s works which he then brought back to Korea. He also brought back a portrait of Chu Hsi. The Sosu Sowon (White Cloud Grotto Academy) was modeled after the White Deer Grotto Academy of Chu Hsi in China. In 1550 shortly after resigning his position as magistrate of Punggi Country (a resignation which was refused by the authorities in Seoul), Yi Toegye petitioned the king to grant official status to the Sosu Sowon. The king responded favorably to Toegye’s request and granted a royal charter with the all important name plaque as well as a number of books, thus making the Sosu Sowon an official educational institution.  

Toegye worked hard to assure the legitimacy of the sowons and because of his efforts the sowons rapidly spread throughout the entire country. In the words of Yun Sa Soon Toegye’s role in the development of the sowons was central:

Their spread played a central role in the growth and development of Korean Confucianism, a matter in which especially the royally recognized academies took the leadership. It also manifests the extent to which he was inclined to focus his attention on organizing the world of letters. He was anxious to use his position as an official to promote the flourishing of a kind of learning he saw as the most basic foundation for a sound and healthy society.  

The sowons were, therefore, places for the keeping and study of books

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(thus serving as repositories of learning), places for teaching (thus centers for the spread of knowledge), and local institutions (being semi-private but depending upon government and local support). In Toegye’s view the sowons played an important role in spreading a form of education based upon reason and self-cultivation.

However, sowons also served a more ideological purpose. According to Yi Songmu, “officials of the late Koryo and Yi dynasties adopted Neo-Confucianism as an ideological weapon for their confrontation with the entrenched aristocracy and the Buddhist establishment.”

This meant that “the academies became not only educational institutions but also the sanctuaries where the local patriarchs of the Confucian scholar community were sanctified and venerated. Furthermore, the government bestowed funds, including land and slaves, on each academy and waived taxes due on lands that supported their activities. Thus, the private academies came to receive the privileges and status formerly enjoyed by the Buddhist temples in the Koryo dynasty.”

This purpose took on deeper significance due to a brief Buddhist revival which took place during Yi Toegye’s time.

Finally in 1561 Yi Toegye was able to realize his dream with the establishment of the Tosan Sodang or study hall. Construction of the initial building which was used as his private study began in 1557 but was not completed until four years later due to Toegye’s lack of financial resources. Consisting of an enclosed room which he used as his study and a larger open room which he used as a classroom, the small building was

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21 Ibid.
where he “especially devoted himself to giving instruction regarding the Ch'i-meng, which is a work by Chu Hsi on the Book of Changes, and the Classic of the Mind-and-Heart, a work for guidance in the process of spiritual cultivation.” Nearby Toegye also constructed a dormitory where his students lived and studied by themselves. The dormitory was built in an “I” shape which is the Chinese character for “studying.” It was here, from these modest beginnings, that the Tosan Sowon had its origin.

Although Yi Toegye served the government under four kings—Chungjon, Injong, Myongjong, and Sonjo—it was in this small study hall that he found true happiness and purpose in life. He is remembered as a teacher who was kind to his students, who gave rice to a student who was in need, and never suspended his lectures even during periods of illness. His teaching style was quite unique for the time—he paused before answering questions and then never refuted wrong questions at once but showed the students how he reached different conclusions. He was known for respecting his students and treating them fairly. Only four days before his death he called his students together and lectured all day long on “mistaken views he had presented in the past.”

Toward the end of his life, Yi Toegye wrote the following poem:

Summarizing the Reasons for sowon
I have plumbed the Classics until my hair is white,  
and yet not heard the Way.
Now it is our good fortune to have numerous sowon  
advocating the Way.
So why should the raging tumult of the Examination System  
Make the anxiety of my idle moments grow like

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23 Pak, “T’oegye and His Thought,” in Main Currents of Korean Thought, p. 87.
Perhaps one of the best descriptions of Yi Toegye’s life and work is that of Yun Sa Soon when he wrote of Toegye that “he strove only to become a genuine and full human being.”

In 1574 four years following Toegye’s death, his disciples and other Neo-Confucian scholars established the Tosan Sownon or Tosan Academy. A number of other buildings were added including two library buildings, two buildings which served as visitors’ quarters, a publishing center where wood blocks were kept for printing, and a lecture hall. The signboard on the lecture hall was given by King Sonjo and the calligraphy done by Han Sok-Pong, a famous calligrapher of the time. Directly above the lecture hall a shrine was constructed where Yi Toegye’s memorial tablet was kept. To this very day memorial services are held here on the second and eighth lunar months. Memorial offerings are prepared in a small offering storehouse adjacent to the main shrine building. Quarters for the caretaker and his family completed the buildings within the main compound. Just outside the compound a second dormitory was built to house an increasing number of students. Much later a small museum was built where artifacts related to Yi Toegye’s life are kept. In 1970, under the direction of the Korean government, the Tosan Sownon was repaired and declared a sacred precinct.

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26 Yun, Critical Issues in Neo-Confucian Thought: The Philosophy of Yi T’oege, p. 20.

27 In 2001, as part of the 500th anniversary celebrations a special limited edition boxed book on the Tosan Sownon was published in Korean with extensive English notes, including a “Foreword: In Commemoration of the 500th Anniversary of the Birth of Toegye” in both Korean and English. Each building and calligraphy plaque is described and shown in color photos. The book also includes (in Korean) eleven essays on Toegye’s philosophy as well as a chronology of Toegye’s life and work. See Lee Won-Sung, ed., The Dosan Sawayun, photographs by Hwang Huhn-Mahn (Seoul: Hangilsa Publishing Co., 2001).
Just outside the main compound on a small hill, which is now an island due to the changing course of the Naktong River, is a memorial tablet marking an event which took place in 1792 to commemorate the 222nd anniversary of Yi Toegye's death. The state civil service examinations, which were usually held in Seoul at the Sungkunggwan Confucian Academy (now Sungkunggwan University), were held instead at the Tosan Sowon. This was done to honor Toegye's legacy and influence as well as raise the morale of local scholars. There were a total of 7,228 scholars who took the examination and only eleven passed.

Today the Tosan Sowon is one of the most visited sowons in Korea and it serves as an everlasting monument to the love of learning of Yi Toegye and his influence upon Korean intellectual life and culture.

\[ \text{John Calvin and the Founding of the Geneva Academy} \]

In 1528, following his withdrawal from theological studies, John Calvin began to study law in the universities at Orleans and Bourges where he was introduced to the humanist ideals of the Renaissance. While at Orleans he followed such a rigorous study schedule that it affected his health for the remainder of his life. In this he was similar to Yi Toegye, who also followed a study schedule during his youth that caused health problems throughout his life. Calvin completed his law studies, was licensed to practice law, and then moved to Paris where he enrolled at a newly founded university focusing on humanistic studies. Here he immersed himself in literature, ancient languages, and philosophy, and at the young age of twenty-three published his first book, a commentary on Senaca's *Treatise on Clemency* which "made him well-known and numbered him among the leading humanist echelons in France."\(^{28}\)

Calvin's achievements were many but the founding of the Geneva Academy has been called "the culmination of Calvin's work."\(^{29}\) Unlike many of the other reformers who had been priests in the Catholic Church

\(^{28}\) "calvin bio" at [www.calvin09.org].

\(^{29}\) "calvin bio," [http://www.calvin09.org].
prior to joining the Reformation, Calvin had given up his study of theology in favor of law and literature and he was never ordained as a Catholic priest. While considered primarily a theologian and a churchman, he was also a humanist and a scholar. According to Brian G. Armstrong, “Calvin lived intimately in the two worlds of the Renaissance and Reformation, and he never was able to resolve the conflict of fundamentally different ideologies.”\(^\text{30}\) His educational views reflect this dual understanding. Thus, “Under the influence of the Renaissance thought, much attention was paid to usefulness and instrumentalism of knowledge.”\(^\text{31}\) Calvin placed great emphasis upon rhetoric and public speaking and expression. The ability to master languages, including classical languages, was important to Calvin and he has been credited with making significant contributions to the development of the French language.\(^\text{32}\) At the same time “in Geneva…the Church used its teaching ministry for the promotion of virtue.”\(^\text{33}\) Unlike Yi Toegye, who believed that human nature was fundamentally good, Calvin was a firm believer in original sin so that in terms of education “the pupil must be held in close discipline to escape the ravages of sin within his nature.”\(^\text{34}\).


