



TRANSACTIONS

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## SESQUICENTENARY OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Remarks by Ambassador Pierre Landy at the meeting of  
the Korea Branch, 14 March 1973

Nearly three years ago, in the early autumn of 1970, the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society celebrated the 70th anniversary of its founding. Those of you who were in Seoul at the time will recall, I am sure, the special program which the RAS conducted in the grounds of the Töksu Palace to commemorate that historic occasion.

Tonight we mark another important milestone in the Society's long history. Tomorrow, 15 March, is the 150th anniversary of the first RAS meeting in London in 1823. We cannot let the date pass unnoticed.

The Royal Asiatic Society was founded by Henry Thomas Colebrooke, the eminent Sanskrit scholar. He, Sir George Thomas Staunton, Sir J. Malcolm, Sir A. Johnston, and others interested in Oriental matters met in January 1823 to draw up proposals for the establishment of such a society. Their prospectus, dated 16 January 1823, pointed out that an association of intelligent persons might encourage research, extend intercourse between Europe and Asia, and lead to results reciprocally beneficial. They proposed, therefore, 'to found a Society that may embrace the views and be adapted to the pursuits of all persons whom it may be desirable to associate, whether their tastes should lead them into historical and antiquarian research or in other directions.'

The inaugural meeting took place on 15 March 1823 at the Thatched House in St James's Street, London, with Mr Colebrooke presiding. He explained that the scope of the new society 'would embrace both ancient and modern times, and include history, civil polity, institutions, manners, customs, languages, literature, and science; in short, the progress of knowledge in Asia and the means of its extension. It would not be confined to the geographical limits of Asia, but would include the con-

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nections of Western Asia with foreign countries, as in the spread of Mohammedanism; and nothing which had engaged the thoughts of men would be foreign to the Society's inquiry within those limits. Mr Colebrooke's remarks were approved and published.

The Society was formally constituted as 'The Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland' with a Council of twenty-five members, including a president, director, four vice-presidents, secretary, and treasurer. Membership in the first year of existence included nearly every Oriental scholar of note then resident in England, and numbered over 300.

King George IV consented to be the new Society's patron and granted it the title of 'Royal'. Accordingly, at a meeting on 7 June 1823, the name was changed officially to 'Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland'.

It is the anniversary of the first meeting on 15 March 1823 that we commemorate tonight. In January we wrote the Society in London, felicitating them on this happy occasion. Here is their president's reply:

*Dear M. Landy,*

*I take great pleasure in writing on behalf of this Society to offer our warm thanks and appreciation to the Officers, Council and Members of the Korea Branch for their felicitations expressed in your letter of January 25th on the occasion of our sesquicentenary.*

*A varied programme of events has been arranged in celebration of this occasion, and it was launched yesterday by a reception attended by Her Majesty the Queen and His Royal Highness Prince Philip.*

*I hope it is not necessary for me to say that any member of the Korea Branch who finds himself in London will be most welcome at any time if he will make himself known to our secretary.*

*With kind regards and renewed thanks,*

*yours sincerely,*

*B. W. Robinson*

*President*

*Sesquicentenary of RAS*

As a small memento of the occasion, we have prepared for distribution gratis to our membership a picture of Seoul taken just before the turn of the 20th century, inasmuch as our Korea Branch dates its own existence from 1900. Please be sure to claim your copy after tonight's program.

## THE CREATION OF THE KOREAN NAVY DURING THE KORYŎ PERIOD

Benjamin H. Hazard

Most westerners who have any familiarity with East Asian history are aware of the fact that the Koreans were generally victorious in the naval battles fought against the Japanese in the final decade of the sixteenth century. These encounters were the result of the Japanese invasions of Korea as a part of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's grand plan to conquer Ming China.<sup>1</sup> Recently the role of the great Korean admiral, Yi Sunsin, and his 'turtle boats' in those victories has received wider notice among occidental readers through such works as 'Lord of the Turtle Boats' by Captain George M. Hagerman, U. S. N. in the *United States Naval Institute Proceedings* and John V. Southworth's *The Ancient Fleets*.<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless, one is appalled to observe that others purporting to give a complete history of warfare at sea devote not a single line to Korean naval accomplishments.<sup>3</sup>

The fleet that Yi Sunsin led was not formed spontaneously in direct response to the Japanese invasions, but was, rather, the result of naval measures developed against another Japanese threat that began more than two centuries earlier. The organization, traditions and ship prototypes already existed and only required the genius of Yi Sunsin to transform them into Korea's most reliable defense against the seasoned veterans of Hideyoshi. If the Japanese troops could not be stopped on land, they could be blocked at sea. The stimuli for the formation of the Korean navy and for experimentation in naval architecture and armament were the Japanese forays against Korea in the later half of the fourteenth century and the first two decades of the fifteenth century. Although some of the more interesting naval developments, especially in organization, took place during the first few reigns of the Yi dynasty, that is after 1392,

this brief study will confine itself to the creation of what might be called a navy as a measure to cope with the *Wakō* 倭寇 (Korean: *Waegu*) depredations during the waning years of the Koryŏ period (918–1392). These Japanese piratical attacks and pillaging expeditions threatened the very existence of the Korean state and contributed to the conditions that brought about the overthrow of the Koryŏ royal house of Wang.

While Korea had had a rich maritime and naval tradition dating from the Silla period, Koryŏ had to rebuild her naval establishment almost from the keel up in the fourteenth century. It may be well to sketch some of the earlier background. The Koreans established themselves as master mariners in their ninth century trade with China.<sup>4</sup> The ninth century also witnessed the political disintegration of Silla. Korean pirates took advantage of the administrative confusion at home to raid Japan sporadically in 811, 813, 893 and 894. The pirates suffered such heavy casualties at the hands of the Japanese in their last efforts of the century that they ceased raiding.<sup>5</sup>

The founder of Koryŏ, Wang Kŏn, posthumously known as Wang T'aejo (r. 918–943), began as a lieutenant of Kungye (?–918), one of the rebels who carved out their own petty kingdoms from the rapidly collapsing state of Silla, and established his own kingdom in 918. Wang Kŏn became the uncontested ruler of Korea in 935, at least of that part that was not in the hands of the Chinese or northern tribal peoples. Since Wang Kŏn had commanded a fleet of ships while in the service of Kungye, it might be expected that his reign would inaugurate a period of naval expansion, but there is no evidence of this in the available sources.<sup>6</sup>

About the beginning of the eleventh century Jürchen pirates began harassing the east coast of Korea. In response to these depredations the Koreans in 1009 constructed seventy-five ships of war called *kwasŏn* 戈船 and stationed them at Chinmyŏnggu 鎮溟口 in the vicinity of modern Wŏnsan to defend the northeast coast of Korea from the inroads of the Jürchen.<sup>7</sup> The word *kwasŏn* is a compound of *kwa*, a lance with a hook or lateral blade below the main blade, and *sŏn*, ship.

In 1019 a Jürchen pirate fleet of some fifty ships raided Tsushima and Iki, as well as some areas on the coast of northern Kyūshū. These pirates carried off several hundred Japanese as captives.<sup>8</sup> The fleet, while sailing back to its base in Manchuria, was intercepted off Chinmyŏnggu

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by the Korean *kwason* fleet stationed there. In the ensuing engagement eight of the pirate craft were captured. 259 Japanese, who were either picked out of the water or were aboard the captured ships, were returned soon thereafter to Japan by the Koreans. On their arrival in Japan two of the Japanese female captives described the *kwason* for Japanese officials. According to the women, the ship was high and large, carrying many troops. There were four oars on either side, each pulled by five or six men; thus the ship had some twenty or more oarsmen. There were seven or eight additional oars that were not used. The bow of the ship was covered with iron plates in such a fashion as to form a horn with which pirate vessels were rammed. Large stones were cast from the ship, probably by catapult, and did considerable damage to the pirate ships. The Korean personnel aboard wore iron armor and wielded both long and short spears as well as grappling hooks.<sup>9</sup> In all probability the *kwason* was modelled on a Sung prototype.<sup>10</sup>

The vigor of the Korean reaction and its success in rapidly building and deploying a substantial fleet of effective warships substantiate the opinion of many historians that the eleventh century was the most dynamic period in Koryŏ history. It may be well that the 'turtle boat' was evolved from the *kwason*, but the subsequent decline of Korean interest in naval affairs over the next two centuries, until the Japanese rudely redirected Korean attention to naval defense, mitigates against a straight line development. The evolution of the 'turtle boat', however, is beyond the scope of this paper.<sup>11</sup>

The peace of Koryŏ's marine frontiers was shattered after some two hundred years on 22 June 1223, when Japanese raided Kŭmju 金州.<sup>12</sup> With this raid the first stage of the so-called *Wakō* raids began. The Japanese pillaged the Korean coast at sporadic intervals until 1265. By and large these depredations were on a minor scale, if compared with the later raids of the fourteenth century. Only one encounter at sea was reported and that was in 1226: the Koreans routed the Japanese taking two heads and the commander of the Korean forces reported that the raiders escaped under cover of darkness. This action took place off Sado 沙島, an island north of the better known island of Kōje, which was made famous during the mid-twentieth-century 'police action' in Korea.<sup>13</sup>

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The presence of Mongol troops in the late 1260s and the movement of large Mongol formations into Korea in the early 1270s in preparation for the invasion attempt on Japan deterred the pirates from continuing their raids. The *Wakō* may have been larcenous, but they were not fools. To have challenged the Mongols, then at the peak of their military power, would have been insanity.

In preparation for the first attempt to invade Japan in 1274 the Mongols compelled the Koreans to build three hundred transport craft capable of carrying 40 to 45 men each. The Mongols tripled the requirement for the invasion fleet of 1281. For this second attempt the Koreans built nine hundred, carrying 85 men each, including the crew.<sup>14</sup> The Koreans, moreover, were obliged to supply something like 15,000 men to man the ships that they built. This shipbuilding on behalf of the Mongols, a cruel burden to an already impoverished nation devastated by thirty years of Mongol military harassment and imposts, did not, however, contribute significantly to the naval establishment of Koryō. Most of the ships foundered in the typhoons that ended both invasion attempts, but on the other hand, building them contributed to reviving and sharpening the shipbuilding skills of Korea. The Mongols saw to it, however, that these skills should not be subsequently employed, when they forbade Korea to build warships in 1278.<sup>15</sup> This in effect deprived the peninsula of any naval force to defend its coast when the *Wakō* resumed their depredations in 1350. By that time most of the shipwrights of the 1270s and 1280s had died of old age. The Korean defensive capability was further reduced in 1337, when Koryō's Mongol overlords banned the possession of weapons by the Korean people.<sup>16</sup> This ban was, no doubt, prompted by fear on the part of the Mongols, because of the rising tide of rebellion in China.

In March 1350 the Japanese resumed their raids against Koryō, striking against Kosōng, Chungnim,<sup>17</sup> Kōje and other places—all on or off the fertile coast of Kyōngsang Province in the area just west of the mouth of the Naktong River. The *Wakō*, who were involved in the initial foray, were engaged and defeated by the local Korean military forces, who reported to the throne that they had taken more than three hundred heads. The entry in the *Koryō sa* for this event concludes with the comment, 'The *Wakō* incursions began with this.'<sup>18</sup> Some writers have taken



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this statement at face value and date the beginning of *Wakō* activity with the year 1350, ignoring the thirteenth-century prologue. In a large sense they are correct, for the *Wakō* were only a minor irritant in the thirteenth century, but in the latter half of the fourteenth century their depredations tore asunder the political, economic and social fabric of Korea. The frequency and scope of the raids increased in tempo and range after 1350, swelling to a crescendo in the 1380s and then gradually tapering off by 1419, with only sporadic raids in the next two centuries. The *Wakō* began by seizing the Korean rice fleets that carried tax grain in the late spring and early summer from the rice producing southern provinces to the capital of Koryō, Songdo, the modern Kaesōng.<sup>19</sup> When, after a decade or so of losing the fleets to the pirates, the Koreans turned to transporting their rice from the south to the capital overland, the Japanese plunged inland to loot the granaries where the rice was stored through the winter.

Because of the earlier Mongol strictures, the Koreans lacked any sort of regular marine or naval establishment that could effectively cope with a major enemy threat at sea. There were several attempts in 1351 and 1352 to place troops aboard available shipping in the vicinity of the capital, but the Korean commanders of these improvised flotillas either withdrew before the Japanese ships or avoided closing with them.<sup>20</sup>

Except for the initial drubbing that the *Wakō* received in 1350, they controlled the waters off Korea for more than twenty years thereafter. Attempts to engage them at sea usually ended in disaster for the Koreans. For example, by mid-summer 1358, since the Japanese had burned the Chōlla Province tax-rice transport ships, and *Wakō* raids and fear of them had brought the movement of rice from the south to the capital by sea to a halt, there was a serious rice shortage at the capital. Six Chinese were made ship's captains and given command of ships of Chinese design with one hundred and fifty troops placed aboard. They were to sail to Chōlla Province to obtain rice for the capital. Japanese pirates, however, intercepted them and, using the wind to their advantage, were able to set fire to the flotilla and defeat it.<sup>21</sup>

Another example is an event late in April 1364. The king commanded that a picked body of veteran troops from the northern marches be placed aboard eighty ships. The fleet was to proceed to Chōlla Prov-

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ince and then to convoy the tax-rice ships to the capital region. On its way south the fleet was warned by some people of Naep'o 內浦 in South Ch'ungch'ōng Province, who had been captured by Japanese but had escaped, that the *Wakō* were preparing an ambush and that the fleet should advance with caution. The fleet commander ignored this advice and sailed on with the beating of drums and battle cries. The fleet subsequently encountered two Japanese ships which feigned retreat; the fleet took up pursuit, but soon found itself surrounded by fifty Japanese ships. The ships in the Korean van were overcome by the Japanese. The commander, seeing the carnage, ordered a retreat, while his subordinate officers pleaded, ' . . . why do you retreat? We beg you remain awhile for the sake of the country and smash the pirates.' A number of junior officers fought their ships with great gallantry, especially Chōn Sūngwōn 全承遠, who for some time resisted boarding attempts by the Japanese, until two Japanese ships closed on his beam. The crew, unable to repel the boarders, jumped overboard, and for a while Chōn fought on alone. He was speared several times. At last he, too, jumped into the sea and swam to a small boat nearby, where he was helped into the craft by a soldier who himself had been wounded by arrows. After three days in their small craft they reached land. Only twenty of the original eighty Korean ships reached their home port. The commander was ultimately tried and exiled.<sup>22</sup>

The tax-rice ships sortied in May 1364 and got as far as Naep'o before they were intercepted by the Japanese. More than half the Koreans aboard the ships were killed.<sup>23</sup>

In 1373 U Hyōnbo 禹玄寶 (1333-1400) led others in recommending in a memorial to the throne that warships be built to intercept the Japanese at sea, for, as the memorial put it,

. . . . Critics have said that, because the Japanese pirates are good sailors, we should not meet them in naval warfare. If we build ships, this would double the burden on the people. This is not so. Pirates cannot be attacked from land. That condition is very clear. Moreover, in driving off pirates and preventing violence, our basic desire is on behalf of the people. Can critics think of minor distress of the people and give great grief to

the country? . . . when the pirates come sailing on the sea at will, our army stands on the shore and can do nothing more than look on with folded arms, even with a million picked troops. When it is a matter of water, what can we do? We ought to build ships, carefully equipped and armed, and, following the currents in long columns, block their principal routes. . . .<sup>24</sup>

The great Koryŏ general, Ch'oe Yŏng 崔瑩 (1316–1388), who probably came to a similar conclusion independently, began to build warships in the same year. In the autumn of that year, 1373, the king observed a demonstration of the newly constructed warships and the testing of fire arrows and fire tubes. (The latter may have been a form of flame thrower.)<sup>25</sup> The king must have been impressed, for at the end of the year the Korean court requested the Ming government to send gunpowder, sulfur and saltpeter for ships under construction.<sup>26</sup>

This was not, however, the first experimentation with firearms by Koryŏ. In 1356 'the ministers of the bureau of military affairs met at the Sungmun'gwan 崇文館<sup>27</sup> to inspect weapons for the defense of the northwest frontier. A *ch'ung*'*ung* 銃筒 gun tube was fired from Namgang 南岡 and the arrow fell to the south of Sunch'ŏn-sa 順天寺 and buried its feathers (vanes?) in the ground.'<sup>28</sup> The irony of this was that, although Koryŏ was being harassed from the sea by the Japanese, the major threat, as the Koreans saw it, was from the north. This threat was real enough. The Chinese were in rebellion against the Yüan dynasty and Koryŏ as a Yüan vassal state had lent some, if minor, military support to the Mongols; therefore the Chinese rebels felt that Korea had to be neutralized. The Red Turbans, the military arm of the White Lotus Society, invaded Korea in December 1359, and by January 1360 the city that is now P'yŏngyang had fallen to them. The Koreans rallied and drove the invaders back across the Yalu River in March. In November 1361 the Red Turbans again crossed the Yalu River, this time in force, and the capital fell to them in December; but by February 1362 the Koreans rallied once again to drive them back across the Yalu.<sup>29</sup> In all probability the bureau of military affairs was looking for weapons of mass effect to use against concentrations of ground troops, therefore the possibilities of a point target weapon usable aboard a ship of war

against an enemy ship were lost upon the ministers. Over the next decade and a half it appears that this earlier 'know-how' in the use of firearms was lost and had to be relearned under increased pressure from the *Wakō*. No doubt it was this pressure that prompted the tests in 1373, noted above, of incendiary arrows and fire tubes, but there is no evidence that these weapons were put to immediate use.

Early in 1374 naval forces were raised in Yanggwang (modern Ch'ungch'ōng) and Chōlla Provinces from islanders and others experienced in handling ships. This came about as a result of a memorial to the throne by Yi Hūi 李禧 pointing out that conscripts unfamiliar with the sea were being put aboard ships to fight the *Wakō* with disastrous effects to themselves and the Korean cause. He recommended that volunteers who were acquainted with ship handling should be recruited.

