

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
KOREA BRANCH

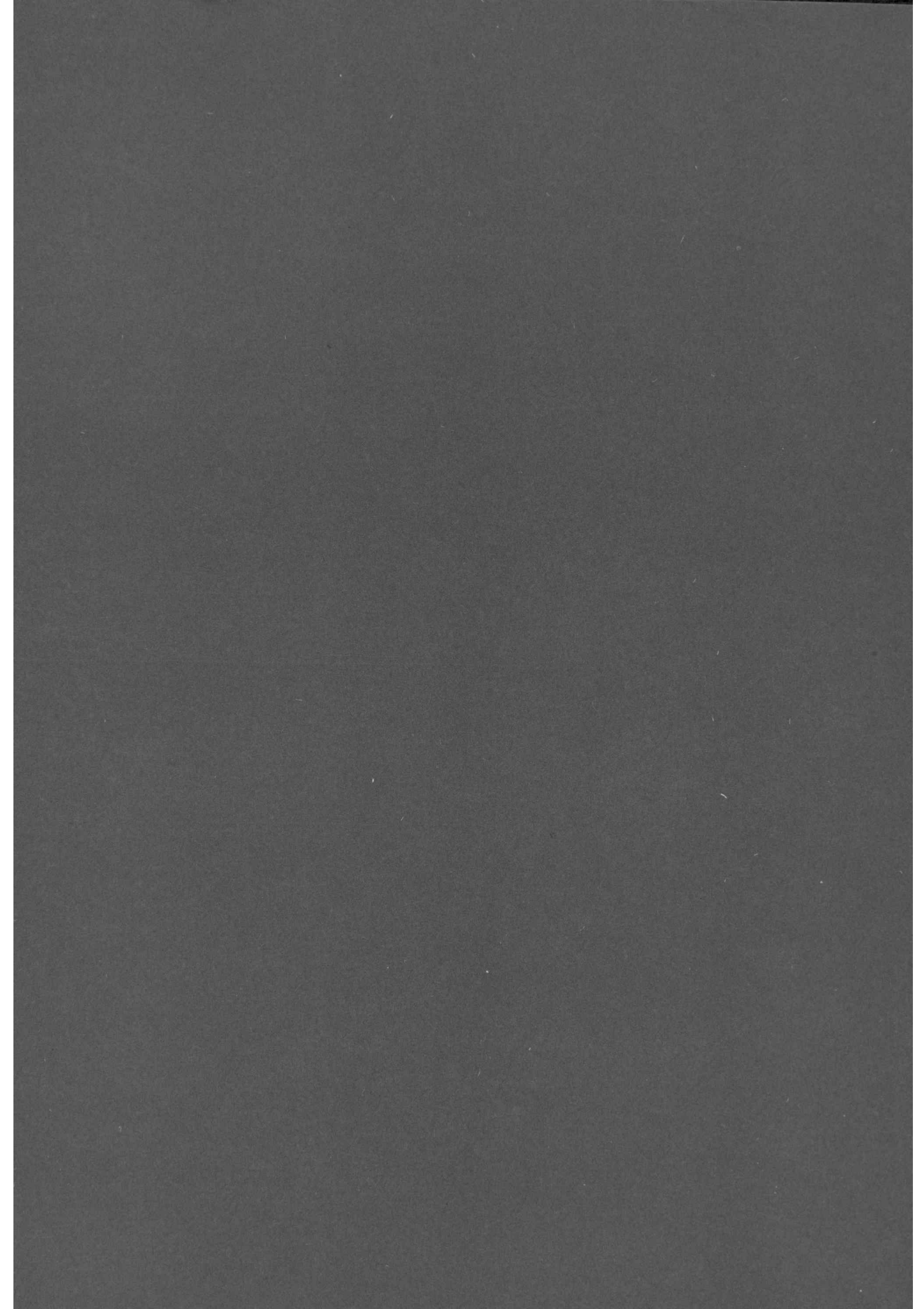
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

叢刊
叢刊

VOLUME XLI

Seoul, Korea

1964



CONTENTS

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

BRITONS IN KOREA

by S. J.

KOREA BRANCH

OF THE

KIM SAKKAT Vagabond Poet

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Report of the Council 1962

List of Members 1962

大



韓

VOLUME XLI

Supplied gratis to all members of the Society

P O Box Central 255

Seoul, Korea

June 1964

CONTENTS

BRITONS IN KOREA

by S. J. Whitwell 3

KIM SAKKAT Vagabond Poet

by Richard Rutt.....59

Report of the Council 196288

List of Members 196296

BRITONS IN KOREA

by

S. J. Whitwell

BRITONS IN KOREA

by

S. J. Whitwell

2



1



3



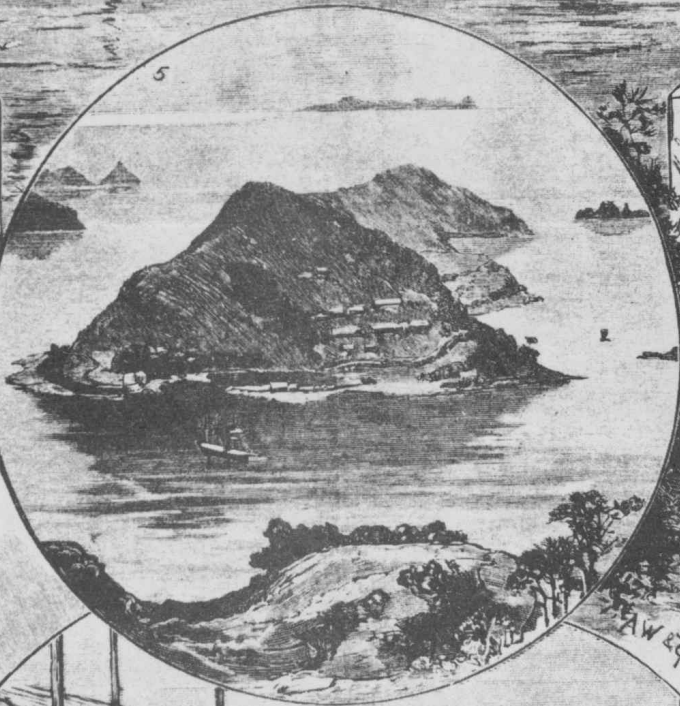
4



6



7



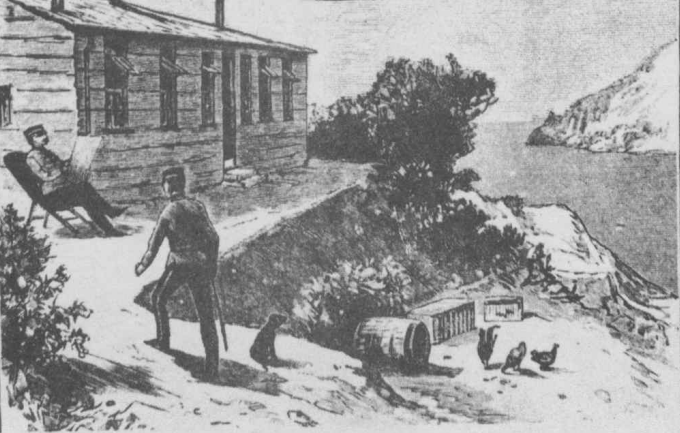
8



9



11



12





BRITONS IN KOREA

I. Earliest contacts

In 1613 a party of Englishmen landed at Fukuoka in Japan, from a ship commissioned by a newly formed company licensed to trade with countries of the Far East, including China, Japan and Korea. This is the first attempted contact with Korea I have found in a British context. The letters of Father Gregorio de Cespedes, the Jesuit who came to Korea with Hideyoshi's army, and was the first European to write about this country, were not published, but those of two of his colleagues, written from Japan, found their way into Hakluyt's great compendium of "Navigations, voyages, traffics and discoveries", published in 1600, with the following heading:—

"Three several testimonies concerning the mighty Kingdom of Coray, tributary of the King of China and bordering upon his North-East frontiers, called by the Portugals Corea, and by them esteemed at the first an island, but since found to adjoin with the Main not many days' journey from Paqui the Metropolitan City of China."

With this enticing description before them, it seems surprising that Englishmen waited so long as thirteen years before attempting to trade with "the mighty Kingdom of Coray", but no doubt the practical difficulties daunted them. Certainly the 1613 expedition never reached Korea¹, but it is recorded that when the Englishmen landed at Fukuoka they were pointed to and shouted at in no friendly way, and when they asked the reason were told that the people thought they were Koreans².

1 I may be wrong. In TKBRAS XX (1931) Dr. H. H. Underwood refers to "Richard Cox who came to Korea early in the 17th century to establish a trading station." No source I have read quotes any record of Cox's journey.

2 Griffis, p. 147.

We must wait forty more years before there is any record that somebody from the British Isles landed in Korea. The story of the wreck of the Dutch vessel, *Sparrowhawk*, on the coast of Cheju Island in 1653, told by Hendrick Hamel, who with seven companions eventually escaped from Korea thirteen years later, is very well known and is reprinted in full in the transactions of this society³. At the time of the escape thirteen of the 36 who survived the shipwreck were known still to be alive, and one of those listed as being left behind in Korea was "Alexander Bosquet, a Scotchman", but he is not otherwise mentioned in Hamel's narrative.

The next record of a Briton in or around Korea occurs nearly 150 years later, and that in itself makes me wonder whether in the many years between there were others of whose existence we do not know. The adventures of Hamel and his companions show that shipwrecked foreigners were not necessarily put to death or even ill-treated, but were simply not allowed to leave Korea. You will remember that the man Weltevree, used by the Koreans as an interpreter for the *Sparrowhawk* party, had been there for 25 years, and would not have been heard of if Hamel had not succeeded in escaping. There were pretty large numbers of adventurous Europeans, particularly British, French and Dutch, roaming the seas between 1650 and 1800, and it would be odd if rather more than the handful we know about had not landed up in Korea. Unfortunately, even if they had done, very little official notice would have been taken of them, and what was not official was not, in the Kingdom of the Yi, really deemed to exist. Later travellers have testified that there was plenty of normal human curiosity about strangers in Korea—indeed there still is—but it was tinged with fear, not of the strangers themselves but of the disapproval with which any contact with strangers was regarded. Mrs. Bishop records in the eighteen-nineties a book, the "Confucianist Scholar's Handbook of the Latitudes and Longitudes", edited by Sin Kisŏn(申箕喜), Minister of

³ TKBRAS IX (1918)

Education, in which the following passage occurs:

“Europe is too far away from the centre of civilization—i.e. the Middle Kingdom. Hence Russians, Turks, English, French, Germans and Belgians look more like birds and beasts than men and their languages sound like the chirping of fowls.”⁴

Incidentally, the book went on to say some rude things about Christianity and caused a formal remonstrance from the foreign representatives. But Sin was notoriously averse to foreigners, as well as to any kind of progress, and by the end of the nineteenth century such sentiments were becoming, even at the Korean court, a trifle old-fashioned, though only a little earlier, and then for as far back as you care to go, they probably fairly represented the opinion of Koreans. To use Orwell's striking word, Europeans were unpersons, and their doings were of no concern to the well-bred Korean. So if any more of them landed on these shores, we shall probably never know.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century exploration of those parts of the world, and particularly of the seas, not yet fully surveyed and charted by Europeans became much more systematic, and between 1795 and 1855 a number of British ships explored parts of the Korean coasts and islands and their officers left accounts of what they saw. First in point of time was Captain William Robert Broughton, who in H.M.S. *Providence* between 1795 and 1798 surveyed much of the North Pacific and the coasts of Asia. He had accompanied Vancouver on his voyage of discovery, and surveyed the Columbia River. He gave his name to Broughton Bay (東韓灣), on the North East coast of Korea, and Broughton Channel, between Tsushima and Pusan, landed, and noted the “anxiety of the natives for our departure”, but stayed long enough to obtain specimens of some “vegetable products” and compile a short glossary of Korean words.

In 1816 two ships, the frigate *Alceste* and the sloop *Lyra*, which had taken Lord Amherst on a special

⁴ Bishop: Vol. II, p. 269.

embassy to China, spent the month of September amongst the islands off the West and South West coast. They found that the enormous number of the islands made it impossible for them to attempt a serious survey, but both Surgeon McLeod of the *Alceste* and Captain Hall of the *Lyra* left interesting accounts of the voyage. Captain Hall describes how he, Captain Maxwell of the *Alceste* and Mr (i.e. Lieutenant) Clifford landed on one of the islands, were turned away from the village, and walked to the highest point where they sat and ate a picnic lunch. It must have been a fairly elaborate picnic, as the villagers were particularly interested in the wine-glasses. At another island they entertained, on both the ships, the senior local official, who came dressed in a blue silk robe and drank cherry brandy — rum for his retainers — and tea, which he insisted in having in the English way with milk and sugar, and apparently enjoyed himself greatly, but when the English officers in their turn landed and made clear their wishes to see his house, the official burst into tears and indicated that if such a thing were made known he would have his throat cut. Like most later travellers, Captain Hall comments on the size and variety of Korean hats. This party named the Sir James Hall Islands (now called Paeng-nyōng-do 白翎島) after the then President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.⁵

The East India Company's expedition of 1832, under Mr Lindsay, had no success at all in its intended purpose of opening new markets for British and Indian textiles. They landed on the coast of Chōlla and remained for some weeks while the Reverend Karl Gützlaff, a German missionary who accompanied the expedition, distributed books, medicine and tracts. I do not know whether they attempted to sell any opium to the Koreans. This was the chief occupation of the Honorable Company's in Chinese waters at this period and Mr Gützlaff, described as "an

⁵ Account reprinted in TKBRAS XI (1920). The ships subsequently visited Okinawa, and Captain Hall contrasted the warm welcome they received there with the "cold, repulsive manners of the Koreans." ("Okinawa", by George H. Kerr, p. 252)

elderly and venerable old fraud"⁶, who had lived in Macao for years and spoke Cantonese, was regularly used by the smugglers as an interpreter. Next, between 1843 and 1846, came Captain Sir Edward Belcher, R.N., in H.M.S. *Samarang*, who visited Cheju Island and the South West archipelago, including Port Hamilton, which he may have named. Assistant-Surgeon Arthur Adams made notes on natural history. Last of this particular group were John Richards in H.M. Surveying Sloop *Saracen* in 1856 and J. M. Tronson in H.M.S. *Barracuta* in 1859.

The next notice of Korea by Britons, and the last before the opening of the treaty ports, was taken from a different direction by a very different sort of people — the China missionaries.

In 1863 a young Welshman of 24, the Reverend Robert Jermain Thomas, arrived in China as a missionary. The early death of his wife caused him to be moved to Chifu, where he met some Koreans and started picking up the language. The story of what happened to him was told to this Society by Mr Oh in 1932 and is printed in the transactions⁷, and was in part repeated very recently, but it is so dramatic that I offer no excuses for telling it to you again. Mr Thomas contrived to visit the West Coast of Korea from Chifu between September and December 1865 and got the Koreans, despite the penalties, to accept "a book or two". The book was the New Testament in Chinese. Transferred to Peking, he met the annual Korean New Year Embassy, which event apparently inspired him still further with determination to return to Korea. He was offered the post of interpreter to the French naval expedition which was setting out to seek an explanation of the murder of French priests at the order of the Taewön'gun, and when this was delayed he set out as a passenger in the *General Sherman*.

6 By Maurice Collis in "Foreign Mud," p.250. Not everyone would agree. Gützlaff was later employed as secretary and interpreter at H. M. Legation, Peking, and acted as tutor to Sir Harry Parkes. He published "A Sketch of Chinese History" in two vols., 1834.

7 TKBRAS XXII (1932)

There can seldom have been a more inept and untimely expedition than that of the *General Sherman*. It was an American cargo ship, and it set out from China with American officers, a crew of Malays, a mixed commercial cargo in charge of Mr Hogarth, an Englishman, clerk to Meadows and Company of Tientsin, with Mr Thomas as passenger, to sail up the Taedong river to Pyöngyang in order to trade. A number of factors might have been expected to deter them, but did not. First, nobody had yet succeeded in doing any trade with the Koreans. Secondly, earlier that same year the only Europeans resident in Korea had been murdered, and at that very time a French punitive expedition was approaching the mouth of the Han river. Finally, the Taedong had not been surveyed. The *General Sherman* stuck in the river just short of Pyöngyang, and on 3 September 1866 was burnt by the Koreans and her entire complement killed, Mr Thomas distributing Bibles to the last.

Mr Thomas, at least, was not forgotten. His bibles were all found and called in by the authorities, and thirty years later pages of one of them were found papering a house in Pyöngyang. Some boys who had rowed out to the ship remembered him, as did a small party of Korean Catholics who, greatly daring, also visited the ship and received coins bearing the head of Queen Victoria, whose image they supposed to be that of the Blessed Virgin. And the Koreans themselves must have contributed not a little to the legend of Mr Thomas, for in their report to the King he is described as having yellow hair and a black beard, and being 7 feet 5 inches tall.

The other two China missionaries (both Scotsmen) who come into this story worked in part of Manchuria which had been in the Koguryö Kingdom, and at other times under some Korean influence, and they took a great interest in Korea and by their publications added to our knowledge of it. The Reverend Alexander Williamson included a detailed chapter on Korea in a book of

combined travels and history published in 1870. The Reverend John Ross did more. He published a number of books, including, in 1879, a 'History of Corea' from Chinese sources. It is a compendium of legends which may not seem very relevant to the Korea of today, but in fact form an essential part of the background to her history, which was so completely dominated by Chinese influence for so long. With real Presbyterian confidence he attributes responsibility for the Hideyoshi invasion to the Jesuits⁸. But why John Ross deserves to be remembered is that he was the first person to translate any part of the Bible into Korean. Perhaps it was not very good Korean — Bishop Trollope wrote of an "attempted version of part of the New Testament in Korean, undertaken by a Presbyterian missionary in Manchuria who had little or no first-hand acquaintance with the language"⁹ — but it was noble of him to make a start.

II. The Treaties: Official Representation in Korea

We have now reached the period of the treaty ports and the opening of Korea to foreigners.

Briefly, the Japanese, whom the Koreans had never succeeded wholly in excluding and who in any case were not quite foreigners in the sense that Europeans were, obtained a treaty in 1876. The Koreans had turned to the Chinese for advice, but the Chinese were by then in no position to refuse for their vassal the half-open door they had been compelled to accept for themselves. Responsibility for Korean affairs was transferred in 1881 from the Chinese Board of Rites to the Foreign Office (an institution invented twenty years earlier to deal with Western states) and in the following year it was the Chinese who appointed the German von Möllendorf¹⁰ to be in charge of Korean Customs

⁸ Ross: *History of Corea*—1891 edition p.271

⁹ M.N. Trollope: 'The Church in Korea', p.33. In fact the whole New Testament was completed, and is now less harshly judged.

¹⁰ According to Dr Koh Byong-ik, who read a paper on Möllendorf to the KBRAS on 23 January 1963, Möllendorf was responsible for a contract with Jardines in 1883 for the first commercial steamship line to Chemulp'o.

Administration and Vice-president of the new Korean Foreign Office. In the same year, 1882, a treaty with the United States was signed by the Koreans, and also the first, unratified, treaty with Britain. The second, definitive, treaty with Britain was signed in November 1883. A treaty with Germany was signed on the same day, treaties with Italy and Russia in 1884, and one with France in 1886. The terms of these treaties were almost identical, providing, in addition to "perpetual peace and friendship", for free trade at the treaty ports, residence in the foreign settlements at those ports without liability to Korean land tax, the right to rent or purchase land or houses within ten *li* (about 3 miles) of the settlement, subject to Korean tax, and the right to travel within 100 *li* of such settlements without passports, and to engage in trade except for the sale of "books and other printed matter disapproved of by the Korean Government". The first designated treaty ports were Pusan, Chemulp'o and Wönsan. Later more, including Mokpo, Masan and Chinnamp'o were named. It was even suggested during the subsequent negotiations with the British that Port Hamilton should be named a treaty port (the point of course being that all foreign countries would have equal rights there) although it was only an anchorage between three desolate little islands, with no access to the mainland markets which supposedly provided the reason for trading with Korea at all.

The Korean treaties are of interest because of the controversies they provoked about the status of Korea. To European lawyers the requirements were apparently clear. If you could sign a treaty you were independent. If you were not independent, you could not sign a treaty. The action of the King of Korea in addressing a letter to each of the Heads of State with which a treaty was concluded, beginning :

"The King of Corea acknowledges that Corea is a tributary of China; but in regard to both internal administration and foreign intercourse it enjoys complete independence."

seemed to them to be altogether contradictory, and just another example of oriental double-talk. In practice the European powers were not slow to discover that the Koreans still looked to the Chinese for advice, and indeed for orders, on all matters of the slightest difficulty or strangeness, and that, in the years before 1895, it made sense to deal with the Koreans through the Chinese on all but the most trivial matters.

The Japanese, unlike the Europeans, were very well aware of Korea's real relationship to China, and the conclusion of the treaty of 1876 can be seen as the first move in an entirely successful attempt to detach Korea from China and take it over herself, with at least the tacit approval of the European powers. This approval was first gained by imitative flattery. The Japanese informed Sir Harry Parkes, then British Minister to Japan, of the despatch of their mission to Korea in January, 1876, of their intentions and of the progress of negotiations, saying that the treaty was much like the first treaty "made with Japan by Commodore Perry at Shimoda", and after reading the treaty Sir Harry Parkes commented that the resemblance between it and our own treaty with Japan of 1858 was remarkable. There was, naturally, no mention of China (or of any other country apart from Japan and Korea) in the treaty, but the Chinese were in fact consulted. Sir Thomas Wade, British Minister in Peking, telegraphed on 3 February 1876 that the Chinese authorities would not interfere in the Korean question and that they would recommend Korea to be reasonable. A messenger from Peking arrived in Seoul early in February. The treaty was signed on 26 February.¹¹

Thus was the door first pushed open. It appears to have been expected that the Japanese treaty would in due course be followed by others, but in the event the Japanese had six years' start. In May 1882, Commodore Shufeldt of the United States Navy signed a treaty at Inch'on, and the British followed suit in June, when Vice-

¹¹ See "Correspondence respecting the Treaty between Japan and Corea" JAPAN No. 1 (1876) published as C-1530.