The Geneva Academy or *schola publica* was founded in 1559.\(^{35}\) Property for this new school was purchased in 1552, however, as with Yi Toegye’s Tosan Sodang, raising funds proved to be problem and it was not until 1559 that a formal public assembly was held in the Cathedral of St. Pierre formally opening the Geneva Academy.\(^{36}\) Drawing upon his dual Renaissance and Reformation heritage, Calvin recognized two offices in the church—the pastoral office and the teaching or doctoral office. Thus not all of the faculty members in this new school were clergy, especially in the fields of ancient languages and philosophy. Each week there were twenty-seven lectures of one hour in length. Included were courses on the Bible, theology, Greek and Hebrew, and pastoral ministry plus lectures on physical science, mathematics, and rhetoric. The courses on rhetoric used the writings of Aristotle as a text and Cicero as an example. Professors lectured from Aristotle, Plato, Plutarch, various Christian philosophers of the Middle Ages, and from Greek poets, orators, and historians. On Saturdays the theology students expounded on a selected passage from the Bible and each month students defended a theological proposition, first in

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a written paper and then orally in an open discussion.\textsuperscript{37}

The Geneva Academy grew rapidly and as the reputation of the school grew students came from throughout Europe. In the words of B. J. van der Walt:

A large part of the enormous influence which emanated from the Reformed Jerusalem (as Geneva was described in the sixteenth century) has to be ascribed to Calvin’s Academy. Already at Calvin’s death in 1564 there were 300 students from practically all the countries of Europe, England, Scotland, Catalonia, Calabria and Venice. Calvin corresponded with a Lithuanian prince and even had a request for trained Reformed men from the church in Russia.\textsuperscript{38}

From the outset the Geneva Academy was an international institution and it continues as an international university today.

During the Enlightenment many illustrious scholars were drawn to the Geneva Academy and it became known for its reception to new ideas and innovative teaching, particularly in the areas of law and philosophy. Even as it had been open to new ideas in terms of religious reform, so too, it was open to new ideas in the humanities. In the nineteenth century formal control by the church came to an end, although Faculty of Theological Studies continued. When the Faculty of Medicine was added in 1873 the Geneva Academy formally became the University of Geneva. Today the dual Renaissance and Reformation emphasis continues through close ties with a number of specialized research institutes, including the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies and the Ecumenical Institute at Bossey which is

\textsuperscript{37} Towns, “John Calvin (1509-1564),” in A History of Religious Educators, pp. 171-172. It should be noted that initially the Geneva Academy had only five lecturers—two in theology and three in Hebrew, Greek, and philosophy and the liberal arts.

related to the World Council of Churches. In the words of the University of Geneva’s website, “The pursuit of higher learning has drawn students and scholars from all over the world to Geneva since the Academy’s very creation. Victims of religious persecution, political refugees, students and researchers alike have all drawn intellectual nourishment from the University and made their own contributions to shared intellectual endeavor.”

The University of Geneva serves as a lasting tribute to the love of learning of John Calvin and his influence upon European religious and cultural life.

Yi Toegye and John Calvin and Their Influence upon Higher Education in Korea Today

While it is true that Yi Toegye and John Calvin lived in totally different worlds, it can also be said that these two worlds have come together in modern Korea. Korea has one of the highest literacy rates in the world with approximately 99% of the population being able to read and write. Furthermore, Koreans are known internationally for their love of learning and desire for education. There is perhaps no country in the world that can compare with Korea in terms of the amount of time and money spent by the average family on the pursuit of education for their children. In the words of educator Horace G. Underwood: “The role of education in Korea is extremely important, and it is seen by Koreans as the primary road to economic and social advancement.”

It was Yi Toegye who championed reason as the basis for knowledge and ethical action and it was his views on learning which influenced the Neo-

40 Horace G. Underwood, Korea in War, Revolution and Peace: The Recollections of Horace G. Underwood, ed. Michael J. Devine (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 2001), pp. 292-293. Underwood’s grandfather, Horace Grant Underwood, was the founder of what is now Yonsei University.
Confucian approach to education in Korea, even until the present day.\textsuperscript{41} This high view of education and belief in the importance of reason was to have profound significance when the first Protestant missionaries arrived on Korean soil in the 1880s. The first resident missionary was Dr. Horace N. Allen, a Presbyterian medical doctor who arrived in 1884. He was followed by Presbyterian the Rev. Horace G. Underwood and the Methodists Rev. Henry G. Appenzeller and his wife in 1885. Soon other missionaries followed, including Mrs. Mary F. Scranton, mother of Methodist Dr. W. M. Scranton. From this initial small group arose institutions which later developed into Paichai University and two of Korea’s premier universities, Ewha Women’s University and Yonsei University.

The significance of this is twofold. First, the early missionaries were Presbyterian and Methodist, and both denominations stressed higher education. The Presbyterians especially focused upon the importance of reason and a highly educated ministry, this being a part of their Calvinistic heritage.\textsuperscript{42} Second, because these early missionaries believed in higher education they did not place an emphasis upon Bible schools, Bible institutes, and Bible colleges. Those Bible schools which were founded

\textsuperscript{41} See Minhaj Arastu, “Confucian Education in Korea,” at [www.koreasociety.org/index2.php?option=com_docmon\&task=doc_view\&grid=513\&itemid=35], accessed 2/10/2009. This is a curriculum for grades 9-12 requiring 3-4 class periods under the general subject of World History. The subject matter is the thought of Yi Toegye and the development of the Tosan Sowon. According to this curriculum material the “purpose of the lessons that follow is to use this famous philosopher and his school as a means of understanding aspects of Korean education, government and philosophy.”

\textsuperscript{42} There were occasions where the Presbyterian focus on medical work and education and the Methodist focus on evangelism came into conflict, but this was usually due to personality conflicts rather than church policy. See Daniel J. Adams, “Koreans in Transition: Americanization at the University of Dubuque, 1911-1935,” \textit{Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch}, Vol. 80 (2005), 90-91. For the most part the Presbyterians and Methodists cooperated in their educational work.
were almost always for the education of women, and once firmly established they soon became fully recognized colleges and universities. This meant that American style fundamentalism with the associated Bible prophecy movement and a rejection of so-called secular higher education never gained a foothold in Korea. Mission founded institutions of higher learning in Korea drew not only from the theological traditions of the Reformation but also from the humanistic traditions of the Renaissance. In this sense the educational legacy of Calvin was very much a part of the Protestant missionary effort in Korea.

This educational perspective fit in well with the Korean Neo-Confucian emphasis upon education as the cultivation of a person of virtue who could serve society. Neither the Korean church nor Korean society in general is satisfied with anything less than the best when it comes to higher education, and this is clearly evident in the contributions of mission related colleges and universities. Within the Presbyterian tradition—with its distinctive Calvinist heritage—there are no less than eight major universities. These include Yonsei University, Soongsil University, Hanshin University, Seoul Women’s University and Chongshin University in Seoul; Han Nam University in Daejon, Keimyung University in Daegu, and Koshin University in Busan. The Presbyterian Church in Korea (Tonghap) has seven affiliated theological universities which enroll a total of over 10,000 students, including the Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary in Seoul which ranks as the largest Presbyterian-Reformed theological school in the world. In addition there are numerous other specialized colleges and theological colleges and universities among the various Presbyterian denominations in Korea. Prior to the division of Korea there were so many Christians in Pyongyang that the city was referred to as the Jerusalem of Asia, and there

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were so many Presbyterians in the city that it was sometimes called the Geneva of Korea.44

Yonsei University, although founded by Presbyterians, has like the University of Geneva founded by Calvin, greatly expanded its faculties. As in the University of Geneva, theology continues to be taught at Yonsei University but it is free from church control. In the case of Yonsei, as with the University of Geneva, the hospital and associated medical school was one of the first institutions that later constituted the university.45 What is significant about Yonsei University (and also about its sister school founded by the Methodists, Ewha Women’s University) is that as one of Korea’s premier universities its influence is extensive since many of the faculty members of other universities in Korea have studied at Yonsei either as undergraduates or as graduate students. The Reformed tradition of Calvin has, therefore, an influence that goes far beyond the Presbyterian churches and their related institutions.46

44 See Donald N. Clark, Christianity in Modern Korea (New York: The Asia Society and Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1986). According to Clark Pyongyang was the center of Presbyterian mission work, and it was here “that the Presbyterian denomination developed its long-standing numerical advantage over other Christian churches in the country” (p. 7). Other histories of the Christian churches in Korea include the following: Allen D. Clark, A History of the Church in Korea (Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1971); Lak-Geooon George Paik, The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910 (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1929, 1970); Kyoung Bae Min, A History of Christian Churches in Korea (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 2005); and Robert E. Buswell & Timothy S. Lee, eds., Christianity in Korea (Honolulu: University of Hawaii’i Press, 2006).