Ch'oe Yōng, however, thinking along the lines of U Hyōnbo's memorial of the previous year, planned to build two thousand warships and place the entire Korean military force aboard them. This plan raised a storm of protest. His critics pointed out that farmers dreaded going to sea, and that more than half of those conscripted for duty aboard ships deserted.<sup>30</sup> By May 1374 Ch'oe Yōng, disgusted by the general opposition to his plan, asked to be relieved. Had his drastic measures been carried out Koryō might have been spared the depredations that were still to come.

Ch'oe Yōng was much too valuable a general for the king to allow him to retire. Instead, the king entrusted him with the pacification of Cheju Island, which was then in rebellion. On 1 September 1374 Ch'oe Yōng received the royal command to lead a force of 25,605 troops aboard 314 warships to put down the uprising, and by 4 October the island was pacified. Although the vessels were called warships, it seems likely that most, if not all, were transport junks, because, had there been that many warships, it is likely that the Koreans could have somewhat dampened the havoc that the *Wakō* were still wreaking in coastal areas. As will be seen later, in 1380 Ch'oe Yōng would complain that only one hundred warships were available for coastal defense. One wonders what happened to the other 214 'warships' during the six year interval. A likely explanation is that the definition of 'warship' became more precise during that time span.

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The Chinese had meanwhile consented to deliver the gunpowder, sulfur and saltpeter that had been requested the year before. The Ming document accompanying these materials pointed out that China was in short supply of these items because of *Wakō* deprivations, but would stint herself to help a neighbor against their common foe.<sup>32</sup>

It was not until November 1377 that an event occurred that would lead to the passing of naval initiative from the Japanese to the Koreans, and, indeed, ultimately to the placing of superior fire power in the hands of Yi Sunsin a little more than two centuries later. Ch'oe Musŏn 崔茂宣 (d. 1395) learned the art of manufacturing gunpowder and firearms from a powder maker, Li Yüan 李元. Although the *Koryŏ sa* implies that Li was a Mongol, other sources indicate that he was Chinese. After long pleading, Ch'oe finally persuaded the state council to witness a demonstration of his cannons. The council was amazed at his cannon and pleased by the demonstration. A *hwat'ong togam* 火燭都監 [general directorate of firearms] was established at Ch'oe's suggestion.<sup>33</sup> It was also fortunate that the government decided that year on a serious program of shipbuilding. Shipwrights and monks skilled in carpentry were mobilized to build ships of war.<sup>34</sup> Because of a growing manpower shortage, merchants were sent from the market places to fill vacancies in the coastal armies, that were in effect destined for service aboard warships.<sup>35</sup>

In the spring of 1378 a force was trained in the use of *hwap'o* 火炮 [cannon] and in naval tactics.<sup>36</sup> There were no apparent results until two years later. Then in the late spring of 1380 the king called upon Ch'oe Yŏng to assume the additional post of *haedo tot'ongsa* 海道都統使 [coastal provinces commandant], a title that carried with it responsibility for the naval defense of Koryŏ. Ch'oe Yŏng at first demurred, saying that only a hundred warships and barely three thousand troops were committed to frontier defense, (that is, for naval duty), that he would want ten thousand men, and that number would require an un-supportable drain on the treasury.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, the old warhorse assumed the post. Perhaps it was in some measure the morale and discipline he imparted to the fleet, and the *élan* which characterized all units which served under him, as well as the new weapons, that led to Koryŏ's greatest naval triumph over the *Wakō* in the autumn of 1380. Five hundred pirate ships<sup>38</sup> put into the estuary of the Kŭm River. Most

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of the pirates went ashore to pillage the countryside systematically, while a fraction of their number remained behind to guard the ships. When the Korean Court learned of the landing, it ordered the new firearms to be tested against the *Wakō*. Na Se 羅世 (1320–1397) commanded the fleet that was dispatched, and Ch'oe Musŏn was one of his subordinate officers. When the Korean fleet arrived off the mouth of the Kŭm River, the Japanese came out to do battle, unaware that the Koreans had a cannon aboard. Ch'oe Musŏn directed the firing of the cannon and other firearms, and soon the entire *Wakō* fleet was in flames.<sup>39</sup> This success led to further shipbuilding the following year.<sup>40</sup>

A naval victory of this order, although it could as well have been won by anyone else who could command the ear of the government, would not have been possible before Ch'oe Musŏn was able to capitalize on technology from China, and could develop an effective shipboard weapons system. The possibility suggests itself that the experiments with firearms in 1373 and those by Ch'oe Musŏn in 1377 may have been prompted by the success of Ming forces in 1371, when Chu Yüan-chang 朱元璋, the Hung-wu 洪武 Emperor, sent a riverine fleet against the self-appointed ruler of Szechwan Province. This fleet won the day, according to the annalist, 'because of the use of *huo-p'ao* 火炮 [characters added] and *huo-t'ung* 火筒.'<sup>41</sup> Some consideration should be given to the possibility that the Ming government may have sent conceptual 'blue prints' and technological 'know-how' along with the gunpowder, sulfur and saltpeter delivered to Koryŏ in 1375. On the other hand this does not accord with Ch'oe Musŏn's recorded role in the development of cannon and firearms in Koryŏ. Still, Ch'oe's informant, variously described as a Mongol powder master or a Chinese merchant, may well have been acquainted with the Ming government's successful use of firearms aboard ships in 1371 and passed the information on to Ch'oe. If Li Yüan were, as the *Yijo sillok* has it, a merchant from south of the Yangtse River, that is from south China—which seems to be his more probable origin—he would likely have heard of the 1371 river campaign.<sup>42</sup> There may have been other earlier Chinese sources of information on explosives and firearms that have gone unrecorded. For example, the presence of six Chinese who were made ship's captains in 1358 may be recalled. That was, however, two years after the testing of a gun tube be-

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fore the bureau of military affairs in 1356.

In the spring of 1383 reports reached the capital that 47 Japanese ships had sailed past Mokp'o up the Yöngsan River to Naju and another 120 ships were off Kwanŭmp'o 觀音浦 on the northeast coast of Namhae 南海 Island, Kyöngsang Province. Unfortunately, an epidemic had swept through the Korean fleet and more than half its personnel had perished from the disease. The commander, Chöng Chi 鄭地 (1347-1391), had also been stricken, but was recovering. He ordered the fleet to proceed at full speed toward the *Wakō* concentrations and took a turn at the oars himself in order to spur on the crews. The Korean fleet finally encountered twenty Japanese ships and set seventeen of the twenty afire with firearms.<sup>43</sup> With this victory behind him, Chöng Chi called for the construction of more warships. The court gave its consent and dispatched officials to the provinces to supervise the construction of additional warships.<sup>44</sup>

By 1384, although the Koreans may have felt otherwise, the tide had turned. The *Wakō* were directing their major effort toward China.<sup>45</sup> The shift was, no doubt, prompted by two factors: first, Korea had already been bled white in an economic sense; secondly, and perhaps more importantly, the Korean fleet, now armed with cannon, was increasingly effective.

The king in the same year, as many a later western king would do, commanded that those who had been banished or exiled should be sent to the fleet, there to expiate their crimes at the oars.<sup>46</sup>

The Koreans, while continuing to be successful in defeating the Japanese at sea, took the offensive in 1385 and sent flotillas to offshore islands to drive off the Japanese who had settled on them.<sup>47</sup> Many islands had been evacuated in the 1350s and 1360s and the Japanese had set up bases on them from which they harried the peninsula.<sup>48</sup> Two years later the Japanese were rooted out of the island of Ch'uksan 丑山, off the east coast in the vicinity of Yönghae 寧海, a Korean garrison and warships were stationed at the island, and the *Wakō* threat from that quarter was eliminated.<sup>49</sup> The increased requirements for fleet personnel prompted a levy by lot of able-bodied men of the capital provinces to man the ships guarding the sea approaches to the capital.<sup>50</sup> In this same year, 1387, Chöng Chi called for a punitive expedition against Tsushima and Iki,

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the major bases from which forays against Korea were launched. He pointed out that the fleet was skilled in naval warfare and much more adept in ship handling than the Mongols and Chinese had been at the time of the attempt to invade Japan in 1281.<sup>51</sup>

Before his plan was carried out, the king, Sin U (r. 1375–1388), in a foolish attempt to support the Mongols, ordered a campaign against Ming forces in Manchuria. This had a two-fold effect: there was a general withdrawal of troops from south Korea, resulting in a massive resurgence of *Wakō* raids; and Yi Sōnggye (1335–1408, r. 1392–1398, posthumous title T'aejo), who commanded the right column of the expeditionary force, mutinied at the Yalu River.<sup>52</sup>

Yi's troops entered the capital on 6 July 1388, and one of Yi's first acts was to have Ch'oe Yōng exiled.<sup>53</sup> With the great champion of the dynasty out of the way, the king, Sin U, could be deposed. Yi became the most powerful man in Korea, playing the role of king-maker until he had sufficiently consolidated his position and could assume the throne himself in 1392.

Once Yi Sōnggye, a man of action, had firmly gathered the reins of power into his own hands, he ordered the implementation of Chōng Chi's plan of 1387. This was carried out in March 1389. More than a hundred Korean warships attacked Tsushima. The Koreans burned over three hundred Japanese ships and set fire to most of the houses along the shore. They also liberated more than a hundred Korean men and women who had been captured by the *Wakō*.<sup>54</sup> Koryō in its waning years had finally struck at the most important base from which the *Wakō* launched their forays against her. Although raiders from Tsushima were a major element among the *Wakō* that attacked Korea, Tsushima had played an additional role as rendezvous area and coordinating center for *Wakō* from Kyūshū and the shores and islands of the Inland Sea, because the natives of Tsushima had a greater familiarity with the geography of Korea and the situation within the country, and could give guidance to raiding parties unfamiliar with the area.

Late in 1389 the commander of the naval forces of Yanggwang Province (embracing much of North and South Ch'unghch'ōng Provinces and the southern part of Kyōnggi Province) was charged by royal decree with tightening discipline among his officers. He was to try by court



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martial any who ' . . . secretly hid and anchored in deep inlets and were unequal to meeting a situation . . . ' <sup>55</sup> This was followed in February 1390 by the appointment of an inspector-general of naval affairs for the provinces of Kyōngsang, Yanggwang and Chōlla. <sup>56</sup> At the end of 1391 a general mobilization of men from coastal districts was ordered by the council of state. <sup>57</sup> Thus on the eve of the overthrow of Koryō's Wang dynasty, Korea was moving into a position of naval superiority vis-a-vis the Japanese pirates.

By way of summary it may be noted that the Mongol prohibition against the Koreans building warships put Koryō at a distinct disadvantage in coping with the *Wakō* raids from their onset in 1350 and for some thirty years thereafter. Korea, lacking a navy, concentrated her troops in strategic areas. The Japanese, who controlled the seas around Korea, for the most part merely avoided those areas when they landed to pillage, although on a number of occasions the *Wakō* engaged Korean troops in pitched battles. Korean chronicles mention the word 'warship' almost from the beginning, but what went under the name of navy prior to 1373 was ground troops placed aboard transport junks. Ch'oe Yōng, seeking to remedy the situation, instituted a warship construction program in 1373, but, because of widespread opposition, it did not get off the ground until desperation at massive Japanese depredation forced a shipbuilding program in 1377. <sup>58</sup>

Although there had been experimentation with gunpowder as early as 1356, this was not followed up until 1373, when fire arrows and fire tubes were put aboard warships for testing. Training began in earnest in 1378 with the arming of warships with cannon. The new weapons apparently were not employed against the *Wakō*, however, until the signal victory off the mouth of the Kūm River in 1380. The incendiary effect of the Korean attacks involving the new weapons raises the question of their exact nature, and one wonders what type of projectiles the cannon were firing. These projectiles may well have been finned arrows with an incendiary charge such as are illustrated in Boots's article. <sup>59</sup>

By 1385 the Koreans had assumed the offensive at sea and *Wakō* activities correspondingly took a decided drop. The security that the state of Koryō had achieved with its new navy was undercut by what was, in the hindsight of history, a most foolhardy move, the attempt to attack

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Ming China in order to support the already moribund Yüan dynasty. This played into the hands of Yi Sönggye, who had become Koryö's most successful and popular field general since advancing years and honors had moved Ch'oe Yöng to the position of commander-in-chief at the capital, no longer able to take the field in person. Exploiting the almost forty years of unrelieved misery brought about by an unholy alliance of *Wakö* depredations and natural calamities, Yi Sönggye could invoke the then very real concept of 'the mandate of Heaven' and take the throne. Even before he became king in 1392 he realized the importance of the navy. By redeploying troops, he put an end to, or, more accurately, curbed, the resurgence of *Wakö* activity that had accompanied the withdrawal of Korean troops from the south in 1388. He gave the naval forces a greater dignity, apart from the land forces. The Korean navy under Yi Sönggye, and subsequently under his sons, by 1419 virtually eliminated the *Wakö* as a threat to Korea. Thereafter the *Wakö* became in essence a Chinese problem.

The Koryö navy, in spite of the fact that it did not exist as a separate service, reached its epitome under Yi Sönggye; but it was the product of the vision and courage of such men as U Hyönbo, Yi Hüi, Chöng Chi, Ch'oe Musön, Na Se and, last but not least, Ch'oe Yöng. Because of his staunch loyalty to the Koryö royal house, Ch'oe was executed by adherents of Yi Sönggye, but not even the Yi dynasty historians could withhold the encomium that Ch'oe Yöng so richly deserved; and they did not dare to stigmatize him as a traitor or evil minister, as they did the other high officials at the end of Koryö who did not become Yi supporters.

## NOTES

- 1 For a brief survey of Hideyoshi's invasions see: Takashi Hatada, *A History of Korea*, translated and edited by Warren W. Smith, Jr and Benjamin H. Hazard. (Santa Barbara: Clio Press 1969) pp. 75-7.
- 2 Capt. George M. Hagerman USN. 'Lord of the Turtle Boats' *United States Naval Institute Proceedings* 93, 12 (December 1967) 68-75.  
John Van Duyn Southworth *The Ancient Fleets* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1968) pp. 347-51.  
See also: Carlo M. Cipolla *Guns, Sails and Empires: Technological Innovations and the Early Phases of European Expansion, 1400-1700* (New York: Minerva Press 1965) fn. 1, pp. 123-4.
- 3 An example of a work that claimed to be a naval history 'From the hollowed-out tree trunk to the latest nuclear submarine' but neglected any mention of Korea is Jacques Mordal, *Twenty-five Centuries of Sea Warfare*, translated by Len Orzen (New York: Bramhall House 1965).
- 4 Edwin O. Reischauer *Ennin's Travels in T'ang China* (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1955) pp. 293-99.
- 5 Robert Karl Reischauer *Early Japanese History (c. 40 B.C.-A.D. 1167)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1937) A 234, 235, 262, 276.  
Mori Junsaburō 森潤三郎, *Chōsen nempyō* 朝鮮年表[Korean chronology]. (Tokyo: Shunyōdō 1904) pp. 232, 234, 239.
- 6 Imamura Tomo 今村綱 *Fune no Chōsen* 船の朝鮮 [The Korea of ships] (Seoul, Raen shoya, 1930) p. 3.  
*Chūngbo munhōn pigo* 增補文献備考 [Revised encyclopedia] 1908 edition (Seoul: Tongguk munhwa sa 1957) 120: 1b.
- 7 *Chūngbo munhōn pigo* 120: 1b.
- 8 Reischauer *Early Japanese History* A 327.
- 9 Fujiwara no Sanesuke 藤原実資 (957-1046), *Shōyuki* 小右記 Diary of Goononomiya Udaijin 後小野宮大臣 (diary covers the years 978-1032, parts missing), quoted in Ikeuchi Hiroshi 池内宏 *Mansen shi kenkyū chuse* 滿鮮史研究中世 [Studies in Manchurian and Korean History, the middle ages] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbun kan 1947) I 313.
- 10 See: Lo Jung-pan, 'The Emergence of China as a Sea Power during the Late Sung and Early Yuan periods' *Far Eastern Quarterly* XIV 4

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- (August 1955) 500.
- 11 It is interesting to note that in 1371 Ming Chinese '... boats' prows were protected by a covering of iron, and at this spot firearms . . . were stationed.' L. Carrington Goodrich and Feng Chia-sheng *Isis* XXXVI 2 (January 1946) 121.
  - 12 Chǒng Inji 鄭麟趾 et al., compilers, *Koryō sa* 高麗史 [History of Koryō]. Compiled 1451. Yonse University edition (Seoul, Yōnse taehak 1956), 22: 23b. Hereafter cited as *KS*.
  - 13 *KS* 22: 29a. For a fuller discussion of *Wakō* activities between 1223 and 1263 see: Benjamin H. Hazard, 'The Formative Years of the Wako, 1223-63,' *Monumenta Nipponica* XXII 3-4 (1967) 260-77.
  - 14 Horace H. Underwood, 'Korean Boats and Ships', *Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* XXIII (1934) 44-5. The transactions will hereafter be cited as *TKBRAS*.
  - 15 An Chǒngbok 安鼎福 (1712-1791) *Tongsa Kangmok* 東史綱目 [Summary of eastern (Korean) history]. (Seoul: Chōsen kosho kankō kai 1915) III 295.  
Paek Namun 白南雲, *Chōsen hōken shakai keizai shi* 朝鮮封建社会経済史 [Feudal, social and economic history of Korea]. (Tokyo: Kaizō sha 1937) I 510.
  - 16 *KS* 35: 35a
  - 17 *KS* has Chungmal 竹株, an error for Chungnim 竹林.  
See: Nam Sumun 南秀文 et al., *Koryō sa chōryo* 高麗史節要 [Summary of the history of Koryō]. Compiled 1451-2. (Tokyo: Gakushū in 1960) 26: 4a-4b. Hereafter cited as *KSC*.  
Yang Sōngji 梁誠之 and No Sasin 盧思慎 *Sinjūng Tongguk yōji sūngnam* 新增東國輿地勝覽 [Revised survey of Korean geography]. 1530 edition. (Seoul: Tongguk munhwa sa 1958) 32: 41b.
  - 18 *KS* 37: 21b.
  - 19 Marugame Kinsaku 丸亀金作, 'Kōrai no jūni sōkō ni tsuite', 高麗の十二漕倉に就いて [Regarding the twelve transport (tax-rice) storehouses]. *Shigaku zasshi* 21 (August 1935) 143-6.
  - 20 *KS* 37: 24a; 38: 7a, 10b, 12a.
  - 21 *KS* 39: 24b.
  - 22 *KS* 40: 37a; 114: 23a-24a.
  - 23 *KS* 40: 37a-37b.
  - 24 *KS* 115: 28b-31b.  
For a translation of most of the rest of the memorial see: Benjamin H. Hazard *Japanese Marauding in Medieval Korea: The Wakō Impact on Late Koryō*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley 1967) pp. 164-6.
  - 25 *KS* 44: 16b.