Admiral George Willes, Commander in Chief of the China station, signed an exactly similar treaty at the same port. This first treaty was never ratified.¹² Its terms seem to have served the Americans well enough, and would doubtless have done the same for us, but its trade terms were not as favourable as those we were accustomed to. It is perhaps also reasonable to suppose that some of our experts disliked Article XII, which states that "this being the first treaty," it is general and incomplete, so "after an interval of five years, when the officers and people of the two powers shall have become more familiar with each other's language, a further negotiation of commercial provisions and regulations in detail.....shall be had." One can imagine Sir Harry Parkes, who took such an interest in Korea, finding this rather unenterprising, and Mr William Aston, on the staff at Tokyo and already described as an accomplished linguist and Korean scholar,¹³ or Mr Walter Hillier, Chinese Secretary to the Legation in Peking, feeling that their accomplishments had been overlooked. However this may be, Mr J. C. Hall, Acting Consul at Nagasaki, paid a visit to Korea in October of that same year, 1882, and reported to Sir Harry Parkes. The latter was just about to be transferred to Peking, where he was of course in a particularly favourable position to undertake fresh negotiations, and these bore fruit in the definitive treaty signed on 26 November 1883, and ratified the following April, which was duly garnished with a protocol, trade regulations, and import and export tariffs. It, and the treaty with Germany signed the same day, were the first treaties to be signed in Seoul. The door had been pushed open further.

Sir Harry Parkes was accompanied on this his first visit to Seoul by Mr Hillier, his Chinese Secretary, and by Mr Carles, who was appointed Vice-Consul at Chemulp'o. They were allotted a house "near the Western Palace."¹⁴ Sir Harry returned the next year to exchange

12 Treaty of Jenchuan (i.e. Inch'on). Printed in China—Imperial Maritime Customs III Miscellaneous Series No. 19 (1891) p. 53.

13 Griffis p. 436

14 Carles: "Life in Korea". (See p. 15 below)

ratifications and present his credentials. (The following day his Chinese servant was arrested for being out during the hours set apart for womens' exercise!) By then Mr Aston was in residence as Consul-General and that same year, 1884, the land of the present Embassy compound was acquired, adjoining the American compound and the Tōksu Palace. At first the Consul-General lived in a Korean-style house, but in 1890 the existing house was built, with No. 2 house as an office with a flat above. This accommodation, with the addition only of the small house at the gate, built on a plot acquired from the Anglican mission in 1900, served us unchanged for sixty-six years, until additional flats and the present offices were built between 1956 and last year.

It will thus be seen that the official British mission in Korea was never very large. It started life as a Legation, but with the Minister to China also accredited here, and the senior resident official was the Consul-General. He sometimes had a Secretary of Legation and sometimes a Consul or Vice-Consul and occasionally both, with now and then a language student of no recorded rank. I have found no reference to a service attaché. At Chemulp'o our Consulate seems usually to have been staffed only by a Vice-Consul, with a language student or a clerk to help him, though Mr Wilkinson was Consul there for some years in the nineties, and was followed by Mr Joly who died in 1898 and is buried at the foreigners' cemetery in Seoul. Mrs Bishop in 1894 refers to the Consulate at Chemulp'o as an "unworthy building" with no spare room.¹⁵ Nine years later Angus Hamilton mentions our "understaffed and underpaid Legation in Seoul."¹⁶

¹⁵ Bishop: Vol. I, p. 25

¹⁶ Hamilton: p. 141. Angus Hamilton was correspondent of the Pall Mall Gazette and the Times of India. He spent a year or more in Korea about the turn of the century and seems to have been attached in some capacity to the British Legation. He wrote most of his book when staying at Chōndŭng temple (傳燈寺) on Kanghwa Island. Later he covered the Russo-Japanese war. McCarthy, the mining engineer (see note 38) refers to Hamilton's "untimely end" and comments "Buddhism had got its grip on him".

Concerning the Ministers resident in Peking who succeeded Sir Harry Parkes, there are few references in the sources I have been able to consult, though Curzon records that Mr O'Connor came up the Han River in a steamer to present his credentials in 1893, and was the first Minister to come that way.¹⁷ (Ships came to Chemulp'o, and before the railway was built to Seoul you had to transfer to a coastal steamer and go sixty miles by way of Kanghwa Island and the Han, or, more frequently, walk, ride or get carried in a chair the twenty-two miles direct.) After the eclipse of the Chinese in 1894 it became a source of embarrassment both to British and Koreans that we had no resident Minister here. The Japanese, Americans, Russians, French and Germans all had Ministers, though there were fairly frequent gaps during which they were represented by a Consul or some lesser official. I think the Japanese and the Russians were both Ministers plenipotentiary, the others Ministers resident. This was put right in 1900 when Mr Jordan, the Consul-General, was appointed Minister Resident and the connexion with Peking was severed.

Mr Jordan had arrived in October 1896, to succeed Mr Hillier, who had retired at his own request on account of his failing eyesight. (He apparently recovered, as he was later re-employed as adviser to the allied military command in Peking after the Boxer rebellion.) Mr Jordan had, like his predecessor, been Chinese secretary in Peking, and he was one of the few who are on record as giving Seoul a good mark. He said that he was very much impressed by the physical character of Korea and its people, and that Seoul was much cleaner than Peking, with much better streets. He thought that industrial and commercial development were more important than political reformation.¹⁸

For some, if not all, of the time after 1894 we also looked after Chinese interests, though I do not know

¹⁷ Curzon, p. 183

¹⁸ 'Independent', 31 October 1896

how this can have been done effectively considering the small size of the British staff and the large numbers of Chinese in Korea. Mr Hillier, on his departure, was presented by the Chinese residents in Seoul with some scrolls and a huge umbrella of red satin, with the names of the donors embroidered in gold.¹⁹

On 1 February 1906 the Legation was withdrawn at Japanese request, to be re-opened two months later as a Consulate-General, and so it continued, coming under the superintendence of Tokyo from 1910, until the war with Japan in 1941. In 1946, at the time of the American military government, we re-opened again as a Consulate-General, becoming a Legation once more in 1949, and an Embassy in 1957. The Chemulp'o Consulate seems to have lapsed during the Japanese occupation.

Though we may have been underpaid, understaffed and underhoused, the first official British representatives in Korea contrived to learn a good deal about the country. W.R. Carles to whom I have already referred as the first Vice-Consul at Chemulp'o, published in 1888 a book, "Life in Korea", which describes his travels, and the costumes, birds, beasts and flowers of Korea. It is rather diffuse, and the honour of writing the first really distinguished account, from a British pen, of conditions in Korea must go to his colleague, Acting Vice-Consul Charles W. Campbell. Campbell's account of his "Journey in North Corea in September and October 1889" was sent to the Foreign Office and was published as a white paper in 1891.²⁰ He rode from Seoul to Wönsan through the Diamond mountains, being the first European to visit that area,^{20a} continued up the North East coast as far as Pukch'öng(北靑), struck inland to cross the Upper Yalu, and

19 'Independent', 29 October 1896

20 CHINA No. 2 (1891) C-6366

20a I have subsequently been told that the Diamond Mountains were visited in the winter of 1885-6 by a Russian, Pavel Delotkevich, who published an account of his journey in 1889 and that this is referred to in "Around Korea", extracts of the 19th century published by the Soviet Academy of Sciences, 1959.

the Manchurian border to visit Paektu-san, the Great White Mountain, and returned by way of Pyöngyang.

For his journey, Mr. Campbell was accompanied by a cook-boy, "a coolie to make himself useful and carry my guns", a Chinese-speaking interpreter, six ponies, each with its *mabu*, and his dog. He explains the interpreter as follows:-

"My knowledge of Corean, tho' useful in many ways, was not equal to the strain imposed by honorific forms of speech in dealing with punctilious officials... Chiefly for this reason I saddled myself with Mr. Kang Yo-hoa, a clever Chinese-speaking Corean from the frontier town of Wichu with whom, in spite of many warm differences, I had every reason to be satisfied."

He followed the "main road to Wonsan" — in the open valleys a broad sandy track intersected by watercourses, in hilly country no more than a bridle path — passing Sölmari (雪馬里) where the memorial to the Gloucester Regiment now stands, and the "prefectorial town" of Kūmhwa (金化) where now, thanks to the Korean war, not one stone remains any longer upon another. He slept at villages, being embarrassed on one occasion when the men were all turned out to carry his baggage to the next halting place, without payment — a *corvée* normally exacted by Korean officials. In the mountains he stayed, as one still does, in temples; Buddhism was then very much out of fashion and he concluded that the Koreans esteemed the Diamond Mountains almost entirely on aesthetic grounds, and accordingly was rather surprised at the money which the Buddhists so easily obtained by voluntary contributions for rebuilding temples continually destroyed by fire. He himself had some difficulty in obtaining money. It was not physically possible to carry the quantity of cash required for a long journey, so he had equipped himself with a letter of credit from the Korean Foreign Office. This is how he describes his first attempt to cash it.

"The only coins current in the country are two de-

scriptions of brass cash, the "*tang-o*"—about 2,000 to the pound sterling used in Seoul and its neighbourhood, and the "*ipchyon*"—4,000 to the pound sterling—everywhere else. Silver is absolutely useless in any but the largest cities. In travelling, of course, the weight and bulk of these coins makes a large stock impossible, and the periodical replenishment of the purse, therefore, becomes a matter of serious importance. Though I had started from Seoul with a supply sufficient to carry us to Wonsan, donations, voluntary but unavoidable, to the monasteries had drained it considerably, and at Tongchyon, the seat of a prefect, I thought it advisable to borrow 10 or 15 dollars worth of cash on the strength of my Foreign Office letter. I struck the place, however, at an unfortunate time. A week before, the people, maddened by persistent extortions, had risen against their rulers, and the Prefect, as well as his leading myrmidons, had been forced to take an abrupt departure by night to escape the violence of the mob. At the time of my arrival everything was peaceful again and there was nothing on the surface to show that ought had occurred to ruffle the usual calm of Korean provincial life. I made my application for a loan to the clerk in charge of the magistracy and he soon responded by sending exactly half the amount I had asked for. I should have rested content with this, but in the course of a simple enquiry as to why my small demand had been reduced, the District Treasurer informed Kang with great heat I ought to ought to consider myself lucky to get what I did. He didn't know me from Adam and couldn't conceive my object in flying about the country borrowing money on the authority of a Foreign Office despatch. It was true the despatch said I would pay everything back through the Foreign Office at Seoul, but he had never heard of the Foreign Office and didn't believe it would honour my drafts anyway."

Mr Campbell observed that there was a good deal in what the man said, and having succeeded in borrowing 19 dollars at the next village concluded that there was much greater lack of confidence in an important

Government office than in a stranger like himself.

He described the agriculture and the birds—he published separately in 1892 a list of Korean birds—notes that some 80 per cent of the imports of Wōnsan, mostly cotton goods, were British, and ate delicious salmon from the shallow streams north of Wōnsan, averaging 10 lbs in weight and costing 2d. and 3d. a fish. Further north there were trout, pheasant and deer, and some desultory gold mining. A heavy fall of snow, fear of tigers and the superstition of his guide prevented his reaching the summit of the Great White Mountain but, as he recorded, it had been climbed three years earlier (1886) by a party of three Englishmen, Jones, Fulford and Younghusband, from Manchuria. On his return journey he was stoned by some drunkards at Kapsan (甲山), but that was the only mishap of his journey and the only time he was not received with courtesy, excepting “the pardonable suspicion which most conservative persons exhibit towards novelties”.

Mr Campbell's conclusions are of interest not so much because they seem at this remove at all original, as because they probably helped to influence policy. He found, briefly, that both the land and the people had excellent capabilities, but that under the administration then existing neither had any chance of demonstrating their worth.

Eight years later, in October 1897, Sir Walter Hillier, who had the year before left Seoul after seven years as Consul-General, wrote as follows in a foreword to Mrs Bishop's book :

“It must be evident to all who know anything of Korea, that a condition of tutelage, in some form or another, is now absolutely necessary to her existence as a nation. The nominal independence won for her by force of Japanese arms is a privilege she is not fitted to enjoy while she continues to labour under the burden of an administration that is hopelessly and superlatively corrupt.”

That quotation may serve to summarise the view of Korea taken by our official representatives during these years.

III. The Occupation of Port Hamilton (Kōmun-do)

Visits to Korean waters by ships of the Royal Navy continued throughout the sixties, seventies and eighties, and by the nineties both Inch'on and Pusan were regular ports of call, several times a year, for ships of the China squadron. At first they were still of an exploratory nature. In 1871 J. M. James published an account of a cruise in Korean waters in the *Emperor*. In 1880 Captain St. John, R.N., of H.M.S. *Sylvia*, collected and studied crustacea off the Southern coast, and he was followed in 1882 by Mr Wykeham Perry in H.M.S. *Iron Duke*, whose subject was lepidoptera. In 1882-3 H.M.S.S. *Flying Fish*, *Magpie* and *Moorhen* surveyed some of the islands, and Mr Bonar, who wrote some "Notes on the Capital of Korea" must have accompanied Sir H. Parkes on the treaty-signing party. You will remember that it was Admiral George Willes who signed the abortive treaty at Inchon in 1882. I have seen no indication that he visited Seoul; but Lord Curzon, who came here in 1893, records a British Admiral had got shut outside the gates of Seoul after sunset and had to climb in — no doubt making a very seamanlike job of it—to the combined shock and amusement of the inhabitants.²¹ In fact the commanders of warships visting Inch'on usually managed to visit Seoul as well, and a large proportion of them were granted audiences by the King.

In 1885 the Royal Navy was given a task a little more serious than making lists of shellfish or climbing town walls.

On 14 April the Secretary to the Admiralty telegraphed to Vice-Admiral Sir William Dowell, Commander-in-Chief, China Station, "Occupy Port Hamilton, and report proceedings."²²

²¹ Curzon: p. 122

²² In this section, all references to correspondence are taken from "Correspondence respecting the Temporary Occupation of Port Hamilton by Her Majesty's Government". CHINA No. 1. (1887) C-4991.

In reply to Chinese and Japanese enquiries (which had, in fact, been made before the occupation was ordered) the Foreign Secretary, Lord Granville, merely said that a temporary occupation had been found necessary "in view of eventualities." Such a reply might have seemed disingenuous to the point of rudeness if the powers concerned had not been very well aware what these "eventualities" were. They were, simply, fear of Russian intentions. Tsarist Russia, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, cast a sinister shadow both to the west and to the east. Alone of land powers the Russians had successfully defied Napoleon. In the middle of the century they checked the spread of liberal ideas and institutions to Eastern Europe, suppressing national uprisings in Poland in 1830 and 1863 and in Hungary in 1849 with a ruthlessness which appalled even western conservatives.

They threatened the Dardanelles and the Near East. They overran the Central Asian Emirates of Samarkand and Bokhara. They prized vast territories in Mongolia and Manchuria from the Chinese. They were building a port at Vladivostock, and the pieces of the railway were creeping together which was to link it to Moscow and St. Petersburg. Almost everywhere that the Russians tried to penetrate beyond the huge land mass of Northern Asia they found themselves opposed, in thought, word, and deed, by the British.

In twentieth-century political jargon, in the world of the cartoon, especially since the invention of Colonel Blimp, the British appear, or are made to appear, as reactionaries. This is odd, since in the whole of modern history we, the British, have only once taken sides against a genuine popular movement, and that was the French Revolution — and we did that not for lack of sympathy with the revolutionaries, but because at that time France was still our hereditary and natural rival. (In this context I consider the American War of Independence as essentially a civil war.) We stood, at times with almost fatuous insistence, for freedom of trade and representative institutions.

Against what we stood for, the Russians, as we saw it, enveloped their conquests in a stifling cloud of holy tyranny, mitigated it is true by some charm and incompetence at the top, but basically mad and medieval, secret and sinister, and wholly opposed to the wonderful new progress in which Victorian England believed.²³

This nation, then, had in June 1884 followed the example of Japan, the United States, England, Germany and Italy in signing a treaty with Korea, and had established the handsome legation in Seoul whose melancholy ruins still survive. This first direct and official contact with Korea served to emphasize the Russian presence, already very much there or thereabouts. The Russians were on the Tumen. Very soon they would be on the Yalu and at Port Arthur. Going to and from Vladivostock, their ships had already encircled Korea, and in the fifties had for a short time had a coaling station at this very Port Hamilton, a sheltered anchorage between three small islands lying in the open sea about half way between Yōsu, on the mainland, and Cheju Island. This action was not lost upon the British, and some of our admirals and officials, including Sir Harry Parkes when Minister to Japan, recommended that we should lose no time in forestalling the Russians by occupying Port Hamilton ourselves if trouble seemed likely again.

It did seem likely towards the end of 1884. The Russians, as I have said, were already represented in Seoul and the attempted coup in December, which resulted in the death of some of Queen Min's family, was thought to have had Russian backing. The Russians were supposed to have their eyes not only on Port Lazareff, the anchorage near Wōnsan, but to be negotiating for a Russian-Korean treaty by which Tsushima would be given to

²³ This animosity did not extend into the sphere of personal relations, as does today's struggle between the Communists and the free world. During the period covered by this paper relations between the Russians resident in Seoul and their diplomatic, consular, commercial and missionary colleagues from other countries seem to have been wholly friendly.

Korea, and Port Hamilton to Russia.²⁴ Another story was that the Russians would stop at nothing short of a protectorate over Korea. Curzon was inclined to attribute the first of these reports to the Chinese resident: at this distance of time it seems more likely that the Japanese were responsible. At any rate the English were disposed, with the Penjeh incident on the borders of Afghanistan fresh in their minds, to believe anything of the Russians and on April 15 H.M.S.S. *Agamemnon*, *Pegasus* and *Firebrand* left Nagasaki for Port Hamilton.

Subsequent proceedings at the diplomatic level throw light on the attitude of the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans and British towards each other at the time, and also on our representation at Seoul and how business was conducted with the Koreans.

The Japanese, on 23 April, were the first to tell us that they wished "to learn, when proper, what arrangement has been made with Corea". This is the first mention of Korea in the correspondence. The Chinese Minister in London on 27 April pointed out "these islands belong to the Kingdom of Corea, a country which is not only coterminous with China, but which is a vassal of the Chinese Empire". On the British proposing that the Chinese (not the Koreans, note) should formally agree to the occupation, the Chinese wisely replied in the negative, saying that if they agreed the Russians would only insist on occupying some other island or part of Korea, and possibly the Japanese would too, therefore "the Chinese Government regret that, in order to avoid these inconveniences... they cannot authorise their Minister to sign the arrangement proposed by Her Majesty's Government".

The Koreans, in fact, appeared in person at Port Hamilton before any official notification in writing had been received from the British. On 16 May the Chinese gunboats *Chao Yung* and *Yung Wei*, under the command of Admiral Ting(丁汝昌), arrived at Port Hamilton bringing Om Seyōng,(嚴世永) Member of the Inner Council Second Rank, and R.G. von Möllendorf, member of the Foreign

24) Curzon: p. 224

Office, who had come "to ascertain the truth of reports circulated in Russian and Japanese newspapers (the latter with remarks injurious to Corea) that the English had taken possession of these islands", and having discovered that this was the case they made a formal protest. On Captain Maclear of the *Flying Fish* (the senior officer) informing them that he had acted on Admiral Dowell's orders, the Koreans went on to see the Admiral at Nagasaki, and put in a written request first to know on whose authority and on what grounds the occupation had taken place, and secondly that we should make apparent to all the Treaty Powers that Port Hamilton was an integral part of Korea. Herr von Möllendorf was at pains to point out that they had only come in Chinese ships because they had none of their own. The Chinese Government professed ignorance of the Korean protest.

In telegraphing this news to the Admiralty, Admiral Dowell commented "I consider it right to say that Port Hamilton in my opinion is by no means a desirable place to hold. To defend it could be difficult, fortifications would be necessary, the expense would be heavy, and it would be a constant source of weakness". He amplified this two days later (20 May) with a further message. "As long as we have command of the sea, Hong Kong is sufficient base. Port Hamilton can be shelled from without unless fortified, consequently must have a squadron for its protection. It could be used as an anchorage, when necessary, without occupation. Any power holding it permanently must make a second Malta of it. I have taken the Captains' opinion; they quite agree with me".

His successor, Admiral Vesey Hamilton, later added a few more arguments from experience. It was not a good typhoon harbour, being exposed particularly from the South East. Anchors tended to drag in rough weather. And a permanent base or coaling station was no longer as necessary as it had been twenty years before: ships were faster.

Meanwhile Mr O'Connor, our Chargé d'Affaires in

Peking, had, in accordance with telegraphic instructions of 23 April from Lord Granville, sent word to Seoul to tell the Koreans that we were temporarily occupying Port Hamilton. There was a telegraph office at Seoul at this time, but it does not seem to have been used for this particular communication and it was only on 19 May (*three days after the Korean officials had called at Port Hamilton*) that Mr Scott (who was, I think, a language student), acting for Mr Vice-Consul Carles (who was acting for Mr Consul-General Aston, on leave) actually delivered to the President of the Korean Foreign Office our official intimation of the occupation. Mr Carles reported that "His Excellency received it without further remark than a question as to whether an arrangement of the difficulties between Great Britain and Russia had not been come to." The following day, however, he sent a written protest, expressing grave disappointment that the British had acted "in a manner so unexpected" and asking us to withdraw at once. Later requests for an "arrangement" were turned down.

However, after receiving an assurance that no harm was intended to the integrity of their country, the Koreans withdrew their protest. Herr von Möllendorf was dismissed from his post for complicity with the Russians (on the Port Hamilton evidence alone he seems to have been hardly used, but he had been in touch with the Russians, without Korean agreement, when in Japan early in 1885, and had in many ways exceeded his mandate) and no more was heard, for the time being, of Russian demands.

It might therefore be thought that, with both the Korean protest and the Russian threat withdrawn, and with the navy saying the place was no use to them anyway, we might have left Port Hamilton after three months instead of staying there for nearly two years.

The fact is, of course, that to hold Port Hamilton represented, or seemed to represent, an advantage. Both the Russians and the Chinese were slightly worried about it and made enquiries as to our intentions from time to

time. In October 1885 Mr O'Connor told the Chinese the moment was inopportune to put questions of this sort, as elections were impending in England. This excuse could not be used for long and in December Lord Salisbury instructed Mr O'Connor that if the Chinese raised the question again they were to be asked whether, if we withdrew from the islands, the Chinese would undertake that they should not be occupied by any other foreign country.