45 The name “Yonsei” is a combination of the names of Yonhi College and Severence Hospital, two institutions which merged to form the university.

46 For example, of the twelve faculty members of the Department of Christian Studies at Ewha Women’s University, five have degrees from Presbyterian institutions including Yonsei University and Hanshin University in Korea, and Princeton Theological Seminary in the U.S. See Directory of Korean Theological Schools 2006-2007 (Seoul: Korean Association of Accredited Theological Schools, 2005), pp. 172-174, (in Korean). Because of their high academic standards and distinctive joining of the Renaissance and Reformation traditions of
According to Kim Heup Young, “In Korea, the Reformed tradition has achieved a miracle, perhaps the most successful mission it its entire history.”\textsuperscript{47} This has come about in part because of the joining of the worlds of Yi Toegye and John Calvin in Korea. Says Kim, “Their lives and thoughts present remarkable similarities that, I think, illuminate some important clues for the great success of Presbyterianism in Korea.”\textsuperscript{48} Both men loved learning and had a concern for education and its role in the reformation of society.

While this last point may be obvious in the case of Calvin it is perhaps less obvious in the case of Yi Toegye. Wm. Theodore de Bary asserts that “To the restless, impatient eyes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Neo-Confucianism has appeared all stuck in a rut—an immovable mass of tradition and rigid dogma. Yet viewed from the other end, as it arose in the thirteenth century, the new movement is most striking for its burgeoning vitality and reformist zeal.”\textsuperscript{49} Although a quiet scholar who preferred the countryside near Andong to the royal court of Seoul, Yi Toegye exhibited that reformist zeal in his support of the sowon movement and his focus on the cultivation of virtue and giving service to the community.

It is entirely fitting in this the year of the 500\textsuperscript{th} anniversary of the birth of John Calvin that we also remember that it is the 508\textsuperscript{th} anniversary of the birth of Yi Toegye, for both men cultivated a love of learning. They were, truly, contemporaries living in different worlds—two worlds which later met in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Korea with results that neither of them could have ever envisioned.

\textsuperscript{47} Kim, \textit{Christ and the Tao}, p. 89.
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., pp. 89-90.
\textsuperscript{49} de Bary, “Introduction,” in \textit{The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea}, p. 2.
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While this last point may be obvious in the case of Calvin, it is perhaps less obvious in the case of Yi Taegeuk. Theodore de Bary asserts that “To the modern, impartial eye of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Confucianism has appeared all stuck in a cold—unmovable mass of tradition and rigid dogma. Yet viewed from the other end, as it arose in the thirteenth century, the Confucianism is more amazing for its increasing vitality and relevance today.” Although a quiet scholar who preferred the intellectual life at the royal court of Seoul, Yi Taegeuk exhibited a reformist zeal in his support of the Korean movement and his focus on the educational sphere and giving service to the community.

It is entirely fitting to mark the year of the 500th anniversary of the birth of John Calvin that we also remember that it is the 300th anniversary of the birth of Yi Taegeuk. For both men exemplified a type of learning. They were truly universal scholars living in different worlds—one world in which they met in their minds and in their century together with results that modern students would have ever encouraged.

Learning, indications of higher education associated with the Reformed Protestant tradition of Calvin, organized the confessional schools for Korean pupils in the Protestant tradition to obtain degrees.

Ya, /Shing and the Dec., p. 39

Odd, pp. 99-100.

History and Justice: Approaches to the Dokdo Issues

KIM YONGDEOK

Introductory Note: The dispute between Korea and Japan as to which country has sovereignty over Dokdo Island, the group of rocks in the East Sea that Japan calls Takeshima, and earlier western navigators called the Liancourt Rocks, first came to public notice in February 1996, when the then Japanese foreign minister, Yukihiro Ikeda, declared that the island was Japanese territory. This led Korea and Japan to indulge in a bout of gunboat diplomacy, launching naval exercises around the island. In December 1996, the ROK announced plans to build a lighthouse beginning construction in 1997 and finishing in 1998. In November 1997 Japan demanded that the wharf facilities constructed by the ROK be removed. Since then, tensions have risen and fallen, with ultra-nationalist groups in Japan orchestrating a campaign in support of Japanese claims and a continuing high level of public emotion in Korea at what is seen as a sign of Japan’s continuing expansionist intentions. A number of English-language blogs and web sites have recently come into existence, maintained by westerners, expressing strong support for Japan’s claims and belittling the Korean position in an actively hostile manner. The RAS-KB therefore asked a Korean professor of Japanese history to help its members understand the issue as objectively as possible from a Korean perspective.

I am very happy to have a chance to address here a topic that has caused some conflicting views among scholars, especially those of Korea and Japan. The controversial points center on how to view the history of Dokdo and apply the system of international law in order to solve the territorial conflicts surrounding it. Accurate history should be based on historical facts, evidence as to what really happened in the past. Accurate
history leads us to correct history, which supports right legal judgment and justice.

There is much evidence supporting Korea’s sovereignty over Dokdo during past centuries. However, the most persuasive way to convince any third party of the rightness of the Korean claim is by referring to foreign sources, in particular to Japanese documents about Dokdo (“Takeshima” in Japanese), that support Korea’s claim. I wish to demonstrate Korea’s rightful sovereignty over Dokdo, not by making use of Korean sources, but by using foreign sources and logic based on historical evidence and international law.

Dokdo is the easternmost island of Korea. Given that Dokdo is visible from the nearest inhabited Korean island, Ulleungdo, on a clear day, albeit only vaguely, the claim that is sometimes made in Japan that its existence was long unknown in Korea cannot be sustained. Dokdo has long been a fishing base for Korean fishermen. In 1785, the most famous military scientist of early modern Japan, Hayashi Shihei, published a map of Japan and the surrounding region. Hayashi’s map in his *Sankoku Tsūran Zusetsu* (Survey of Three Countries with Pictorial Explanation) distinguishes one country from another by coloring the territories of each country with a distinctive color: Japan in green, and Korea in yellow. In the center of the map, there lie Ulleungdo and Dokdo, both marked in the same yellow as mainland Korea, and right next to these two islands, there is a written explanation that says “they belong to Joseon” (the official name of Korea at that time).

The modern Japanese government was established in 1868. Prior to formulating a new relationship with Korea, the new government’s Prime Minister and Foreign Minister dispatched high-ranking officials to Korea in 1869. One of the matters to be investigated during their visit was how Ulleungdo and Dokdo came to belong to Korea. The findings of the investigation were compiled into a document called ‘*Chōsenkoku Kōsai Shimatsu Naitansho*’ (Report on the Secret
Investigation on the Circumstances of Korea’s Association; 1870), and the report includes an article accepting Ulleungdo and Dokdo as Korean territory. Reviewing the report, the top leadership of Japan in those days recognized these two islands as a part of Korea.

Again in 1877, the Ministry of the Interior, in a complete survey of Japan, concluded that Ulleungdo and Dokdo were “unrelated to Japan.” Citing the importance of the issue at hand, however, the Interior Ministry deferred the matter to the highest state organ, the Supreme Council of State (Dajōkan) for a final decision. The Supreme Council replied in a formal, written manner, ordering the Ministry of the Interior in March 1877 “to keep in mind that Ulleungdo and Dokdo are unrelated to Japan.”