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The arrows may have been similar to models of incendiary arrows (arrows to which a tube containing a charge with fuse is attached) to be seen in the museum at the Hyönch'ung-sa 顯忠祠 (Shrine to Yi Sunsin), South Ch'ungch'öng Province.

What went under the name of a navy prior to 1373 was ground troops placed aboard junks. This would also apply to 'warships', warships in name only. Seno Mayu 瀬野馬熊 'Wakō to Chōsen suigun' 倭寇と朝鮮水軍 [The *Wako* and the Korean navy] *Shigaku zasshi* 26, 1 (January 1915) 25.

26 KS 44: 19a-19b.

27 The Sungmun'gwan was an office for high officials. Paek *Chōsen hōken* . . . I 491-2.

28 KS 81: 18b-19a.

Yi Kibaek 李基白 *Koryō sa pyōnggi yōkchu il* 高麗史兵志訳註一 [Translation with notes of the military monograph of the *Koryō sa* (History of Koryō) I] (Seoul: Koryō sa yōngu hoe 1969) p. 104.

Hō Sōndo 許善道 'Yōmal Sōnch'ō hwagi ūi paltal' 麗末鮮初火器斗發達 [The development of firearms at the end of Koryō and in early Chosōn] *Yōksa hakpo* 24 (July 1964) 9.

Ch'oe Sōngnam 崔碩男 *Han'guk sugun sa yōn'gu* 韓國水軍史 [A study of the history of Korean navy]. (Seoul: Yōngyang sa 1964) p. 137.

The arrow may have been with metal vanes rather than fletched with feathers, similar to that illustrated in Ch'oe, *op. cit.*, p. 451.

29 KS 39: 25b, 29b-31b, 39a-40b; 40: 1a-1b.

30 KS 83: 31a-31b.

31 KS 44: 31b-32a.

32 KS 44: 29b.

33 KS 133: 31b.

Yang and No *Sinjūng Tongguk yōji sūngnam*, 2: 24a-24b.

*T'aejo sillok* 太祖實錄 *Yijo sillok* 李朝實錄 [Yi dynasty veritable records] (1392-1910) (Seoul: Kuksa wiwōn hoe 1955) 7: 8b-9a I, 77.

Ch'oe *Han'guk sugun sa yōn'gu* p. 137.

Hō 'Yōmal Sōncho hwagi ūi paltal' *Yōksa hakpo* 24: 13-16.

Yi *Koryō sa pyōnggi yōkchu il*, p. 138.

Yukkun sagwan hakkyo Han'guk kunsu yōn'gu sil 軍士官學校韓國軍事研究室 [Military Academy Korean Military Affairs Research Office] (Hō Sōndo, editor) *Han'guk kunje sa: Kunse Chosōn chōn'gi p'yōn* 韓國軍制史近世朝鮮前期篇 [History of the Korean military system: Modern Chosōn, early period] (Seoul (?): Yukkun Ponbu [ROK Army Headquarters] 1968) pp. 391-2.

J. R. Partington *A history of Greek fire and gunpowder* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., 1960) p. 276.

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- J. L. Boots, 'Korean Weapons and armor', *TKBRAS* XXIII 2 (1934) 120-1.
- Ch'oe Musŏn is also variously known as Ch'oe Haesan 崔海山, Ch'oe Kongsŏn 崔功孫 and Ch'oe Sik 崔湜. See: Hŏ *Yŏksa hakpo* 24: 16.
- 34 *KS* 81: 25a; 133: 24-24b.  
Yi *Koryŏ sa pyŏnggi yŏkchu il* p. 132.
- 35 *KS* 81: 31b.  
This entry is under 'navy.'
- 36 *KS* 133: 35b.
- 37 *KS* 133: 39b-40a.  
Although the terms navy and naval have been used, the army and navy formed a single service. See: Horace H. Underwood 'Korean boats and ships' *TKBRAS* XXIII (1934) 49.
- 38 *T'aejo sillok* has three hundred ships. *T'aejo sillok* 7: 8b-9a *Yijo sillok*, I 77.
- 39 *KS* 134:19b.  
*KSC* 31:20a.
- 40 *KS* 134:31a.
- 41 Goodrich and Feng *Isis* XXXVI (2) 121.  
The authors cite the *Ming shih* 明史 [History of Ming] 129:12 and the *Ming shih-lu* 明實錄 [Veritable records of Ming] *Ming T'ai-tsu shih-lu* 明太祖實錄 [Veritable records of Ming T'ai-tsu (Chu Yüan-chang)] section 66. The *Ming T'ai-tsu shih-lu* gives more details on the river campaign of 1371.
- 42 *T'aejo sillok* 7:8b; *Yijo sillok* I: 77.  
Hŏ *Yŏksa hakpo* 24 (July 1964): 15.
- 43 *KS* 113: 57a-58b.  
*KSC* 32: 5b-6a.  
Ch'oe *Han'guk sugun sa yŏn'gu*, pp. 144-9.
- 44 *KS* 135: 19b.
- 45 Nakakoji Akira 仲小路彰 *Bahansen-sen, Wakō* 八幡船戰 倭寇 [Hachiman ships war-Wakō] (Tokyo: Sensō Bunka kenkyūjo 1941) p. 60.
- 46 *KS* 135: 21b.
- 47 *KS* 135: 31b-32a; 40a.
- 48 *KS* 136: 19a, 21a-21b.
- 49 *KS* 113: 61b.  
*KSC* 32: 44b.  
An *Tongsa kangmok* IV 217.
- 50 *KS* 83: 31b-32a.
- 51 *KS* 113: 58b-59a.
- 52 Hatada *History of Korea*, p. 60.  
*KS* 137: 11b-12b, 14a.

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- 53 KS 137: 17b-19b.
- 54 KS 116: 20b-21a.  
Tsushima kyōiku kai 對馬教育會 *Kaitei Tsushima tō shi* 改訂對馬島誌 [Tsushima island record] Rev. ed. (Nagasaki Prefecture: Tsushima kyōiku kai 1940) pp. 273-4.  
Ch'oe Han'guk sugun sa yōn'gu, pp. 149-50.
- 55 KS 83: 32a.
- 56 KS 45: 14b-15a.  
KS 34: 52b.
- 57 KS 83: 32a-32b.
- 58 Underwood estimated that a Koryō ship carried eighty-five men, based on the data of the Mongol invasions. Underwood, 'Korean boats and ships' *TKBRAS XXIII* (1934) 45.  
Large warships of the early Yi dynasty carried 80 men. Imamura *Fune no Chōsen*, p. 3.
- 59 Boots 'Korean weapons and armor' *TKBRAS XXIII* (1934) plate 21.  
See also: *Han'guk kunje sa: kunse Chosōn chōn'gi p'yōn*, pp. 414-15.

## CH'AO-HSIEN FU

translated and annotated

by Richard Rutt

### Translator's Introduction

*Ch'ao-hsien fu* is a descriptive poem about a visit to Korea written, with explanatory notes, by Tung Yüeh, envoy of the Ming emperor, in 1488. It is worth presenting in translation, even though I make no pretence to definitive treatment. What I offer is deficient in historical comment, and I have no doubt that it contains mistakes; but it does at least show what this entertaining poem contains and it may one day be useful to someone capable of doing better work.

It was James Gale's partial translation into English in 'Han-Yang (Seoul)' in the *Transactions* of this society, Volume II part ii, pages 35-43, that first gave me interest in Tung's *fu*. Gale's version is an attractive piece of writing, one of his earlier attempts at translation from Chinese. It is also curious. He was never interested in literary form, so he translated the *fu* and its footnotes into continuous prose. Difficult phrases he simply omitted, Chinese names he transliterated as Korean, he never bothered to check classical references, and some sentences he misunderstood badly. For instance, he attributed to Tung Yüeh in 1488 a description of the *haet'ae* in front of the Kwanghwa-mun that were probably not erected there until the 1860s—thus incidentally leading the Clarks to repeat the error in their *Seoul: past and present* (Seoul 1969, page 79). (What I believe to be a more correct translation of the passage in question will be found in line 194 of my version.)

Gale seems to have used the text printed at the beginning of the 1530 edition of the *Sinjüng Tongguk yöji süngnam*, the only extant



*Ch'ao-hsien fu*

version of that famous royal gazetteer of Korea, where the *Ch'ao-hsien fu* occupies Volume I pages 1b5–16a1, and is complete except that the introductory prose paragraph is missing. One of the recurrent themes of discussion during the embassy was the inaccuracy of official Chinese accounts of Korea, and placing this accurate account at the head of Korea's own royal gazetteer was one way of bringing its contents to the notice of the official geographers of the Ming court. It was doubtless partly with this in view that the Korean editors felt constrained to note a few errors in the *fu*, and to put the blame for them on the Korean interpreters. [See my notes on 24 and 151.]

Gale's translation consists of two sections (*Yōji sūngnam* I 5b6 to 9b2, and 10a8 to 12b3) corresponding to lines 168–296 and 333–448 in my version, including the annotations to these passages. His introductory note shows that he also knew of the account of Tung's embassy contained in the biography of Hō Chong, the official Korean escort for the Ming envoys from Ŭiju to Seoul and back. This biography is contained in the sixth *kwōn* of the eighteenth-century *Yōllyō-sil kisul*.

The only other translation of *Ch'ao-hsien fu* that I know of is in Korean. It is also based on the *Yōji sūngnam* text, and is on pages 25–43 of the first volume of the complete Korean translation of the *Yōji sūngnam* published by Minjok Munhwa Ch'ujin Hoe (Seoul 1969, reprinted 1970). It was done by Yi Talchin, who also added thirty-two useful annotations of his own. The translation has a number of mistakes, including characters misread, and some grammatical and sense slips. Like many Korean translations from Chinese it leaves some obscure phrases in Chinese characters. Yet it has been of inestimable value to me in unravelling the sense of much of the *fu*, and my annotations rely heavily on Yi Talchin's.

There are four other editions of *Ch'ao-hsien fu*, besides the *Yōji sūngnam*. The best is an undated publication in *kapchin* moveable metal type, possibly printed within a decade or so of the poem's composition. Only slightly inferior is the woodblock edition engraved in 1531 by the scholar and poet T'ae Tunam (1486–1536). Both these editions are superior in minor points to the version in the *Yōji sūngnam*. Two poorer versions also exist: a Japanese woodblock copied from T'ae's edition and a version in *Yü-chang ts'ung-shu*, a collection of 103 works compiled

*Ch'ao-hsien fu*

by Hu Szu-ching (1870–1922).

In 1937 the Chōsen-shi Henshū-kai published a facsimile of T'ae's 1531 edition as the fifteenth of the series *Chōsen shiryō sōkan*, using the exemplar formerly kept at Suso Sōwōn near Sunhŭng in North Kyōngsang—the first ōwōn established in Korea. The facsimile was accompanied by a sixty-page pamphlet, *Chōsen fu kōkan ki*, containing the text of the work in modern type with the variant readings of the four other editions I have mentioned, and a collection of other writings by Tung Yüeh. Most of the variant readings are miscopied characters, and few of them are of interest. The moveable type edition and T'ae's edition have no significant differences, and the *Yōji sūngnam* text differs chiefly in that it avoids using the tabu names of T'aejo and Sejo of the Yi dynasty and, as I have previously noted, lacks the initial prose paragraph of the *fu*.

The writings in the second part of the 1937 pamphlet are taken from *Hwanghwa chip*, a collection of writings by Ming envoys to Korea and the Korean officials who were deputed to meet them, first edited in 1450, last in 1773. The 1937 booklet contains 62 poems, 2 commemorative essays (*ki*), and two prefaces. About half the poems are printed in the *Yōji sūngnam*, scattered throughout the gazetteer under the various places where they were composed, mostly on the return journey to Ŭiju. Both Tung and his vice-envoy composed these poems. They are of little interest in themselves, though they provide a few details of the journey and the dates of the stops on the way. The one written by Tung at the T'aep'yōng-gwan in Kaesōng is typical:

The walls are surrounded by dwellings,  
Where limpid water runs over sparkling sands. . .  
I have just dismounted from my horse beneath the pines,  
And already hear the homing crows among the branches;  
Slender willows wave green tassels,  
Burgeoning bulrushes grow pale hoots;  
The hills are ablaze with purple fire,  
Where all around azaleas are in bloom.

References for these poems are given in my notes with the abbreviation

YJSN for *Yōji sūngnam*.

Th two *ki* are the one on Ch'ongsu-san mentioned in the note to line 143 of my translation, and another about P'ungwōl-lu, a pavilion at P'yōngyang (YJSN LI 19a). One of the prefaces was written on the 1st of the 4th moon for *Sa-u-dang chip*, the collected poems of Hō Chong, the royal escort, of whom Tung has much to say; and the other is for the works of Sin Sukchu, the great minister of Sejong and Sejo, whose poems had been collected by his grandson Chongho, a teacher at the Sōnggyun-gwan in Seoul and himself a person of distinction. Tung wrote this preface in the guest-house at Ŭiju, the day before he left Korea.

Little else of Tung's writings seems to have survived. Eighteen folios of *Ch'ao-hsien tsa-chih*, 'miscellaneous notes on Korea', in *Hsüan-lan-t'ang ts'ung-shu*, are a draft of the notes to the *fu* with a few scraps of the poem itself. Some of the variant readings are of minor interest. *Wen-hsi chi* and *Kuei-feng wen-chi*, Tung's collected writings bearing respectively his canonized name and his literary style, are perhaps the same thing under different names. They are listed in various Chinese catalogues, but have not recently been seen, like his *Shih-tung jih-lu*, 'diary of an embassy to the East', which was probably another version of *Ch'ao-hsien fu*.

The T'ae Tunam and moveable type editions of *Ch'ao-hsien fu* contain a preface written by Ou-yang P'eng, dated the 8th day of the last month of the 3rd year of Hung-chi, which was 27 January 1491 by the Gregorian calendar. The postface by Wang Cheng is dated 9th of the chrysanthemum moon of the Hung-chi year of the White Dog, which was 3 October 1489. Wang Cheng, whose literary style was Kuei-lin, 'cinnamon forest', also has his name at the head of the *fu* as *chiao-k'an* or, as we might say, 'copy-reader'. Tung had arrived back in Peking with his draft of the poem in June or July 1488, so the preparations for publication had been leisurely.

The *fu* was thought worthy of inclusion in the 36,000-volume collection of Chinese literature, *Szu-k'u ch'üan-shu*, made by order of the Ch'ien-lung emperor in the late eighteenth century. In Korea it was highly esteemed. Many quotations from it occur in the early nineteenth-century compendium called *Haedong yōksa*. (One of these, about Korean

### *Ch'ao-hsien fu*

mulberry-bark paper, was confused by Gale in his *History of the Korean people* [1972 edition, chapter xv note 8] with a quotation in the same book from the K'ang-hsi emperor.) Modern Korean writers sometimes quote *Ch'ao-hsien fu* for its natural history; but as I shall suggest, it is not entirely reliable for this purpose.

The word *fu* is translated in English by different scholars with different terms, varying from 'rhyme-prose' to 'rhapsody' and 'idyll'. It is true that *fu* is difficult to define, but it is unquestionably a poetic form, characterized by description rather than lyricism, and usually moralizing, or narrative. There is often a brief prose introduction explaining the genesis or purpose of the work, the body of which is composed mainly of balanced couplets, especially couplets with six or four character-syllables in each line. In *Ch'ao-hsien fu* many couplets have nine or more characters to the line. The couplets rhyme with each other and are occasionally interspersed with short passages of poetic prose. A change of rhyme usually indicates a change of subject, and the thirty-three paragraph-cum-stanzas thus formed usually end with a piece of poetic prose.

*Fu* are famous for alliteration, punning and other word-play, lush allusion, and exhilarating lists. *Ch'ao-hsien fu* has these things, but even where I have recognized them I have not always attempted to preserve them in the translation. I have been at pains to preserve the parallelism as far as I could, but have not tried to reproduce the length of the lines. Whenever the rhyme changes I have spaced the verses widely so as to indicate the paragraph-stanzas.

The introductory prose paragraph tells how the *fu* came to be written. The verses proper begin with a scanty geographical survey of the peninsula, followed by a passage describing Korean laws and society, praising their confucian correctness. Then the journey from Ŭiju to Seoul is described. There is not much more to the description than a list of places passed through, with short accounts of P'yöngyang, city of Ch'i Tzū, and Kaesöng, the old capital, stressing confucian ideals in both places. The arrival of the embassy at Seoul and the ceremonies by which it was received both outside the city gates and in the palace are recounted in detail. With typical Chinese balance between passion for gastronomy and passion for etiquette, even greater detail is provided in the de-

scription of the state banquets. These are the centre-pieces of the work. The return journey to Üiju is dealt with in a few lines.