The rest of the story consists, on the diplomatic side, of our efforts to obtain such an undertaking in a form that seemed reasonably reliable, and, on the naval side, of attempts by the Admiralty to hurry the Foreign Office so that the Admiralty could be relieved as soon as possible of a task which was "a source of weakness in wartime to the cruising power of the squadron in the China command". This took, altogether, just over a year, and the correspondence included the suggestion, to which I referred earlier in this paper, that both Port Hamilton and Port Lazareff should be made Treaty Ports. The breakthrough came in October 1886 when the Chinese informed Sir John Walsham, the British Minister in Peking, that the Russians, both in St. Petersburg and through their Chargé d'Affaires in Peking, M. Ladyginsky, had explicitly declared that Russia had no design to make Korea a protectorate, and that if the English left Port Hamilton the Russians would undertake not to interfere with Korean territory under any circumstances. The Chinese accordingly gave the required guarantee that no part of the territory of Korea, including Port Hamilton, would be occupied by a foreign power. On 23 December Sir John Walsham, on instructions, addressed notes to the Chinese and Korean Governments accepting this guarantee. Once again, it was not considered necessary to notify Seoul by telegraph. The last British ship left Port Hamilton and the flag was hauled down on 27 February 1887.

As to how things were at Port Hamilton itself, the best source is a report by Mr Scott (the same who

delivered our note in Seoul) of a visit in August 1885.²⁵ He went to sort things out generally, since the navy had no competent Korean interpreter. He was principally engaged in arranging the lease of some land on Ai-do (called Observatory Island,) the smallest of the three islands, and for the erection of a hospital and huts for 100 marines. This island, now the site of a large and flourishing fishing village and port, was not then regularly inhabited at all, but there were some sixty patches of cultivated land on it owned by nearly forty proprietors from the villages on the two larger islands. Mr Scott duly identified the senior official, a Police Magistrate, and informed him that Her Majesty's Government did not intend to deprive the people of any of their land or property, and that land tax would continue to be paid by the Korean lessors. (This did not please the headman of one of the villages who wanted to place himself under British protection and not have to pay rent to the provincial authorities on the mainland.) Leases were duly arranged, at a total annual rental of 174 dollars.

The second question was of wages for the Korean labour employed. When the ships first arrived the villagers were in an almost destitute condition and had exhausted their supplies of food. They were accordingly paid in rice, but four months later they had acquired such a store of rice that they now asked for cash wages, and were disposed to drive a hard bargain on the grounds that the British ships had frightened away the fish. Agreement was reached on 75 cash (6d.) a day, which Mr Scott regarded as not only ample, but liberal.

He also arranged for a ship from Pusan to call twice a month with cattle for the use of the fleet. Hitherto cattle had been supplied from Japan, also vegetables. The British also introduced poultry.

As for the actual works on the islands, booms were erected across the two narrower entrances to the harbour,

²⁵ Later Mr Scott, when Vice-consul at Chemulp'o, compiled a dictionary which was the first work to be printed by the English Mission Press. See also extracts printed at the end of this paper.

i.e. North and South West, but they were not very satisfactory, and as soon as it became clear that there was little or no question of actual fighting they were not proceeded with. A cable was laid from Saddle Island at the mouth of the Yangtze, with the approval of the Chinese authorities, but it became unserviceable in January 1886 and the Admiralty declined to provide funds to repair it until they were "in possession of the definite views of the Foreign Office". Apart from the hospital and huts already mentioned, work on Observatory Island consisted of a boat harbour and pier, a breakwater, road making, two wooden godowns, a guncotton magazine and a small hut as office and dwelling place for the telegraph men, which had been shipped from Shanghai. There was no work at all on the other islands except for two flagstaffs which were subsequently removed. The Union Jack was flown on Sundays, and on the approach of a foreign man-of-war. The actual number of British ships present there varied, but seems usually to have been between eight and three.

It seems reasonable to suppose that when the men and stores left in February 1887 enough remained of the British encampment to form the beginnings of the present village of Kōmun-ni, though on visible evidence this seems to date entirely from the period of the Japanese occupation. The Korean islanders were said to do no fishing at all, this being done by the Japanese, so perhaps they took over our installations. All that remains on Kōmun-do today to recall the years 1885-7 is a granite headstone marking the grave of two young sailors killed by the accidental explosion of a Nordenfeldt gun on H.M.S. *Albatross* in March 1886.²⁶

26 There are ten Englishmen buried at Port Hamilton. Their names, ranks and ships are as follows:-

Thomas Oliver : Pte R.M. HMS *CLEOPATRA*

Henry Green : Pte R.M. HMS *CLEOPATRA*

Peter Ward : Pte R.M. Detachment

Frederick C. Skinner : Boy 1st Class, H.M.S. *AUDACIOUS*

William J. Murray : A.B., H.M.S. *ALBATROSS*

Charles Dale : Boy, H.M.S. *ALBATROSS*

William Bowles : Stoker, HMS *CHAMPION*

IV. The Church of England Mission

The same year, 1887, that saw the departure of the British from Port Hamilton also saw the beginnings of a much more important and much more permanent link with Korea : the Church of England mission.

In October 1887 Bishop Bickersteth of South Tokyo and Bishop Scott of North China landed in Chemulp'o and proceeded to Seoul in order to report on the feasibility of a Korea mission. They were not, it seems, impressed. Bishop Bickersteth wrote that the country reminded him of Ajmer (it must have been looking particularly arid, but there is a similarity in the dramatic outline of the hills), but of Seoul he wrote "I thought when I saw it that the Chinese town of Shanghai was the filthiest place human beings live in on earth, but Seoul is a grade lower."²⁷ He also observed, as others had done and were to do, that "the Koreans as a nation have no religion", and he left an entertaining account of one of the big official examinations — the candidates sitting in a yard composing poems with the aid of rhyming dictionaries, and flinging their finished compositions into a small fenced enclosure where the examiner sat marking them at the rate of twenty a minute.

Whether because of or in spite of the Bishop's report, it was decided to set up a Korea mission, and in September 1890 the first Bishop, Charles John Corfe, arrived in Chemulp'o with an American doctor, Landis, to be followed soon afterwards by a single priest, Mr Trollope,

John D. Mackett: Writer, HMS *PEGASUS*

They all died during the occupation and were buried in the small plot where the surviving stone stands, but only Murray and Dale have a monument. A white wooden cross in the same plot marks the grave of A.B. Alexander Wood of H.M.S. *ALBION* who died in 1903. Samuel Smith, 3rd engineer of S.S. *MERIONETHSHIRE*, who died during the occupation, was buried separately near the landing stage, but his grave is no longer marked.

27 S. Bickersteth: "Life and Letters of Edward Bickersteth," p. 192

and two deacons.²⁸ They had been preceded in Seoul by Doctor Wiles.

The hospital was of course started at once, but Bishop Corfe laid down that no missionary work properly speaking was to be done until the language had been mastered and a necessary minimum of the Prayer Book and passages of Scripture translated. It was seven years before the first Koreans were baptised. Meanwhile in their short holidays from the grinding language work and the less taxing jobs of administering the hospitals and attending to the spiritual needs of the small foreign Anglican communities at Seoul and Chemulp'o,²⁹ the missionaries were free to observe their surroundings and record what they saw. In 1892 that great man Bishop (as he afterwards became) Trollope wrote: "There are no special dangers and few special hardships attached to life in Korea." He and a companion, Peake, on their first holiday, had just walked to Wönsan and back via P'yöngyang, covering 600 miles in 34 days.³⁰ They frequently walked between Seoul and Chemulp'o just for a chat or a bit of fresh air after a day's translating. With the growth towards the turn of the century of sizeable Korean congregations the mission magazine, 'Morning Calm', fills up with descriptions of baptisms and school outings, appeals for altar furniture and stories of Sister Agnes's little dog — in fact it becomes just like most other missionary journals — but in the early days matters of much wider interest, particularly Korean relations with the Japanese, are freely described.

28 The heading of the writing paper used by the Anglican Mission includes the words "First Missionary 1880." I am told that this records the arrival of a Japanese lay worker in Pusan. In the same year the Archdeacon of Fukien started the train of activity that got two Chinese Anglican missionaries to Korea for some years. However, the mission proper dates from 1889.

29 Until 1901 they were also responsible for mission work at Niewchwang in Manchuria.

30 "Morning Calm", April 1892. This is the monthly magazine of the English Mission to Korea, published in London. Unless otherwise specified, quotations in this section of the paper are from this source.

Bishop Corfe³¹ was 47 when he came to Korea, and he had been a naval chaplain for over twenty years. He was given 600 pounds a year and promptly appealed for five priests, unmarried and sharing his Catholic beliefs, to share it with him. He actually started with only one. In the navy he had been chaplain on board the flagship of the first Duke of Edinburgh, and knew many of the royal family including the future King George V. Their continued interest and that of the Navy carried practically single-handed the early and most valuable hospital work of the Mission at Seoul and Chemulp'o. (This work was eventually given up after the foundation of larger and better endowed hospitals by other missions. It continued in the provinces, however, until 1940). Bishop Corfe was an Oxford man, the son of the organist at Christ Church, and had the doubtful distinction when a child of having his portrait painted, as a cherub, in the decoration of Merton College Chapel. A tall, bearded man, he lived very simply, never broke his fast before midday, and nailed old socks to the beams of his small Korean houses at Seoul and Chemulp'o so as to soften the impact when his head hit them. I think it was recounted of Bishop Corfe after the first night of one of his visits to England that he was found by the maid who came to call him sleeping peacefully on the floor beside the spring bed he had found too soft for him. (Another member of the mission, Hillary, describing the Kyōngbok Palace in 1896 after the King had taken refuge in the Russian Legation refers to "A European house of the Renaissance style, very well built but seldom used by the King..... It was in this house that he made trial of a European bed, but owing to the coldness of the sheets never tried it again.")

For all the firmness of the foundations that he laid, Bishop Corfe emerges as rather a sad figure who was only really cheered up by the many visits paid to Chemulp'o and Seoul by ships and men of his beloved Navy. His inability to master, at his age, spoken Korean (though

31 For Bishop Corfe generally, see "C. J. Corfe, a Memoir" by Bishop H. H. Montgomery.

apparently he learned enough to do a good deal of translating) filled him with a sense of failure, and it seems to have been primarily for this reason that he resigned in 1904. He was probably also not the easiest man to work with, but his comments on the events of the Sino-Japanese war and its aftermath reveal his political acumen. He did not share with his friend the Consul-General the wishful thought that Japanese occupation would work out to the benefit of Korea.

Provoked by the "outrage" on the Acting Consul-General (Gardner) and the "savage assault" on the English Commissioner of Customs (McLeavy Brown),³² having seen the Japanese troops streaming through Chemulp'o and the rescue of those Chinese saved from the *Kowshing*, and having had to close the school at which Mr Smart, a lay missionary worker, was teaching English to the Japanese, the Bishop recorded in August 1894 that the "universal hatred and suspicion of Japan" which had already characterised the Koreans had turned to "detestation and horror." On the pathetic proclamation of Korean Independence under Japanese auspices in January 1895 he wrote that the Japanese were not civilised, so they could not bring civilisation to Korea. After the murder of Queen Min, he wrote:

"You will have been hopelessly confused, for the people in England do not understand the methods of Japanese official telegraphic communications. The murder of the Queen forms the last act of a drama which has been proceeding in Korea for more than a year, and convicts the Government of Japan either of a hopeless incapacity to provide even the simplest form of civilisation for Korea, or a treacherous cruelty. In Korea the credit of Japan for honest endeavour and friendly relations is—for

32 No other source I have been able to consult mentions these incidents so I do not know what happened to the two officials. Japanese soldiers occupied the Palace in Seoul on 23 July 1894. The Chinese Minister had fled two days earlier, leaving Chinese interests in the hands of the British. On 27 July the *KOWSHING*, a British steamer chartered to the Chinese and carrying Chinese troops, was sunk by the Japanese.

this generation—utterly ruined. Envoys extraordinary may come from the Emperor to condole with the King, but they will not alter this belief of the Koreans from highest to lowest that the Japanese, who destined them to political extinction 18 months ago, have by this last act forged the last and strongest link in the chain which is intended to bind them.”

He strongly criticised the new Japanese-inspired rules ordering dark outer clothes instead of white, and later the forcible cutting of the top knot. “The stone which Japan has bound to Korea is steadily sinking her.” “Koreans as a body associate short hair with the Japanese, not with civilisation. This civilisation by means of assassination and scissors has only one meaning for Koreans. It spells subjugation.”

(These were not private letters, but the monthly letters published in a missionary journal.)

Again, after the murder he wrote that the “mock trial of the late Japanese Minister and his accomplices furnishes one more insult to this unhappy people.” “The escape of the King (on 11 February 1896) to the Russian Legation has been a complete justification of all I have written to you on the action pursued by the Government of Japan towards this country.” Two days later, on the New Year Holiday, 13 February, he walked about Seoul and commented: “It is very instructive to notice how entirely Japan has failed to get below the surface of these people.”

I mentioned that from the beginning of his work Bishop Corfe was accompanied by two doctors. Both were remarkable characters. The senior by far in point of age was Deputy-Surgeon-General Julius Wiles, late of the British army. He built with his own money and ran for four years the first English Mission hospital in Seoul, which was on part of the site next to the Legation compound where the Anglican cathedral now stands, and administered the Naval Hospital Fund. He is described by

Bishop Trollope as a "splendid old specimen of the army doctor,"³³ and though he only spent four years here his untiring work laid firm foundations. He was eventually killed at the age of 78 by being knocked off his bicycle by a runaway horse and cart in De Vere Gardens, Chelsea. The second doctor was more important both for the Mission and for Korea, though properly speaking he should not come into my paper at all as he was an American. Dr Eli Barr Landis came from Pennsylvania, and he ran the hospital at Chemulp'o from 1890 until his death from typhoid in 1898, when he was only 35, with only one break for leave. Known as "the little doctor" he was very much loved. He was a great scholar and bibliophile, and so far as I can discover the only complaint that his colleagues in the Mission had of him was that, as a scholar, he preferred Chinese characters to the *han'gul* which they were trying so hard to master. After his death the Mission bought his library and named it after him, adding greatly to it in the time of Bishop Trollope. It is now unhappily dispersed, though I believe a nucleus went to Yonsei University and some of the English books are now to be found at St. Bede's, in the present care of Father Rutt.

Although up to 1901 the work of the Mission in Korea was much handicapped by their also having, with their very small staff, to look after the European colony at the Manchurian port of Niewchwang, they soon acquired a very thorough first-hand knowledge of parts of Korea. I have already referred to Bishop Trollope's great walk. Mr Davies walked to Ch'unch'ön, accompanied by his pointer, Juno. Sometimes they were only short expeditions, as when Mr Warner visited the North Fortress in May 1891, and reported that it had recently been provisioned since the soothsayers had predicted peculiar disaster, including the end of the dynasty, for that year. Travel without a special permit was of course restricted to within 30 miles of the treaty ports, and Bishop Trollope described the attitude of the English mission as half way between

33 M.N. Trollope; "The Church in Korea," p 37.

that of the French Roman Catholics, who went anywhere and made a virtue of defiance, and the American Presbyterians who either stuck to Seoul or made elaborate passport-conducted tours, giving out bad translations of "the Word" — another blow at poor Mr. Ross, I fear. Sometimes Bishop Trollope was literally between the two, as when he stood at an official party at Chemulp'o talking to a French father on one side and an American methodist on the other, who would not speak directly to one another.³⁴ Angus Hamilton, who was no friend to missionaries, wrote of Bishop Corfe's "system of communism" and the privations and primitive simplicity in which the mission lived, but contrasted with it the "pomp" of their services which he considered unnecessary and an affectation.³⁵

Mr Warner was sent on a trip in the winter of 1892 which led to the beginning of the Mission's work on Kanghwa Island which became, and still remains, an important centre for them. It was also the scene of another Anglo-Korean enterprise about which I should like to know more. It appears that some time in 1863 the King of Korea decided to establish an academy for the education and training of Naval Officers, and the British Foreign Office was asked to find somebody to start it. A site was found at Kapkotchi, on Kanghwa Island, near Kanghwa city and the ferry. It seems that a schoolmaster, Mr Hutchinson, was the first foreigner to arrive, and in December 1893 there were 50 Korean youths housed there, aged between 18 and 26. Mr Warner also described storehouses stocked with antiquated cannon, and another, locked, storehouse, reputed to contain bows and arrows "which still hold a place in Korea's notion of warfare". "What", he asks, "will the European instructors make of these?" In the early summer of 1894 Lt Callwell, R.N., retired, with his wife, arrived. The timing of this venture proved unfortunate. I do not know exactly what happened, but it seems that under Japanese

34 Constance Trollope: "Mark Napier Trollope, Bishop in Korea." (SPCK, 1936)

35 Hamilton: p 263.

domination the King's interest waned, and though the Callwells stayed for nearly two years no Korean Naval Officers seem to have in fact been trained. The buildings were acquired by the English Mission in 1897.

There was a Royal English School³⁶ at Seoul which for at least part of its existence had an English headmaster, Mr Russell Frampton. Mrs Bishop described it in 1896 as having 100 students in uniform regularly drilled by a sergeant of Marines, and crazy about football.³⁷ The reactionary Minister of Education, who was trying to re-introduce mediaeval styles of dress and deportment, attempted to deprive the boys of their western style uniforms, but the King liked them, and the drill, and gave the Marine sergeant a gold watch. Mr Hutchinson's pupils (after the demise of the short-lived Naval College he came to Seoul to the English School) were described as having the spirit of English public schoolboys, upright and honourable, though Hutchinson himself was "almost an Easterner" with an intimate knowledge of court intrigue.³⁸ Mr McCarthy, the mining engineer who provided this description, had a Hutchinson-educated boy as one of his staff at the Unsan mining camp. A devil had got into the stable there, causing panic amongst the ponies and their grooms, and this boy successfully exorcised it by the sacrifice of two bottles of gin. Mr McCarthy, unreasonably, it seems, was disappointed at this result of English-type education.³⁹

V. Distinguished Visitors, and a Distinguished Resident

During the nineties, Korea became better known generally, largely through the writings of two

³⁶ English meant the language primarily taught. There were also a Royal French School and a Royal Russian School.

³⁷ Bishop: Vol II p 208. Brother Hugh Pearson was an enthusiastic football coach at this time.

³⁸ Edward T. McCarthy: "Further Incidents in the Life of a Mining Engineer" (1920), p 211.

³⁹ Ibid: p 254.

eminent English visitors.

The Hon. George Nathaniel Curzon, M.P. (later, as Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Viceroy of India and Foreign Secretary), visited Korea in the course of a Far Eastern tour in 1892, with his friend Cecil Spring-Rice, later Ambassador to Washington, and went up to the Diamond Mountains. Curzon, who must have been almost intolerable to work with and for, was a brilliant man who did not suffer fools gladly. He wrote patronisingly of Korea—but then he patronised everybody. He thought it odd that Koreans should wear white in the dirt and cotton in the cold, noted their semi-aesthetic, semi-superstitious nature worship, the unworkable firearms and 300 year-old armour of their soldiers, and their political powerlessness. Referring to the King's title as a son of Heaven, he wrote "No celestial scion in the world probably exercises less influence upon its destinies than the King of Korea." He found the women masterful and hard-visaged, the men tall, robust and good-looking, but idle. The country had become a political Tom Tiddler's ground. He noted the intemperate and swaggering attitude of the Japanese in Korea and was uncertain about the future. Korea was a state "of whom future fixity is the last attribute to be predicated". It would be best off under China, rather than really independent. The primary British interest was as a market. (Here British businessmen were to disappoint him.) His book "Problems of the Far East", published in 1894, is dedicated "To those who believe that the British Empire is, under Providence, the greatest instrument for good the world has seen and who hold, with the writer, that its work in the Far East is not yet accomplished." Faced with such confidence, it is hard to understand that two generations later serious political commentators would be referring to that Empire as "our colonial phase." It is easy to laugh at Lord Curzon, but one would not have laughed to his face.

Bishop Corfe, reviewing the book in his mission paper, commends it, though finding it a little flippant and superficial here and there and considering it ungenerous that

Curzon made no mention of Mr Davies of the English Mission who accompanied him as interpreter. The "most superior person" was not very good at noticing people, and one must conclude that he did not quite do justice to Korea. But Curzon's official biographer, the late Lord Zetland, made him do even less. The only mention of Korea in his two fat volumes is this quotation from a letter:—

"I am just tearing myself away from the fascination of Japan for the rugged embraces of Korea, one of the dirtiest and most repulsive countries in the world"⁴⁰

a judgement Curzon committed to paper before he had seen for himself.

The next visitor, Mrs Bishop, was a very remarkable woman and the book she wrote about Korea is probably the best account of those times.⁴¹

(It is worth a moment's diversion to remind you that books of that kind exercised a considerable influence because everybody of importance read them. Mrs Bishop's book was in the hands of Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister, soon after its publication. There was the telegraph for urgent news, which got into the daily papers, but for background information the enlightened traveller and commentator was essential even though it was six months or a year before his book could appear. I imagine that more solid reading was done in the thirty years or so before the general introduction of wireless than at any time before or since, and that people were better informed than they are now when the sheer weight of undigested up-to-the-minute reporting deadens the senses and surfeits the appetite.)

Isabella Bird—Mrs Bishop, that is — was born in 1831, and was brought up by her evangelical clergyman father in an atmosphere of sabbatarianism, temperance and anti-

⁴⁰ Ronaldshay: Life of Lord Curzon Vol I p 191

⁴¹ "Korean and her Neighbours," first published 1898. Quoted extensively in this paper.

slavery. (Her biographer recalls that along with similarly minded families the Birds never took sugar in their tea, in order to avoid adding to the profits of the West Indian plantation owners.) She had trouble with her spine and was advised to travel for her health, and this she did to great effect, in the intervals of nursing first an ailing sister and then an ailing husband. She wrote so well (though without formal education she had been trained to those high powers of observation and clarity of expression which one has come to expect as a matter of course from the children of English Victorian vicarages) that she made a lot of money from her books and at times seems seriously to have intended to settle down in comfortable retirement at home, but under these conditions her health mysteriously but invariably broke down, and whereas on a drawing room sofa or a spring bed her spine gave her agonies, she could ride for days on a pony across the stoniest deserts and mountain passes, and sleep on the ground or the floor of a temple or tent, and seem all the better for it.⁴²

This splendid woman was 63 when she first came to Korea, and was already a celebrity. She was here on and off (with intervals that is, in China and Japan, some as originally planned and some not) between January 1894 and March 1897 — a particularly interesting time in the history of Korea.