Things became more complex with the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War in February 1904. Japan wanted to build a naval observatory on Dokdo in order to be able to monitor Russian naval activities in the the East Sea area. At the same time, the Korean peninsula became a battleground, with Japan wanting tight military control over it in order to gain a strategic advantage against Russia. Around the same time, a Japanese fisherman by the name of Nakai came to learn of the fertile fishing grounds that surround Dokdo and wanted to profit by securing exclusive rights to catch sea lions around Dokdo. He clearly believed that Dokdo belonged to Korea, for he petitioned Japan’s Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce to help him obtain exclusive hunting rights around Dokdo from the Korean government.

Upon learning about Nakai’s petition, Japan’s Ministry of the Navy decided to take advantage of the petition to proceed with its plan to build a naval observatory on Dokdo. The Ministry of the Navy at that point introduced an important new element, one that indicates a radical change in Japanese policy toward the ownership of the island and toward Korea, too. The Ministry advised Nakai that Dokdo was *terra nullius*, land that had no legal owner, and therefore, he should petition the Japanese government to incorporate Dokdo into Japanese territory and give him permission to utilize the island. It is important to note that in the
international law of the time, the term *terra nullius* was specifically and almost exclusively used by colonial powers to describe territory that no westerner owned, so that the first westerner to discover it was entitled to take it over without regard for the rights of native inhabitants. The term is particularly associated with the confiscation of aboriginal lands in Australia. This colonialist association of the term is especially important in what followed.

As advised, Nakai petitioned three Japanese ministries: the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. At first, the officer-in-charge of the Interior Ministry discouraged Nakai because such an action—incorporating Dokdo into Japanese territory using a colonial legal term—might arouse the suspicions of Western Powers, making them believe that by that measure, Japan might be taking its first step toward the annexation of Korea. That was, of course, in fact the case.

The Ministry of the Interior subjected the incorporation of Dokdo into Japanese territory as *terra nullius* to a cabinet decision. It then ordered Shimane Prefecture to publish a notice of the Cabinet’s decision announcing the prefecture’s jurisdiction over Dokdo. On February 22, 1905, Shimane Prefecture issued its Notice No. 40, declaring that the island, from that day forth, would be called “Takeshima” and be under the jurisdiction of Oki Island, Shimane Prefecture. The Japanese central government did not take any measures to publicly declare its incorporation of Dokdo internationally. Instead, it deliberately limited the scope of the promulgation to a small area by ordering Shimane Prefecture to make the measure known to the public within the prefecture’s jurisdiction. Due to the Japanese government’s deliberately secretive approach, the Korean Empire (its name had been changed in 1897), previously recognized by Japan as the rightful owner of Dokdo, did not know of Japan’s incorporation of Dokdo until it learned about it by chance years later, in March 1906.

The news of Japan’s violation of Korean sovereignty over Dokdo was belatedly reported in Korean newspapers and enraged Koreans. The
Imperial Government of Korea, however, could by that time neither officially protest to the Japanese Government against the Japanese seizure of Dokdo nor appeal to the international community via diplomatic channels, because Japan had already stripped the Korean Empire of all autonomous diplomatic powers, imposing the treaty that made the Korean Empire a protectorate of the Japanese Empire in November 1905. After the conclusion of the Protectorate Treaty, Korea’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs was closed, and the Office of the Japanese Resident-General was established to control Korea’s foreign affairs. Japan’s erosion of Korean sovereignty continued, and it finally annexed the entire Korean Empire on August 29, 1910. Therefore, Tokdo stands in Korean memory as the first step in the Japanese colonial annexation of Korea, the most humiliating episode in Korean history.

Japan’s unconditional surrender to the Allied Powers, on August 15, 1945, resulted in Korea’s liberation from Japan’s colonial rule. During and after World War II, the Allied Powers adopted a series of documents that contained provisions intended to make Japan return to Korea the pre-colonial Korean territories in their entirety. The 1943 Cairo Declaration, drafted by the United States, China, and the United Kingdom states, “Japan will be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed.” The 1945 Potsdam Declaration, drafted by the same three powers stipulates, “The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and such minor islands as we determine.”

After Japan’s surrender, the Allied Powers vested all legal powers over Japan under military occupation in the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP). On January 29, 1946, SCAP issued SCAPIN (SCAP Instruction) No. 677 to Japan, explicitly excluding Ulleungdo and Dokdo from Japan’s territory. The appended map of SCAPIN No. 677 went further, clearly labeling Dokdo as Korean territory. Following SCAPIN No. 677, SCAPIN No. 1033 issued on June 22, 1946,
prohibited Japanese vessels and personnel from entering Dokdo's twelve-mile waters or accessing the island. Upon surrender, Japan had unconditionally accepted the Potsdam Declaration, and thereby the Cairo Declaration. Accordingly, Japan had in effect given up all claim to the territories it had gained through "violence and greed," including Dokdo. By recognizing the newly formed Republic of Korea as the sole lawful government in Korea on December 12, 1948, it can be claimed that the United Nations implicitly approved Korea's regained sovereignty over Dokdo.

The next major point of contention in the Dokdo issue is the text of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, which was signed on September 8, 1951 by 49 of the 52 states participating in the San Francisco Conference; the USSR, Czechoslovakia and Poland rejected it. Neither China nor Taiwan, nor South and North Korea were invited; the Koreas were in the midst of the Korean War at the time. The final text of the treaty says that Japan recognizes the independence of Korea, renounces all right, title and claim to Korea, "including to Jejudo, Geomundo and Ulleungdo." Dokdo was specifically included in this list in a number of preparatory drafts but was finally not mentioned in the final version of the treaty. The Japanese Government nowadays cites the San Francisco Peace Treaty as proof—due to the "absence" of Dokdo's mention—of the Allied Powers' recognition of Japan's sovereignty over Dokdo.

Why and how was Dokdo deleted from the final version? Even today, there is no clear answer and the issue remains a matter of speculation. Until the fifth version, Dokdo had been included specifically as Korean territory, strongly supported by U.K. and Australian delegates. There is a key person who strenuously lobbied for Japan—Mr. William J. Sebald, who held several critically important posts during the San Francisco Treaty negotiations. Mr. Sebald worked at a law firm in Kobe, Japan during the 1930s and had married a mixed-blood Japanese woman. In 1947, he became the Political Advisor and Chief of the Diplomatic Section of the SCAP as well as the Chairman of the Allied Council for
Japan, the organization dealing with matters related to the San Francisco Peace Treaty. It is quite probable that he lobbied for Japan when the mention of Dokdo was being considered. Also, the international political situation—the expansion of Communism (e.g. the Berlin blockade in 1948 and the Korean War in 1950)—had forced the United States to change its Japan policy. Mr. John Foster Dulles, the representative of the U.S. government at the Treaty negotiations, might have tried to leave the Dokdo issue ambiguous in order to prevent conflict between the United States’ allies in East Asia. As for the Republic of Korea, she was so preoccupied with the Korean War that she certainly did not have the wherewithal to give attention to the Dokdo issue during San Francisco Peace Treaty negotiations, in which she was not involved.

Japan’s claim to sovereignty over Dokdo based on the Treaty’s failure to mention it specifically as a Korean island is seriously flawed. If Japanese logic is strictly applied to interpreting the failure of the San Francisco Peace Treaty to mention Dokdo, it would equally result in the exclusion of about 3,000 other islands, none of them named in the Treaty, from Korean territory, something which has no basis in reality. Clearly, Jejudo, Geomundo and Ulleungdo are mentioned as representative examples of Korea’s many islands. Ulleungdo is cited in the Treaty as the main island in the East Sea, the largest representative of a group of smaller islands, including Dokdo.

Again, as described above, international law had already clearly excluded Dokdo from Japan’s sovereignty during the Allied Power’s occupation of Japan after World War II. The measures taken during that time have never been reversed or voided since. Japan surrendered unconditionally to the Allied Powers and agreed to abide by the Allied Powers’ decisions on Japan at the end of World War II. Therefore, the decisions of the Allied Powers became the law of Japan. At the same time, the fact that SCAP was exercising full governmental power in Japan as well as representing Japan in the international arena in those days means that their decisions on Japan became binding international law for the Allied Powers and Japan. Although Japan regained its status as an
independent sovereign state through the San Francisco Peace Treaty, the Treaty does not revoke, void, or alter any measures taken by the Allied Powers during the occupation period. The Allied Powers explicitly excluded Dokdo from Japanese territory in SCAPIN No. 677 issued in 1946 and they took no explicit binding measures to return Dokdo to Japan after that. What this means is that Japan has no legal ground to reclaim today the island it seized illegally as the first step toward the annexation of Korea.