The last two-fifths of the *fu* are general notes on Korea beginning with a repetitious account of confucian education, then describing Seoul, its surrounding countryside, buildings and streets. This naturally leads into a record of the dress and customs of the people, both men and women. The last tenth of the book describes the fauna, flora, and typical products of the country. All is concluded in a self-deprecatory *envoi*.

Tung Yüeh added his own notes to the poem. Annotating poems had long been an accepted Chinese practice, but to annotate one's own verses was less usual. Tung is supposed to have claimed the precedent of Hsieh Ling-yün, a fifth-century poet of the Southern Sung, who annotated his own *Shan-chü fu*. In the Chinese and Korean editions these notes are printed in smaller type between the lines of the *fu*—which is how Gale was led to translate *fu* and notes consecutively. I have transferred the notes to the end of the work so as to emphasize the literary character of the *fu*. Such further notes as I have added myself, or taken from Yi Talchin, are chiefly literary references and explanations. They are contained within square brackets. I have numbered the lines into which I have divided the *fu* and added asterisks to those lines which have annotations, either by the author or by me.

Tung Yüeh, literary name Kuei-feng, 'baton peak', was sent as envoy to Korea in 1488 to announce the succession of Hsiao Tsung, who became emperor of China in the autumn of 1487. Tung was a Kiangsi man who had graduated with third place in 1469, and was reckoned an able poet. When he visited Seoul he was 58 by Korean counting. His vice-envoy was 36 years old (by the same method of counting), a man from Nanking named Wang Ch'eng or Wang Han-ying, considered an able scholar of the classics. He had come top in the examination for the *chin-shih* degree in 1481. The choice of such men for the embassy was deliberate, because it was known in Peking that the king of Korea, although he was still six months short of his twenty-ninth birthday when the envoys arrived, was an eager patron of scholarship. He was the man we now call Söngjong, whose reign, then in its nineteenth year, marked the culmination of the great publishing enterprises of fifteenth-

century Korea.

When Hsiao Tsung acceded to the Ming throne Söngjong had promptly sent a high-ranking embassy of congratulation, headed by 61-year-old No Sasin, the second deputy prime-minister, with the later notorious Yu Chagwang as vice-envoy. Tung Yüeh already knew that he was to lead the embassy to Seoul bearing the imperial rescript notifying the Korean king of the new reign, so he contacted No Sasin and his companions during their winter visit to Peking and enquired about travelling conditions and the general state of affairs he would meet. He seems to have fussed more than a little, and not to have welcomed the prospect. He was anxious to delay his start until the worst of the winter weather was over.

Eventually he left Peking in the middle of the first moon leap (about the beginning of March 1488), crossing the Yalu into Korea on the 25th of the 2nd moon (15 April). Here he was met by Hō Chong, the *wönjōpsa* or royal escort, a senior statesman nearly as old as himself—54 by the calendar. Both Tung and Wang had been pernicketty about ceremonial details, for ever finding fault and asking Koreans, 'Do you think we are just Korean eunuchs?' There was some point in this because Korean eunuchs living in China had taken part in previous Ming embassies. When Hō Chong appeared, however, the Chinese changed their manner. He impressed them by his bearing, but above all by his ceremonial propriety and his astonishingly detailed book-knowledge of Chinese geography. 'You must have 10,000 volumes locked up in your breast!' they gasped in delight. Hō reported to the court that he was favourably impressed by the two envoys.

The journey to Seoul was uneventful, save for inconveniences caused by the spring rains. There was a contretemps at Sinan when the envoys objected to being entertained by *kisaeng*. That sort of music, they claimed, was improper within three years of the demise of an emperor. At P'yōngyang, however, where Söng Hyōn, today best known as author of *Yongjae ch'onghwa*, was governor, there was a large-scale entertainment and the envoys behaved ceremoniously. They made a point of visiting the shrine of Ch'i Tzū, where they bowed in reverence, though they were discouraged from going further from the city to visit his tomb. They noticed the shrine of Tan'gun near Ch'i

Tzū's shrine, and when they realized what it was they made their reverences there too. The tablet of Tongmyōng, founder king of Koguryō, was also venerated, and they commented on the mention of Wei Man in the *Han shu*. At the confucian temple they were surprised to find images of the sages—something that smacked of buddhism, and a confucianism that was less than pure.

Before they reached P'yōngyang, as they were crossing the Taejōng River, they had asked Hō if it were true that in Korea a son and his father would bathe in the same stream at the same time. Finding they had been wrongly informed and this impropriety did not exist, Wang said that the Chinese official records must be revised. Sometime later, on the 11th of the 3rd moon, while crossing the Imjin, the Chinese asked Hō for an account of Korean customs to help them get an accurate description. This was probably the reason for the book of customs presented to Tung by Hō and mentioned in Tung's notes.

They arrived in Seoul on the 13th of the 3rd moon and left on the 17th. Thus they were in Seoul for only four nights, 4-7 May 1488. On the second day they were taken to see the students at the Sōnggyun-gwan, and were deeply impressed. Then they had a picnic lunch by the Han River in the present Hannam-dong, before boating down stream to Yanghwa-jin (the present Second Han River Bridge). The day finished with an evening at the Mangwōn-jōng, a pavilion on the Seoul bank at Yanghwa, rebuilt and renamed only four years earlier. (See notes to lines 325 and 331).

The return to Ŭiju after the embassy was over was by the same route as they had come. Again they stopped for picnics on the way (the one at Ch'ongsu-san is described in the note to line 143). This time they spent long enough in P'yōngyang to visit Ch'i Tzū's tomb—though it rained that day—and to have pleasure outings on the Taedong River and elsewhere. They crossed the Yalu back into China on the 5th of the 4th moon (24 May), having spent five and a half weeks on Korean soil. Hō and the envoys wept as they parted on the bank of the river, and the two Chinese implored Hō to visit Peking and show the calibre of men that could be found outside the Flowery Kingdom. Within a week or so the *fu* was being composed in Liao-tung, as is explained in the prose introductory paragraph to the work.

*Ch'ao-hsien fu*

These background facts are gathered from references to the embassy in the *Yijo sillok* and the *Yöllyö-sil kisul*. The latter work contains a few anecdotes that help fill out the picture.

The envoys were genuinely impressed by the Koreans they met. Hō Chong impressed his Korean contemporaries too. He was not only a firm confucian scholar who had resisted Sejo's favouring of buddhism, but an expert horseman and archer who held military appointments. Sō Kōjōng was another who earned personal praise from Tung, as well he might, because he as much as anyone was responsible for the great literary achievements of Sōngjong's reign. He did not live to see the end of the year. Tung also went out of his way at the farewell ceremony at the Mo-hwa-gwan to compliment the septuagenarian Yi Kukpae, former mayor of Kangnūng. He wrote flattering poems for Chōng Nanjong, president of the Home Affairs Board, and for Yi Ŭi and Son Chunggūn, two of the interpreters. The promising 22-year-old scholar-official Pak Chūngyōng (Pak Hūiin), who died only six years later, also earned an encouraging and complimentary verse. Yet on the way back to Ŭiju Tung praised the king to Hō and said, 'Korea has a king but no subjects (worth the name).'

Tung's brief relationship with Korea produced mingled attraction and repulsion. Almost in spite of himself, he was pleased and impressed. Korea was quaint, odd, rustic, more than provincial; but correct in its behaviour and impeccable in its attitude to the emperor and his envoys. The scholarship of Korea genuinely astonished him and he honestly wanted to set the records straight in China. His *fu* was a travelogue, but also the result of an emotional experience.

What is it worth to us now? It gives vivid pictures of the Seoul court in the late fifteenth century, during the early vigour of the Yi dynasty; it suggests that Korean architecture differed from China's; it describes details of Korean dress, especially women's headdress, that did not survive until the nineteenth century; it underlines some details of social change between the Koryō dynasty and the neo-confucian Yi state. Expert historians may find further points of interest, but it must be admitted that the work is superficial. Tung came for a short time in the spring, saw only the road from Ŭiju to Seoul and spent only four days in the capital. He repeatedly insists on the truthfulness of his account, but his descriptions of flora and fauna are of doubtful



value because they were subject both to his literary need to make the lists look good, and to the vagaries of Chinese nomenclature of animals and plants. It is practically impossible to be certain of the identity of some of the species he mentions, and his one-horned deer is only one indication of his zoological unreliability.

Even his high praise of Korean ritual smacks of the superficial to us, though it was of prime importance for him. Those speeches at the formal meetings, with their trite quotations from the Spring and Autumn Annals and Book of Songs, may have been less than spontaneous. Nevertheless, *mutatis mutandis*, anyone who knows Korea today will recognize the country Tung describes. The great tower over the Chong-no crossing has gone; the T'aep'yǒng-gwan has disappeared; the Kwanghwa-mun has been restored, but the skyline of Seoul has been ruined. Yet the Koreans and their courtesy are still the same.

## A FU ON KOREA

A *fu* is an accurate and detailed description of a matter, and Korea is a country where the landscape, the customs, the people's attitudes, even the shapes of familiar things differ from our own. When I travelled there for a month as imperial envoy, by observation and enquiry during the daytime I obtained information that I jotted down at night on slips of paper that were put in my luggage and then forgotten. When the business of the embassy was finished and we were on the way back through Liao-tung, we stopped for a week at a government guesthouse, to recover from the fatigue of the eight stages of the journey from Ŭiju to that point, and so that the entourage could launder their clothes. During that week I came upon the slips of notes and had them checked and collated with what Wang Han-ying had recorded. We deleted everything that was not germane to our embassy, but even so were not able to make our record concise. Nevertheless, we have taken every care to make it accurate, sincerely believing that we have avoided prolixity in writing this *fu*.

Ch'ao-hsien fu

- 1 Ah! that Eastern Land,  
Guardian state of our borders!  
Bounded to the west by the Yalu,  
To the east by the Sunrise Sea,  
5 The ocean its southern door,  
The Malgal its northern gate.\*  
Its eight provinces in order  
Have Kyōnggi at their head,  
Flanked by Ch'ungch'ōng and Kyōngsang,  
10 Hwanghae and Kangwōn;  
Yōngan playing the role  
Of a wall that stands firm;  
P'yōngan with poor soil,  
Chōlla richest in produce.\*  
15 The breadth of the land is 2,000 *li*, its length as much again.\*  
In former times there were three or four states,  
now there is only one;\*  
For it has not trundled on  
in the crumbling ruts of its ancestors:  
It has received the high favour of the Emperor.  
He permitted its establishment,  
20 A subsidiary state with laws of its own.\*  
The *Odes* and the *Documents* are known there,\*  
There are academies and schools:  
Scholars, though poor,  
banish bookworms and compose with elegance,\*  
Statesmen, like *p'eng*,  
soar aloft and transform into leopards;\*  
25 Farmers labour at sowing and reaping,  
with practised and wonderful skill;  
Officials all follow the sages,  
receiving their stipends in farm-land.  
Castration is an unknown punishment,  
thieves must wear the cangue.\*  
Trade is based on grain and hempen cloth,

- Stores of which are reckoned as wealth;  
30 The use of silver and gold is forbidden,  
Save in trifling amounts.\*  
Landtax is reckoned in units of *kyōl*,  
Four bags of grain for four days of ox-ploughing.\*  
Scholars are trained in grades of fixed numbers,  
35 That live in two dormitories and eat twice a day.\*  
The two lower ranks of officials may not wear patterned  
brocade;\*  
Each man has his own house, with cellars for hemp and rice.\*  
Their finest practice is a national banquet,  
Dispensing grace to all over eighty, both men and women.\*  
40 Sons observe three years of mourning for parents,  
Even servants get leave to perform this filial duty.\*  
In the capital the Office of Supreme Excellence  
Provides coffins to assist the poor;\*  
In the villages cups are reverently raised at the drinking rites  
45 With orderly vessels and moderation in wine.\*  
Go-betweens arrange their marriages,  
But a concubine's son, be he never so learned,  
Cannot enter the ranks of the gentry.\*  
Families all aspire to the hatpins and headgear of rank.  
50 And if one of gentle birth does something improper,  
Society declares he lacks *li*.\*  
No household is allowed to keep gambling gear,\*  
But all have home shrines for ancestral rites:  
Nobles make sacrifice for three generations,  
55 Gentry and commoners only for two.  
All these customs were handed down from Ch'i Tzū,  
Imitations of what China is known to do.\*
- They build fortified walls  
That climb over the hills,  
60 Sometimes stretching over the slopes  
To curl back and enclose the towns.  
Big ones rise high with soaring parapets,

- Even small ones have imposing gate-pavilions.  
We journeyed from Ŭisun through Sunch'ŏn,\*  
65 Past the towering peaks of the Dragon-and-Tiger,  
and Bear's Bones,\*  
And Kwak-san that touches the Milky Way;\*  
Then leaving Sinan, we crossed the Taejŏng,\*  
Past the noble crags of the Horse and Phoenix,\*  
And Anju, that overhangs the flowing stream.\*  
70 Neither Sukch'ŏn county nor Sunan township  
Is set in the flatlands;  
The pavilions of Reverent Peace and Quiet Repose\*  
Are both in pleasant places.
- But the Western Capital sits in a broad plain,  
75 So it was called P'yŏngyang, 'the flat place'.  
When the kingdom was founded the boundary wall  
Was built high by the riverside,  
But sometime later it was moved to the north,  
To a place of steep mountains nearby.\*  
80 All the cities we saw before  
Had dry red earth,  
Here and there some rich yellow,  
But always mingled with sand and stones.  
Near P'yŏngyang alone  
85 Was the soil rich and loamy:  
There were traces of fields with ditches and baulks;\*  
Rice and hemp, pulse and barley could be grown.
- There plants grow thick  
And trees grow tall,\*  
90 Cicadas sing among the leaves,  
Wild-flowers bloom in the grass.  
Kŭmsu Peak is linked to far Yongsan's summit,\*  
Pusŏk Pavilion peers down on the Pae River.  
The *ch'i-lin's* hoofprints are still in the rocky cave,\*  
95 Stone camels and sheep crumble on the mountain ridges.

Ch'ao-hsien fu

Ancient palace sites remain,  
Great pine-bridges span the streams:  
Thoughts of former glories now long passed,  
Strike a chill as when sunshine suddenly fades.

- 100 There are images in the confucian shrine,  
Decked out in robes and headdresses;  
The blue-robed scholar class  
Crowded along the roadside  
Wearing soft gauze caps,  
105 Girdles that fluttered like willows in the wind,  
And leather shoes,  
Made low, with pointed toes.  
If we stopped, they bowed;  
When we passed on, they came after us.\*
- 110 To the east is the shrine of Ch'i Tzū,  
With wooden tablet correctly installed,  
And inscribed:  
*Second Founder of Ch'ao-hsien:*  
For they revere Tan'gun as their national founder,  
115 And treat Ch'i Tzū as continuing the succession.\*  
His tomb is at T'o-san,  
Southwest of the city wall.\*  
It has two stone guardians,  
Capped and clothed like officials of T'ang,  
120 Blotched with a mottling of lichens and moss—  
Patterned, as it were, with a coat of brocade.  
On either side are stone sheep, kneeling to be suckled,  
The epitaph stands on a tortoise with lifted head.  
A round pavilion is prepared for worshippers' prostrations,  
125 Loose stones are piled up as a boundary wall.  
All is intended to show gratitude,  
Good enough in its way, but carried out crudely.  
Once the Taedong is crossed,

*Ch'ao-hsien fu*

- The mountains grow higher,  
130 And near to Saengyang  
The road twists round a corner  
Where an old campsite spreads in the shade of the pines,\*  
Like so many ancient rounded graves.  
Then we caught sight of the waves of the sea,  
135 And our hearts felt enlarged.\*  
The great Sōngbul Pass has a huge cairn of stones,  
And reaches northward to Chabi, south to Parhae.\*  
The Yüan used to draw the frontier here  
And our Ming has not bothered to alter the map.\*
- 140 Yōnjin, Kōmsu,\*  
Pongsan, Yongch'ōn,\*  
Hwanch'wi's soaring beauty;\*  
Ch'ongsu, where the clouds gather,\*  
The benign air of Posan,  
145 The waterfall of Kūmam,\*  
Sōnggō, Songak,  
Ch'ōnma, Pagyōn—\*  
At last we came to Kaesōng and stayed there  
In the place that used to be the capital.
- 150 The site of Wibong Gate is rubble on the northern slopes,\*  
Pannyong Hill rises from the eastern paddies.\*  
Here the dragon crouched in the Spirit Pool,  
There the waterfall dropped from the Long Stream.\*  
Ten thousand dwellings still,  
155 A hundred rice-chandlers,  
Public offices with grades of dignity duly appointed,  
The shrine-school with statues of sages solemnly displayed.\*  
Fragrant oenanthe grows in half-moon pools,\*  
Herbs drive the silverfish out of old books,  
160 Wineshop flags flutter on the spring breeze,  
Pipes and strings sound beneath the night moon.  
The population is great, much more than in other towns;  
The atmosphere crowded, (though less than in P'yōngyang):

*Ch'ao-hsien fu*

For the Wang were kings here for four hundred years,  
165 Till King Yo went crazy, and the country was committed to Yi.  
Koryŏ was the name of this third or fourth dynasty,  
But when Yi Tan received the kingdom,  
He begged to revive the old name of Chosŏn.\*

Crossing the Imjin, we rested at P'aju,\*  
170 A high place with clear air, whence Seoul can be glimpsed.  
Then we passed Pyŏkche and came to Hongje,\*  
Where the royal demesne stands off to the east,  
Ennobled by the splendid peaks of Samgak-san,  
Lustrous green from the needles of myriad pines.\*  
175 Thousands of feet high, the mountain walls to the north—  
thousands of soldiers could not force their way in;  
One road alone pierces the pass to the west—  
one rider alone can go through at a time.\*  
Mount ins stand round the city walls,  
grand as soaring phoenixes in glory;\*  
Sand piles about the pinetree roots,  
white as driven snow in the sunshine.\*  
The Mohwa-gwan stands on a southwestern slope,  
180 The Sungnye Gate faces straight to the south: \*  
The former a resting-place for imperial envoys,\*  
The latter the radial point for royal justice.\*  
When the imperial rescript arrived,  
The king in robe and crown  
came outside the city to meet it,  
185 Ministers in robes and cap;  
stood by like swans with necks outstretched;  
The alleys were filled with milling crowds, young and old,  
The buildings adorned with pendant cloths in many patterns.\*  
Music sounded, now solemn, now gay;  
Gong frames stood lavishly ornamented;  
190 Incense smoke wreathed like clouds of morning mist,  
Peach blossom trembled like silk on the eastern breeze;  
There was constant uproar of jostling carts and horses,

*Ch'ao-hsien fu*

- Like ceaseless sport of leaping fish and dragons.\*  
Thousands of lanterns lit a fairy stage,  
that dimmed the rising sun;\*
- 195 Monkeys carried babies on their backs  
to sip the waters of Wu-shan,\*  
Countless tumblers capered  
like bears of Hsiang-kuo,\*  
Long-winded notes sounded  
like Arab mares drawing salt-drays,\*  
Tightrope tripping was like water-fairies walking on waves,\*  
Pole-running like hill-goblins leaping the rafters,\*
- 200 Men dressed as lions, completely covered in pony-pelts,  
Danced like phoenixes, sporting feathers from pheasant tails.  
No dances we saw in Hwanghae or P'yöngyang  
Could compare with these for skill or for spectacle.\*
- From the T'aepy'öng-gwan we could see the great bell tower\*  
205 Dominating the city, top-heavy above the surrounding streets.  
We feasted and rested,  
Then strolled and relaxed.  
My sleeping-place was set up with an eight-fold screen,\*  
Its beaded blinds held half-rolled by tiny hooks,
- 210 At cockcrow servants waited on us with morning greetings,\*  
And as we rode forth, outriders called to clear our way.  
Minions were provided to run our errands,  
Paper and ink for exchanging verses,  
Because the emperor is honoured in his envoy
- 215 And the rites are meticulously observed.
- The pattern of the palaces  
Is the same as in China,  
But the paint is cinnabar\*  
And the roof of round-tiles.\*
- 220 The three ceremonial gateways lack mother-of-pearl decoration,\*  
But the throne-hall windows are filled with leek-green glass.\*  
The stairs to the hall are strictly kept to seven steps,\*



*Ch'ao-hsien fu*

Fine gauze fills the fretwork of its eight great doors.\*  
Because of the high mountain spurs,  
225 The palaces stand apart from each other;\*  
And none of them built on flat sites,  
For the sake of the terrain's geomantic power.