Her first judgements have the confidence, if not the orotundity, of Lord Curzon's. The Korean people were very intelligent and quick in the uptake. The climate was superb. In the arts, she awarded them NIL, and the women's dress was the "ugliest on earth."⁴³ On her first trip she called first at Pusan and met three ladies of the Australian Mission which had been founded in 1889 and flourishes to this day. Then she landed at Chemulp'o, went to Seoul

⁴² Anna M. Stoddart: "The Life of Isabella Bird (Mrs Bishop.)" (1906)

⁴³ A curious verdict, it seems, but in Mrs Bishop's time Korean women wore over and above the sort of dress they wear today a kind of short coat drawn right up over their head and shoulders. Their breasts were also frequently exposed. This is probably what upset Mrs Bishop.

and stayed with the Consul-General, and then went exploring up the Han river. With the help of Mr. Wyers,⁴⁴ the Legation Constable, and an American missionary, Mr. Miller, who accompanied her on the trip, she hired a servant and a sampan and set off up the South Han to Yong-chon, (Yōngch'un 永春) which was as far as the boat could get, after being hauled over shallows and rapids.

She was of course by no means the first European woman to visit Korea. Many of the diplomats, missionaries and treaty port officials had their wives and daughters with them, and some of the missions, the English one included, had nurses and lay sisters who had penetrated into the country, but none had embarked on so ambitious a journey as Mrs Bishop and in most of the places she visited she was the first European woman the inhabitants had seen. The close scrutiny to which she was subjected must have been very irritating. In the villages, her meals were as public as those of Louis XIV and when she retired for the nights into an often stifling little room on which the doors had been closed for privacy, the paper would be wetted and fingers bored through to make holes, to which eyes would soon be glued to watch her. The women were the worst. At a large yangban's house in the village of Chōn-yaing (near Yōju) "I was laid hold of (literally) by the serving women and dragged through the women's court and into the women's apartments. I was surrounded by fully forty women, old and young, wives, concubines, servants, all in gala dress and much adorned. The principal wife, a very young girl wearing some Indian jewellery, was very pretty and had an exquisite complexion, but one and all were destitute of manners. They investigated my clothing, pulled me about, took off my hat and tried it on. untwisted my hair and absorbed my hairpins, pulled off my gloves and tried them on with shrieks of laughter and then, but not till

⁴⁴ Originally a sailor, he had come to Korea with Bishop Corfe to help with the Mission printing press and was later taken on by the Legation. There is a note in "Morning Calm" of May 1902 that the Legation constable had died of hydrophobia after being bitten by a cat. I think Wyers had retired before then.

they had exhausted all the amusements which could be got out of me, they bethought themselves of entertaining me by taking me through their apartments".⁴⁵

Then she returned down the South Han to Seoul and went up the North Han, again as far as she could by boat, and then on pony and foot through the Diamond Mountains to Wōnsan. From there she had intended returning to Chemulp'o by sea and thence again to Seoul. At Wōnsan she heard conflicting, and, she suspected, exaggerated accounts of the Tonghak rebellion, but when she landed at Chemulp'o she heard that 6,000 Japanese troops had been landed and marched to Seoul, and she found the Chinese colony in a panic. "The Vice-Consul called on me and warned me that I must leave Korea that night Other Europeans advised me not to be "deported," but it is one of my travelling rules never to be a source of embarrassment to British officials and that night, with two English fellow-sufferers, I left Chemulp'o..... I had nothing but the clothing I wore, a heavy tweed suit, and the mercury was 80°, and after paying my passage to Chefoo, the first port of call, I had only four cents left."⁴⁶

Of course she found a British Consul at Chifu as well, who rehabilitated her, and she visited Niewchwang and Mukden in Manchuria, then Peking, and sailed round Korea to Vladivostock, near which she visited Korean settlements in Russian territory, While readily admitting that there was no freedom of thought or speech in Vladivostock, she found the Koreans amenable to and flourishing under discipline, and from a material point of view healthier and better off than their relatives in Korea.

In January 1895 she returned to Chemulp'o and Seoul and in February left again for China and Japan, returning at the end of October and this time making North, past the battlefields of Kaesōng and Pyōngyang, where the Chinese

⁴⁵ Bishop: Vol I. p. 97.

⁴⁶ Bishop: Vol I. b. 213.

dead still lay unburied, and up the Taedong river as far as Tökch'ön(德川). A final visit was made nearly a year later, from October 1896 to March 1897.

In early 1895 she had been received by King Kojong and Queen Min, and she shared to the full with the resident population the horror at the latter's murder in October. She described the pathetic state of the King at this time.

"General Dye, the American military adviser, an old and feeble man, slept near the palace library, and the American missionaries in twos took it in turns to watch with him. This was the only protection which the unfortunate sovereign possessed. He was also visited daily by the foreign representatives in turns, with the double object of ascertaining that he was alive and assuring him of their sympathy and interest. Food was supplied to him in a locked box from the Russian or U.S. Legation, but so closely was he watched that it was difficult to pass the key into his hand....."⁴⁷

On the occasion of her departure for the North, at the approach of winter, Mrs. Bishop described the modest provision she made for the journey. "My equipment consisted of a camp bed and bedding, candles, a large strong doubly-oiled sheet, a folding chair, a kettle, two pots, a cup and two plates of enamelled iron, some tea which turned out musty, some flour, curry powder, and a tin of Edwards's desiccated soup which came back unopened."⁴⁸ In addition to these adventitious aids, she had two personal characteristics which must have helped. She was very small—4ft. 11½ inches tall — which must have made life in a sampan or on a Korean pony more comfortable than if she had been tall and certainly did away with the necessity for nailing socks on the roof beams, and she had the digestion of a camel and could eat anything.

On her last visit she comments on some of the modernisations of life in Korea — European style uniforms

47 Bishop: Vol II. p. 73

48 Bishop: Vol II. p. 79

and so forth — but she was saddened by the lack of any serious progress and the hopeless levity and extravagant personal expenditure of the King once he was safe again in the Russian legation. An army of 6,000 men she considered “an unblushing extravagance” and thought thought them grossly overpaid at 2 dollars a month.⁴⁹ She described and took part in the work of the English mission where she endowed a new Bird-Bishop Ward for the Seoul hospital in memory of her husband (it was dedicated in July 1895, Mr Hillier, the Consul-General, himself acting as “architect, contractor and clerk of works”) and attended the Church of the Advent, “a beautiful Korean building” on part of the site of the present cathedral. She probably did not like the ‘ritualistic’ services much, since she had been brought up under the Church of England’s evangelical wing and acquired a further taste for simplicity in the West Highlands of Scotland. At one time she wrote, from London: “The church of my fathers has cast me out by means of inanities, puerilities, music and squabbings.”⁵⁰

In the extent of British interest in Korea she was disappointed. Our flag was unknown in Korean waters. In 1897, she records, there were 65 British subjects in Korea out of 11,000 foreigners, all but 600 of whom were Japanese.

Korea was the last of her great journeys. She travelled again in Morocco in 1901 when she was over seventy, and died in 1904.

Two members of parliament, apart from Curzon, both quite undistinguished, also visited Korea in the nineties. One was Mr Henry Norman, who seems to have been straining his literary genius rather hard when he wrote that a street full of Koreans in their white clothes suggested “the orthodox notion of the Resurrection”.⁵¹ Mr

49 Bishop: Vol II. p. 263.

50 Stoddard: *op. cit.* However, she liked Bishop Corfe personally. He sent her a Korean ox after she had returned to England.

51 Quoted in Hamilton: p. 41.

Ernest Hatch, the other, came at the very end of the century and was interested in mining and railways, and took the usual British view of the political situation. "The Japanese unquestionably stand for political and commercial freedom, as against blighting despotism"⁵² (that is, of Russia). Mokp'o had just been made a treaty port. He found the Consul at Chemulp'o busy judging a murder trial and the Seoul gates no longer closed at sunset. British businessmen and ship owners were apathetic, though we had supplied some rails and locomotives for the new railway, and there was a British cigarette factory at Chemulp'o.⁵³

Another distinguished visitor who was here in 1896⁵⁴ and almost certainly also in subsequent years, was Valentine Chirol, who had just been appointed head of the foreign department of the "Times". Like so many other Englishmen, he was particularly interested in and sympathetic to the progress and development of Japan.

No European visitor stayed for long in Korea at this time without becoming aware of, and probably paying tribute to the work of, Mr McLeavy Brown, an Irishman. A barrister by profession, he had joined the Chinese Imperial Customs and in 1893 was appointed by Sir Robert Hart to take charge of customs in Korea. For one year, from 1896-7, he was Chief Financial Adviser as well, and his signature was required for all Treasury disbursements, but he was eased out of that post by Russian influence (and, I suppose, the King's dislike of strict control). Though the Customs, dealing with all Treaty Port Revenue (there were ports open to international trade by 1899) still left him with more control than anyone else over finance, in practice there was little he could do to curb royal extravagance. He did his best to turn it into useful channels, and had considerable success in tidying up Seoul, cleaning and rebuilding and

52 Hatch: p. 12

53 Ibid: pp. 44, 85

54 Visit recorded in the "Independent."

restoring the main streets to their original width by the removal of shacks which had been built along them.

His office and house were somewhere very near the Legation, either on ground that is now part of the Töksu Palace grounds, or part of the City Hall square outside, but he also had a bungalow at Map'o on the river. He had a great reputation for learning, with a library of 7,000 books, and was said to read the Encyclopaedia Britannica every evening. It does not sound as if he had a wife! His most dramatic action was in 1900 when he persuaded the British Minister to have a Royal Naval Squadron demonstrate off Chemulp'o to prevent the customs revenue being pledged as security for a Franco-Russian loan.⁵⁵ He must have been a severe figure, with his rather sunken eyes, his heavy Edwardian moustache and his walking stick. Fortune hunters hated him. Before the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war he personally removed ammunition and guns from Korean soldiery whom he knew could not be trusted with them, probably preventing a massacre. After the Japanese obtained their protectorate practically the first thing they did was to have him removed.⁵⁶ Years later, in retirement, he was knighted.

VI. Korea after the turn of the Century

The Japanese had had to draw in their horns a little after the murder of Queen Min, and Russian influence increased again, though it seems to me that, looked at in retrospect, the Russian attitude was still suprisingly moderate. But it was increasingly clear that a showdown with the Japanese was imminent, and with China, after the Boxer rebellion, in an interesting state of ferment and "modernisation", visits to this part of the world became more numerous and new accounts of Korea were written and old memoirs refurbished.

Physically, Seoul had changed quite a lot. The

⁵⁵ Hamilton: p. 60

⁵⁶ Putnam Weale

dominant buildings were no longer the palaces, but the Roman Catholic Cathedral, two or three big protestant churches, and the British and Russian Legations. The railway from Chemulp'o was finished. Trams had also arrived in Seoul and caused a riot when two men sleeping on the line had their heads cut off. The King had started building his new stone palace, for which he had an English architect, Mr Harding, and it was expected that he would want to enlarge the grounds at the expense of the British and American Legations, which overlooked them. The German Minister had already lost his house.⁵⁷ Meanwhile the British Legation and the Mission were regularly disturbed by noises of music and dancing from the Töksu Palace, which reminded them that royal extravagance continued in spite of the state of the country's finances.⁵⁸ Mr Gubbins, who had temporarily replaced Jordan, the Minister resident, was elected the first President of the Korea Branch Royal Asiatic Society, in June 1900. Life was more peaceful than it had been, and it was some time since it had been necessary to land bluejackets or marines from H.M. ships to guard the Legation, or, as had been done in 1894, for the navy to run a service of steam launches up the Han to ensure safe passage for Europeans. In the Bishop's letters, political references became rare. It may be simply that there was more mission work to record, or that the Japanese were obviously here to stay and had to be worked with, or even that somebody had expressed disapproval. He forbore to comment on the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902. A big memorial service was held for Queen Victoria in a marquee on the Legation lawn, decorated with black and purple. Mr Trollope had gone home to a London parish. Bishop Corfe was soon to retire, and be succeeded by a much younger man, Bishop Turner, under whom the Mission's work greatly extended, both towards North Korea and to Suwön and further south, but who died after only five years as bishop.

57) Hamilton: pp. 81 ff

58) Morning Calm, May 1902

Angus Hamilton describes⁵⁹ a royal progress from the Töksu Palace to the ancestral shrine, remarkable as one of the first public appearances of the Lady Om, whose infant son⁶⁰ now ranked next to the Crown Prince. Queen Min, or what could be found of her — a little finger, it was said — was twice buried, first in 1898 (after 26 months of elaborate and expensive court mourning) some three miles from the East Gate, and then again in 1901, 14 miles further away, the original site not having proved propitious.⁶¹ The mission paper referred in 1904 to a story in the Daily Mail that a Miss Emily Brown had married the Emperor of Korea, and described it as “an invention coming through America”.

Visitors continued to lament the lack of interest by British traders, and the supine attitude of the British government in the face of political intrigue by France and Russia and commercial competition from Japan. The state of Korean finances, in spite of Mc Leavy Brown's efforts, was appalling. In 1901 the Consulate at Chemulp'o reported that there were port quotations for

- (1) government nickel coins
- (2) 1st class counterfeits
- (3) medium counterfeits
- (4) those passable only after dark

the counterfeits being made in Japan.⁶² There had been a great fall in British exports between 1891 and 1901. Attempts to persuade merchants that there was a market for high class cottons met with no response. We were almost equally uninterested in equipment for the new railways, and a London firm addressed a catalogue to H.M. Vice-Consul, Korea, Africa.⁶³ Hamilton did not

59 Hamilton: p. 60

60 Prince Yöngch'in (Yi Eun.) He was taken to Japan as a small child, married a Japanese, and remained there. His Korean citizenship has recently been restored to him and he returned to Korea in November 1963.

61 Morning Calm: February 1898 and May 1902

62 Hatch: p. 92, and Hamilton: p. 102

63 Hamilton: p. 151

blame the consuls — except to say there were not enough of them. He suggested consular agencies at Pusan and Wönsan. Of the merchants themselves he wrote “the British merchant in the Far East is the first to condemn his own Minister and abuse his own Consul, and he is the very last to help himself.”⁶⁴

In fact in the face of what had already become almost a Japanese monopoly, life at the treaty ports was pretty dead, though they were more comfortable places for Europeans than they are now. At Chemulp'o there was “quite a decent hotel” recommended to Mr McCarthy, the mining engineer, by the then Governor of the Malay States; and Monsieur Gaillard, “purveyor to French men-of-war” was offering table claret at four dollars a dozen.⁶⁵ Fleet visits were frequent,⁶⁶ contacts with the real feeling of the country less so. The activities of the Independence Club, and the political ferment within Korea, does not seem to have affected the Europeans much, though there is a letter in the English mission journal in 1905 from “Ye Seungman”,⁶⁷ a political prisoner and an episcopal methodist, thanking the English mission doctor for looking after him and other prisoners. Putman Weale, a journalist principally interested in China, who was here at the time of the Russo-Japanese war and was probably the first Englishman to travel up the new railway, wrote “England and America have apparently resigned themselves to the passing of Korea as an independent state”.⁶⁸

There was at least one Englishman who had not. Mr Ernest Thomas Bethell, a young journalist who came here as a war correspondent, had in 1904 been appointed by the King to edit an English-language paper, *The Korea*

64 Ibid: p. 144

65 He advertised in the “Independent”

66 The “Independent” of April 21, 1896, printed the following list of warships then at Chemulp'o: American, CHARLESTON; British, NARCISUS, LINNET; French, ALGER; Japanese, ATAGO; Russian, ADMIRAL NAKIMOFF, KORYTZ.

67 i.e. Syngman Rhee. “Morning Calm” February 1905.

68 Putnam Weale: p. 88

Times. This does not seem to have lasted for long. Either it fell foul of the newly-imposed Japanese censorship, or the King stopped paying for it. A year later Bethell founded a company, with Yang Kit'aek(梁起鐸), to produce a Korean language paper, *The Taehan Maeil Sinbo* or *Korean Daily News* which also had English and Chinese editors. With a foreigner as president, it could not be censored, and for its short life it successfully criticised Japanese policy, telling the true story of the Protectorate Treaty of November 1905, and of the King's secret mission sent to the Hague Court in 1907 to protest against that treaty. The first Japanese attempts to have Bethell expelled, in 1906 and early 1907, failed, since the British authorities decided that he had acted in a private capacity, but the Japanese kept up the pressure and Bethell was fined and bound over in October 1907 by a Consular Court. This was still not enough for the Japanese and in 1908 he was fined again in Shanghai, imprisoned for three weeks and fined, for "publishing newspapers derogatory to British interests", and the paper was closed down.⁶⁹

The British Consul-General, Cockburn, did succeed, for a time at any rate, in preventing victimisation of Yang Kit'aek, who was arrested by the Japanese. Bethell died at Seoul in 1909, aged 36, and is buried at the Foreigners' Cometary. On the back of his Korean-style monument you can see where the inscription was removed by order of the Japanese.

Two English journalists, besides Bethell, were concerned in the last pathetic struggle of the Koreans to preserve their independence. The Emperor, in 1906, gave Douglas Story some original documents on the forced protectorate treaty of November, 1905, and Story took them to China and published them. Another journalist, W.T. Stead, edited the journal of the Hague Conference of 1907 and gave sympathetic prominence to the Korean

⁶⁹) Article in the *Journal of Asiatic Studies* 1961(7) by Chhoe Chun. Kindly translated for me by Mr Kim Sang-hun of the British Embassy.

case.⁷⁰ Neither publication seems to have had the least effect on world opinion.

VII. Concluding remarks

With the Japanese occupation of 1910 my paper really comes to an end. Of course Englishmen continued to live in Korea, but there was less for them to do and the whole subject seems to shrink and become less interesting. Anyway the Japanese discouraged foreign interest in Korea. The occasional Titan, a sort of giant from the past survived. Bishop Trollope returned in 1911. He continued to walk about the country and to take a tremendous interest in all things Korean. "Every day," he wrote towards the end of his life, "reveals more and more of interest in this country and one really regrets one has no more leisure to follow up such studies." For nearly thirteen years he was President of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and read papers to the Society on Buddhism and on Korean books, as well as publishing in the transactions two lists of Korean trees and shrubs.⁷¹ He died in November 1930, on board ship in Kobe harbour, on his way back from a Lambeth Conference in England, and is buried in the Cathedral which he had built, one of the few, if not the only person, to be buried within the walls of Seoul.

Another giant was Dr Avison, the Canadian who first ran the Severance Hospital and was here for over 40 years, retiring in 1934. Years before, he had been a physician to King Kojong and was one of those who had helped to feed the King after the murder of Queen Min.

When war on Japan was declared in 1941, almost all the English left Korea, and the few missionaries, businessmen and consular officers who resumed life here trickled back slowly from the end of 1945. Then, of

70 C.N. Weems, in his introduction the 1962 edition of "Hulbert's History of Korea."

71 Bishop Trollope's papers are published in TKBRAS, Vols II, VIII, IX, XXII and XXV

course, came a new chapter altogether, when in 1950 and succeeding years more men from Britain and the Commonwealth came to Korea than had come in all its previous recorded history, and 1,732 died here. Some of them and some of the most distinguished of those already resident here underwent hardships and privations almost certainly far worse than those endured by Alexander Bosquet and his companions in the seventeenth century. This paper, already inordinately long, would stretch out to curfew at least if I included any description of the British and Commonwealth effort in the Korean War, or of the captivity of the Minister, Captain Holt, Bishop Cooper and Commissioner Lord, and the death in communist hands of Father Hunt (another former President of this Society) and Sister Mary Clare (whose list of Korean wild flowers is published in the Transactions).⁷² It would be longer still if I tried to bring it completely up to date and say who since the war and to this day are carrying on in the traditions of those I have talked about.

Instead, to conclude my paper, I should like to consider briefly whether Great Britain could or should have done anything to prevent Korea falling into the hands of the Japanese.

In his recently published book, "Our Nation's Path", General Pak Chung-hi says that the destiny of the Korean peninsula was decided by the Anglo-Japanese alliances and the Treaty of Portsmouth. (It was the American Portsmouth, not the English one). He goes on to say that the situation in the Far East depended on British policy and that, as has so often happened before, two strong powers sacrificed a weak one for the sake of their own interests.

I am not sure that I agree that the situation in the Far East did depend on British policy, but it might have done. That perhaps is not really the point. I think the

72 Vol XVIII (1929)

implication of General Pak's verdict is that, but for the Anglo-Japanese alliance, Korea might have survived as an independent nation. I do not believe that was possible.

A writer in 1900⁷³ listed three possibilities for the future of Korea: it could be guaranteed internationally as an independent state; it could be annexed by Russia; or it could be annexed by Japan. The first seems the obvious right answer, morally right and why not practicable, if Great Britain, the strongest world power, desired it? The author I quoted turns this solution down because it would be opposed by the Russians, but I think it would have been opposed by all the powers, if it had ever been put to them, because Korea had not shown herself able to govern herself. It may well be that our present belief that to be badly governed by one's own compatriots is in all circumstances better than to be well governed by somebody else will stand the test of time and be found to enshrine an enduring truth. But in 1900 this belief was not widely held, and protectorates of one sort or another were the recognised thing. (For example Britain in Egypt and the Sudan, France in Morocco and Tunisia, and the United States in the Philippines and Cuba all at this time maintained protectorates, in fact if not in name.) Failing outright annexation or a protectorate, the weaker countries tended to come into the "spheres of influence" of stronger ones, like for instance Persia which was virtually partitioned between Great Britain and Russia. Only Belgium, I believe, had an international guarantee at this time. As late as 1919, after the First World War and acceptance of the principle of self-determination, the Covenant of the League of Nations debarred from membership all territories "inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world." Nothing happened in Korea between 1876 and 1910 to justify a belief that she was able to stand by herself.