Moreover, recently, additional evidence has been discovered that negates Japan’s claim, in the so-called ‘Finance Ministry Order 4’ and ‘Order 24 of the Prime Minister’s Office’ of 1951. Both of these Japanese documents clearly show that Dokdo did not belong to Japan and was not claimed by Japan at the time. They state that Japanese territory is Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and nearby islands, and that Jeju Island, Ulleung Island, and the Dokdo islets are not part of Japanese territory. Those documents were made when the Japanese government, under the rule of the Allied Powers, was renouncing claims to territories acquired during its colonization of neighboring countries. The Japanese government under SCAP abided by SCAP directions, and the SCAP directions, unless reversed, altered, or voided later, must still be honored by the Japanese government. The way in which the Japanese government has tried hard to prevent the publication of these documents, which were finally obtained only after an arduous legal battle, and the fact that they have been defaced with ink-blots until they are barely legible, suggests the power they have to negate the current Japanese claims.

Finally, it should be stressed that the San Francisco Peace Treaty could not in any case have effected the “return” of Dokdo to Japan, since it does not contain any explicit statement to that effect. This is because Dokdo was already clearly recognized as being under the sovereignty of the Republic of Korea at the time of the signing of the treaty in 1951. Since 1948, Korea had been an independent sovereign state recognized by the international community. The signatory states of the San Francisco Peace Treaty had no right or authority to hand over a sovereign territory
under the effective jurisdiction of one country to another without the consent of the party concerned. Rather than creating any inconsistencies, the San Francisco Peace Treaty legally reconfirms Korean sovereignty over Dokdo. Finally, it is sometimes suggested that Korea and Japan should submit the conflict to the International Court of Justice for a binding settlement but the Korean position is that Dokdo is not a "disputed" territory but an integral part of Korean territory which Japan wishes to annex illegally, as it did already in 1905. It therefore refuses to accept that there is any dispute needing to be arbitrated by the ICJ, and would not wish to accept that Japan has any legal claim to the islands.

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Squirrels of Lone Tree Mountain

FRED JEREMY SELIGSON

Introduction

Squirrels is a section of a longer poem Someone's Walking on Lone Tree Mountain, which features various aspects of the hill behind my house, An San or Saddle Mountain. Another part "Clear Spring Temple" was published last year in Transactions.

Horace Underwood also lived at its base and he told me that it used to be called, "Lone Tree Mountain." There remained only one tree on it due to a denuding by desperate people needing fuel, especially during World War II. It has since been reforested into a splendid garden environment, and provides the leisurely hiker with hours of enjoyment. Hardly a day passes without my visit.

Today I found a glum man of 74 sitting on a bench under a pavilion, hiking-stick by his side. He remarked on how glad he was that someone finally removed the bags of garbage that thoughtless picnickers had left by the trail before us. Now a fine vista of young greening trees stood before us. My own black and white cat who died of mouth cancer is buried behind that grove. A middle-aged lady came and sat on a bench across from the man. He told her that he had prostate cancer and was waiting to die.

He spoke of me too, referring to me as "Haraboji." Since when did I become "Grandfather?" He is still 10 years older than I.

Maybe I am waiting to die and to become one with the hill as has my cat. I have been walking this hill so long that my beard has become white, and aside from observing the day to day changes of the seasons I have lost track of time.
Something

black

climbs

on

branches –

"... a bat, a cat, a pointy-ear squirrel"
Squirrels of Lone Tree Mountain

Sways for the leap across tail swishing – grabs with claws a sister tree
Jumps from swaying limb to limb, stares back ...

*bounds on high,*

*again*
Chases

a

girl

up,

down

and

around –

scampering,

chattering
Bushy

travelers
cross
the
crisscross
canopy
on
a
highway
of
clouds
"Look ...;

it's

ducking

by

that

nest ..."

"Mrs

Magpie

isn't

glad . . ."
As

man

stops

&

stares

one

clings

to

bark,

tail

twitching
Prances from side to side up, on around springs through tunnels of stems

Introduction

Seoul, the capital of South Korea, covers an area of some 605 square kilometers and has an elevation of between 25 to 350m above mean sea level (Fig 1). The climate is continental with warm, moist summers and cold-dry winters, and the mean annual temperature is about 12°C. The hilly and river-dominated landscape of Seoul met the requirements of geomantic harmony when King Taejo decided to establish the new capital there in 1486. The ideal location for the capital city was that it should have high, rugged mountains to the north, low, rolling hills to the east and west, a low hill to the south and a wide flood plain between which a major river flowed.

With a current population of near 10.5 million, many of the original landscape features within the central part of Seoul have undergone centuries of modification during a time of rapid urbanization. For example, several important hills in downtown Seoul, three of which are Mt. Inwang (138 m) and Mt. Nam (263 m), have been preserved from development, while the fourth and lowest, Mt. Nam (11 m), is now covered by buildings. Maps of the Choson Dynasty, one of which is reproduced in Fig 2, depicts an octopus-like arrangement of hills and intersecting streams north of the Han River that more reflects the idealized geometric setting of Seoul rather than geomantic reality.

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Beneath our Feet: Geology and Landscape of Seoul

RODNEY GRAPES AND GYEONG-NAN JEONG

Introduction

Seoul, the capital of South Korea, covers an area of some 605 square kilometers and has an elevation of between 20 to 750 m above mean sea level (Fig.1). The climate is continental with warm, moist summers and cold-dry winters, and the mean annual temperature is about 12° C. The hilly and river-dominated landscape of Seoul met the requirements of geomantic harmony when King Taejo decided to establish the new capital there in 1394. The ideal location for the capital city was that it should have high, rugged mountains to the north, low, rolling hills to the east and west, a low hill to the south, and a wide flood plain through which a major river flowed.

With a current population of near 10.5 million, many of the original landscape features within the central part of Seoul have undergone centuries of modification, and especially so during the 1960's during a time of rapid urbanization. Of the symbolic and historically important hills in downtown Seoul, three – Mt. Bugak (342 m), Mt. Inwang (338 m) and Mt. Nam (262 m) have been preserved from denudation, while the fourth and lowest, Mt. Nak (111 m), is now covered by buildings. Maps of the Choson Dynasty, one of which is reproduced in Fig.2, depicts an octopus-like arrangement of hills and intervening streams north of the Han River that more reflects the idealised geomantic setting of Seoul rather than geomorphic reality.

The purpose of this article is to present a description and illustrations to explain what “lies beneath our feet” in the Seoul metropolitan area and we discuss this in terms of the rocks, landforms, rivers and groundwater, geological structures and earthquakes. Our
information comes from personal observation and data reported in scientific publications most of which are not easily accessible, or indeed easily understandable, to the layperson. A reference list of these sources is provided.

**Seoul and its geological setting: Rocks and sediment**

The underlying rocks that form the hills that enclose present-day Seoul are composed of two main rock types, *granite* and *gneiss*, and the low lying land beside rivers and streams consists of *alluvium* (river-deposited sediment) of a few to 15 meters thick (Fig.3).

Gneiss is a metamorphic rock, meaning an existing rock that has been changed through recrystallization by heat and pressure at depth within the Earth’s crust. It is coarse grained (the constituent minerals can easily be seen with the naked eye) and recrystallization of the original rock resulted in the formation of new minerals and distinctive rock textures such as the banding shown in Fig.4. In places, the typical banded gneiss is intercalated with other rocks such as *schist* (a more finely laminated rock than gneiss) (Fig.3) and minor amounts of *marble* (metamorphosed limestone) (not shown in Fig.3). The granite is also a coarse-grained rock as seen in Fig.4 and originated by the cooling and crystallization of a molten liquid, or magma. Unlike the gneiss, granite has a “massive” or “uniform” texture in the sense that it does not exhibit the characteristic banded structure of gneiss. However, like the gneiss, it cooled slowly at depth within the Earth’s crust, but from a higher temperature, giving the minerals time to grow larger. Granite is a particularly common rock and comprises nearly 60% of the rocks exposed on the Korean peninsula. In the valleys, and particularly along the Han River, the granite and gneiss “basement” rocks are covered by alluvium which consists of loose sediment such as mud, silt, sand and gravel deposited from rivers so that it is not yet consolidated to form rock. Sand and gravel of the Han River is excavated to supply aggregate for construction.