When the rescript arrived at the palace,  
The king himself kotowed,  
230 With the crown prince and ministers  
Attending on either side.  
A marquee was set up on the throne-room steps,  
With an awning stretched over the terrace.\*  
Ceremonial weaponry was all on display,  
235 The music conducted by the rapping-stick.\*  
Three times all crouched like tigers  
raising the Sung-shan cheer,\*  
Both classes behaved like phoenixes,  
performing the lion's pavane.  
We did not understand the language,  
But we were moved by the courtesy.\*  
240 The reception area was fully prepared  
With the presents all displayed,  
And places set to east and west,  
Those for the guests and these for the hosts.\*  
The ceremony ended with mutual reverences,  
245 Then words were exchanged through interpreters.  
The king said, 'It is right that our tiny land  
should be a frontier guard,  
Presumptuous though that be  
to the vastness of the imperial favour.  
Our every drop of water and every grain of dust  
can never repay it.  
Though we perish utterly,  
how can we ever make recompense?  
250 But daily we sing the songs of Chou,  
hymning the imperial grace

*Ch'ao-hsien fu*

- And from our distance pray  
for the splendid sunrise of the emperor;  
Today we sing the happy sight of the lowland mulberries,\*  
Now expound the protocol of the Spring and Autumn Classic,  
Which says subject states must give  
the place of honour to the imperial envoy—\*  
255 How much more glory then, for you who are close to the  
Son of Heaven?
- In courtyards and gateways  
We walked always on matting.  
Guests and hosts were separately placed  
On thick piles of cushions,  
260 The guests' embroidered with coiled dragons,  
scales all erect;  
The king's distinguished by flying phoenixes,  
wings spread wide.\*  
The bowls were gold, silver, brass, and ceramic;  
The food the rarest produce of earth and sea.  
The host offered the guests wine in Chinese fashion,  
265 We returned the compliment with banqueting manners.\*  
Honeycakes were arranged in five-layered piles,  
Platters heaped up at least a foot high.  
Dishes were edged with fences of silver or brass,  
festooned with dangling green gems,  
And covered with napkins in flower-petal shapes,  
fluttering like brilliant phoenix wings.\*  
270 Wooden and bamboo vessels, for appearance's sake,  
had big ones in front, small ones behind;  
Everything displayed to be seen from the front,  
tall things outside and short ones within.\*  
There were titbits and meat stewed with rice,\*  
Various pickles and meat cooked in soy.  
The wine was made from ordinary rice:\*
- 275 Scarcely a quality to vie with the Ch'ing-chou secretary,  
Though a full cup's bouquet would waft

*Ch'ao-hsien fu*

- beyond the P'ing-yuan post-station fence.\*
- The tables were set in a row,  
Covered with silk in the centre.\*  
Right and left wings made three tables,  
280 All laden with choicest meats.  
Near the feast was a seat set apart,  
where the king himself served the food.\*  
The trays were filled with meats  
which the courtiers themselves carved up.\*  
To show they were specially killed beasts,  
the hearts were proffered,  
And from the plump sweet pieces,  
sausages were concocted.\*
- 285 Offering of wine continued, first by the princes,\*  
Then by the presidents of the Six Boards of Government.\*  
When drink was presented, it was five bowls each time,\*  
And bowls were piled up, but not more than a foot high.\*  
If a table was too small, food was removed to the mat,\*
- 290 When strong meat had been eaten,  
they served water-plant shoots.\*  
Officials, like swans, waited inside and out,\*  
Eunuchs and interpreters knelt close at hand.\*  
Three banquets were held at the T'aep'yöng-gwan,  
Each with the same formalities undiminished.
- 295 And one was held at the Injöng Hall,  
A feast that was much more elaborate and splendid.\*
- When our mission was done,  
we were eager to leave Korea and go home.  
The king went out first to the Mohwa-gwan,  
and waited there with a banquet.  
He gave repeated instructions, unstinting in courtesy,  
300 More than ever correct and punctilious,  
Speaking again and again of nobility,  
Reiterating expressions of thanks,

Ch'ao-hsien fu

- Quoting great thoughts from Mencius,\*  
Mistakenly saying how good we were.  
305 He mentioned Yen Tzū's advice to his lord,\*  
Deploring his own inability to match it;  
And he tried to bid us farewell with a poem:  
It was a pity we could not understand it.\*
- For a month we travelled Korea's hills,  
310 But had only five days with Seoul and its people.  
We could not learn all there was to know,  
But record here virtually all we saw.
- The national Confucian College,  
Has hills behind and is bordered by streams.  
315 It consists of front and rear halls  
With wings each side of the court.\*  
The officers are two grades of *szū-ch'eng*,  
The scholars lodge in upper and lower dormitories.\*  
There is nothing to compare in P'yōngyang,  
320 Nothing to equal it in Kaesōng:  
No statues disfigure the rites,  
The students become friends at their studies.
- The scenery of the capital province  
Is best at the River Han.  
325 A high pavilion hinders the passing clouds,  
The green water is a liquid mirror.  
The ferry at Yanghwa  
Is busy with traffic,  
Funnelling provisions from the eight provinces,  
330 As it were through the throat of the capital city.  
Looking down the long stream from that tallest pavilion,  
One sees the far borders of Paekche.  
I left the boat here and rode out for a day,  
Enjoying myself in the pleasures of a century.

\* \* \*

- 335 Side streets and main streets alike  
Are straight and unbending.  
Rafters are cut sheer with the eaves' edge  
On the magnificent buildings.  
Every house has high walls to protect against wind and fire,
- 340 Every room a north window to relieve the heat of summer.  
Exteriors are controlled by government rules,  
So rich houses do not differ from poor ones;  
Interiors are arranged as each man desires,  
And so reflect personal taste.\*
- 345 Government buildings also  
All look alike,  
With their principal halls  
And their decorated angles,  
Railed pavilions like wings
- 350 And dwarf statues on the roof-ridges.  
Both public and private buildings are adorned  
With indifferent ink-paintings;  
The middle of double doors, where they meet,  
Bears the sign of emerging creation.\*
- 355 Not all, perhaps, are like this:  
I write only of what I saw.
- Poor houses have walls woven of bamboo,  
Completed by tying with rope,  
Then roofed with a thatch of reeds
- 360 Before the holes in the walls are filled with lumps of mud.\*  
Some have straggling thorns at the eaves,  
And some are no bigger than grainbins.  
A man may not fly 8,000 feet up like the phoenix,  
Yet he can make a home on a twig like the tailorbird.\*
- 365 As for the wealthy houses:  
They are all roofed with round-tiles,  
And have wings to east and west,  
Whose roof-ridges run north and south.

*Ch'ao-hsien fu*

- All are plastered with earth  
370 And the roofs before and behind the main hall  
Are lower than those in the centre.\*  
The doors open into the eastern wing,  
Reached from the ground by steps,  
Leading through to the main building.\*
- 375 The sites are low and damp,  
So boards are spread for protection,  
With rushes strewn on them for sitting.\*  
I was surprised to observe  
No pigs are kept in the houses,
- 380 No fences built round the vegetable patches,  
And loads carried only by oxen and horses.\*  
Animals are kept, but no sheep.  
Goral and fish for eating are caught  
By snares in the hills and bamboo traps in the rivers,\*
- 385 While plants are gathered in streams and creeks.\*  
Some rural folk grow old without once tasting pork,  
Then chance on it at feasts,  
like dreams of trampling kale-yards.\*  
When a man dies, he is buried in the mountains,  
But the gentry have graves in fields near their homes.\*
- 390 These are all odd customs of this particular region,  
Needing neither deep investigation nor detailed discussion.
- Men show by their hatstrings  
Their high or low rank.\*  
Children keep all their hair,
- 395 Older and younger alike;  
Little babies have it loose on their shoulders,  
Six-year-olds wear two plaits like horns,  
Out of respect for their bodily heritage preserving every hair,  
As is easily seen before they are old enough to wear hats.
- 400 Common folk wear straw hats  
With beaded chin-strings,

- Some round, some square,  
But all stained black.  
Coolies wear blue coats with split seams  
and feathers in their hats;  
405 Ordinary people wear several layers of hemp  
and long flowing sleeves.  
They dislike noise and are quiet in the streets—  
To prevent disturbances pikemen stand at courtyard gates.\*  
Shoes are of leather—walking in mud is no worry;  
Stockings are bound to trousers—crossing water gives no  
trouble.
- 410 Clothes are all plain white, mostly coarse hemp,  
And their trousers are usually crumpled and creased.  
They carry loads on their backs, bent over,  
humping along like basking tortoises;\*  
To take orders from superiors, they squat on their heels,  
shuffling like waddling ducks.\*  
Twenty-four bearers are required for one chair,
- 415 A hundred changes for making a thirty *li* stage,  
And since great weights are too much for the shoulders alone,  
Such burdens must be carried with the help of the hands.\*
- Women wear their hair over their ears,  
But none of them was seen with earrings.
- 420 They wear a round white kerchief on the head  
That covers the forehead and eyes.\*  
The wealthy and noble veil their faces with black silk,\*  
The poor and lowly show their calves below their white skirts.  
The powerful are permitted to ride in a chair,
- 425 Others, however rich, may only ride on a horse.\*  
Socks and shoes are hemp and leather,  
the feet natural, not bound;\*  
Skirts and dresses are hemp and silk,  
the sleeves wide, but not long.  
The coat reaches down to the knees,  
The skirt hangs down to the ground,

*Ch'ao-hsien fu*

- 430 Etiquette makes an inferior  
    sit on her heels before her superior;  
Custom makes the common women  
    carry burdens on their heads:  
Some carry pots of water thus without a supporting hand,  
Some balance measures of grain and move at a steady run.  
I write simply what I saw,  
435 And not what I did not see.  
I had indeed heard  
That women bathe in streams with the men,  
And that widows work as post-station slaves.  
When first I heard these things I was surprised,  
440 Now I know that such practices have changed:  
They are truly imbued with imperial grace,  
And would not cross the broad Han on a raft.\*
- Many the birds: pheasant, doves, finches and quails;\*  
Many the beasts: red deer and spotted, roebuck and water-  
    deer.\*
- 445 For seafood: tangle, laver, oysters and clams;\*  
For fish: mandarins, grey mullet, cornet and octopus.\*  
Carp and crucian abound in the fresh streams and pools,\*  
Egret and heron often nest in the courtyards and gardens.  
Cockle-like ormer is the sweetest food from the sea,\*  
450 Coiled purple fern the finest herb of the hills.\*  
Curious plants fill brooks and fields  
    with scent of orchidaceous slopes:  
Solomon's seal, ground cherry, purple cress, white artemisia,\*  
Water-pepper shoots and angelica buds,  
Pine bark for bread and wild ginseng for cakes—\*  
455 All are fit for the dinner-table,  
All good as titbits with wine.  
Fruits are pears, chestnuts, jujubes, persimmons and hazels,  
    pine-nuts, apricots and peaches,  
Oranges, tangerines, yellow plums, red plums,  
    pomegranates and grapes.\*



*Ch'ao-hsien fu*

- Skins of tiger, leopard, roe, fox, and deer,  
raccoon-dog, wild-cat and sable\*  
460 Make beautiful rugs, coverlets, quivers and bow-cases.  
Flowers are red rose and rhododendron,  
peony and tree-peony,  
White rose, lilac, bush-cherry and pittosporum.\*  
By the middle of spring, cherry blossom is finished;  
Before spring is over, wild pear blossom has shattered.\*  
465 Plants riot in luxuriant abundance,  
Trees grow twisted and bent.\*  
Some old pines are as strong as fir,  
When they are used for torches, no resin will flow.\*  
The flowers of pines are gathered each spring,  
470 The nuts eaten only in alternate years.\*  
Small pines are used to bridge streams,  
Large ones make pillars for shrines,\*  
For the species are different  
And each has appropriate uses.  
475 The five metals' sources I never learnt,  
but brass is commonest;\*  
The five colours have each their own use,  
but crimson is forbidden;\*  
Of the five flavours, vinegar and soy are most esteemed;  
Of the five tones neither rhyme nor pitch is observed.\*  
For writing they use wolf-tail brushes,\*  
480 For fighting prefer cherry-wood bows.\*  
Cloth is woven of hemp and ramie,  
though where the best came from I could not discover,  
Paper manufactured of mulberry bark and cocoons,  
and the best produced by a fulling process.\*  
Such cloth is as fine as close-woven silk,  
Such paper so thin it will roll in tight scrolls;  
485 Soaked in oil, it will keep out the rain,\*  
Joined in widths it will keep out the wind.\*

*Ch'ao-hsien fu*

\*

Although it is said that the men wear hats in T'ang style,  
They do so no longer.  
Their miniature ponies are not three feet high;\*  
490 And only Korea has five-leaved ginseng and flowered mats,\*  
Which at New Year and other times  
They send as offerings to the suzerain emperor.  
For a hundred and twenty years  
Korea has received frequent and generous gifts,  
495 Bestowed, of course, by imperial favour,  
But acknowledging her uninterrupted tribute.

My song, though in verse, is a straightforward record  
That hardly accounts for my month-long stay.\*  
Moreover my wit, threadbare as old stockings,\*  
500 Is meagre as the wispiest fish in the sea.  
I have done my best with rapid brush  
To describe the Empire's prosperity,  
And if only I have seen and heard aright,\*  
I may perhaps bear scrutiny without shame.

## NOTES

Numbers refer to lines of the text.