With this background, there was nothing to prevent

73) Alexis Krausse: *The Far East-Its History and its Question* (2nd Edition 1903 - p. 144).

Korea falling, sooner or later, into the hands of whichever of the stronger powers was most determined to have her. We, and others, believed at the time, as I think emerges from this paper, that Russia represented the greatest danger. We may have been wrong. Certainly with the advantage of hindsight it seems easy to make out a case for saying that the Anglo-Japanese treaties were quite unnecessary. Russia did not represent any particular danger to us in the Far East, and when the First World War came she, the Japanese and the British were all on the same side. There was not therefore any need to bolster the Japanese against the Russians. But this is a very tentative conclusion, based on my own incomplete reading, and even if it were right, I do not think that the absence of an Anglo-Japanese alliance would have saved Korea. It seems to me that from the treaty of 1876 the Japanese had it all their own way because they were the only power with a positive policy towards and interest in Korea. The Russians' interest was only marginal, ours almost non-existent. The Japanese poured men into Korea, and were concerned to interfere with, change, and eventually control, almost every aspect of Korean life before they received the encouragement of an alliance with the British. So that while one could have wished that the British authorities at the time had been less obviously blind to what the Japanese were doing, I do not think that we could, under then existing circumstances, have turned the Japanese tide.

**EXTRACT FROM THE GRAPHIC OF
12 FEBRUARY 1887 (PRICE 6d.)
PAGE 151; NOTES AT PORT HAMILTON**

The controversy which has so long raged round the question of whether or no we should continue to occupy Port Hamilton has resulted in the decision to adopt Admiral Hamilton's advice and to abandon this important naval station notwithstanding the fact that we have hoisted the British flag over the three islands, that we have erected storehouses for war material and barracks for troops, and that we have spent 90,000 pounds in laying a cable to Shanghai. The chief reason for keeping the station in our hands was to provide a coaling station for our fleet in the event of a war with Russia, and to prevent it from falling into Russian hands. Regarding this last, it is satisfactory to know, from the recent official statement in Parliament, that, though no arrangements have been made for the future custody of Port Hamilton, the government did not determine to retire until they had received a guarantee from the Chinese government that no part of Corea — including Port Hamilton — will be occupied by any foreign power. The government, it was added, acted under naval advice when they decided to leave Port Hamilton. All the same, should a war break out with Russia, our fleet cruising in the Corean Channel, to keep the Russians from making a descent southwards, will have to travel 2,000 miles to the nearest coaling station, Hong Kong. We have already at different times described the chief features of Port Hamilton, and a special article on the subject, by Surgeon A.G. Wildey, R.N., who has also sent us the sketches, will be found on page 162.

**EXTRACTS FROM AN ARTICLE BY SURGEON
A. G. WILDEY, R.N. APPEARING ON PAGE 162
OF THE GRAPHIC FOR 12 FEBRUARY 1887**

...In the bays the native huts lie huddled together each thatched with grass and surrounded with a wall of

loose stones until only the roof is visible; they rise one above the other up the gentle slopes of the valley leading the eye to irregular patches of millet, and the grassy mounds which mark the graves of native chiefs.

Soon after the British flag was hoisted in 1885, a detachment of Royal Marines landed on Observatory Island (Sodo and Sunhodo are the other two). They met with a warm reception, not from the elements. No sooner were the tents pitched, than a typhoon scattered the whole camp. Soon, however, wooden huts were erected and the men began to settle down to a life of exile. The officers of the fleet shouldered spade and pick and soon King Tennis held his Court in England's most eastern possession. Domestic animals were imported, and now the marine officers exhibit with much pride their farm of pigs, goats, sheep and fowl of all kinds, though the feathered creatures suffer much from hawks and crows.... Some of the men have taken to gardening and are fairly successful. There are no native villages on the island (Observatory Island), therefore the marines come very little into contact with the Coreans. Indeed, it is very difficult indeed to learn anything about these dirty but interesting people, who are close and reticent, differing greatly from their neighbours, the Japanese. A visit to one of the villages in Sodo or Sunhodo is not a pleasant undertaking. The filth and squalor is past description, and, should one brave the stench of offal and every kind of refuse thrown out into the narrow alleys, there is little to be seen, for each hovel is surrounded by a wall of stone, high enough to keep off inquisitive eyes from Corean domestic life. Any woman one chances to meet darts away like a hare, and one is lucky to get more than a glimpse of a pretty face, a short jacket and a kind of ballet-girl petticoat disappearing through a hole in a wall. Probably a dozen boys will pester, in broken English, for tobacco, and deliver a volley of British oaths if refused, or a petty chief rolls by in his long white coat and halo-hat, his pipe never absent from his lips.

All the men are lazy and irritatingly slow in their movements. They are not, however, without a certain amount of dignity, which is heightened by their priestlike costume.

.....As might be supposed, in consequence of the filthy state of the villages and the total absence of any sanitary arrangements, epidemics rage with terrible effect. This year (1886) has been very free from sickness; but in 1885 smallpox and cholera carried off many people.... One must not suppose that these dirty and uncouth islanders are savages; on the contrary, they are highly civilised according to Far-Eastern ideas. Most are able to read and paint the Chinese characters which the Koreans, in common with the Japanese, have adopted. Their many ceremonies in public and private life are strictly observed, and few peoples are more ceremonious than those who dwell in the Land of the Morning Calm.

Of their virtues and vices little is known. It is a lamentable fact that by sunset the majority of the islanders are drunk with saki, mirthfully or otherwise. Those who are not chronically in this state are sharp and intelligent. For example, one of them, employed as a scavenger in the camp, has learnt in less than a year to speak and write English well enough to be perfectly understood.

The British garrison consists of 100 marines, a captain, two subalterns and a naval surgeon. The health of the detachment is excellent. The life is not as dull as might be expected. Of course there is no society, but the climate is really good, though subject to a few weeks of extreme cold and heat.

Such is Port Hamilton at present. Who will speculate as to its future?
(A.G.W.)

A Note on Sources

In the numbered notes in the text, I have abbreviated the titles of the sources most frequently quoted. Their

full titles are as follows.

Bishop: Isabella Bird Bishop: *Korea and her Neighbours*. 2 Vols. 1898

Curzon: The Hon. G.N. Curzon: *Problems of the Far East*. 1894

Griffis: *Hermit Nation*. 1882

Hamilton: Angus Hamilton: *Korea* 1904

Hatch: Ernest F.G. Hatch, M.P.: *Far East Eastern Impressions* 1904

Putnam Weale: B.L. Putnam Weale: *The Truce in the Far East and Its Aftermath*, 1907

TKBRAS: *Transactions, Korea Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*.

I have also greatly depended on two bibliographies, Dr. H. H. Underwood's *Partial Bibliography of Occidental Literature on Korea*, published in TKBRAS XX (1931). and Mr G. St G. M. Gompertz's revision of some sections of that bibliography. Mr Gompertz's work was available to me in typescript, and is now in course of publication as TKBRAS Vol XL.

Finally I should mention a book which is of great value for the period of the first treaties, and for its consideration of Korea's international status at that time.

M. Frederick Nelson. *Korea and the Old Orders in Eastern Asia*. Louisiana State University Press, 1946.

KIM SAKKAT

Vagabond Poet

KIM SAKKAT

(金笠)

Vagabond Poet

Professor Kim Saeop, in his history of Korean Literature denies the right of Sakkat to a place in the story of true literature. If the term is at all narrowly defined, the professor is right; but if anyone would understand Korean humour and the folk entertainment poetry of Korea, he cannot afford to ignore Kim Sakkat. Today in the city it maybe that Kim Sowol (金素老) is the first Korean poet whose name the foreigner will hear, but in the countryside and among the middle-aged, Sakkat is more often mentioned.

There has been a film about him. There are four or five inexpensive books about on the shelves of most of the bookshops. A popular song about him had its heyday five years or so ago, but it is still in the charts and most of the youngsters know it. Anecdotes of him appear from time to time in the newspapers and in tourist literature. Many quips which are in his collected works are frequently repeated. He is popularly believed to have had a genius for repartee, a fine taste in the comic, and a gift of poetry, and a wit polished beyond the achievements of any man before or since. He is spoken of with an ignorance about who he really was and what he really did, coupled with a liberal use of his name, that is the secret and ultimate guarantee of his popular standing in the folk mind.

He can be summed up as an exponent of ingenious and amusing poetry written in Chinese. Some of it is funny, much of it is satirical. Its interest lies more in its wide appeal to Koreans than in its literary value. It illuminates the character of Korean popular humour, and presents an important aspect of Korean sensitivity.

The literary history of his material is interesting.

KIM SAKKAT

Vagabond Poet

Professor Kim Sayöp, in his history of Korean Literature denies the right of Kim Sakkat to a place in the story of true literature.¹ If the term is at all narrowly defined, the professor is doubtless right; but if anyone would understand Korean humour and the folk entertainment poetry of Korea, he cannot afford to ignore Kim Sakkat. Today in the city it maybe that Kim Sowöl(金素月) is the first Korean poet whose name the foreigner will hear, but in the countryside and among the middle-aged, Sakkat is more often mentioned.

There has been a film about him. There are four or five inexpensive books about on the shelves of most of the bookshops, A popular song about him had its heyday five years or so ago, but it is still in the chapbooks and most of the youngsters know it. Anecdotes of him appear from time to time in the newspapers and in tourist literature. Many quips which appear in his collected works are frequently repeated without attribution. He is popularly believed to have had a genius for repartee, a fine taste in the composition of insults, a divine gift of poetry, and a wit polished beyond the achievement of any man before or since. He is spoken of with an ignorance about who he really was and what he really did, coupled with a liberal use of his name, that is the surest and ultimate guarantee of his popular standing in the folk mind.

He can be summed up as an exponent of ingenious and amusing poetry written in Chinese. Some of it is funny, much of it is satirical. Its interest lies more in its wide appeal to Koreans than in its literary value. It illuminates the character of Korean popular humour, and presents an important aspect of Korean sensitivity.

The literary history of his material is interesting.

1) Kungmun Haksa (國文學史) Seoul 1956, p. 501.

He died in 1863, leaving an oral record of his career and compositions scattered all over the peninsula. Yi Ungsu(李應洙), as a student, sixty years later, began to take an interest in him and spent much labour in collecting the poems attributed to him together with their accompanying anecdotes. He first wrote the material up in a number of newspaper articles during the thirties, eventually producing an anthology of the poems in 1939 and an enlarged and annotated edition in 1944.

But the real spread of Sakkat's published popularity seems to have come after the Korean war when Yi Ungsu was no longer in South Korea. Several other people have made use of his material to produce shorter anthologies since that time.²

Of his existence there seems to be no reasonable doubt, but of the authenticity of the work attributed to him there is no sure check. The time lag between his death and the writing down of the oral tradition is in itself suspicious. The fact that many of the poems attributed to him survive independently of his memory suggests that the canon is not impeccable. There is no internal evidence by which the poems can be tested because the style is common to the compositions of the period and the country.

Indeed the corpus of poetry may represent a composite figure rather than the historical man Kim Sakkat. This is a marginal problem for the attention of the literary historian. For the student of folk culture the person of the poet is relatively unimportant in comparison to the appeal of his supposed compositions. Nevertheless the story of the man is part of the legend and part of the total impact of the poems, so it is worth while to record what is known of his life as well as what is said to have been his life.

The Life of Kim Sakkat

Yi Ungsu found five literary references to Kim Sakkat dating from his lifetime or shortly afterwards.

2) See bibliography p. 11.

(1) *Taedong Kimun* (大東奇聞) "Odd Rumours from Korea", contains a short reference to him saying his real name was Kim Pyöngnyön(金炳淵) and he wore the wide reed hat of a mourner called *sakkat*(삿갓, in Chinese 笠, pronounced *nip* in Korean) because he dare not look up to heaven, and from this came his common name.

(2) and (3) The *Haedong Sisön*(海東詩選), "Korean Anthology" contains two poems, one about the reed hat and one about visiting the Diamond Mountains.

(3) The *Nokch'a-jip*(緣此集) of Hwang O(黃五) tells how he left home and wandered the country drinking, satirizing, poetizing and joking; how he knew a man called Ujön(雨田) Chöng Hyöndök(鄭顯德) and visited the Diamond Mountains every year either in spring or in autumn. Here his name is given as Kim Sarip(金莎笠) which is merely an elaboration of his commoner name.

(5) Finally Sin Sögu(申錫愚) in his *Haejang-jip*(海藏集) vol 13, records the story of a Kim Taerip(金臺笠) who is undoubtedly the same man as our poet. He gave his name in this tale as Kim Nan(金鬘), which suggests his literary name, Kim Nan'gu(金蘭臯); his *cha*(字) as Imyong(而鳴 probably a pun on 異名, meaning "another name"); and his literary name as the somewhat surprising Chisang(芷裳, "angelica skirt"). Since he is known to have concealed his identity, these slightly punning aliases do not succeed in disguising him very well, but the information in this passage adds little to the others except by way of anecdote.

Yi Ungsu gives a brief but coherent account of Sakkat's life, presumably gathered mostly from his surviving grandson of that time, Kim Yöngjin(金榮鎭), then an old gentleman living near Yöju(驪州) in Kyönggi province, and the two great-grandsons Kyöngghan and Hongghan who were then living, as well as descendants of Sakkat's friends. There is no reason to distrust the meagre story.

Our hero was born in 1807 in the Changdong(壯洞) clan of Kim. His real name was Pyöngnyön(炳淵), his *cha* was Söngsim(性深) and his literary name Nan'gu(蘭臯). In 1881 his grandfather, Kim Iksun(金益淳) who

was a military *yangban*, had just been transferred from a post in the provincial government of Hamhŭng(咸興) in the northeast to the post of military lieutenant (*pangōsa* 防禦使) at Sŏnch'ŏn(宣川). In that year the rebellion of Hong Kyōngnae(洪景來) broke out, an expression of local resentment at discrimination against northerners in the capital and government circles, and also a revolt against the extortions of the aristocratic bureaucracy. It was late autumn and the revolt spread like wild fire through North Korea. When the rebels came to Sŏnch'ŏn, Kim Iksun was asleep in a drunken torpor. Although the rebellion was quickly quelled, Iksun had nothing to do with the victory and in the Spring of the following year he was executed and his family dismissed from court.

Five-year-old Pyōngnyŏn and his elder brother Pyōngha(炳河) were taken to the house of a servant of the family named Kim Sōngsu(金聖秀) at Koksan(谷山) in Hwanghae Province. There the boy studied his letters, but after a while it was clear that no further reprisals were going to be taken against the family and so the boys were returned to the home of their father, Kim An'gŭn(金安根). Pyōngnyŏn was duly married, and when he was about twenty years old a son was born to him, named Hakkyun(鬻均). It was at the time of the birth that he left home and began his wanderings, supposedly because the family was socially in such bad straits.

Three years or so later he returned home and stayed long enough to beget his second son, Ikkyun(翼均). For the remainder of his days he was a wanderer. Three times at least his second son tried to find him. The first time he found his father at Andong(安東) in Kyōngsang province. The old man laughed when they met, and during the night when the young one was asleep he slipped quietly away. The second time his father again gave him the slip at P'yōnggang(平康) in the mountains of Kangwŏn province. The last time they met was at Yōsan(礪山) in North Chōlla, where they were walking along together when Sakkat removed his great reed hat and went into a field of standing sorghum to empty his bowels. The son never saw him again.

It was said that Sakkat often approached the family place at Kyölsöng(結城) near the coast of Ch'ungch'öng, and enquired after his mother's health, but he never let her see him. Finally he died at Tongbok(同福) in Chölla Province. His age at death is given as 56 and the year was 1863. Ikkyun buried the body on T'aebaek-san(太白山) near Yöngwöl(寧越) in Kangwön Province.

The poems of Kim Sakkat

Yi Ungsu made a passionate declaration of belief in the authorship of the poems he collected and published. But he also collected a number of stories about his hero which have now, if they had not then, an existence independent of the story of Kim Sakkat. They are mostly *jeux d'esprit* involving *hanmun*(Chinese characters), usually punning on the Korean pronunciation. Some are poems, others are mere anecdotes.

An example of the anecdote form is the well-known story of the man named Chöng(鄭), who asked Kim (or an unidentified friend, if you follow some other version of the tale) to write a signboard for his study. The sign was written as 貴樂堂 or "Hall of Noble Pleasure". It was only later that that the owner of the house realized that if read in the reverse direction, which is quite possible with such a sign, the pronunciation becomes *tang-nagwi*, which is pure Korean for "donkey." (In some versions of the story the characters are given as 爲樂堂 which makes a more exact pun.) The point of the story is the fact that the character of the surname Chöng is identified in Korea as the "donkey Chöng" character, owing to the fancied resemblance of the two strokes at the top left-hand side of the character in its handwritten form to the ears of a jackass.

But the greater part of the Sakkat corpus consists of Chinese poems, composed, as Korean poems usually were, in imitation of the poetry of T'ang. Some of them are fairly straightforward poems about places, but many of them are highly insulting ones about people. Some have a tone of genuine compassion, but in that case they are about

beggars and other dregs of Yi society. The flea and the louse are typical subject matter for him. There are a number of animal poems, about cats and dogs and other lowly creatures, and also a whole section of poems about the Diamond Mountains.

Some of the poems have the kind of playing with characters which is so much enjoyed by Koreans. It can achieve an artistic effect when it is well done, or it can be merely clever. A simple couplet of repeated characters may evoke a fine poetic image, as in his mountain scenery poems, but a whole stanza composed of repetitions of two characters will yield sense only if the reader strains hard, and is a virtuoso performance more fitted for the amusement of schoolboys than for preservation as literature.

On the whole the technique of the poems is normal. It is the content which makes them so much enjoyed. The usual Korean poem in Chinese is mannered, evocative and impressionistic, allusive and formal. The Sakkat poems are mostly witty, and even when they achieve more customary poetic effects they have an ingenuity that rouses admiration of a sort.

But at times he writes in broken metres. That is to say he divides the groups of characters in a line of verse differently from the classic pattern, or he uses as rhymes characters that are not strictly admissible as rhymes because they do not belong to the even tones(平聲). This gives a perverse and bizarre, sometimes amusing effect to his writing.

Finally, sometimes he mixes the Korean alphabet into his Chinese verse treating the Korean syllables as though they were Chinese characters. This is a kind of literary game which is far outside the realms of the high-minded conventional critic, but it can be very funny.

Some of the poems make sense, at least of a kind, when read in the normal way as Chinese poems, but the real meaning is discovered only when the poems are read aloud and the sound is understood as Korean words having the same pronunciation. In the case of such punning poems the sense which is obscure to the eye, but evident to the ear, is usually scurrilous if not downright scatological.

The humour which is typical of most of Sakkat's stuff is not refined. It is the humour of the farmhouse, where sex is taken for granted and the smell of the privy is hard to avoid. When translated into English or repeated with whispered giggles in a city room it is scabrous, but understood against its proper rural background it is much less offensive than it appears on the printed page. Its earthiness is matched by the earthiness of country humour in many other lands as well as in Korea. It is not for the squeamish, but it is unlikely to inflame salacious inclinations in susceptible minds.

For various reasons then, the Kim Sakkat poems merit the attention of the western enquirer about Korea. They are an anthology of things that have entertained the semi-lettered people of the countryside for at least a century, and they still have common currency. Reading them will not ennoble a man, though it may beguile him. It may help to give insight into a stage of Korean culture which is now even more rapidly passing away than it was at the beginning of this century when men like Hulbert recognized that it was already moribund. This was the stage when a knowledge of Chinese was a vivid and important part of a man's mental furniture. There are few people under twenty who read Sakkat with pleasure today. He has to be interpreted and explained. Explained jokes are dull jokes, and in a generation's time they will almost certainly have died for good. But meanwhile there are men with young children of their own who enjoy them and still respond to the lively appeal which these compositions have had for Koreans.

It is perhaps hard to see through the stylized creations of an old oriental to the spirit of the beatnik that lies within. Undoubtedly the beatniks of the sixties of this century have rarely achieved the wit of Kim Sakkat. But there is in many of his poems a strain of nihilism, certainly a vein of bohemianism, that is properly beatnik. Yi Ungsu probably went too far in describing this in solemn terms full of -isms; but the fact that it is there is a significant factor in the appeal of the poems to Koreans. Most Koreans have a nostalgia for the perfect liberty

of the vagabond and anarchist. It shows through the most formal escape poems of the confucian literateurs of olden days, and is yet another reason why the student of Korean culture should find Kim Sakkat worth the trouble of understanding.

It would be possible to go further into an analysis of Kim Sakkat's mentality. The insulting poems could be interpreted as symbols of the spirit of revolt that may be supposed to smoulder in the breast of every Korean, constrained as he is by a highly conventional society with restrictive mores. Insults, however, amuse most people if the insults are directed at somebody else and are sufficiently grotesque. It is enough to notice that pleasure derived from insults is never really elegant and then to recall that Kim Sakkat is representative of only part of Korean taste. It is an important part: but only a part, and not the nobler and finer part.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A number of newspaper articles published chiefly by Yi Ungsu during the thirties seem to have been the first literary evidences of Kim Sakkat, but their substance was collected by him and used by others in producing the following books.

- (1) **Sanghae Kim Nip Sijip**(詳解金笠詩集) edited by Yi Ungsu(李應洙) in the series *Chosŏn Mun'go*(朝鮮文庫) Published in February 1939 and reprinted in May. The preface is dated February 1937.
- (2) **Taejŭng Sup'an Kim Nip Sijip**(大增修版金笠詩集) edited by Yi Ungsu(李應洙), published in Seoul in May 1944, and reprinted in May of that year. This book with its introductory material is definitive and must be the main source for any study of Kim Sakkat. The date of publication of this Korean language work in Seoul is especially interesting.

The remaining volumes were published after the *de facto* division of Korea between the communists and the South, when Yi Ungsu was no longer in South Korea. All are based on his work.

- (3) **Kim Nip Sijip**(金笠詩集) edited by Pak Oyang(朴午陽) Seoul 1948.
- (4) **Kim Nip Pangnang-gi**(金笠放浪記) Kim Yongje(金龍濟) Seoul 1950.
- (5) **Kakchu Sanghae Kim Nip Sijip**(脚註詳解金笠詩集) edited by Kim Irho(金一湖) Seoul 1953.
- (6) **Kim Nip Sihwa**(金笠詩話) by Kim Yongsöp(金龍燮) Seoul 1955.