Geologic ages of the gneiss, granite and alluvium are very different. The gneiss has an age of between 2500 to 1800 million years and represents the oldest rock in Korea (Fig.5). The ages are derived from
radiometric dating of minerals in the gneiss and indicate the time when even older rocks (the original or parent rocks such as sandstone, siltstone, mudstone and limestone from which the gneiss was formed) were recrystallized and deformed (folded, flattened and stretched) at high temperature and pressure deep within the Earth’s crust. The granite has a much younger age of around 161 million years (Fig.5). This age is also derived from radiometric dating of minerals in the granite and indicates the time of their crystallization from magma that was derived by melting of the surrounding gneiss. The granite magma cooled from a temperature of about 750°C (completely molten) to solid, but still hot rock at 300°C over a period of some 15 million years implying a cooling rate of about -15°C per million years.

The ages of the gneiss and granite of Seoul are thus separated by an enormous time interval of around 2000 million years! and there is no trace of any other rocks with intermediate ages that must have formed during this time interval. The melting of the gneiss to form a granite magma at temperatures greater than about 630°C represents a time when the temperature of the Earth’s crust beneath Seoul was much higher than normal – perhaps equivalent to a temperature increase of 40–50°C per kilometer depth. Estimates from mineral compositions of the depth at which the granite magma cooled and crystallized within the crust are about 14 kilometers (corresponding to a pressure of around 4 thousand bars or 4 kb), and the fact that the granite is now exposed at the Earth’s surface indicates that erosion of the now missing overlying rock must have occurred during its uplift since 160 million years ago.

We need to proceed forward in time for another 159 million years to about 1.8 million years ago when the alluvial sediments began to be deposited (Fig.5). Again, there are no rocks exposed in the Seoul area that formed during this long interval of geologic time. The sediments are composed of mineral grains and rock fragments from the granite and gneiss and this tells us that 1.8 million years ago (and probably before that) the granite and its surrounding gneiss must have been exposed to erosion at the Earth’s surface. Alluvial sediments continue to be deposited today, especially by the Han River. The river also carries sediment to the Yellow Sea where it is dispersed into deeper water by ocean currents.
Here the sediments are slowly buried, compacted and eventually (over several million years) turned into new rock that will preserve fossils of the marine life forms existing during the period of sediment deposition.

And so the rock cycle continues. In its simplest form, the sediments become rocks with burial and with deep burial become deformed and recrystallized (metamorphosed) at high pressure and temperature to form gneiss and schist. At some stage these metamorphic rocks may be heated to a point at which they undergo melting to form granite magma and undergo uplift at a rate of a few millimeters per year. Uplift causes the growth of mountains that in turn accelerates erosion of all the rock above the granite and gneiss. Eventually the granite and gneiss are exposed at the Earth’s surface by this combination of uplift and erosion where they are once again slowly destroyed by water, ice and wind and carried in bits and pieces back to the sea by rivers. The rocks that underlie Seoul have taken some 2000 million years to undergo the deep burial-deformation-recrystallization/melting-cooling and uplift part of the rock cycle. They have been on their return journey since at least 2 million years ago.

Another “sediment” being deposited on Seoul today, although in comparatively very small amounts, is airborne dust derived from central China, Mongolia and Siberia (Fig.6) where strong surface winds pick up mineral particles and uplift them to heights of between 1500 to 2000 meters. These “Asian” yellow dust storms cause high dust concentration over Seoul (and many other parts of Korea) during spring. The natural mineral dust particles are also mixed with particles of carbon-bearing iron oxide (easily identified by their spherical shape) as shown in Fig.6, that are derived from industrial coal combustion in eastern China and are poisonous pollutants.

**Landforms and controlling factors**

Elevated areas made up of granite in the Seoul area have the typical form of domes (termed *monadnocks* meaning a mountain or rocky mass that has resisted erosion and stands isolated in an essentially low lying area). The slopes of most of these domes are bare rock, the pale colour patches which stands out in sharp contrast to the vegetated areas
These dome-like exposures of granite are actually wrapped by sheets of rock like the outer layers of an onion that are believed to be the result of pressure release during erosion of the granite mass (Fig.7). The outer layers of the jointed granite, which typically vary between 30 and 160 cm thick, therefore tend to peel away from the underlying parent mass as shells or spalls and intermittently slide off the dome - a process known as *exfoliation*, causing the development of the rounded, smooth outcrops of granite we now see. Alternating freezing and thawing cycles during winter are probably required to loosen the rock sheets and make them vulnerable to exfoliation. What finally triggers a sheet of rock to suddenly slide off the dome is maybe a summer storm event or possibly an earthquake. However, the Seoul region is not noted for its earthquake activity and the probability of an earthquake with a magnitude of greater than 5 occurring (of sufficient magnitude to dislodge a thin sheet of granite) is estimated to be only about 1 percent. Rock sheets of greater thickness take longer to shed than thinner ones but the result is a pile of broken rock that accumulates on the lower flanks of the granite dome. As an example, the average rate of episodic exfoliation of the Insubong granite dome (810 m altitude) near Mt. Bukhan (Fig.1) is calculated to be about 6 cm per 1000 years. At this rate it would take another 12.6 million years for Insubong to be reduced to the level of the present day Han River, i.e., at about 50 meters above mean sea level.

In contrast to the bald granite domes, the metamorphic gneiss and schist rocks typically have a thin soil cover and are deeply weathered. Although these rocks have essentially the same minerals as the granite, they have a very a different texture as described above and shown in Fig.4 that reflects the strong dimensional orientation of the mineral grains caused by deformation and a finer grain size making the gneiss more susceptible to weathering and fragmentation and thus soil formation. This tends to make areas of gneiss more prone to landsliding during times of heavy rain.

Another important feature of the gneiss and particularly the granite is the presence of four main sets of near vertical joints that trend roughly north-south, north-west to south-east, east-west and northeast to south-west. These joint planes control how the rocks naturally split to
produce cliffs (Fig.7) and they have also benefited quarrying operations to obtain blocks of granite used in the construction of buildings. The joints are obvious planes of weakness in the rocks down which water can penetrate, undergo a volume increase when it freezes and thus start to slowly wedge the rock apart. Repeated freezing and thawing cycles eventually causing slabs of rock to collapse under gravity where space permits. The roots of trees also penetrate joint planes because of the dampness and as they grow the roots force the rock apart causing it to break. The joint system is thus an important feature that controls surface topography and in particular the shape of the granite domes.

Rivers and groundwater

The metropolitan area of Seoul can be conveniently divided into two parts (north and south) by the eastward-flowing Han River which is fed by eight tributaries (Fig. 8). If one examines the drainage pattern, the streams, particularly the smaller ones, largely follow the joint directions mentioned above and this suggests that they have been controlled by them. The position and trend of earthquake fault lines that pass through Seoul (discussed below) also appears to have been a major control of the flow direction of the largest tributary stream - and may be responsible for the two right-angle bends in the Han River (Fig.8).

With their high permeability, alluvial sediments form the main aquifer of Seoul and water also passes comparatively slowly through the fractured and jointed gneiss and granite undermass. The groundwater flows from the surrounding mountains toward the Han River at a depth which increases towards the Han River (Fig.8) with higher levels (shallower depth) during the autumn after the rainy season in July to September, and the lowest (deepest) groundwater levels in spring. The average annual precipitation in the Seoul area is between 1200 to 1300 millimeters and the average depth to the top of the groundwater level is around 12.3 meters. Fresh water is obtained from the aquifer via 15,000 wells with (in 2000) some 41 million cubic meters of groundwater pumped annually. As might be expected the groundwater system is locally disturbed by leakage from urban facilities such as the water supply pipe network, sewerage pipes and subway tunnels.
Earthquakes and earthquake faults

Seoul sometimes experiences rather small or low magnitude earthquakes that are not powerful enough to cause much damage and the great majority are not felt. Since instrumental recording of earthquakes in Korea began in 1905 the largest magnitude earthquakes centered in the Seoul metropolitan area have had magnitudes of 3.1 to 4.0 (Fig.9), but some older earthquakes of greater force have occurred based on reports of damage recorded in earlier times. Despite the generally weak earthquake activity over the last 100 years or so, earthquake faults have been mapped along the main north-south valleys running through Seoul. However, there is no evidence that these fault lines are active, i.e. causing ground rupturing during historic earthquakes. They appear to be old features but probably have the potential to become reactivated during a large earthquake in the future. As mentioned above the chances of this happening appear to be statistically very small.