### Introduction: geography, history, laws

- 6 The country is bounded the sea to the south and east, by Manchuria to the north and west, with the Mao-lien and Hai-hsi tribes due north. [The Malgal were a Tungusic people of north-eastern Manchuria.]
- 14 Kyōnggi, Ch'ungch'ōng, Kyōngsang, Hwanghae, Kangwōn, Yōngan, P'yōngan and Chōlla are the names of the provinces. P'yōngan is the former territory of Pyōnhan, Kyōngsang of Chinhan, and Chōlla of Mahan. [Yōngan, 'lasting peace', was Hamgyōng. The setting of Pyōnhan in P'yōngan is wrong: it was in the south of the peninsula.]
- 15 According to geographical accounts the country is 2,000 *li* from east to west, 4,000 from north to south.
- 16 Silla, Paekche and T'amna all now belong to Korea. [T'amna was Cheju.]
- 20 In the second year of Hung-wu of the present dynasty [1369] the king of Koryō, Wang Chōn [Kongmin], sent congratulations on the accession of the emperor and was authorized to govern by the bestowal of a golden seal with a tortoise pendant.
- 21 [The *Odes* and *Documents* are the pre-confucian classics, *Shih ching* and *Shu ching*.]
- 23 [These phrases are clichés.]
- 24 They keep the imperial calendar. Provincial examinations are held every fourth year, and royal examinations in the year after the provincial examinations. [*P'eng* is the mythical roc-like bird of Chinese legend (see *Chuang tzū* 1). 'The superior man changes like the leopard' is a phrase from the *I ching* (hexagram 49). The information about the intervals between public examinations is one of the two points commented on by the *Tongguk yōji sūngnam* editors as being wrong and due to failure on the part of the interpreters.]
- 27 Palace eunuchs are not castrated: those who are injured in childhood or congenitally defective are employed in this function, and so there are few of them. Thieves are not treated leniently. I enquired of three or four interpreters about these matters, and they all agreed.
- 31 The people are not allowed to hoard coinage, gold or silver. Those who amass grain or hempen cloth are counted wealthy. These commodities

- form the basis of their commerce. Hence there are few greedy officials.
- 33 The *kyöl* is the amount of land an ox can plough in four days [i.e. the tax is four bags per *kyöl*.]
- 35 The Sönggyun-gwan [national confucian college in Seoul] normally accommodates 500 men. Every three years those selected for exposition of the classics are named *saengwön*, those who study poetry become *chinsa*. Those who are promoted from the four schools, South, Central, East, and West of the capital, are called *sünghak*. The four schools do not include one called the North School, out of deference to the court. *Saengwön* and *chinsa* live in the upper school and *sünghak* in the lower school. *Saengwön* and *chinsa* degrees are given at the *chönsi* examinations. Those who go on to pass the royal examinations known as *singnyön* get state appointments or else are maintained at the Sönggyungwan. *Singnyön* examinations are held every three years and thirty-three men are selected.
- 36 Junior officials all wear plain silk, not hemp. The silk is deep blue in colour, and worn only on festal occasions, not at ordinary times.
- 37 These cellars are like those of Liao-tung.
- 39 Every year in late autumn the king feasts people of eighty and over in the palace. The queen entertains the old ladies in her quarters.
- 41 National custom requires three years of mourning in a hut of reeds. Servants are usually permitted to mourn thus for 100 days, but some who ask for three years are allowed the full time.
- 42 [The Office of Supreme Excellence or Kwihu-sö, was set up in 1406 to make and sell coffins and to undertake funerals for ordinary people. It was abolished in 1777. Its name came from Tseng-tzū's words in Analects I ix: 'Reverent funerals and perpetual sacrifices maintain the moral force of the people in the highest excellence (*kuei-hou*, Korean *Kwi-hu*).]
- 43 Most Korean coffins are made of pine. It appears that suitable material is scarce, so this office is set up in the capital to provide assistance.
- 45 The rite is the same as in China, save that the name of the king is substituted for the name of the Ming emperor.
- 48 Secondary marriages are customarily considered shameful. Sons born of them are like the sons of fallen women, and neither are permitted to enter public service as gentlemen.
- 51 Since long ago officials have been grouped into the 'yangban', or 'two classes', civil and military. The sons of yangban are permitted only to read books, and may not practise crafts. If their behaviour is not good, their countrymen all criticize them. [*Li* is the confucian virtue of courtesy, involving all forms of ritual behaviour and propriety.]
- 52 *Paduk* [the 'pebble game' or Japanese *go*], backgammon and such like are forbidden to the young people of the nation.
- 57 All the above matters can be verified in the illustrated album of customs

provided by the Secretary of the Board of the Civil Office, Hō Chong.  
[See introduction. For Ch'i Tzū, see below lines 110 ff.]

The journey

- 64 Ūisun is a rest-house on the east bank of the Yalu at Ūiju. The Yalu is the boundary between China and Korea. Sunch'ōn is a county seat east of Ūiju. [See poem YJSN LIII 11b]
- 65 The Dragon-and-Tiger is Yongho, the hill above Yongch'ōn county town; Bear's Bones is the hill behind Ch'ōlsan county seat. [See poem YJSN LIII 20b]
- 66 Kwaksan is a county. There is a fortress on a mountain-top there called in the records Nūnghan-sōng, 'Milky Way Fort'. [See poem YJSN LIII 40b]
- 67 Sinan is a rest-house at Chōngju, with a pavilion in front of it. The Taejōng is a river in Pakch'ōn county. It was there that Chumong [legendary founder of Koguryō] during his flight southwards came upon a bridge of fishes and turtles. It is also called the Pakch'ōn River. [See poem YJSN LIV 13a. At Chōngju Tung watched archery before the Chōngwōn Pavilion, whose name he changed to Yōnghun-nu. [See YJSN LII 25b]
- 68 The Horse (Ch'ōnma) is the mountain behind Chōngju, the Phoenix (Pongdu) that behind Kasan county seat. On this pass are two points called Hyosōng and Manghae. All these are points on the envoy's journey. [See poems YJSN LII 34a and 35a]
- 69 Anju overlooks the Sal River, above which is the Paeksang Pavilion, where the Sui general was defeated when he came to conquer Koguryō [in 621]. The same river is also called the Ch'ōngch'ōn. Inside the city is a rest-house called Anhūng-gwan. [See poem YJSN LII 19b]
- 70 [See poem YJSN LII 12b]
- 72 The guesthouse of 'Reverent Peace' (Sungnyōng-gwan) has a pavilion in front of it. 'Quiet Repose' (Anjōng-gwan) belongs to Sunan magistracy. [See poem YJSN LII 31b]

P'yōngyang

- 79 P'yōngyang was already in existence before Ch'i Tzū was enfeoffed here. In Koguryō times its low site was considered disadvantageous and another fortification was built to the north. Eastwards it overlooks the Taedong River, northwards it reaches to Kūmsu-san. After Ch'i Tzū's days, in the time of Eastern Han, his successor was a man named Chun, who was chased out by Wei Man of Yen, and took his settlement to Mahan territory. He has no descendants today.
- 86 What appear to be straight paths within the old city are traces of the

- 'well-field' system established by Ch'i Tzū. [The well-field system divided square plots into nine equal parts, cultivated by eight men who contributed the produce of the ninth part to the state. The map of a field thus divided has the shape of the Chinese character for 'a well'.]
- 89 The willows here are as tall as in China.
- 93 Yongsan is a mountain also called Kuryong-san or Noyang-san, twenty *li* north of Kūmsu-san. There are ninety-nine pools at the top of it. The Taedong River used to be called Pae River. [See poem YJSN LI 10b]
- 94 The Kirin (*Ch'i-lin*) Stone is below the Pusōk Pavilion. Legend has it that King Tongmyōng entered the earth by riding a *ch'i-lin* horse into this cave. When he emerged he ascended into heaven from the Choch'on Rock, where the horse's footprints can still be seen. There are remains of stone horses and bronze camels among the brambles. [See poem YJSN LI 17a]
- 109 The scholars all wore soft gauze caps, and had girdles over their blue coats. Their low leather shoes had pointed toes.

Ch'i Tzū's shrine

- 115 Tan'gun founded a state here in *chia-ch'en* of Yao [2297 BC — not the date most frequently given], but later went to Kuwōl-san [in Hwanghae province] and that is all we know of him. The Koreans have built a shrine to him as founder of the nation and sacrifice to him there. It stands to the east of Ch'i Tzū's shrine, and the tablet in it is inscribed: *Spirit tablet of Tan'gun, Founder of Chosōn*. [Ch'i Tzū, 'the viscount of Ch'i', known in Korean as Ki-ja, was said to have left China when the Chou dynasty began, because he could not forsake his loyalty to the ousted Shang. The story of his founding a state at P'yōngyang is no longer accepted as history. See poem YJSN LI 29a.]
- 117 Ch'i Tzū's tomb is on T'o-san, a high hill not half a *li* southwest of the city. [See poem YJSN LI 29b]

The journey toward Kaesōng

- 133 Tradition has it that this camp was made by the T'ang army when it came to subdue Koguryō, but there is no system or orderly arrangement of the mounds. It is all very much like Chi-chou. When I first saw Chi-chou I was puzzled and asked an old soldier, who said that when the T'ang emperor was subduing Korea he made these false piles of grain. They were heaps of earth covered with rice, comparable to the stratagem of T'an Tao-chi, who pretended that sand was rice. [The reference is to a story about a Sung general during the division between the North and South of China in the 5th century AD.] This Korean camp seemed to be the same sort of thing.

- 135 We were now in Hwanghae province, which is mountainous to the north and has the sea to its south.
- 137 Söngbul and Chabi are passes.
- 139 Söngbul Pass has mountains to the north and the sea to the south. The peaks are so high they go above the clouds. At one barrier there was a great pile of discarded foundation stones from an old brick fortress. I asked an interpreter what it was and he said that Chabi Pass, to the north, had been the national boundary in Yüan times, and this had been a frontier post. If that were the case, P'yöngyang and everything east of the Yalu would have been part of China, and Korea deprived of rather more than one whole province. Our Ming T'ai Tsu accepted this as the boundary, but it ought, I respectfully submit, to be reconsidered with reference to antiquity. The pass belongs to Hwangju county.
- 140 A river and a rest-house. [See poem YJSN XLI 34a]
- 141 A county-town and a rest-house. [See poem YJSN XLI 23b]
- 142 Hwanch'wi is the 'pavilion amid the greenery', in the government rest-house at Pongsan. [See poem YJSN XLI 33b]
- 143 The mountains form cliffs by the river. I changed the first character of the name Ch'ongsu from one meaning 'brilliance' to one meaning 'shal-lots' and wrote a commemorative essay on it. [The text is in YJSN XLI 12a 8; the contents are as follows. The envoys passed the pretty valleys of Ch'ongsu-san with their bubbling streams, strange rocks and twisted pines, late in the afternoon as they were hurrying towards Posan rest-house, still about an hour's journey further on. When they arrived at Posan, Hō said how sorry he was that they had not been able to stop at Ch'ongsu and enjoy the place, and was pleased when the Chinese agreed to pause there on the return journey. Ten days later, on the 22nd of the 3rd moon (13 May), they arrived at Posan before noon. Accompanied by Yun, governor of Hwanghae — a man with an impressive beard — they set out for Ch'ongsu, where they found tents had been set up in readiness. The tents irked the Chinese, who strolled off towards a stream. It was then that Tung, fancying the peak resembled a green onion, suggested changing the name of the place. Hō promised the name should be changed. (It was.) Straddling the rocks, they sat and watched some fishermen at work, naked except for short trunks ('calf-nose trunks'). Suddenly they heard the sound of pipes echoing down the valley, and Wang spied two soldiers who had clambered up a huge rock 'like monkeys', at the order of the governor. This diversion was much appreciated. The envoys returned to the tents to eat broiled roe-venison and small fishes. Some of the fishes were so pathetically small that Tung had them released. He recited part of an essay on pisciculture by Ch'eng I, and was satisfied that in the future the fishermen would use nets of larger mesh.]

*Ch'ao-hsien fu*

- The rest of the afternoon was passed in drinking wine and enjoying the scenery. They spent the night at Yongch'ŏn. Hŏ, Wang and Yun all wrote poems. Wang's poem (YJSN XLI 13b) is virtually a metrical version of Tung's *chi*.]
- 145 Posan and Kŭmam are rest-houses belonging to the county of P'yongsan. [See poems XLI 17b; 18a]
- 147 Sŏnggŏ, Sŏngak, and Ch'ŏnma are mountains, Pagyŏn is a waterfall on Sŏngak-san. Sŏnggŏ and Ch'ŏnma have five peaks that pierce the sky to the north-east. Three of them are like men sitting in a row, the middle one taller than those on either side, which look like attendants. They are always wrapped in mist, and so lovely that I wrote a poem about them. [See poem YJSN IV 16a]
- 150 The Wibong Gate was the gate of Wang Kŏn's palace.
- 151 The tombs to the east are those of ancestors of the present Yi Kings. [This is the other point criticized by the editors of the *Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam*, who attribute the error to a misunderstanding with the interpreters.]
- 153 At the top of the hill is the Dragon Pool waterfall (Yongch'u P'okp'o). Tradition says that when Wang Kŏn was founding his capital there was a drought. The king himself came to pray at this spot, but nothing happened, until a magician summoned a dragon which rose out of the water and presented itself before the king, who struck it and knocked off several of its scales. Those scales are said still to be preserved in the national treasury. Yi Ŭi, one of the interpreters, was a Kaesŏng man and had already told me all this and offered to ask the king to get the scales brought out for me to see; but I thought there was no point in it and made him drop the matter.
- 157 What is now the county school was the national college (Sŏnggyun-gwan) in Koryŏ times. The images of the sages are like those in P'yŏng-yang. The guest-pavilion was the guest house for the imperial envoys during the Wang dynasty, and so it is taller and much finer than the other rest-houses. [See poem YJSN IV 14b]
- 158 [This line is virtually a quotation from *Shih ching* IV ii 3 i, and has become a classic cliché for training scholars.]
- 168 In 1389 King Kongmin of Koryŏ went mad, killed a great many people and lost the loyalty of the nation. The people urged his servitor and minister Yi Sŏnggye to take over the government and sent the councillor Cho Pan to ask for imperial approval. After that Sŏnggye changed his name to Tan and asked for the country's name to be changed. The emperor replied that Ch'ao-hsien [Korean: Chosŏn] was the oldest and best name for the people of the east and ordered that Korea should be called Ch'ao-hsien. When imperial approval for the change of dynasty



was received, the capital was moved to the present Hansöng (Seoul) and Kaesöng became an open city.

### Arrival at Seoul

- 169 The Imjin is a river, belonging to Changdan city. [See poems XII 7a and 8b]
- 171 Pyökche is a rest-house [See poems YJSN XI 30] and Hongje a pavilion.
- 174 Samgak-san, the mountain behind the capital, is a massif of great power. The royal palace is built on its flank, and the crest of the range is jagged like the teeth of a saw.
- 176 Half a *li* east of the Hongje Pavilion is a natural pass between Samgak-san to the north and Nam-san to the south, where only one rider can pass at a time. It is incredibly steep.
- 177 The mountains curve round to the east, encircling the city.
- 178 From Samgak-san to Namsan the hills are white, slightly flushed with a reddish tinge, so that they look snow-covered.
- 180 The Mohwa-gwan [building for the greeting of the imperial envoys on arrival at the city area] is eight *li* from the city. There is a hall in it, and a gateway before it. When the imperial rescript arrives, the king comes out to meet it here, standing on the left hand-side of the road. The Sungnye-mun is the great South Gate of the capital.
- 181 [The phrase used here is an echo of *Shih ching* II 1 iii 2, an ode traditionally interpreted as both complimenting and instructing an imperial envoy.]
- 182 [It was considered that royal grace emanated from the throne southward through the palace gates, and thence through the south gate of the capital, carrying its beneficent influence throughout the whole country.]
- 187 The dwellings along the streets all hung out coloured silks and pictures according to the ceremonial rules promulgated by the imperial government.
- 193 [The phrases of these two lines are based on descriptions in the *Han shu* of an ancient sport.]
- 194 The following passage describes the entertainments given in honour of the imperial rescript. Outside the Kwanghwa-mun (main gate of the royal palace) two 'turtle-mounts' (stages) stood to east and west, with magnificent decorated arches.
- 195 Men danced with a boy on each shoulder. [Wu-shan is introduced here as an abode of fairies.]
- 196 [Hsiang-kuo was the name of a temple in the Sung capital. In front of it was a space where performing bears were displayed.]
- 197 [Arab horses pulling salt-drays were a traditional symbol of talent left unused. Presumably Tung Yüeh thought these acrobats good enough for the Chinese court.]
- 198 [The water-fairy cliché suggests feminine grace.]

- 199 [The simile is also used to refer to cat-burglars.]
- 203 In P'yöngyang and Hwangju [capital of Hwanghae] stages were set up with various entertainments to honour the imperial rescript, but those of Seoul were by far the most spectacular. [The typical folk entertainments described here were performed in much the same fashion until the end of the first half of the twentieth century. The mask plays of Hwanghae province are still preserved.]

### The T'aep'yöng-gwan

- 204 The T'aep'yöng-gwan [guest-house for the imperial envoys] stands inside the south gate of the city. It consists of a hall fronted by a double gate and with a pavilion behind. There are wings of lodgings to the east and west, all for the sake of the imperial embassies. The bell-tower stands over the crossroads at the centre of the city [the present Chongno intersection where the bell is now hung in a kiosk at the side of the road]. It is tall and imposing.
- 208 They do not normally hang many pictures, but their official buildings have screens lining all four walls, decorated with paintings of landscape or bamboo and rocks, or with 'grass-writing' calligraphy. These screens are two or three feet high. Sleeping quarters are arranged in the same fashion.
- 210 Every day the king sent a man of ministerial rank and a junior official to greet us.

### The palace

- 218 Korea has no vermilion, so they use cinnabar. Nor have they any *t'ung* oil.
- 219 Gateways and subsidiary palace buildings too are roofed with tiles of the kind used in China on public buildings. [The tiles referred to by Tung Yüeh are here usually translated as 'round tiles'. He sometimes uses a term meaning 'mandarin duck' (i.e. 'male and female') tiles. The tiles are approximately semi-circular in section; the roof is covered with rows of such tiles running down from ridge to eaves, laid with the concave side up ('female tiles'). Rows of tiles with the convex side up ('male tiles') are then laid down the ridges produced by the edges of the rows of female tiles.]
- 220 The first or outside gate is the Kwanghwa-mun, the second or middle gate is the Hongnye-mun, and the third or inner gate [giving on to the throne-room courtyard] is the Künjöng-mun. They are ornamented only with iron studs and rings.
- 221 Green glass is used only in the main throne-hall called the Künjöng-jön, and not elsewhere,

222 The steps are all made of granite, and covered with grass-mats for walking on.

The reception of the rescript

223 The east and west walls of the throne-hall are made so that they can be raised on hinges and fastened on hooks when the imperial rescript is ceremonially received.

225 The Künjǒng and Injǒng halls [the throne-rooms of the main, or Kyǒng-bok-, and the summer palace or Ch'angdǒk-kung] have separate gates because of these limitations imposed by the formation of the hills. [In fact they were designed as separate palaces, the summer palace intended to be a place for vacation.]

233 The plinth and steps before the throne-hall were shaded by a white cloth awning, because Koreans highly esteem the colour white.

235 [More literally: 'The music started and stopped by the rapping-stick.' The stick is drawn smartly along the ridged back of a wooden animal looking like a tiger with its fur standing on end along its spine.]

236 [The translation shows the parallelism of the verse, but obscures the meaning. *Hou* means 'tiger' but was the name of a lord who 'bowed with his head to the ground and said, "May the Son of Heaven live for ever!"' And when Wu-ti of Han went up Sung-shan, the mountain itself is supposed to have cheered three times. The meaning of the line is simply that the whole Korean court bowed three times and roared 'Manse!']