A Brief Selection of Kim Sakkat's Poetry

Yi Ungsu's collection contains about 300 poems, some of them in the long form of old-style examination pieces. The very small selection given here represents most of the varieties of poem and illustrates the typical features remarked on above. Many of the poems appear very flat when translated into English because they depend for their interest on puns and rhythmic features which defy rendering in another language. Those presented here are among those which lend themselves most easily to translation and annotation. None of the examination style pieces has been done.

向青山去
水爾何來

I am going to the green hills.
Why water, do you run the other way?

松松栢栢岩岩廻
水水山山處處奇

Pines, pines, oaks, oaks, rocks, rocks, around,
Water, water, peak on peak, everywhere - wonderful!

綠青碧路入雲中
樓使能詩客住筇
龍造化含飛雪瀑
劍精神削插天峰
仙禽白幾千年鶴
澗樹青三百丈松
僧不知吾春睡惱
忽無心打日邊鍾

Emerald, green, and jade the, road goes into the clouds;
The arbour invites my stick to stay awhile;
Nature the dragon drank at the waterfall of melting snow,
The spirit was the knife that cut the heaven-piercing
peaks,
The Faery Bird is a white crane that has stood. for
thousands of years,
Beside the stream is a Green Pine 300 feet high,
The monks know nothing of my spring dreams;
Suddenly their noonday bell strikes my heart.

One of the Diamond Mountain poems, referring to some of the rocks by name. This is an example of eccentric metre, with the hiatus after the third character in each line.

南國風光盡此樓 龍城之下鵲橋頭
 江空急雨無端過 野濶餘雲不肯收
 千里筇鞋孤客到 四時笳鼓衆仙遊
 銀河一脈連蓮島 未必靈區入海求

Kwanghallu

Of all the glories of the Southland, none matches this
 pavilion,

Beneath the Dragon Hill, above the Magpie Bridge.

The showers make the dry stream flow unceasingly,

The fields are wide and the clouds race across them.

I come from far, a vagabond with stick and shoes of straw.

The dance of the seasons never stops, the spirits always
 sing.

The span of the Milky Way reaches the Paradise Isles;

But there is no need to go to the sea to reach the realm
 of the soul.

Kwanghallu is the pavilion with the Magpie Bridge
 beside it, where Ch'unhyang was first seen by the boy
 Mongnyong in the most famous of all Korean romances.
 It is at Namwŏn in the south of Korea.

The Paradise Isles were reputed to be the faery land
 in the Eastern sea, but the name is also given by extension
 to the Diamond Mountains in their summer foliage.

三百君中秀爾才
 乍來乍去不飛埃
 行時見虎暫藏跡
 走處逢獠每打腮
 獵鼠主家雖得譽
 捉鶴隣里豈無猜
 南街北巷管歸路
 能劫千村夜哭孩

A Cat.

Most brilliant of the furry kind,
 Here and there you dart, but never disturb the dust.
 See a tiger and hide yourself,
 But meet a dog and you spank his face every time,

Catch the mice and your master praises you.
 But take the neighbour's chickens, and that's another
 matter.

And when you go howling round the lanes and allies
 It's enough to make a thousand villages' babies cry in
 the night.

乘夜橫行路北南
 中於狐狸傑爲三
 毛分黑白渾成繡
 目挾青黃半染藍
 貴客床前偷美饌
 老人懷裡傍溫衫
 那邊雀鼠能驕慢
 出獵雄聲若大談

Another cat

You range the night far and wide,
 You, the fox and the wildcat are three heroes indeed.
 Your fur is patterned nicely in black and white,
 And your eye gleams indigo, yellow and green.
 You pinch the dainties from the visitor's table,
 But you warm the bosom of the old man your friend,
 Where is the bird or mouse laughs you to scorn?
 When you set out to hunt what a row you do make!

不知汝姓不識名
 何處青山子故鄉
 蠅侵腐腐喧朝日
 烏喚孤魂吊夕陽
 一尺短筇身後物
 數升殘米乞時糧
 寄語前村諸子輩
 携來一簣掩風霜

A beggar's corpse

I don't know your family, I don't know your name,
 Nor what green mountain sheltered your birth.
 The flies are gathered busily on your rotting flesh,
 The crows cawing in the sunset call your lonely soul.
 Your only legacy is a short stick
 And some begged rice in your bag.
 I'll ask the lads from the next village
 To bring a basket of earth to cover you from the frost.

飢而吮血飽而擠

三百昆蟲最下才

遠客懷中愁午日

竅人腹上聽晨雷

形雖似麥難爲麴

字不成風未落梅

問爾能侵仙骨否

麻姑搔首坐天臺

The louse

When you are hungry you fill yourself with blood and
then drop off:

You are the lowest of all insect species.

You trouble the breast of the wanderer under the
noonday sun,

And hear the thunder in the belly of a poor man.

You look like a grain of barley, but you won't make yeast;

You don't make half a wind, so you'll never make the
plumblossoms fall.

I ask you, will you invade the bones of a fairy?

Old grandmother Ma Ku scratches her head and sits
on Tien-shan.

The louse is half a wind because the character for
wind is 風 and the character for louse is 虱. Ma Ku is
a Chinese taoist spirit and Tien-t'ai-shan a holy mountain
in China.

沙白鷗白爾白白
 不辨白沙與白鷗
 漁歌一聲忽飛去
 然後沙沙復鷗鷗

The sand is white, the gull is white, both are white, so
 white

I cannot tell the white sand from the white gull.
 But at one note of the fisherman's song, away it flies:
 Now I see the sand is sand, and the gull is indeed a gull.

雪中梅寒酒傷妓
 風前橋柳誦經僧
 栗花已落獾尾短
 榴花初生鼠耳凸

The plum blossom staggers in the cold snow like a drunken
 kisaeng;
 The willow bends before the wind like a monk rocking
 over a sutra;
 The chestnut flowers drop like shaggy puppies' tails;
 The early pomegranate buds are sharp as the ears of
 mice.

探香狂蝶半夜行
 百花深處摠無情
 欲採紅蓮南浦去
 洞庭秋波小舟驚

The crazy butterfly searching for fragrance half the night
 Finds scant comfort among the hundred flowers,
 So goes off to Namp'o to dig the red lotus,
 Where the little boat is rocked upon the autumn waves
 of Tungting.

Red Lotus is a courtesan's name. With this clue the poem becomes an erotic allegory. Tungting is a great lake of China.

邑號開城何閉門
 山名松嶽豈無薪
 黃昏逐客非人事
 禮儀東方子獨秦

If this town is called the Open City, why do you shut the gate?

If this hill is called the Pinetree Peak, why is there no firing?

Turning a guest away at twilight is no sort of greeting;
 Korea is the Land of Courtesy, and you are its sole
 bloody brute.

On being refused food and lodging in Kaesŏng (開城 or Open City, so called after it ceased to be the capital at the beginning of the Yi dynasty). The last character refers to Ch'in Hsi-hwang (秦始皇), the legendary symbol of cruelty in oriental history.

彼坐老人不似人 其中七子皆爲盜
疑是天上降真仙 偷得碧桃獻壽筵

This old man sitting here is scarcely human:

You'd think he were a spirit descended from the skies.
Everyone of his seven sons is a thief:

They have stolen the precious peach to make a birthday
feast.

This poem is said to have been written to beg a meal from a sixtieth birthday party(還甲). The first line of each couplet is an insult designed to shock, but the second line in each case turns it into a graceful compliment.

The green peach was found in the western paradise by Lao-tzu, who found it sweet, though on earth it is bitter. It confers immortality. A variant reading has 王桃 with a similar meaning.

畏鶩身勢隱冠蓋 若似每人皆如此
何人咳嗽吐棗仁 一腹可生五六人

Strength that can hardly fly a paper kite is hidden
under his hat,

He's like a jujube stone that someone has spat out.

If every man were as small as this,

One belly could litter half a dozen of them.

An insulting poem about a very young lad wearing an adult's hat, presumably because he had been married at a very early age.

天長去無執 花老蝶不來
 菊樹寒沙發 枝影半從地
 江亭貧士過 大醉伏松下
 月移山影改 通市求利來

When read according to the meaning of the Chinese:

The heavens are wide strive as you may, you'll never encompass them;

The flowers are failing and the butterflies have not come.

The chrysanthemum blooms in the cold sand;

The shadow of its stalk lies half over the earth.

The scholar passes by the riverside arbour

And falls deep in drunken sleep under the pinetree.

The moon shifts and changes the mountain shadows

The merchants return come only for gains.

or, when read aloud and understood as pure Korean sounds:

There are spiders' webs on the ceiling; bran is smelled burning on the stove; there's a bowl of noodles and half a dish of soy sauce. There are some cakes and jujubes and a peach. Get away, you filthy hound! How the privy stinks!

Note: *T'ongsi* is Kyöngsang dialect for privy.

主人呼韻太環銅
 我不以音以鳥熊
 濁酒一盆速速來
 今番來期尺四蚣

When you call a rhyme it's a stinker,
 I cannot do it by Chinese readings, so I'll use the Korean
 interpretations.

Bring a bowl of rice beer quickly now,
 For in this wager you're already the loser.

Three characters were given as rhymes for a poem in a wager over a bowl of *makkölli* (rice beer). The characters were 銅 brass, 熊 bear, and 蚣 centipede. Sakkat composed the poem by treating all these rhyme characters according to their interpretation in pure Korean, upon which he then punned. It is a very complex pun.

環銅 must be read in Korean as *korigo kurini*, meaning "ring" and "brass," but a pun on "stinking"; 鳥熊 is read *saegom*, meaning "bird" and "bear", but punning on "interpretation". In the last line 來期 is read in its correct Sino-Korean sound as *naegi*, punning on the Korean word for "wager". 尺四 are read with the Korean words of the same meaning as the Chinese, *cha* and *ne*, meaning "foot" and "four," but taken together as *chane*, punning on "you"; while the last character is read as *chine*, which is Korean for centipede, but a pun on the word "to be beaten".

The simplest of phrases have been attributed to Kim Sakkat.

一怒一老 一笑一小

is attractive in Korean for its jingling sound:

Illo illo, ilso ilso

(Anger makes you old, but laughter makes you young)

柳柳花花

means simply willows and flowers. When read in pure Korean with the usual grammatical particles added, it becomes *podul-podurhago, kkokkotchayosso* (stiffened after being flabby) a simple schoolboy giggle, even though the modern editions give it the title 訃告 "report of a death". (花柳 is a sobriquet for venery).

When Sakkat called at a certain monastery the monks were prepared to feed him if he would write a poem. He feigned inability to compose in Chinese but offered to make an attempt in pure Korean if they would give a rhyme character. They gave 타, so he made the first line of a poem:

사면 기둥 붉었타

The pillars on all sides are red.

and asked for another rhyme. Again they said 타, so he composed:

석양 행객 시장타

The evening traveller is hungry.

Again they gave him the same rhyme for the third line. So he said:

네 절 인심 고약타

Your temple's welcome stinks.

They guessed the identity of their visitor and fearing a real insult did not ask him for the last line of the quatrain.

腕下佩 기억
 牛鼻穿 이응
 歸家修 리을
 不然點 디금

Stick your sickle (ㄱ) in your belt,
 Put a ring (ㅇ) in the ox's nose,
 Go home and wash yourself (ㄹ),
 Or else you'll dot your 亡 (i.e. make it 亡, meaning "to die")

In the poem the names of Korean letters are introduced. The first two are to be understood as pictures of what they signify, and the last two are compared to Chinese characters and made to signify what the Chinese characters mean.

The poem is said to have been addressed to a rude herdbooy.

年年年去無窮去 日日日來不盡來
 年去日來來又去 天時人事此中催
 是是非非非是是 是非非是非非是
 是非非是是非非 是是非非是是非

The years pass by without ending,
 Day after day the days come, they never let up.
 The years pass, the months come, they come and they go,
 Heaven's will and man's affairs are all completed.

Right is right and wrong is wrong—this is not so,
 Right is wrong and wrong is right, this is not not so.
 To say what is not wrong is right is not wrong,
 But right is right and wrong is wrong, that is not right.

The second part of this poem is composed entirely of the two characters 是 meaning "to be" or "to be right", and 非 meaning "not to be" or "to be wrong". It is probably also intended as an indecent pun on a low usage word in pure Korean.

The last three characters in each line are puns on men's names. The third line resembles that in the preceding poem. This may mean that one of the poems is not original, or that Sakkat repeated himself. The whole idea has passed into the realm of folk entertainment.

書堂乃早知
 房中皆尊物
 生徒諸未十
 先生來不謁

Read as Chinese:

Arriving early at the cottage school,
 I find all the furniture is excellent.
 There are less than ten pupils,
 But I could not meet the teacher.

According the sound understood as pure Korean:

The schoolroom; *membrum meum virile*,
 The furniture: *mictus canis*.
 The pupils: *matrem futuentes*.
 The teacher: *orchis meus*.

The particularly unsavoury phrase in the last line
 but one is a common form of Korean abuse.

| | | | |
|------|---|-----|-----|
| 六月炎天 | { | 鳥坐睡 | 趙坐首 |
| 九月涼風 | { | 蠅盡死 | 承進士 |
| 月出東嶺 | { | 蚊簷至 | 文僉知 |
| 日落西山 | { | 鳥向巢 | 吳鄉首 |

July is very hot {and the birds sit and doze.
says Elder Cho.

October winds are cool {and the flies all die.
says Master Sŭng.

The moon rises in the East {and mosquitoes go under the
eaves.
says official Mun.

The sun sets in the West {and the crows go home to roost.
says village headman O.

Four men are discussing the weather. Their platitudinous remarks are made even more silly by corresponding puns on their names.

| | | | |
|----|---|-----|-----|
| 日出 | { | 猿生原 | 元生員 |
| 貓過 | { | 鼠盡死 | 徐進士 |
| 黃昏 | { | 蚊簷至 | 文僉知 |
| 夜出 | { | 蚤席射 | 趙碩士 |

The sun rises {on a field full of monkeys.
Mr. Won

A cat passes {and the mice all die.
Mr. Sŏ

At twilight {mosquitoes return to the eaves.
Official Mun

Night falls {and the lice stir in the bedding.
Dr. Cho

The last three characters in each line are puns on men's names. The third line resembles that in the preceding poem. This may mean that one of the poems is not original, or that Sakkat repeated himself. The whole idea has passed into the realm of folk entertainment.

東林山下春草綠
 大丑小丑揮長尾
 五月端陽愁裡過
 八月秋夕亦可畏

Spring leaves are green beneath Tongnim-san,
 The big and little cows all wave their long tails.
 In June at *Tano*, I passed his way with trouble,
 In September at *Ch'usŏk*, I must worry again.

The village was that of the Yun(尹) family, and they would not feed him. The character of the family name, 尹, is like the character 丑, the zodiacal ox, but with a long tail added.

二十樹下三十客
 四十家中五十食
 人間豈有七十事
 不如歸家三十食

As read in Chinese;

Thirty guests under twenty trees,

Fifty meals in forty houses.

Does mankind have seventy jobs?

He cannot even go home for thirty meals.

As understood if the figures are read with pronunciation as pure Korean words:

The miserable stranger under the *sumu* tree

Gets mouldy food from the cursed houses.

Where on earth will you find such things?

It's worse than going home to half-cooked rice.

此竹彼竹化去竹
 風打之竹浪打竹
 飯飯粥粥生此竹
 是是非非付彼竹
 賓客接待家勢竹
 市井賣買歲月竹
 萬事不如吾心竹
 然然然世過然竹

Like this, like that, however it goes,
 As the wind blows, as the water flows;
 If there's rice, eat rice, if there's gruel, eat gruel.
 If they say so, let it be so, if not, say no.
 Receive a guest no better than we can afford,
 Pricing our goods like the rest of the market;
 Things will never go the way we want,
 Let the world have it's will, and we'll go the same way.

The Korean word for bamboo, (*tae* 대) is a pun on the word meaning "according to". In this poem the Chinese character for bamboo must be understood as meaning "according to" throughout the poem.

外貌將軍衛 中心太子燕
汝本地氣物 何事體天團

Your outside resembles General Wei,
Your inside the prince of Yen.
You are born of the earth,
How come you are round like heaven?

General Wei's name was T'sing(青) meaning green, and the prince of Yen was named Tan(丹) which means red. This is a description of a melon called in Korean *komi* or *ch'amoe*(菘).

Yi Ungsu puts this among the Sakkatiana, but I first learned it from a country scholar who told me that it was written by a child genius aged four.

許多韻字何呼覓
彼覓有難況此覓
一夜宿寢懸於覓
山村訓長但知覓

Of all the rhymes possible, how did you find *myōk*?

It was hard enough to find the first one, how much more the second *myōk*.

If a night's rest depends on this *myōk*,

Maybe the village schoolmaster knows no character but *myōk*?

He was promised a night's lodging if he would write a poem on the rhyme 覓, an obscure character unfit for use as a rhyme because it is not a level tone, and meaning "to seek and find".

仙是山人佛不人 鴻惟江鳥鷄鷄
 冰消一點還爲水 雨木相對便成林

Broken characters

A fairy is a man of the mountains, and a buddha is not a man.

A goose is a river bird, and a cock is a barnyard fowl.
 One degree off freezing and you're left with water.

If two trees face each other at once you've got a forest.

A very simple conceit indeed. The Chinese characters are simply divided into their component parts and then read that way. 仙 meaning fairy divides into 山 "mountain" and 人 "man". 佛 meaning Buddha divides into the negative 弗 and the radical 人 meaning "man". The character for "river" 江 joined to the one for "bird" 鳥 makes 鴻 meaning "a goose", and the cock character is similar. One stroke of the character for "ice" 冰 makes the character for "water" 水; and the "tree" character 木 doubled makes 林 "a forest".

GENERAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1962

The year 1962 ended with the membership of the Korea Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, totaling 450. This represents a slight reduction from the previous year, but it is a reduction more apparent than real since we removed from our books the names of a number of people who had not paid their dues for many years. Members are now almost completely paid up. Once again the Branch had an active and successful year, and most meetings and tours were very well attended. Meetings were held as follows:

- January 17 Mr Gregory Henderson, of the American Embassy, spoke on "The Pottery of the Early Yi Dynasty (Part I)" at Korea House.
- February 21 Mr Gregory Henderson, of the American Embassy, spoke on "The Pottery of the Early Yi Dynasty (Part II)" at Korea House. These two very scholarly and interesting lectures were illustrated by excellent slides and examples from Mr Henderson's collection. They have been printed as an article in Volume XXXIX of the Transactions.
- March 14 Dr Kim Che-won, Director of the National Museum, spoke on "Silla Tombs and Recent Excavations" at the National Classical Music Institute.
- April 4 The Rev Richard Rutt spoke on "Plum Blossoms in Temple Gardens: Problems of Koreanology", at the National Classical Music Institute.

- May 2 Dr Lee Sun-keun spoke on "Some Lesser-known Facts about Taewongun and his Foreign Policy", at the National Classical Music Institute. This paper is published in Volume XXXIX of the Transactions.
- June 13 Dr E. Beuchelt spoke on "The Popular Religion of Cheju-do", at the National Classical Music Institute.
- July 11 Dr Yi Ki-yong's paper on "Wonhyo, the Great Monk of Silla" was read by Mr Peter Smart, of the British Embassy, at the National Classical Music Institute.
- July 12 Following a reception and dinner in his honor, Dr L. Carrington Goodrich, professor of Chinese History at Columbia University, spoke on "Foreign Influences on Chinese Culture", illustrated by slides.
- September 12 Dr Pak Tong-so's paper, "A Study of the Bureaucratic Structure in Korea" was read by Mr Stephen Whitwell of the British Embassy, at the National Classical Music Institute. After the paper Mr Whitwell spoke briefly on the British Occupation of Port Hamilton.
- October 10 Reception at the Seoul Club for Mademoiselle Madeleine David, Deputy Curator of the Musee Cernuschi, Paris, who afterward spoke on "The Identification of Ceramics".
- November 14 Mr Stephen Whitwell, of the British Embassy, spoke on "Britons in Korea" at the National Classical Music Institute.
- December 12 His Excellency Monsieur Roger Chambard, French Ambassador, President of the

Branch, spoke on "Chinese and Korean Buddhist Pilgrims in India", at the National Classical Music Institute. After the paper, the Annual General Meeting of the Branch was held, at which the Council for 1963 was elected and the Treasurer's Report for 1962 read and adopted.

In addition to the meetings, two Garden Parties were held: the first at the British Embassy on May 26, by kind permission of His Excellency Mr Walter Godfrey, at which Lim Sung-nam and his Corps de Ballet performed; the second on October 6 at Kyonghoe-ru, Kyongbok Palace, when a performance of the Pyongyang Bridge Shaman Ceremony was given.

On April 21, by courtesy of our President, members visited the recently-completed French Embassy, designed by Kim Chung-op a pupil of Le Corbusier in Paris. It is the finest complex of modern buildings in Korea. On April 1 a showing of the prizewinning Korean film "The Man in the Guest Room", with a reception, was given at the Headquarters of the National Reconstruction Movement, in order to raise funds for archaeological and other cultural projects. Thanks largely to the efforts of Mrs George Pressey and Mrs Elwyn Mauck, this was a perfect success. Mrs Mauck also arranged for members to attend a special performance of the Pongsan Mask Dance play at the National Theatre on May 23. Members of the Branch also attended the opening (on May 12) and closing (on May 16) ceremonies of the Ninth Asian Film Festival, held in Seoul.

Other social occasions were a Tea Party on 11 June at the Korean Information Center on the occasion of the opening of an exhibition of collages by Yi Ung-no, and two film shows, "Under the Roofs of Seoul" on June 20, and "The Evergreen" on June 27, at OPI Studio B.

Finally, on December 8, Mr Carl Miller entertained

members to tea and provided a demonstration of kimchi making in the garden and an exhibition of paintings by Yi Hi-Se.