The prominent 30 kilometer-long straight section of the Han River extending through and to the west of Seoul suggests that it could be fault-controlled. A detailed geophysical survey along the line of a proposed tunnel under the Han River in 2005 revealed the presence of a swarm of east-west to north-east – south-west trending faults within gneiss 15 m beneath the surface of the Han River. The faults are associated with zones of “soft rock” indicating pulverization of the gneiss by movement, probably repeated movement, along the faults during earthquakes but the timing and direction of this movement could not be determined. As the faults do not appear to affect the alluvium overlying the weathered gneiss they are probably old structures that are now inactive.

References


The Authors: Rodney Grapes is a New Zealander born in Wellington in 1945, and by profession can be called an Earth Scientist. He obtained a PhD degree in Geology from Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand in 1971. He returned to Victoria University in 1977 to take up an academic position in Geology and he remained there until late 2001. From 2001 until October 2005 he was Professor of Mineralogy and Petrology at the University of Freiburg, Germany. He was then appointed Professor of Geology at Sun-Yat-sen (Zhongshan) University in Canton (Guangzhou), China, and since September 2007 has been Professor of Petrology at Korea University, Seoul. He has wide research interests in the fields of mineralogy, petrology, geochemistry and also in tectonic geomorphology, historical earthquakes. He has published, lectured and taught in all these
areas. He is the author of a number of books.

Gyeong-Nam Jeong finished the Ph.D. programme at the Academy of Korean Studies in 2000, majoring in Korean Buddhism after graduating from Dongkuk University in 1993. She is now a freelance translator associated with the Academy of Korean Studies.
Figures

**Fig. 1.** Map showing the topography of the Seoul metropolitan area.

**Fig. 2.** Redrawn Chosun Dynasty topographic map of the Seoul area by Silhak (practical learning) scholar and geographer Jeong-Ho Kim (? – 1864). Mountains and hills are depicted as thick black lines, some with upper serrated tops representing peaks; small rivers and streams are indicated by thin grey lines; roads are shown as dashed lines. Only mountains and river names on the original map are shown. A scale and North direction have been added.
Fig. 3. Map showing the distribution of rocks (gneiss/schist and granite) and alluvium of the Seoul metropolitan area.

Fig. 4. Photos of the two main crystalline rock types that underlie the Seoul metropolitan area, (left) gneiss and (right) granite. Note the light and dark banded structure of the gneiss in comparison to the massive, unbanded, coarse-grained appearance of the granite.
Fig. 5. Radiometric ages of the gneiss, granite and alluvium of the Seoul metropolitan area in terms of the geologic time scale.

Fig. 6. Four trajectories of the springtime yellow dust (dates indicated) that settles on Seoul. The high magnification scanning electron microscope photo shows that the dust consists of angular mineral fragments and spherical anthropogenic pollutant particles derived mainly from the industrial chimneys of eastern China.
Fig. 7. Diagrams showing the development of granite landforms by erosion controlled by vertical and gently dipping joints in the granite together with a photo showing the bald slopes of Insubong near Mt. Bukhan and its exfoliation features.

Fig. 8. Map showing the river system of the Seoul metropolitan area, together with joint directions (compass bearings) in gneiss and granite together with major earthquake fault lines that control their courses. To the right is a schematic diagram showing the groundwater system of Seoul.
Fig.9. Map showing the distribution of earthquake faults, granite and epicenters of earthquakes recorded between 1905 and 2003 over a wide area surrounding Seoul.

Fig.10. Maps and cross section showing the surface and subsurface geology along the line of a subway tunnel beneath the Han River. In the cross section note the presence of depressions in the hard gneiss bedrock which suggest that they are old channels of the Han River.
Fig. 7. Diagram showing the development of granite landforms by motion controlled by vertical and gently dipping joints in the granite. Together with a photo showing the bold slopes of inselbergs near "Mterere" and its exfoliation features.

Fig. 9: Geological map showing the contact relations of the granite and the surrounding rock types. This map is essential for understanding the regional geological setting.
President’s Annual Report for 2008

The Royal Asiatic Society-Korea Branch is now in its 109th year. Our founders, a group of learned, leading foreign residents in Seoul since the 1880’s & 1890’s, had a passion for studying the broadest scope of subjects about this country and recording their observations in extensive academic writings and lectures. To this day the RASKB Transactions remain “prime source” material for organisations worldwide studying the culture and history of Korea. We are the oldest centre of Korean Studies in the world and remain committed to the fundamental ideals of our founders.

During the past 109 years, the Society has not only seen but has been integrally part of one of the most remarkable developmental histories of any country in the world. The first 10 years of the RASKB saw Emperors Kojong and Sunjong sitting on the throne of the Empire of Daehan, maintaining the traditions of the royal system of government and society that had evolved over the previous 2000 years. From 1910 through 1941 the RASKB learned to cope with the Japanese occupation, finally succumbing to the deportation of most of the non-Japanese foreign community including RASKB’s members and Council! (Our “Transactions” are particularly interesting during this period!) The RASKB was reestablished after 1945, and following the tumultuous years of American military government, political chaos, division of Korea into two parts and the tragic Korean War of 1950 – 1952.
The RASKB not only reestablished itself, but grew and prospered throughout the political upheavals of the 1960's and 1970's, witnessing and participating in this country's remarkable economic growth and cultural evolution. Throughout our eleven decades of existence to the present day the RASKB consistently has maintained the highest standards combined with creativity in fulfillment of our fundamental objectives to study all aspects of Korea and promulgate this knowledge in English.

I am pleased to report that in 2008 our membership has increased to 910 members, from 742 in 2007. This includes 524 members resident in Korea, 300 outside of Korea and a total of 86 life members. In 2008 the RASKB presented 20 lectures. Attendance at our lectures has grown remarkably, with from 60 to more than 100 members at every presentation. Our cultural tours remain very popular. RASKB conducted 58 tours in 2008, 55 domestically and 3 to other countries in Asia, 1 to Mongolia and 2 to Japan, a total of 873 members and guests accompanying us, a significant increase from 2007. These increases are due to the tireless and dedicated efforts of our Council members who have spent so much volunteer time and effort to find exceptional speakers, develop and lead creative cultural tours and develop new ways of making the RASKB more widely known throughout Korea and abroad.

Our lecture program in particular has been an enormous success in 2008, becoming the centre of our newly revived RASKB community of members. This has driven the notable growth in membership and tour attendance. Lecture subjects in 2008 enjoyed a wide diversity of subjects: traditional arts, history, North Korea issues, the effects of today's economic crisis on Korea, Buddhism, early Christianity in Korea, and modern Korean cinema.

In all of our pursuits we maintain our tradition of diversity and creativity, seeking subjects (for lectures and publications), speakers and tour subject sites on a broad spectrum of subjects in areas that many other Korean studies venues do not consider. We are able to do this due to the efforts of our exceptional Council members, most of whom are long term residents in Korea with a deep understanding of this country and the same passion
for study, writing and lecturing as our founders in 1900. This has been and remains our unique strength.

The annual RASKB garden party in 2008 was hosted by Ambassador and Mrs. Alexander Vershbow and the Officers and Councilors of the RASKB at the official residence of the US Ambassador. With nearly 300 members attending, we were treated to an exceptional performance of traditional music and dance followed by a large display and sale of RASKB's books on Korea and of course food, drink and camaraderie! On behalf of the Council of RASKB I extend our expressions of most sincere gratitude to both the US and British ambassadors for their continuation of this decades old tradition of hosting the RASKB garden party at their official residences on alternate years.

In summary, the RASKB remains the strong, vibrant and creative organization that it always has been, continuing to grow and evolve in all of our disciplines while keeping pace with Korea's continuing evolution.