239 The ceremonies were modelled on those of China. When incense was thrice offered and the acclamation of the emperor shouted thrice with kotows, all those present bowed with folded hands.

243 When the rescript had been read aloud, a chamberlain guided the envoys from the centre of the dais to an awning on the east side. After the king had changed his robe, the chamberlain escorted the envoys up the steps in the centre to a place on the dais to the east; then escorted the king to a place on the dais to the west. The envoy stood eastwards, facing west, and the king stood westwards, facing east. They bowed twice and then sat down. The king's seat was opposite the deputy envoy's, but about half a place lower down.

252 [A quotation from the *Shih ching* II 4 viii. See note on 255.]

253 [See following note.]

255 When we had sat down in the appointed places at the throne-hall and drunk a cup of ginseng tisane, the king rose and stepped into the centre, where he spoke through his interpreters, Chang Yusǒng and a secretary named Yi: 'It is fitting that our little country's subjects should show all due honour to the Imperial House; but I have been so honoured myself in receiving this letter that it is hard to repay such overwhelming favour.'

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The deputy envoy and I answered, 'Because Korea has always shown loyalty and reverence to the Imperial Court, it receives favour such as is given to no other country.'

The king raised this joined hands respectfully to his forehead and repeated, 'It is most difficult to repay.'

After this exchange we two were escorted to the Hongnye-mun where the king waited till we had entered our palanquins before he withdrew. We returned to the T'aep'yǒng-gwan, where the officials in order made their bows.

The king followed us for a banquet at the T'aep'yǒng-gwan. He stood waiting outside the gate, facing eastwards, till a messenger came in to tell us that all was ready. We went out to meet the king and invited him in. Once inside the court, we bowed again. Then we sat down in the appointed places and exchanged cups of wine. As we were about to drink, the king ordered the interpreters to say:

'In the *Shih ching* it says:

*Beautiful the lowland mulberries,*

*Ample their leaves:*

*When I have seen my lord,*

*How great my joy!*

Now I have seen your excellencies, my happiness knows no bounds.'

We responded by praising his goodness and thanking him for the entertainments we had received along the way as well as for the generosity of the banquet. Then we stood up and exchanged bows again.

The king continued. 'According to the protocol of the Spring and Autumn Annals [*Ch'un ch'iu Ku-liang chuan* V 8 i], the emperor's representative, however insignificant his own rank may be, takes precedence over all other rulers. Your excellencies, be your rank what it may, are men close to the son of Heaven, come from afar to our little realm. I cannot offer sufficient apologies [for your inadequate reception].

Then smiling, he said to the interpreters, 'You do not know what it is like to be close to the Son of Heaven. It means that one is always under his eye.'

We also smiled, and replied through the interpreters, 'We had heard that your majesty was fond of reading and loved ceremony. Now we have seen for ourselves.'

The king folded his hands and repeated, 'Not at all, not at all.'

### The banquet

261 Three servants were in attendance with rolled mats, which they unrolled for us to make our bows on.

265 [I.e. Chinese banqueting manners]

- 269 The five-layer piles were not built up with fruit, but with square and round cakes made of flour and honey, fried in oil. They were carefully and prettily arranged in cylindrical heaps a foot high, surrounded by tiny octagonal fretted fences of silver or white brass, decorated with hanging green gems. Each heap had on top a cover shaped in four petals and made of green or crimson gauze. The sections of the fretted fences were riveted with tiny brass nails like the 'pearl-flower' headdress ornaments of China. On the summit of each pile was a phoenix, a peacock, or a flying immortal, made of bronze wire covered with brightly-coloured silk thread. Their tails were displayed, or their wings were spread, and their heads bowed towards the guests. These were removed when the jointed meats were served. [The phrase 'jointed meats' is from *Tso chuan* VII 16 v.]
- 271 The tables were arranged as long straight trestles.
- 272 These consisted of things like Chinese dumplings and water-pepper plant.
- 274 They do not use kiao-liang.
- 276 The wine was of excellent flavour, similar in colour and bouquet to the 'Autumn Dew' of Shantung. [Ch'ing-chou was in the prefecture of Ch'i, and *ch'i* is a pun on the Chinese for 'navel', so the secretary going as a messenger to Ch'ing-chou means a good wine reaching down into the stomach. P'ing-yuan was in Ke, and *ke* is a pun on 'diaphragm', so what reaches only the post-station fence there is a bad wine that produces indigestion.]
- 278 The tables were set out in a row, the one in the middle covered with red silk. Over this was oiled paper, on which the dishes were set.
- 281 When we first approached the table, the chair was three feet away from it and I could not understand why. Then when I saw the king bringing a table to it, I realized that it was because he wanted to make a special demonstration of respect.
- 282 There were four kinds of flesh: beef, mutton, pork, and goose, all cooked. The last tray had a huge *man-t'ou* (dumpling) on a dish with a silver cover. A high-ranking courtier took the knife, and after the meat was carved, divided the *man-t'ou*. Inside it were small dumplings, the size of walnuts, just right for a mouthful each.
- 284 The triple stomach that lies high under the sheep's back was stuffed with fruits and cooked.
- 285 Meritorious men of the royal clan are enfeoffed as princes and known as 'princely subjects'. Men of military merit are also enfeoffed as princes, and likewise meritorious civil officials.
- 286 When the cup was offered the king always left his place and followed the rising and sitting of the offerer.

- 287 The king did not offer it himself. This was the only point of difference from Chinese custom.
- 288 The table was very narrow and there were so many dishes of food that they had to be set one atop the other.
- 289 When side-dishes and soup were brought in a second time, if there was no room for them on the table, they were placed on the floor between the seats. Such is the custom of the country.
- 290 [For water-plants sweetening the breath cf *Tso chuan* I 3 iii]
- 291 The servants all kotowed as they went out.
- 292 The eunuchs wore black gauze caps and black horn belts. They knelt at the feet of the king's chair, while the interpreters and secretaries knelt on either side, waiting for orders. There were interpreters behind us too, but no eunuchs.
- 296 The three banquets at the T'aep'yǒng-gwan were first the 'dismounting feast', then the 'principal feast', then the 'stirrup feast'. The banquet at the Injǒng Hall (in the Ch'angdǒk Palace) was called the 'personal feast'. At first I thought these ceremonies were improper and wanted to discuss correcting them, until I learned that the T'aep'yǒng-gwan and the Mohwa-gwan both ranked as royal halls and were used exclusively for entertaining the imperial envoys. At other times the king never visited them. Whenever he went to them for feasts with us, he invariably waited in a small building outside the gate of the establishment before he was asked to enter. So I realized there was no need to change anything.

### Departure

- 303 [Mencius VI a 16. See the note to 308]
- 305 [Yen Ying, died 493 BC, was a model adviser to his king. Cf 'Yen P'ing-chung', biography in *Shih chi* LXII.]
- 308 That day the king repeatedly offered us farewell presents, which we declined. Through the interpreters, he said, 'From our ancestors' times we have offered trifles to express our esteem for the envoys of the emperor. I understand your feelings and I am compelled, out of respect, to insist no more. I have learned, however, that the ancients taught how a good man bids farewell with good words, but an inferior man bids farewell with money. Since I cannot offer suitable words of farewell, in spite of the misgivings of my heart, I have offered you these small gifts. I recall what Mencius said: "The ancients strove for heavenly nobility, and human nobility followed upon it." Your excellencies show that you strive for heavenly nobility, and you will surely receive great favour from the emperor. This is my farewell admonition.'

We replied saying, 'Your majesty does us great favour with your virtue.' [A compliment based on *Li chi* II a 18, where it is said that the

magnanimous man cherishes through his virtue.]

We had not drunk all the wine, so he made the interpreters ask us, 'Empty this cup, because tomorrow we shall be far apart: as the sky and the sea.'

The interpreter made a mistake and said 'as far apart as heaven is from us', but we caught the words and explained them to the interpreter. The king laughed at this, then accompanied us out of the gate and offered us wine once more, with the phrase: 'We are to part by thousands of *li*.' Again the interpreter got it wrong and said, 'We are to part for ever.' Chang Yusŏng spoke good Chinese but had read little, while the secretary Yi was well-read but his spoken Chinese was poor—whenever he had to interpret we saw him getting into a sweat and making things worse for himself. He was a funny sight.

That night we stayed at Pyŏkche-gwan, [see poems YJSN XI 30] where I learned from the Board Secretary Hŏ Chong about the king's farewell poem, and understood for the first time what had happened.

### Seoul

- 316 The Sŏnggyun-jŏn (tablet-hall) is at the front, the Myŏngnyun-dang (teaching hall) behind. The four schools are divided to east and west. [See poem YJSN II 16b]
- 318 The *saengwŏn* and *chinsa* groups live in the upper lodgements, the *sŭnghak* ('freshmen') in the lower lodgements. *Saengwŏn* are selected every three years for exposition of the classics, *chinsa* for poetry composition. *Sŭnghak* are outstanding men from the nation, and are also called *kijae* ('lodgers').
- 325 [Chech'ŏn-jŏng, later called Wŏlp'a-jong, was a place in the present Hannam-dong, much used for entertaining envoys. See poem YJSN III 27b]
- 331 [Mangwŏn-jŏng at Yanghwa ferry; see poem YJSN III 32b.]
- 344 The main streets have government-owned buildings, with tiled roofs, standing on either side and allotted to various people. From the outside it is impossible to tell which are poor and which rich, but inside they vary.
- 354 [The double-comma roundel of the *t'aegŭk* symbol.]
- 360 The walls are made of sticks, not woven, but set up and tied together with straw rope. The interstices of the sticks are like the holes in a net, and each hole is plugged with a lump of mud. Houses in Seoul side streets are built like this, but many are completely plastered with mud.
- 364 [The reference here is to the first chapter of *Chuang tzŭ*.]
- 371 The main hall is one *k'an* in size, the wings three *k'an*.
- 374 Although the main building has all its doors facing south, they do not open in the centre, but at the southern end of the east wing. Because

- the floor is high, steps are necessary. The east and west wings are alike.
- 377 Their custom is to sit on mats (or cushions) spread on the floor. They have a square mat for each person, and a large pillow of hemp or silk, filled with grass, for the sitter to lean on. In official establishments the mats have flowered designs, but they also are square. The grass pillows are made of green ramie. These are carried about after one by a servant.
- 381 More people use horses than use oxen.
- 384 [Cf *Chuang tzü* xxvi for the trapping vocabulary.]
- 385 We saw these things in both P'yŏngan and Hwang'ae provinces.
- 387 [There is an old tale of an aged man who lived on vegetables, but once tasted mutton. That night the God of the Five Viscera appeared to him in a dream and complained that a sheep was trampling his kaleyard.] Government departments have sheep and pigs for use at village drinking rites. [Cf above 44. The rites referred to are prescribed in *Li chi* xlvi, and were held under the leadership of local officials at the confucian schools (*hyanggyo*) during the tenth moon. They consisted of wine-drinking to honour the village elders, and sometimes included archery contests.]
- 389 From P'yŏngan to Hwanghae we saw graves ranged like battlements on all the hill-tops. The nobility choose gravesites for their geomantic power, and erect ornamental pillars (Korean *mangju*) and stone sheep by the graves, but I saw no memorial inscriptions.

#### Dress and customs

- 393 The gauze band (*manggŏn*) used by Korean men for binding their hair is woven of horsehair. Its buttons show the wearer's rank: 1st grade, jade; 2nd, gold; 3rd and below, silver. Commoners wear buttons of bone, horn, or nacre.
- 407 Coolies wear split coats only in P'yŏngan and Hwanghae provinces, not in Kyŏnggi. The pikemen are chosen for their height. They wear huge hats and yellow hempen coats, with cords on their round collars, but no feathers in their hats.
- 412 Their custom is for men to carry things on their backs.
- 413 The custom is to show respect by sitting on the heels. When called by a superior, they run with bent body to answer.
- 417 A chair needs twenty-four men, before and behind, as well as others who help to support the sides. The chair itself is like a Chinese one, with short legs and two long poles, one each side, just as in China; but under the seat is a long transverse pole, protruding six or seven feet at each side. Two other transverse poles, of the same length, are set fore and aft. When the chair is raised, red hempen bands are tied to the ends of these transverse poles on both sides, and the men slip these bands over



their shoulders and support the poles with their hands as they walk. In the middle of the chair, at front and back, are fastened two long hempen bands which are divided over the bearers' shoulders like horses' yokes, to stop the chair from veering to one side. The remaining ten or more men pull from the front.

- 421 I noticed this on the road from Kaesŏng to Seoul.  
422 Rich and noble women wear on the head a framework like a huge hat, with black silk hanging from the brim to hide the face; but even though their faces are hidden, they avoid men. This was noticeable in Seoul.  
425 This couplet comes from Hŏ Chong's 'Album of customs'.  
427 Lower class women wear leather shoes, upper class women deerskin. Their stockings are usually of hemp. Three or four interpreters agreed about this.  
442 [The virtues of the riverside women are described in *Shih ching* I 1 ix Han-kuang.]

Before I went as envoy to Korea I was told that it was the custom there for women to work as post-station servants. I thought that degradation hateful, and was relieved, when I went to Korea and saw for myself, to discover that the servants of the guesthouses were all *ajŏn* (men of the lower official class) belonging to the magistracies. The women cooked the food outside the post-station in separate rooms. This custom, they say, was changed by King Yu (Sejo) after his accession to the throne in the time of Ching-t'ai (1450-57). Vice-brigadier Han Pin of Liao-tung told me this. The story of bathing together in the streams comes from an old record, but this also has now changed. [The 'old record' was presumably the *Hsuan-ho feng-shih Kao-li t'u-ching*, written by Hsü Ching, who visited Korea as envoy of the Sung in 1123, and recorded this custom.]

#### Fauna and flora

- 443 [The word translated 'quails' may mean larks.]  
444 The water-deer resembles the roe. It has one horn, and the flesh is very tasty. There are no elk in the hills. [The water-deer in fact has no horns, but strong tusks. Tung Yüeh probably ate it, but never saw it alive, and was confused by the interpreters again.]  
445 Tangle is the shape of palm-leaves and is green; laver looks like dark purplish greenstuff and is large.  
446 Mandarins resemble crucian carp with round bodies. Mullet are like snappers, but I saw only dried ones, when a batch was included in a present of food sent to us by the king. Cornet are like the red-eyed carp of China, with lips like a horse's muzzle, and of excellent flavour. The young ones are like young stoneheads, tiny and plentiful. The octopuses resemble Chekiang octopuses. Their flavour is poor, but big ones are

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- four or five feet long.
- 447 They live in the Ch'öngch'ön, Taejöng, Imjin and Han rivers. Some of the crucian carp are over a foot long.
- 449 The rock abalone (ormer) is classed as a tonic. Its flesh is attached to the shell above, the rock beneath. It is also called *pogö*. There are holes round the edge of the shell. It lives in the midst of the sea.
- 450 There are two kinds of fern, green and purple, like those that grow in China. Koreans do not gather them properly. The soil should be cleared from the roots with a hoe, so the cut can be made very low in the root itself. I taught the Board Secretary Hǒ the way to do it, and he was delighted to learn.
- 452 I tasted the shoots of the Solomon's seal, and found them sweet and slippery. I do not know what the leaf is like but some say it is like a yellow *polygonatum*. Ground cherry has pointed sepals, either green or red. The taste is bittersweet. All the people of Seoul and Kaesöng grow purple cress (*minari*) in little pools at home.
- 454 Cakes are made by stripping pine-bark, mixing the tender white inner part with ordinary non-glutinous rice and steaming them together. Mountain ginseng [*tödök?*] is not what goes into medicine. It is finger length and shaped like a radish. In Korea it is mixed with rice, steamed and baked into cakes. On the 3rd day of the 3rd moon young leaves of mugwort are gathered and mixed with beaten steamed rice into mugwort cakes, which are then steamed again. The non-glutinous rice is white and of excellent flavour.
- 458 Pears, jujubes, and hazels are commonest, being found everywhere. Oranges and tangerines come from Chölla province.
- 459 What the Koreans call sable is really marten or wild-cat and they do not know the difference.
- 462 [It is difficult to know exactly what shrubs are meant here. The 'white rose' may be the dog-rose; the 'bush cherry' *Prunus japonica*.]
- 464 When I left the capital on the 18th of the 3rd moon [8 May] the wild pear-blossom was nearly over, [see poem written at Pyökche-gwan YJSN XI 30] but after crossing the Yalu a few days later I found it just beginning to bloom. This was because Korea, being to the southeast, is warmer.
- 466 This is because the soil of the hills is so sandy and rocky.
- 468 Such pinewood is very strong, yellow like firwood, and has little resin. It is found everywhere.
- 470 There two kinds of pine. The bark of the nut-bearing kind is not very tough, its branches and needles point upwards. The nuts can be gathered only every other year. One meets them first in Kyönggi province.
- 473 Wherever a road has to cross water, a bridge of pines is made. The branches are cut off to make railings, and the needles are used to bind

the earth on both sides. There is such a bridge, more than twenty feet wide, near the Posan-gwan, over a stream called Chō-t'an. [Near P'yōngsan in Hwanghae.] It is hard to find straight pines for beams and columns. If the building has two storeys, the pillars can be made in two sections, one above the upper storey and one below it.