The following restaurant tours were held with the number of participants.

| | | |
|-------------|---|-----|
| February 28 | Uraeok, specializing in pulgogi | 50 |
| March 21 | Grand Hotel, Cantonese food | 80 |
| April 19 | Hyangjin, Japanese food | 40 |
| May 2 | Sinying Fandien, Chinese Restaurant, specializing in jaotze | 16 |
| May 9 | Hankuk Hoegwan, Korean food | 16 |
| June 19 | Pulgogi party on the Han river, at Kwangnaru Bridge | 120 |
| July 13 | Seoul Station Restaurant, Russian food | 115 |

Tours outside Seoul were again a great success, and this year were not interrupted by unsettled conditions. Dates, places visited, and numbers of participants are as follows:

| | | |
|----------------|---|-----|
| February 22-24 | Weekend trip to Taegwallyong ski slopes | 25 |
| March 25-29 | Cheju-do, the famous tropical island greeted us with howling winds and snow storm, but even so the visit proved worthwhile. | 18 |
| April 5-9 | Cherry Blossom tour to Chinhae and Chinju | 120 |
| April 13-16 | Kyongju and Pulguk-sa | 70 |
| May 5-8 | Second visit to Cheju-do. On this occasion we visited Mara-do, the most southerly island of Korea, very rarely visited by Westerners. | 11 |
| May 11-12 | Popchu-sa, one of the great temples of Korea., a particularly successful visit at a perfect time of year. | |
| May 19-20 | Songgwang-sa, a remote temple in Cholla Namdo with its White Rice Tree. | |

- July 7-8 Sonun-sa and the Pyonsan Peninsula, Cholla Pukto. As an experiment, we did this very successful tour on the cheap, omitting the usual luxurious meal service.
- July 14-17 Mallipo Beach 60
- July 18-29 Pusan-Yosu Inland Sea Tour, a very successful trip in fine weather 40
- September 1-3 Mallipo Beach 65
- September Komun-do (Port Hamilton). We took a boat from Yosu, stopped on the beach at Oenara-do, and spent the night on board at remote Komun-do, a group of three islands occupied by the British 1885-87. On the way to Yosu we visited, Sunchon and inspected recent flood damage there.
- September Sorak-san tour 35
- October 13-14 Paengnyong-do, the island in the Yellow Sea lying N.W. of the Han estuary and near the coast of North Korea. 15
- October 20-21 Trip to the newly-discovered Sokkuram at Kunwi-gun, Taeyul dong, Kyongsang Pukto. We also visited a number of antiquities in and near Andong, as well as Pusok-sa, one of the greatest Korean temples with the oldest surviving temple hall (c. 1350) in Korea. This was a particularly valuable and interesting tour, undertaken at the picturesque time of the rice harvest. 42
- November 28- Overseas tour to Taiwan 20
- December 2
- December 20- Overseas tour to Hong Kong and Thailand 40
- January 7, '63

Financial assistance was rendered by the Society during 1962 as follows:

- April 15 A contribution of 25,000 won to the Korean Research Center
- July 27 Research grant to Dr. Beuchelt, 35,000 won.

Members of the Council for 1962 were:

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| President | His Excellency Roger Chambard |
| Vicepresident | His Excellency Gabriele Paresce |
| Treasurer | Mr Carl Ferris Miller |
| Corresponding Secretary | Mr Peter Smart |
| Recording Secretary | Miss Grace Haskell |
| Librarian | Father Richard Rutt |
| Councilors | Dr Dong Chon, Mr Gregory Henderson, Dr Kim Che-won, Dr Lee Sun-keun, Mrs Inez Kong Pai, Col Waldemar Solf, Mr Stephen John Whitwell |

We are lucky in 1962 that the Council served throughout the year without losses except for Mrs Pae, who had to resign on her departure for Japan. We shall not be so fortunate in 1963 when the usual partings of diplomatic and military personnel will cause many changes.

LIST OF MEMBERS 1962

| Name | Present Address | Home Address |
|---|---|--|
| Lifesavers | | |
| The Rt. Rev. Messrs. George W. Carroll Miss Marie M. Danich | Catholic Relief Services CPO Box 89, Seoul Naris Apartments | Maryknoll, PO New York Commodore Hotel, N.Y., N.Y. |
| The Rev. Charles Goodwin Mr Carl Ferris Miller | 3 Chong Dong, Seoul Presbyterian Mission, Seoul Canadian Mission, Seoul | Goodwin Office 15 Lavinia St., Hartford 5, Conn Washington Terrace Fulton, Pa. Dr. of Foreign Missions, 128 5th Ave., N.Y. Box 461 Middleton N.S., Canada |
| Expat | | |
| His Excellency Walter Godfray, Esq. | British Embassy, Seoul | |
| Her Majesty Queen Yun | Naksongki, Chongbuk Palace, Seoul | |
| Members | | |
| Mr Ferdinand Antoniolo | Far East Exchange Service, Korea Depot APO 371 | 225 West Madison Ave, Los Angeles, Ca. |
| Mr Tiburcio C. Jago | Philippine Embassy, Seoul | Manila, Philippines |
| Mr Chester A. Ellis Mr & Mrs Janet Bailey | American Embassy British Embassy | 1440 20th St., London, S.W.1, England 1644 Linn St., San Fran Cal. |
| Mrs Laverne F. Balkrups The Boyd & Mrs L. Paul Harting Dr John L. Bastian | Asian Area Coord. CPO, APO 88 Korea Lutheran Mission Education Div. G-4 Section, HQ, EUSA APO 331 | 659 Wash. Circle, Milwaukee 13, Wis- consin |
| Mr Herb C. Beck | USOM Ind. Div | 6850-20th Ave Denver, Colo. |
| Miss Patricia M. Beha | Chugli Inn Service Club Recreation Ctr 24, 1st Cav Div. Arty APO 24 | 4732 Beard Ave, Mpls 10, Minn |
| Miss Nancy M. Bomis | Su. Services Rec Ctr #1 1 1st Cav Div APO 24 | N-1407 Sherwood Spr ings 4, Washington |

LIST OF MEMBERS 1962

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Present Address</i> | <i>Home Address</i> |
|--|--|--|
| Life(Local) | | |
| The Rt. Rev Msgr George M. Carroll Miss Mamie M. Daniels | Catholic Relief Services CPO Box 69, Seoul Naeja Apartments | Maryknoll, PO New York Commodore Hotel, N.Y., N.Y. |
| The Rev Charles Goodwin Mr Carl Ferris Miller | 3 Chong Dong, Seoul 46-1728 Hyonjo Dong, Seoul | Goodwin Office 15 Lewis St., Hartford 3, Conn 30 Washington Terrace Pittston, Pa. |
| Mr Samuel H. Moffett | Presbyterian Mission, Seoul | Br. of Foreign Missions, 156 5th Ave., N.Y. |
| Miss A.M. Rose | Canadian Mission, Seoul | Box 461 Middleton N.S., Canada |
| Honorary | | |
| His Excellency Walter Godfrey, Esq. | British Embassy, Seoul | |
| Her Majesty Queen Yun | Naksonje, Changdok Palace, Seoul | |
| Members | | |
| Mr Ferdinand Arredondo | Far East Exchange Service, Korea Depot APO 971 | 1139 West Mistletoe Ave, San Antonio, Tex |
| Mr Tiburcio C. Baja | Philippine Embassy, Seoul | Manila, Phillippines |
| Mr Chester A. Bain Mr & Mrs James Bailey | American Embassy British Embassy | Foreign Office, London, S.W.I, England |
| Mrs Lavergne F. Balthrope The Revd & Mrs L. Paul Bartling Dr John L. Bastian | Ascom Area Comd, CPO, APO 20 Korea Lutheran Mission Education Div, G-1 Section, Hq, EUSA APO 301 | 2844 Lyon St., San Fran Cal. 6539 Wash. Circle, Milwaukee 13, Wis- consin |
| Mr Niels C. Beck | USOM-Ind. Div | 6650-26th Ave. Denver, Colo. |
| Miss Patricia M. Beha | Chogie Inn Service Club Recreation Ctr #4, 1st Cav Div Arty APO 24 | 4752 Beard Ave, Mpls 10, Minn |
| Miss Nance M. Bemis | Sp. Services Rec Ctr # 1 1st Cav Div APO 24 | N. 1407 Sherwood Spo- kane 4, Washington |

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Present Address</i> | <i>Home Address</i> |
|--|--|--|
| His Excellency & Mrs Samuel D. Berger | American Embassy | Foreign Service Mail Rm, Dept of State Wash. D.C |
| Miss Dorothy I. Biggs | Sig Sec Hq KMAG APO 102 | 6739 Forestdale Ave. Hammond Ind. |
| Mr James K. Binder | University of Maryland APO 94 | R.D. #1, Coopersburg (Bucks County), Pa. |
| Miss Florence I. Bloomberg | CPO EUSA APO 301 | 3833 N. 9th St. Arling- ton, Va |
| Father Daniel Bouchez | Holy Ghost College, 90-2 Hehwa Dong, Seoul | 62 Rue Sadi Carnot Armentieres, France |
| Mrs Betty Bowman | EUSA Engr. Sec. APO 301 | 2452 W. 256th St. Lomita, Cal |
| Miss Mabel Brunk | Pusan Children's Charity Hospital | |
| His Excellency Karl Bunger | German Embassy | Auswartiges Amt Bonn, Germany |
| Miss Carolyn Buser | HQ EUSA Engr APO 301 | 611 Robinson Ave. Webster Groves, Mo. |
| Mr Leland Campbell | 213 Oomachi, Kama- kura, Kanagawa, Japan | 722 N. Vandeventer, Fayetteville Ark. |
| Miss Elizabeth Carney | Army Service Club I Corps APO 358 | 7309 Constance Ave, Chicago, Ill |
| His Excellency Roger Chambard | French Embassy, Seoul | 4 Rue de Villersexel Paris, France |
| Miss Faye I. Chambers | 37 Engr Det. Area Engr, Ascom APO 20 | |
| Mr Chang Ik-pong | 128-4 Ke Dong, Chong- no, Seoul | |
| Cpl Chang Chull | 85 Anguk Dong, Chongno Ku, Seoul | |
| Mr Allen D. Clark | Presbyterian Mission | Board of Miss. Presb. Church 476 Riverside Dr., N.Y. |
| Mrs Emma B.L. Cobb | 565th Engr Bn, Hq ASCOM City Engr APO 20 | 4411 South 4th St. Arlington 4. Va. |
| Mr Thomas Coolidge, Jr. | Rm 51 Chedong Bldg. | 35 Lapland St. Brooklyn Mass. |
| Mr. Tom Collingwood | Sp Svcs, Camp Kaiser, 7th Inf Div APO 7 | Tropic Seas Apt 405, 2943 Kalakaua Honolulu, Hawaii |
| Revd Harvie M. Conn | 3-88 Chungjong-no, Seoul | |
| Miss Helen Elizabeth Cox | SAC Service Club, APO 301 | |

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Present Address</i> | <i>Home Address</i> |
|---------------------------|--|--|
| Miss Dorothe E. Cummings | USOM, IFD | 610 Midstream Rd, Brick Town, N.J. |
| Mr G. Huntington Damon | American Embassy, Seoul | 6200 Garnett Drive, Chevy Chase 15, Md. |
| Mrs Opal K. Daymude | Sig Sec 7th Log Comd APO 47 | Boys, Mo. |
| Mrs Margaret Davis | Area Engr, ASCOM APO 20 | Elko, Nevada |
| Mrs Viola S. Denning | Chemical Sec. 7th Log Comd APO 612 | 3394 Springhill Rd. Lafayette, Cal. |
| Mr & Mrs Wayne R. Diller | Naeja Apartments | |
| Mrs Janet E. Dix | Gaither Hall Service Club. I Corps Artillery APO 2 | Barleys, Route 2 Box 225, Cali, Maryland |
| Dr. Dong Chon | Korea Research Center | |
| Mr Frederic H. Dustin | Seoul Club | |
| Mrs T.W. Dybo | Playbill, Choson Hotel | 501 Reed St. Philadel- phia, Pa |
| Miss Bertha E. Early | 55th Qm Depot APO 20 | Zanesfield, Ohio |
| Mrs Mildred M. Eisberg | Naeja Apartments | 1039 Wiseburn, Haw- thorne, Cal |
| Mrs Ruth J. Ellis | Am'n Dependents School APO 301 | |
| Mr Charles R. Enemark | Hd EUSA, Signal Sec P & B APO 301 | 3030 Carey Ave., Dav- enport, Iowa |
| Mrs Elizabeth F. Etherton | Hd EUSA Medical Sec APO 301 | 78 B Fisher Creek Road Sylva, North Caro. |
| Miss Elinor M. Farrel | USIS, American Em- bassy | 1010 Elmwood Ave, Wilmette, Illinois |
| Miss Mary Kate Field | Sp Svcs Lib, USA SAC APO 301 | 366 Warwick Lane, Crystal Lake, Ill. |
| Mr Benjamin A. Fleck | American Embassy, Seoul | 9412 Kingsley Ave., Bethesda, Maryland |
| Mr Melvin E. Frarey | USOM, TC-CD I | 368 N. Main St. Canan- daiga, New York |
| Miss Frances Fulton | Methodist Mission | 123 Wilson St. Carlisle, Pa. |
| Mr W.C. Funk | USOM, RD-PD | Idaho Falls, Idaho |
| Mr Karl F.W. Gabriel | Rm 320, Bando | 12 Esplanade, Gmunden Austria |
| Miss Beth Garbutt | Sp Svcs Sec, Crafts Branch USA SAC, APO 301 | 420 South Thursmond, Sheridan, Wyoming |
| Mr Edgar J. Gordon | American Embassy Seoul | 2170 Univ. Ave., Bronx 53, N.Y. |
| Miss Loretta M. Granzer | I Corps CPO OCPD EUSA APO 301 | Joe F. Granzer, Bucka- roo Motel, Newcastle |
| Mr Philip C. Habib | American Embassy, Seoul | Wyoming |

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Present Address</i> | <i>Home Address</i> |
|--|---|---|
| Mrs Winifred T. Hall | American Embassy | Van Etten 24 Kimball Rd, Lakewood, N.J. |
| Mrs Billie Sims Hamlet | Hq EUSA Compt APO 301 | 104 N. Cedar St., Summerville, S.C. |
| Miss Dorothy Hanley Mr Orville Hanson | Naeja Apartments Education Ctr, 23rd Tran Bn APO 24 | 81 Atlantic Drive, Old Saybrook, Connecticut |
| Miss Grace Haskell Miss Helen L Haviland | SJA, EASCOM APO 301 121 Evac Hospital APO 20 | 721 N. 4th St. Sunbury, Penna |
| Mr George C. Heikes | USOM, RD-MD | PO Box 795 Los Gatos, Cal. |
| Mr Julio Hernandez, Jr. Mr Thomas Roland Hill | Naeja Apartments USOM | Curundu, Canal Zone 14522 So Jersey Ave., Norwalk, Calif |
| Miss Peggy K. Hill | Area Engr. Ascom Area Comd. APO 20 | |
| Mrs Lane Holdcroft | USOM, TC-CD | South Colby, Wash. |
| Mr Henry P. Homans Mr James Hostetler | USOM, AD/P-P Christian Children's Fund | Rt 1, Louisville, Ohio |
| Miss Imogene M. Huffman | American Red Cross APO 301 | 210 W. Oak, Carbon-dale, Ill. |
| Mr & Mrs Hyun Yong-won | 35-35 Tongui Dong, Chongno Ku, Seoul | |
| Miss Gloria Jameson | English House, Ehwa Univ. | 131 N. Pine San Antonio, Tex |
| Miss Doris R. Jerred | Engr Dist F.E. APO 301 | 512 Pacific Ave, Syracuse, N.Y. |
| Mrs Virginia C. Johnson | Inchon Libr. 2nd Transp. Terminal Comd. APO 971 | 622 Wash. Ave. Wilmette, Ill. |
| Mr Carl W. Judy | Methodist Mission, 171 Ilsan Dong, Wonju Kangwon Do | Board of Missions, Methodist 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N.Y. |
| Mrs Kang Woonkyung Mr Kauh Kwang-man | CPO Box 83, Seoul 31-5 1-ka Changchung Dong, Chung Ku, Seoul | |
| Mrs Beulah Bea Kent | Sig Sec EUSA APO 301 | 6122 Henderson St. Chicago 34, Ill. |
| Rev. C. R. Kenyon | Korean Bible Society | Brisbane, Queensland, Australia |
| Mr & Mrs Leo Kiachko The Revd Kenneth E. Killoren, SJ | Rm 320 Bando Sogang Jesuit College PO Box 1142 | CPO Box 572 Tokyo 3109 N. Lake Park, Milwaukee II, Wis. |
| Dr Kim Che-won Mr Kim Hyong-min Mr Kim Byung-hak | National Museum Samil-sa 366-58 Shindang Dong, Seoul | |

LIST OF MEMBERS 1962

101

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Present Address</i> | <i>Home Address</i> |
|--|--|---|
| Mrs Mary C. King | Hq I Corps (Group) Artillery Office of the Commanding General APO 2 | Darlington Apts 2025 Peachtree Rd, N.E. Atlanta, Georgia |
| Mr & Mrs Rene Mac Kisray | Rm 531, Bando Hotel | 31 Via Cavalier D'Ar- pino, Rome, Italy |
| Dr. Koh Whang-kyung Miss Elna Kristensen | Seoul Womens' College National Medical Center | Katrinedalsvej 3 A III t.h. Copenhagen, Denmark |
| Miss A. Kupka Mr Arthur W. Kuehnert | German Embassy EDFA US Army APO 301 | 2538 N.E. Killingworth, Portland 11, Oregon |
| Miss Helen F. Kurek | G-1 Hd EUSA APO 301 | |
| Dr & Mrs Lauritz Laursen | National Medical Center | 141 Gothersgade, Copenhagen, Denmark |
| Rev. James P. Lauer | IPO 1239, Seoul | PO Trimont, Minnesota |
| Mrs Lee Pyong-pok | 428-2 Shindang Dong, Seoul | |
| Mr Lee Won-soon, | Rm 305, Taylor Bldg. | 473 2nd Ave. N.Y. 16, N.Y. |
| Mr Charles C. Lee | US Naval Advisory Group APO 301 | 99-100 Chester Way Aiea, Hawaii |
| Miss Julie T. Levinsen | National Medical Center | Birkholm Guldbjerg St. Nordfyn, Denmark |
| Mr Lim Keun-soo | 36-7 Nogosan Dong, Sodaemun Ku, Seoul | |
| Mr & Mrs James G. Little | Ministry of Public Information | Worcester, Mass. |
| Miss Ruth M. Lottridge Mrs Margaret E. Luhman | American Embassy EUSA Special Services, APO 301 | 1321 12th St. Rockford, Ill. |
| Mr William L. Magistretti | American Embassy, Seoul | |
| Miss Alba R. Malone | Office of Civ. Personnel Hq EUSA APO 301 | Capleville, Tenn. |
| Brigadier & Mrs Christopher M. Man Mrs Juanita R. Martin | British Embassy EASCOM, APO 301 | Westminster Bank Ltd. Kent England Route 1, Box 277 Vicksburg, Miss. |
| Mrs Lillian Mason | K-6 Sub-Post (SAC) APO 71 | 1218, 44th Ave, San Francisco, Cal |
| Mr & Mrs Robert E. Mattielli | EUSA Special Services APO 301 | 7225 SE 32nd Mercer Island, Wash. |
| Miss Ruth Mattsson | Sp. Svc. Hq. I Corps APO 358 | 1164 Appleton St. Long Beach 2, Cal, |

LIST OF MEMBERS 1962

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Present Address</i> | <i>Home Address</i> |
|------------------------------------|---|---|
| Mr Frederick Maurer | Hq Ascom Area Comd APO 20 | Carrolltown, Pa. |
| Miss Virginia McLaughlin | J-6 Div. UNC APO 301 | 195 Jewett Pkwy, Buffalo 14, N.Y. |
| Miss Mary A. McClelland | American Embassy | 1807 Vincent Str. Brownwood, Tex. |
| Miss Jessie McDonald | Hq PROVMAAG-K APO 301 | 1530 E. 59th St. Chicago 37, Ill |
| Miss Theodora McGill | Special Services 1st Cav Div APO 301 | 3909 17th St. N.E. Wash., D.C. |
| Mr Melvin McGovern | Hq I Corps G-1 APO 358 | 1167 Walnut Dubuque, Iowa |
| Miss Eunice E. McPherson | Sp Svcs Library, USA Ascom Area Comd APO 20 | |
| Mr Arther McTaggart | American Embassy, Seoul | |
| Mrs Joy B. Mills | USOM, RDD-C | 4935 Granada Ave. Riverside, Cal. |
| Mr & Mrs Albert Miller | Naeja Apartments | 30 Wash. Terrace Pittston, Pa. |
| Mrs Edna Miller | Naeja Apartments | 30 Wash. Terrace Pittston, Pa |
| Miss Carolyn Miller | Army Service Club Camp Kaiser 7th Inf Div APO 7 | 211 West 25th St., Kearney, Nebraska |
| Miss Suzanne M. Miller | Hq Det KMAG G-3 APO 102 | 1615 N.W. 14th Ave. Gainesville, Fla. |
| Mrs Ilse Monticone | American Embassy | 21 Mill St., Newport, R.I., |
| Mr & Mrs Lynden Morrow | Naeja Apartments | 9401 S.W. 95th Ct, Miami, Fla |
| Miss Sunshine Murphy | Sp. Svcs Hq EUSA APO 301 | 101 Hollingsworth St. Leaksville, S.C. |
| Miss Natalie E. Nason | Education Center Camp Hovey APO 7 | RFD No. 1, Stetson, Maine |
| Miss Laura W. Newman | Hq EUSA Provost Marshall Sec. APO 301 | 3310 Crane St. Lemon Grove, Cal. |
| Miss Dorothy Nissen | J-1 Division Hq UNC/ USFK APO 301 | |
| Mr Walter Owens | Fulbright Commission | 63 Center St. West Haven, Conn. |
| Mr Park Wonser | 152-1 Nagwon Dong, Chongno, Seoul | |
| Miss Esther Park | YWCA | 600 Lexington Ave. N.Y., N.Y |
| His Excellency Gabriele Paresce | Italian Embassy, Seoul | |