However, we still face several challenges, the most serious of which is funding for the essential administration and management of The Society. The irreplaceable Sue Bae, who tirelessly has been performing the work of 3 people for the past 40 years, will soon retire. We are seeking funding not only for her successor but for additional staff who can take over and provide the essential support that we need for operation of the Society's activities. During the past 20 years of Korea's development, the costs of all goods and services essential to our operations have increased exponentially; this is no longer the "low-cost country" that it once was and the rising costs have magnified the urgency of funding for continuing RASKB operations.

While Sue Bae remains with us we have been able to cope with increased costs primarily due to the generosity of the Somerset Palace who provide our lecture hall free of charge, combined with the Hong Kong & Shanghai Bank and the Korea Exchange Bank who have made donations to RASKB. I wish to express the profound gratitude of the Council and members of the RASKB to these three organizations for their generous and thoughtful
support of our Society. We are now actively seeking additional funding for the significant operating fund increase required when Sue Bae retires and I call on our members to help us in finding possible donors.

Finally, I wish to thank the members of the RASKB for your continued support, for without you there is no Society. Not only is the growth in numbers of members heartening to me and our Council members, it has been most heartwarming to see a revival of the true spirit of our organization in our current membership, showing such avid interest and actively participating in our activities, attending our lectures and cultural tours in increasing numbers and continually introducing your friends and colleagues to participate and join us as members. We look forward to another year in 2009 of growth, enlightenment and enjoyment together in the RASKB!

Respectfully submitted,
Peter E. Bartholomew, President, Royal Asiatic Society-Korea Branch
2008 RAS-KB Lectures

January 22  Dr. Lee, Yomee
"Hines Wards- His Impact on Racial Attitudes among Koreans"

February 12  Mr. Sung-Goo Kang
"Korea's Experience toward a Transparent Society /K-PACT"

February 26  Prof. B.R. Myers & Mr. Ed Reed
"North Korea: Philharmonic Diplomacy"

March 11   Dr. Moon, J Pak
"North Korea Today"

March 25   Mr. A. Lin Neumann
"Practicing Journalism in a Dual-Language, Dual-Culture Environment"

April 8   Dr. Andrei Lankov
"Transformation of Seoul Traffic in the 1940s and 1950s"

April 22   Amb. Victor Wei
"Regional Integration: An East-West Comparison"

May 6   Mr. Michael Spavor
"Pyongyang through My Eyes: An Up Close and Personal Look Inside North Korea."

May 20   Mr. Don Clark
"Where Do Foreign Missionaries Fit In Korea’s Modern History?"
June 3  Ms. Kollen Park  
“Familiarizing Yourself with Korean Traditional Music & Dance”

June 17  Dr. Wayne Patterson  
“Maritime Customs in the 1880s: A New Look at Korea’s Chinese Decade”

July 1  Dr. Ruth Barraclough  
“Gender & Labour in Korea and Japan: Sexing Class”

Aug. 28  Mr. Walter L. Keats  
“Korea Divided: Change and Prospects for Reunification”

Sept. 9  Brother Anthony  
“In Quest of Joan Grigsby”

Sept. 23  Dr. Chae Youn-Jeong  
“Two or Three Things You want to Know About Korean Cinema: History, Genre, & Authorship”

October 14  Mr. Wayne Kirkbridge  
“Panmunjom: The Realities of a Divided Korea”

October 28  Prof. Chongko Choi  
“History of the Korean-Jewish Relationship”

November 11  Mr. B.J. Gleason  
“Along the Yalu - Travels in China while Peeking into North Korea”

November 25  Prof. Gari Keith Ledyard
“Kang Wansuk against the Korean State: Women and the Persecution of 1801”

December 9    Mr. Stephen Bradner
“The 1960 Revolution”

The RAS gratefully acknowledges the support of the Somerset Palace, Seoul, which beginning in February 2006 granted free use of its residents’ lounge as the Society’s lecture venue.
2008 RAS-KB Tours

Jan. 5 Inwangsan Tour 8 Sue J. Bae
Jan. 19 Cheolwon Tour 16 Sue J. Bae
Jan. 20 Snow Country Scenery Tour 9 Won-Na Cha
Jan. 27 Songnisan Tour 9 Sue J. Bae
Feb. 6 Seoraksan National Park Tour 12 Sue J. Bae
Feb. 9-10 Yosu Tour 9 Sue J. Bae
Feb. 24 Sudeoksa & Haemi Temple Tour 16 Sue J. Bae
Mar. 8 Bugaksan Fortress Wall Hiking Tour 15 Won-Na Cha
Mar. 8 Kiln Tour (Pottery) 23 Sue J. Bae
Mar. 9 Yoju Tour 11 Sue J. Bae
Mar. 16 KTX Busan Tour 7 Won-Na Cha
Mar. 15-16 Inner & South Seorak Tour 6 Sue J. Bae
Mar. 22 Sobaeksan Tour 7 Sue J. Bae
Mar. 30 Walking lecture of Joseon Seoul Tour 36 P. Bartholomew
April 5-6 Namhaedo & Jinhae Tour 16 Sue J. Bae
April 11-14 Honshu, Japan Tour 22 S. Han & S.J Bae
April 17 Gyeonggido Cherry Blossom Tour 38 Sue J. Bae
April 19 Gyeonggido Cherry Blossom Tour 22 Sue J. Bae
April 20 Chollipo (Magnolia) Arboretum Tour 17 Sue J. Bae
April 25-27 Geumgangsan (North Korea) Tour 17 Won-Na Cha
April 27 Ganghwado Tour 14 Sue J. Bae
May 3-4 Jirisan Nat’l Park Tour 17 D. Adams/S.J.Bae
May 5 Bugaksan Fortress Wall Hiking Tour 18 Won-Na Cha
May 1 Bukchon Tour 11 D. Mason
May 11 Buddha’s Birthday Tour 57 D. Mason/S.J.Bae
May 12 Gaesaeong (North Korea) Tour 30 Sue J. Bae
May 17-18 Gyeongju tour 11 D.Adams/S.J.Bae
June 6 Bugaksan Fortress Wall Hiking Tour 19 Won-Na Cha
June 7 RAS Garden Party 210
June 15 Suwon Tour 24 P. Bartholomew
July 5-6 Jindo & Wando Tour 16 D.Adams/ S.J.Bae
July 7-12  Mongolia Tour  7  Dr. K. Y. Bae
Aug. 2  Inwangsan Tour  8  Won-Na Cha
Aug. 3  Jaweoldo Tour  7  A. Choi
Aug. 15  Hyonchungsa Tour  8  Sue J. Bae
Aug. 24  Songnisan Tour  10  Sue J. Bae
Aug. 30  Kiln(Ceramic) Tour  21  Sue J. Bae
Aug. 31  Chongpyong Boat Tour  17  Sue J. Bae
Sept. 7  Dong-Gang Rafting Tour  26  Sue J. Bae
Sept. 13  Gaeseong (North Korea) Tour  20  Won-Na Cha
Sept. 14  Won Dobongsan Tour  10  Sue J. Bae
Sept. 15  Bugaksan(Fortress) Tour  15  Won-Na Cha
Sept. 20  KTX Busan Tour  9  Sue J. Bae
Sept. 27  Buyeo & Gongju Tour  10  Sue J. Bae
Oct. 4-5  Tongyong & Geojedo Tour  27  D Adams/S. Bae
Oct. 11-12  Andong/Buseoksa Tour  21  D. Adams/ A. Choi
Oct. 10-13  Japan(Kyoto/Nara) Tour  38  S Han/ S. Bae
Oct. 18-19  Gyeongju Tour  18  D. Adams/S. Bae
Oct. 19  Walking tour of Joseon Seoul  18  P. Bartholomew
Oct. 25-26  Seoraksan Tour  34  Sue J. Bae
Nov. 1  DoseonSa Tour  12  D. Mason/ S. Bae
Nov. 1-2  Jirisan Tour  11  D. Adams/ A. Choi
Nov. 8-9  Tongdosa & Haein Sa Tour  15  D. Adams/ A. Choi
Nov. 15-16  Land of Exile Tour  6  Sue J. Bae
Nov. 23  Inner Seoraksan Tour  9  Sue J. Bae
Nov. 29  Cheorwon Bird Watching Tour  16  Sue J. Bae
Nov. 30  Bukchon Walking Tour  16  D. Mason/ A. Choi
Dec. 6  Shopping Spree Tour  8  Sue J. Bae
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