LIST OF MEMBERS 1962

103

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Present Address</i> | <i>Home Address</i> |
|---|--|--|
| Prof. Pi Chyun-deuk | College of Education, SNU | |
| Mr Marshall R. Pihl, Jr. | Sasangge Monthly | 30 Mystic Valley Parkway, Winchester, Mass. |
| Miss Helen M. Plaum | Naeja Apartments | 1912 Inyo St, Delano, California |
| Miss Margaret Prescott | USAED FE APO 301 | 5059 W. Wait St. Seattle, Wash. |
| Mr & Mrs Jean Pressler | USOM, RD-MD | 634 Calapooia St. Albany, Ore. |
| Miss Elsie M. Quick | American Embassy | %Mrs J.S. Garzick, Box 124 Southern Pines, N.C. |
| Miss Gladys Z. Rhodes | Naeja Apartments | Hoverson, Old Balti- more Pike Beltsville, Md. |
| Mr & Mrs Joseph Rosa The Revd Richard Rutt | American Embassy 32 Yongon Dong, Seoul | Washington, D.C. Korean Miss. 55 Bedford Gardens, London W. 8, Eng. |
| Mr Robert G. Sauer | Methodist Mission IPO Box 1182, Seoul | 234 E. Walnut St. Painesville, Ohio |
| Mr Donald E. Shannon | SJA Sec Hq EUSA APO 301 | 3526 Stettinius Ave, Cincinnati 8, Ohio |
| Miss Mildred A. Shaver | American Dependents School, APO 301 | 68 Williamson Ave. Hillside, N.J. |
| Mr & Mrs W.E. Shep- herd | Adrian Wilson & Assn. Dept Mail Sec APO 301 | PO Box 2799 Tampa 1 Fla. |
| Mr E.W. Shuey | Seoul Civ Pers Office APO 301 | |
| Mr Walter Sigworth, Jr. | G-4 Hq I Corps APO 358 | 18 Martin Drive, Lansdowne, Pa. |
| Mr Gerard Sirot | French Embassy | 16 Rue Copernic Paris France |
| The Revd C.E.J. Smart | 3 Chong Dong, Seoul | 42 Winifred Road, Bedford, England |
| Mr James H. Smith Miss Alice Snyder | Naeja Apts 8th Army Ord. APO 301 | R.R. 1 Roadhouse, Ill. Charleston Village RDI Malvern, Pa. |
| Mr John Nottingham Somerville | 1-1 Yonji Dong, Chong No Ku, Seoul | Montreat, North Caro- lina |
| Miss Polly Spofford | American Embassy | 1401 S.W. 20 St. Miami 45, Fla |
| Mr & Mrs E. R. Steele | EUSA Signal Section APO 301 | 842 Orlando Blvd Win- ter Park, Fla. |
| Miss Marion Steele | Special Services Li- brary, USA SAC, APO 301 | 23 Crooked Trail Rowayton, Conn. |

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Present Address</i> | <i>Home Address</i> |
|----------------------------|--|---|
| Miss Elsie Stockton | Methodist Mission | 2211 Ash Ave. Las Vegas, Nev. |
| Miss Grace Stone | Special Services Hq 8th US Army APO 301 | Calder Place Beaumont Tex. |
| Miss Cecilia M. Szczesniak | Taegu, CPO APO 612 | 5854 W. Flourssant Ave, St. Louis 20, Mo |
| Miss Mary Alice Swanton | Hq 8th US Army Chemical Section APO 301 | 27 George St., Newton 58, Mass. |
| Miss Hazel L. Swartz | SGS Section 8th Army APO 301 | 14 So. Victor Tulsa 4 Okla. |
| Mr & Mrs Jack Theis | Methodist Mission | 745 Commonwealth Ave. Boston. Mass. |
| Miss Aleene C. Thompson | SJA EASCOM APO 301 | Tupelo, Miss. |
| Miss Tomena Jo Thoreson | American Embassy, Seoul | Grand Canyon Nat'l Park, Arizona |
| Miss Helen R. Tieszen | PO Box 5, Taegu | Marion, S.D. |
| Mrs A. Kathryn Tipples | Office of the Area Engr US Army Ascom Area Comd APO 20 | Tabor, Iowa |
| Miss Viola Todd | Naeja Apartments | Col C.P. Westpheling 15 Hunt St. Ft. Bragg, N.C. |
| Mr J. Laurence Topp | Rm 551, Grand Hotel | 21 Eulabah Ave. Earlwood NSW Australia |
| Mrs Edith S. Tremper | Hq 55 QM Depot APO 20 | |
| Mrs Elspeth Umphrey | Naeja Apartments | 3115 15th St, Port Arthur, Tex. |
| Prof. H G. Underwood | Yonsei University | Kennedy Apt West 116th St. N.Y. 27, N.Y. |
| The Revd Peter Van Lierop | Presbyterian Mission | Kennedy Apts 47 Claremont Ave. N.Y. 27, N.Y. |
| Miss Grace Vargas | 4th Sig Bn. Comptroller Sec APO 20 | PO Box 148, Kinderhook, N.Y. |
| Miss Lourdes N. Verdolaga | Philippine Embassy | 19-B Pedro Ladia Project 4, Quezon City, Philippines |
| Mr & Mrs Edgar A. Vestal | USOM, RDD | |
| Miss Vera L. Vincent | Sp. Svcs EUSA APO 301 | 5436 Granada Ave. Riverside, Cal. |
| Mrs Leonard T. Wadsley | USADE FE, APO 301 | PO Box 593 Kailua, Hawaii |

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Present Address</i> | <i>Home Address</i> |
|---|----------------------------------|--|
| Mrs Martha Dudley Waters | American Embassy, Seoul | 331 Md Ave N.E. Washington, D.C. |
| Miss Helen White | Sp Svcs Hq I Corps APO 358 | %Mrs Albert Rucker, 200 Tustin St. Elberton, Ga. |
| Mr Stephen John Whitwell | British Embassy | The Foreign Office, London S.W.1, England |
| Mr William Morris Williams | USOM, PSD-E | 179 Kensington Way, San Fran Cal |
| Mr Robert Willner | American Embassy | 123 Pendleton St. New Haven, Conn. |
| Mr Robert L. Winter | Wilcox Co., Rm 622 Bando Hotel | 1945 Hibiscus St. Sarasota, Fla. |
| Miss Rose P. Wong | American Embassy | Foreign Service, Dept State. Wash.' D.C |
| Mr Yi Nam-jik | Foreign Department Bank of Korea | |
| Mr Yun Se-gun | 66 2-ka Myongdong, Seoul | |
| Library Service Center Special Services Sect. | Hq EUSA APO 301 | |
| Special Svcs Library | US Army SAC, APO 301 | |

OVERSEAS MEMBERS

Life

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| Mr Daniel B. Curll III | 20 Maher Ave. Greenwich, Conn. |
| Dr. Norman Found | L'Original, Ont. Canada |
| Mrs R.S. Hall | Liberty, New York |
| Mr Gregory Henderson | 19 Brewster St., Cambridge 38, Mass. |
| Miss Gertrude Koll | 2625 Park Avenue, Apt 2, Minneapolis 7, Minnesota |
| Mrs Inez Kong Pair | Korean Missionin Japan, Tokyo |
| The Revd W. B. Pettus | |
| Mr. Robert C. Rucker | 1845 Summit Place, N.W. Washington 9, D.C. |

Honorary

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| The Rt Revd A. C. Cooper | St. Bernard Burwash, Sussex England |
| His Excellency Hubert J. Evans, Esq | Foreign Office, London S.W. 1, England |
| Brigadier Miss A.J. Irwin | 3070 W. 12th Ave, Vancouver B.C. Canada |
| Commissioner H.A. Lord | 68 South Way Shirley, Croydon, Surrey England |

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Home Address</i> |
|------------------------------|--|
| <u>Regular members</u> | |
| Miss Mary Abraham | 12 Eagle's Str. Langford Town, Bangalore, India |
| The Rev & Mrs Edward Adams | Pres. Board, 157 5th Ave., N.Y., N.Y. |
| Miss Margaret Ahlmeyer | Agnesstr. 58, Beuel b/Bonn. Ger- many |
| Mr Louis F. Address | Route 5, Box 49A, Vicksburg. Mississippi |
| Mr Clyde M. Ardin | %Gus Ardin, Cook, Minnesota |
| Capt Theodore F. Ayers | 200 East Bergen Place, Red Bank, N.J. |
| Mr Bernard M. Bench | 1244 Holly St., Denver 20, Colorado |
| Mrs Wilson Beveridge | 329 West A. Ave, Glendale, Ariz. |
| Group Captain John G. Bishop | National Provincial Bank, Trinity Str. Cambridge, England |
| Miss Dorothy L. Blair | 63 1/2 West 5th St. Corning, N.Y. |
| Mr. Paul C. Blum | 32-8 Kamiyama-cho Shibuya-ku, Tokyo, Japan |
| Mr Ivan Geoffrey Bradley | Auckland, New Zealand |
| Miss Dorothee Brennan | Hq USA Hawaii Civ. Per Office APO 956, US Army |
| Miss Mary Lilla Browne | 1401 Lyon St. Raleigh, N.C. |
| Miss Barbara Burns | 96 Loring St. Hyde Park, Mass |
| Mr Leo N. Bushman | 719 E. Lawrence St, Mishawaka, Indiana |
| Mr Harry L. Carr | AID, Dept of State, Wash. D.C. |
| Col. Raymond L. Cato | Adjutant General, US Army, Wash. D.C. |
| Mr Fred. W. Clayton | Carson City, Nevada |
| Miss Elizabeth A. Conley | 215 Hiilawe St., Honolulu 13, Hawaii |
| Miss Marion L. Conrow | 6310 Oneida, Wichita 8, Kansas, USA. 67208 |
| Mr Harold F. Cook | 27 Elmdale Road Uxbridge, Mass. |
| Miss Grace F Crane | 730 O'Farrell St. San Fran, Calif |
| Misk Helen M. Crossley | 21 Battle Rd. Princeton, N.J. |
| Mr & Mrs Daniel B. Curll Jr. | 20 Maher Ave, Greenwich, Conn. |
| SSgt Mark C. Cueni | 3732 Mentone Ave, Los Angeles 34, Cal |
| Miss Betsy F. Darby | 1130 Rural S.E., Salem, Ore. |
| Miss Marcia K. Davis | %R.L. Davis 124 Summit St. Thorsby, Ala. |
| Miss Anne Davison | 5219 Upper Middle Rd. Burlington, Ont., Canada |
| Mr Joseph J. De Gray | 430-60 St. Brooklyn 20 New York USA |

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Home Address</i> |
|------------------------------|--|
| Capt. Dorothy Boyd DeSmither | 1176 Josselem Rd., Monterey, Calif. |
| Miss Susan M. Divine | 1657-31 St. N.W. Wash. 7, D.C. |
| Miss Mary E. Doehler | 26 Lombard St, Newton, 58, Mass. |
| Miss Anne Marie Donahue | 6 Horseshoe Bend Newburgh, N.Y. |
| Miss Elizabeth Dickey | Colorado Springs, Colo. |
| Mr Frank E. Dines | 4139 Duke St., Kalamazoo, Mich. |
| Mr. William A. Douglas | 2581 NE 85th St., Seattle 15, Wash. |
| Miss R. Lucile Dunham | 5783 Florence Terrace, Oakland 11, Cal. |
| Miss Marit Moe Droivoldsmo | Med Div. Dep. of State Wash 25, D.C |
| Mr Robert H. Eckhart | 2904 Adams St. Alameda, California |
| Miss Ruth L. Elwell | 951 Millvill Ave, Hamilton, Ohio |
| Mrs Loise P. Evans | 321 West Alexander, Greenville, Mississippi |
| Ist Lt. L.E. Farris | — |
| Mr Leon Fontaine | Jones, Kreeger & Co., The Cafritz Bldg. 1625 Eye Str N.W. Washington 6, D.C. |
| The Revd Ernest J. Frei | Commission on Ecumenical Mission 475 Riverside Dr. N.Y. 27 N.Y. |
| Dr. Richard A. Gard | Dept of Religion, Yale Univ. New Haven Conn. |
| Miss Lenora J. Geisler | R2 Lake City, Minn. |
| Mr Richard, Gilliam, Jr. | College of Law, Univ. of Ky, Lexington, Ky. |
| Mr Mrs John C Gill, | %Mrs Norton Fox, |
| Mr George Gilmore | City Park Dr Groesbeck, Tex. |
| Miss Miriam Y. Glover | — |
| Mr Paul Goodson | 419 Bentan St, Valley Park, Mo |
| Dr. William D. Gould | 121 West Pomfret St, Carlisle, Pa |
| Mr George Conrad Graeber | 3823 Woodley Rd, N.W. Washington 16, D.C. |
| Capt. Siegfried Graebner | Dr. H.B. Hill 835 West 58 St. N.Y. 19, N.Y. |
| Mrs Jacqueline Grandchamp | 20 Bis Ave, Foch-Saint-Cloud (Seine et Oise), France |
| Miss Joan B. Greet | PO Box 44, Richmond Beach, Wash. |
| Miss Marie B. Gross | Kenosha, Wis. |
| Mrs Elsie G. Hagelee | 3108 E. Hwy. 1169 Grand Rapids, Mich. |
| Mrs Colette J. Hanley | 1146 Chestnut Hill Dr. Erie, Pa |
| Capt Williard S. Harris | 4 Summit Avenue, Albany, N.Y. |
| Maj. Catherine Harris | 1600 Elizabth Blvd. Ft. Worth, Tex. |
| Mr Lou Sileer Harrison | Aptos, California |
| Mrs Paul P. Hartman | Findlay, Shelby County, Ill. |
| Miss Rosanna C.K. Haven | — |
| Mr Benjamin H. Hazard, Jr. | 1808 Chestnut St, Berkeley 2, Cal. |

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Home Address</i> |
|---|---|
| Mr James T. Shaver Dr & Mrs Lloyd M. Short | Mt. Vista Rd. Kingsville, Maryland 65 Clarence Ave, S.E. Minneapolis 14, Minn |
| Mis Edith M. Schneider Dr. W.E. Skillend | School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, London W.C.1 |
| Mr Robert L. Smith Miss Dorothy M. Smith | Monica, Ill. American National Red Cross, Wash. D.C. |
| Mr Alexander B. Smart Col Waldemar Solf Dr & Mrs Arthur Shelamer Mr Edward Seidensticker | Foreign Off. London SW 1, England 1308 Forest Dr., Alexandria, Va. Athens, Tenn. Department of Asian Languages, Stanford Univ., Stanford, Calif. |
| Mr & Mrs Claudia R. Stocking Mr Axel Struthmann Dr & Mrs E.B. Struthers | 3225 N Glebe Rd. Arlington 7, Va. Edinburgh, Scotland, United Church of Canada |
| Mrs Sonia S.F. Suk Mr. Ronald S. Suleski | 231 Clay St., S.F., Calif. 1785 West 32nd Street, Erie Pennsylvania, |
| Mr & Mrs Eugene Sullivan | %Mrs E.J. Corkin, 9733 Woodridge Lane, Omaha 24, Nebr. Box 4, Estes Park, Colorado |
| Miss Charlotte M. Tagg Mr Benjamin L. Tepping Mr Anthony Lee Topp Major Barbara J. Twohey University of Illinois, Serials Department | Elmhurst College, Elmhurst, Ill. 736 South N. St., Livermore, Cal Urbana, Ill. |
| University of Hong Kong University Library Mr Dallas M. Vipond Mr Dallas Voran | The Librarian, University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong 149 Fifth Ave, Berea Ohio USOM Thailand, American Embassy, Bangkok |
| Mr Edward Wagner | Harvard-Yenching Institute, Divinity St., Cambridge, Mass. |
| Mr & Mrs Frederick W. Weber Mrs Geraldine L. Weeks Mr William R. Weems Mr & Mrs Donald P. Whitaker Capt Grace Womble Miss Virginia R. Woodruff Maj Gen & Mrs Sidney C. Wooten | Crertiew Apt. E-5 Rockaway N.J. 4 Eustis St. Lexington, Mass. 1018 High St. Millville, N.J. Rt. 2 Box 18 Warthen, Ga. PO Box 665, Bloomington, Cal. 2540 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington 8, D.C. |
| Mr Manfred Zink | Muenchen, Germany, Steinhauserstrasse 14 |

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Home Address</i> |
|---|---|
| Mr George McGrane | Floyd Place East Norwich, New York |
| Mrs G.S. Meloy, Jr. | 222 Geneseo Rd., San Antonio, Tex. |
| Col. A.E.E. Mercer | Hq British Gurkhas L. of C. Dharan Cantonment P.O. Jogbani District, Purnea, Bihar, India |
| Dr Samuel Martin | Yale Graduate School, New Haven, Conn. |
| Mrs Leslie R. Merrifield | 245-24 th St., North Pittsburgh, Fla. |
| Miss Marion Mesropian | 2024 So. Cecil St. Phila 43, Penna. |
| Miss Nina Jean Meth | 931 Pine Grand Island Nebraska |
| Maj. Kathryn M. Meyer | 514 Lake St. Lake Linden, Mich. |
| Metropolitan Museum of Art Library | 5th Ave & 92nd St., N.Y.N.Y. |
| Miss Kathryn Monks | 800 Grampian Blvd, Williamsport, Pa. |
| Monsignor Charles B. Mouton | 300 Dunreath St, Lafayette, La. |
| Mr William Mortson | 1915 Filbert S.F., Cal. |
| Major Mary Rita O'Brien | 331 E. Walnut St, Lancaster, Ohio |
| Oxford Book & Stationery Co. | 17 Park St. Calcutta, India |
| Capt Warren T. Pearson | 800 North Sixth St., Burlington, Iowa |
| Mr Wolfgang Paetou | Finkenau 16, Hamburg 21, Germany |
| Mr Frank R. Papworth | 3776 Pioneer Place, San Diego 3, Calif. |
| Capt Frances K. Patton | 2340 Carnation, Fort Worth 11 Tex. |
| Miss Olive Perera | 83 Oxford Rd. Denham Bucks, England |
| Lt. Col. Yvonne L. Plemon, ANC | — |
| Capt Ann Elizabeth Powell, ANC | 9621 Melrose Ave, Elk Grove, Calif |
| Adm & Mrs George W. Pressey | 3406 Ala. Ave. Alexandria, Va. |
| Mrs Helen S. Pryor | PO Box 14 Cranbury, N.Y. |
| Research Institute, New Asia College | 6 Farm Road, Kowloon, Hong Kong |
| The Revd Dale Robb | %Robert Jay, Oswego, Illinois |
| Mr Paul. R. Rowen | — |
| Lt. Owen Rice, Jr. | 2271 Country Club Drive, Bridgeville, Pennsylvania |
| Mr. Alfred L. Richmond | 4392 1/2 Point Comfort Dr. Akron 19, Ohio |
| Dr Hans Olav Riddervold | Lyschagan 14, Ovre Ullern, Oslo, Norway |
| Miss Carol M. Roehm | Straitsmouth Way, Rockport, Mass. |
| Mrs Sylvia E. Rolph | 4325 N.E. Failing St. Portland, Ore. |
| Miss Margit Ronholt | — |
| Mr Galen Sargent | 3815 Nall Court, South Bend 14, Ind. |
| The Revd Charles A. Sauer | — |
| School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London | University of London, W.C. 1, England |
| Lt. Edward R. Schwartz | 46 Heights Rd, Clifton, N.J. |
| Miss Judith Shanes | 1229 E. 28th St, Brooklyn 10, N.Y. |

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Home Address</i> |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| Mr William Henthorn | Cedar Bay Rd, Jacksonville, Fla. |
| Miss Barbara Ann Heflin | 5605 Starling Drive, Charleston 6, West Va. |
| Dr Henry K. Heuser | 5607 Chester Brook Rd N.W. Wash. 16, D.C. |
| Mr Daniel A. Hill | 1633 Compton Rd, Cleveland Heights 18, Ohio |
| Dr. Walter V. Hohenstein | Lake City, Minn. |
| Mr. William J. Holdorf | 2633 Wilson Ave. Chicago 25, Ill. |
| Capt Marguerite A. Holmes | Brandton Beach, Fla. |
| Mrs Earl Holton | %Mrs Inez B. Holton, Homer, Ill. |
| Sp/5 Duane L. Homokay | Buffalo St. Silver Creek, N.Y. |
| Miss Hong Won-ja | 500 W. 112nd Str. New York 25, N.Y. |
| Institute for Far Eastern Languages | Yale University, New Haven 11, Conn. |
| Mrs Harold Israel | — |
| Mr John C. Jamieson | 43 Williams St., Arlington Heights, Mass. |
| Miss Elizabeth Kamp | Rheingasse 12 Bonn, Germany |
| Capt Irving Karten | New York City |
| Mr Donald Keene | Dept of Japanese, Columbia University, N.Y. 27, N.Y. |
| Miss Phyllis A. Keen | 2901 W. 93rd Terrace, Leawood, Kansas |
| Mrs William D. Key | 1430 Louisiana St., Lawrence, Kansas |
| Miss Helen J. Kinney | Smithsonian Inst. Wash., D.C. |
| Dr. Eugene I. Knez | George Hall 116 Univ. of Hawaii, Honolulu 14, Hawaii |
| Mr Edgar C. Knowlton | 308½ South Fairfax St. Alexandria, Virginia 22314 |
| Miss Gene J. Kubal | 4101 Bradley Lane, Wash. 15, D.C. |
| Mr Harold W. Lady | 33 Woodman Rd, Durham, N.H. |
| Mr Richard Leavitt | 484 Irving Court Tiburon, California |
| Miss Edith M. Legrow | %K. Mullins 1508 Hinmari, Evanst- on, Illinois |
| Lt. Col Hoyt Livingston | Ft Smith, Ark. |
| Maj Floy Looper | 638 North Prospect St, Tacoma, Wash. |
| Miss Mary Lou Luck | 247 Springfield Ave. Rochester, N.Y. |
| Mr Everett J. Mann | — |
| Lt. Col. Winifred Z. Maita | Popes Head, Clifton, Va. |
| Dr & Mrs Kurt Mattusch | Aqua Vista, RFD No 5 Danbury, Connecticut |
| Mr & Mrs Lloyd W. Maxwell | One Circle Ave. Potomac Heights, Indian Head, Md. |
| Mrs Elwyn A. Mauck | 2601 Virginia St., Berkeley 9, Cal. |
| Major Michael J. McCarthy | |
| Mrs Evelyn McCune | |