### Miscellaneous products

- 475 The brass of the country is strong and reddish. Food bowls, chopsticks, and spoons are made of it—the famous 'Korean brassware'.
- 476 This prohibition is because the king's robes are crimson.
- 478 Korea has two ways of speaking. In reading (sc.Chinese), the plain tone is not distinguished from the oblique tones, so that *hsing* ('star', first tone) sounds the same as *sheng* ('saint', fourth tone), *yen* ('smoke', first tone) sounds the same as *yen* ('swallow', fourth tone), and so forth. [The differences in vowel length made by Koreans, which to some extent correspond with the tones of the original Chinese words, seem to have been of no significance to Tung Yüeh.] Their everyday speech, however, closely resembles the language of the Jürched tatars, and uses three or four syllables for one Chinese character, such as *yeh-te-li-pu* [i.e.Korean *yödölp*] for *pa* ('eight'). Very often they use two syllables to pronounce one character, such as *a-pi* [Korean *abi*] for *fu* ('father'), and *e-mi* [Korean *ömi*] for *mu* ('mother').
- 479 Among the products listed in the *I-t'ung chi* [an imperial geography first edited during Yüan times] are wolf-tail writing-brushes with shafts as fine as arrows and hair-points about an inch long.
- 480 Their bows are shorter than Chinese ones, but they shoot well.
- 482 It used to be said that Korean paper was made of silk cocoons, but it is now known that it is made from the bark of the paper-mulberry, with great skill. I proved this point by testing it with fire.
- 485 'Thick paper', sometimes four breadths to the sheet, sometimes eight, is commonly called 'oiled flooring'. The Koreans themselves are aware of its quality.
- 486 When travelling they use tents made of white hempen cloth, which are loaded on horses for overland journeys.
- 489 According to the *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao* [11th-century bibliographical encyclopaedia] Korean men wear headdresses in the T'ang style, with soft or round caps. In fact the men now all wear wide hats, and only those in the capital who carry the king's sedan-chair wear six-pointed caps of soft cloth, with bobbles of white cotton attached to each of the six points. They also wear purple silk tunics with round necks, and leather shoes with pointed toes, so they look like drawings of T'ang horse-grooms. I suspect that because that was the style of dress at the time when the

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*Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao* extract was written, it has come to be said that Koreans all wear T'ang costume.

*I-t'ung chi* also says that ponies from Paekche were only three feet high and could be ridden below the boughs of fruit trees. Paekche was the territory now south across the water from Yanghwa ferry, no more than twenty or thirty *li* from Seoul. I asked about these horses and was told that they have not been bred for a long time; but the horses I saw carrying packs on the roads of Korea, though more than three feet tall, were smaller than Chinese horses, and were probably the kind in question, so I have recorded them as such. [The word used for these ponies, *ko-hsia-ma*, literally 'under-fruit horse' is ancient. According to the *Hou Han shu* such ponies existed among the Maek tribes of north-eastern Korea. Paekche sent them as tribute to T'ang. They were possibly diminutive stock from Cheju of tarpan origin, but the phrase *ko-hua* was applied to oxen as well, and may be a transliteration of some now untraceable non-Chinese word. 'Three feet high' is a symbolic indication of small size, and not to be taken as mathematically accurate.]

490. Five-leaved ginseng is what the pharmacopaeias call 'Silla ginseng'. The flowered mats are made of yellow reeds and are pliable, so they do not break when rolled, and are superior to those from Suchow.

Conclusion

498. [The text refers to *fu* as one of the six forms of verse, which comprise the three manners (*hsing* or allusion, *pi* or metaphor, and *fu* or description) used in the *Shih ching*. The author is again insisting on the factual quality of his record.]
499. [The reference to old stockings uses a phrase from the story of Han Chao of the Former Shu kingdom (10th century) who was proud of his lute-playing, archery, verse-making and other accomplishments. Li T'ai-hsia remarked that Han's accomplishments were worth no more than an inch of thread from a worn-out sock.]
503. [There is another quotation here of the phrase from the *Shih ching* II 1 iii 2, used before in line 181.]

# WALTER D. TOWNSEND PIONEER AMERICAN BUSINESSMAN IN KOREA

Harold F. Cook

## INTRODUCTION

The subject of this paper was a person about whom we don't know very much. He was one of those peripheral characters with which the pages of history are filled; one of the countless little men, of whom no great deeds are recorded but who, nevertheless, did manage to leave their names behind. He held no important government positions, left no corpus of literature. In fact, like most of us, he did nothing really outstanding, although survival in Korea as a foreign businessman for thirty-four years at the turn of the century is, in itself, an accomplishment of relative significance. I think, nevertheless, that a paper on a man such as this does perform two comparatively useful functions.

First, we gain some additional insights into a fascinating period of modern Korean history. For a moment or two, we open the door to the past just a fraction wider and catch an additional glimpse of an era that is gone. Second, we develop an appreciation for the tangled intricacies which challenge the talents and try the patience of the research scholar. Hopefully, through a paper such as this, we become a bit more enlightened on both counts.

## RESEARCH APPROACH

I'm not really sure when—it was so long ago—that I first came across Townsend's name. Perhaps it was in Fred Harvey Harrington's

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"God, Mammon and the Japanese," the story of Dr. Horace N. Allen's years in Korea. This book was published in 1944 and reprinted in 1961. References to Townsend are fragmentary, however, and provide precious little information about the man.

I came to Korea for my third period of residence in this country in July of 1966 to complete research for my doctoral thesis. My topic was Kim Ok-kyun and the background of the 1884 incident.

The Korean Research Center, near the west gate intersection, has a fine collection of microfilm covering the diplomatic correspondence of the American legations in Seoul, Peking, and Tokyo. It was there, in many hours of reading and note-taking during cold winter days of late 1966 and early 1967, that I found Townsend's name several times and, from his passport renewal application, learned his date and place of birth. That he originated from Boston, that he came to Korea as a young man after a period of residence in Japan, and that he had a Japanese wife intrigued me for a variety of personal reasons.

I came across Townsend again, unexpectedly, in the basement of the library of Tokyo University, the following spring. Next we chanced to meet briefly in the prefectural library at Nagasaki. On both occasions I was reading Japanese and English language newspapers for the period of time covered by my thesis. My acquaintance with Townsend was growing apace.

In June 1967 I visited the Inch'on Foreigners' Cemetery for the first time. Lo and behold, one of the finest stones there marked the resting place of the mortal remains of Walter D. Townsend. The inscription gave me his date of death—March 10, 1918—and told me that he had "resided at Chemulpo for 34 years." The base of the stone bore the name of T. MacDonald & Co. of Shanghai. The reference, of course, was to Thomas MacDonald and Company, for many years the only undertakers in Shanghai for foreign residents. The grave lot was a single one, so I concluded that the wife and family, whoever they were, had gone elsewhere, either before or after Townsend's demise. I resolved then and there to keep on this man's trail until I had collected enough data to do a paper on him.

In March of 1968 I approached the then president of the American Chamber of Commerce in Korea, looking for work. The man in question

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was concurrently the president of American Trading Company Korea, Ltd. He gave me a job with his firm, and I provided him with some background on Townsend and the company's on-again, off-again long history in Korea. Neither he nor his New York home office, as I later found out, knew anything of this background. Thanks to me, they added to their letterhead stationery "In Korea Since 1884."

Back in the states with a health problem in the summer of 1969, I visited American Trading in New York. They had no files on the early years and could provide no new information. I did manage an interview in Stamford, Connecticut with a retired, eighty-two year old former member of the firm, who had started his employment in the autumn of 1919, about one and one-half years after Townsend's death. He offered much that was of general interest, but nothing which related to Townsend.

Next I went to the National Archives in Washington and looked at the consular reports for 1918 from Korea. Sure enough, there was Townsend again, with information about his death and the settlement of his estate.

I didn't know quite how to proceed in attempting to trace Townsend's family background. Who, for example, were his parents? I had his date and place of birth—February 9, 1856 in Boston—so I thought I would try the 1860 federal census records on microfilm in the National Archives. Cataloging, I discovered however, was complicated and finding my man literally would have taken forever. I gave up, but only temporarily.

In the manuscript room of the New York Public Library I went through the papers of the Horace Allen collection. Here I found some additional information about Townsend and learned that his brother's name was Edward and that the latter was a Boston businessman.

Time ran out, and I returned to Seoul with nothing further accomplished. Townsend's kettle went onto the back burner of the stove to simmer for a while.

In the States again in the summer of 1971 I revisited Harvard's mammoth library, scene of many hours of reading and research in my younger days, and discovered, among their many other holdings, an alphabetical index, on microfilm, of obituaries from Boston newspapers.

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Townsend's brother, Edward, was included. Date of death was February 7, 1910. Interment was at Forest Hills in Boston's Jamaica Plain.

I went to the cemetery. Records there were very complete, and the office staff was most helpful. I found Edward's grave. It was in a family plot which included his father and mother, uncle, and others; a total of ten persons. I utilized the occasion to renew a graveside pledge made four years earlier and half a world away.

Now I knew the name, as well as the dates of birth and death, of Walter's father. From the inscription on the stone, I also knew that he had been a medical doctor. Where would one get an M.D. degree in Boston in the mid-19th century? At Harvard, of course; where else?

The Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine on Shattuck Street in Boston includes the archives of the Boston Medical Library and the Harvard Medical Library. It was there that I discovered that not only Walter's father but his grandfather and great-grandfather as well were Harvard M.Ds.

I returned to Seoul again in August 1971. Subsequently, the records of the Korean foreign office for the years that Townsend was in Korea yielded additional facts. Information was piling up, but the gaps remained numerous.

Through another exchange of correspondence with an archivist at Harvard, I learned that Walter's nephew, one of older brother Edward's four sons, was known to be alive and residing in Boston as recently as 1964. The address was provided. I took a chance and wrote. After some delay I received a letter from a third party who informed me that the man in question was in the hospital but that he would try to answer any questions I might wish to ask. I sent a reply posthaste by return mail, speculating that a seventy-seven year old man in the hospital might possibly be approaching the end of his life's story. I never heard further.

Finally, I knew that at the time of Townsend's death in 1918, his only son was living in Hawaii. I knew the son's name. A friend of a friend made a xerox copy of the page of the Honolulu telephone directory which included the surname Townsend and sent it to me. Sure enough, there was a listing under the same name as the son, prefixed by "Mrs." "Ah," I thought, "the widow." I wrote to another friend at the East-West



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Center and asked her to make the necessary phone call. Her letter came back promptly: it was the widow, the second wife, of the dead man. I hope to meet her in person when next I cross the Pacific.

So there you have it: Seoul; Inch'on; Tokyo; Nagasaki; Honolulu; Cambridge; Boston and suburban Jamaica Plain; New York; Stamford, Connecticut; Washington; and. . . who can forecast now where next the trail will lead me? The gaps are as numerous as ever, for each new fact uncovered gives rise to additional questions. Admitted shortcomings in research notwithstanding, I drafted the bulk of this paper during the last week of December 1972 and the first two or three days of January this year.

I hope that this brief outline gives you some appreciation of the scope of the task involved in running down information on one of recorded history's peripheral figures. I do confide, nevertheless, with perhaps just the hint of a blush, that I enjoy this sort of business.

So much for how I went about this project. Now, what did I find out?

## FAMILY BACKGROUND

Walter Davis Townsend was born in Boston on February 9, 1856, the third son of Dr. William Edward Townsend and Ellen Britton. He was a direct line descendant in the seventh generation from Thomas Townsend of Norfolk, England, who had come to Massachusetts and settled there in 1637. His father, grandfather, and great-grandfather all had graduated from Harvard. The position to which a man might hope to rise in New England, if his line traced back to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, was somewhat different from that of the man who numbered his ancestors among those who left Ireland two centuries or more later to escape the potato famine. Or was it?

Walter's great-grandfather, David Townsend, made a name for himself as a doctor during the Revolutionary War. Born in Boston in 1753, he graduated from Harvard College at the age of seventeen in 1770.

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David studied medicine under General Joseph Warren and accompanied him as surgeon in Bunner's regiment at the battle of Bunker Hill; was commissioned surgeon in Whitcomb's 6th regiment on January 1, 1776; was senior surgeon to the general hospital, northern department, in 1777; was with the army under George Washington during the winter at Valley Forge; and in 1781 was made surgeon general of the hospital department.

He married Elizabeth Davis in 1785, after the war, and for many years was the physician in charge of the U. S. Naval Hospital in Chelsea, Massachusetts. Harvard awarded him an honorary M. D. in 1813. An active member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, Dr. David Townsend also was an ardent Universalist and, in 1794, published a book entitled "Gospel News." He was a Mason and, the record tells us, was buried according to their rites in Revere Beach, at low tide, in 1829.

David Townsend and Elizabeth Davis had seven children. The most famous of the lot, and the one who became Walter D. Townsend's grandfather, was Solomon Davis Townsend. Born in Boston in 1793, Solomon graduated from Harvard in 1811 and received his M. D. from the same institution in 1815. He served three years as a naval surgeon, chiefly in the Mediterranean on the "Independence," where he began a life-long friendship with the future admiral David G. Farragut, then only a midshipman. Solomon Townsend married his cousin, Catherine Wendell Davis, in 1819, and they raised four children. He served as corresponding secretary of the Massachusetts Medical Society, was president of the board of directors of the Massachusetts Charitable Eye and Ear Infirmary, assisted his father for a time at the naval hospital in Chelsea, and was a member of the surgical staff of the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston for twenty-five years. Dr. Solomon Townsend was present at the first operation carried out under anesthesia in America and performed the second such operation himself.

At the time of his death in 1869, the obituary in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* included the following reference to Dr. Solomon Davis Townsend:

His professional skill, his uniform courtesy and kindness of heart, and the unbending integrity of his character, won for him

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in every station of life respect and esteem. He was in the truest sense of the word a Christian man, unselfish, living for others, unambitious of fame, simple-hearted, generous, childlike and true. He lived without an enemy, and died peacefully as he had lived, manifesting the same calm serenity in the last hour that had marked all the hours of his good life.

For what more could a man ask?

The first son of Solomon Davis Townsend and Catherine Wendell Davis was William Edward Townsend, born in Boston in the summer of 1820 at the end of his parent's very first year of married life. He was to become Walter D. Townsend's father. William prepared for college at the famous Boston Latin School and graduated from Harvard in 1839. On the latter occasion, he penned these lines:

I was born on the 20th of August 1820, in the good old City of Boston, where, with the exception of my residence in Cambridge, I have always lived. Having fitted for College at the celebrated Boston Latin School, in the month of August 1836 I entered the Sophomore class of the still more renowned Harvard University. Since that period I have become an entirely different person. I am, to use the words of a celebrated author now in much vogue, not the "me" I was three years ago. My character, habits, tastes, have all changed, whether for the better, or worse, some more competent judge than myself must decide. I have passed many pleasant hours here; gained some friends, I know, and made no enemies, I trust. But for all this I am anxious to leave College restraints, because I am tired of the "mill horse round of recitation, hall, & chapel." I wish to feel myself a man, dependent on my own exertions for support. I have hitherto been distinguished for nothing in particular; Quietly I was born, & quietly have I lived; & intend to quietly spend the remainder of my life, in quieting others, in the practice of my profession, as a physician.

William Townsend studied at the Tremont Medical School and

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received his M.D. from Harvard in 1844. Three years later he married Ellen Britton of Orford, New Hampshire and three sons were born to the marriage, of whom Walter was the youngest.

During the slightly more than two decades of his professional career, Dr. William E. Townsend attained prominent rank as a skilful physician. He served the City of Boston as a member of its school committee and the federal government as a surgeon at the military hospital on Gallop's Island.

He died prematurely at the age of forty-six, however, as described in the following extract from the November 17, 1866 edition of the *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*:

That well known and highly esteemed member of our medical fraternity, Dr. William E. Townsend, died suddenly at half past twelve o'clock this afternoon at his residence, No. 20 Beacon Street. It is reported that his case was one of genuine cholera. He attended the funeral of Rev. Dr. Jenks yesterday apparently in usual health, but early last evening was seized with violent illness, which continued until his demise as above stated. His father, Dr. Solomon D. Townsend, was called in promptly and remained with his son during the night and this forenoon, but all skill was unavailing. The deceased had a few days since professionally attended a cholera case in Salem Street, which proved fatal, and from which it is probable he took the disease. Dr. Townsend will be buried privately tomorrow.

Dr. William E. Townsend was survived by his widow, the former Ellen Britton, and three sons. Edward, then eighteen, was the oldest, having been born in November 1848. His middle name was Britton, his mother's family name.

Arthur Farragut Townsend was the second son. I have been unable to find out anything about this man, not even his dates of birth and death, except that he was living in Pasaic, New Jersey at the time of Walter's death in 1918. There can be no doubt that he was named Farragut, however, out of respect for his grandfather Solomon's close

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friendship with the famous admiral, previously mentioned.

Walter, the youngest, was just ten, going on eleven, at the time his father died. His middle name, Davis, undoubtedly also came via grandfather Solomon, who carried it himself and who, as already indicated, married his cousin, who was surnamed Davis.

Dr. William E. Townsend also was survived by his younger brother, Thomas David, seven years his junior. It was Thomas, in fact, who purchased the grave lot in Boston's Forest Hills Cemetery for William's burial. Thomas was a Boston sugar broker, with three children of his own.

Walter D. Townsend, our protagonist, deprived of his father at the tender age of ten, spent the next twelve years of his life attending school and growing up on Beacon Street in Boston. Old grandfather Solomon passed away in 1869, when Walter was thirteen. His mother did not remarry, but, considering the closeness of the Townsend family circle, we may surmise that elder brother Edward and perhaps even uncle Thomas, to some degree, became like second fathers to him. All is conjecture, however, for we know nothing of this period of his life.

## JAPAN YEARS

I have yet to establish with certainty why Walter D. Townsend turned his back on Beacon Hill and set out for the Far East to seek his fortune. Wanderlust and a desire for adventure, of course, may have been the motivating factors. That none of the three brothers—Edward, Arthur, and Walter—went on to Harvard in their father's, grandfather's, and great-grandfather's footsteps; may indicate a possible decline of the family fortune after the father's premature death in the late autumn of 1866. Their cousin, Charles Wendell Townsend, who was uncle Thomas's son, went to Harvard, however, and continued on, in the family tradition, to become a medical doctor. In later years, Harvard also claimed three of Edward's four sons.

I've fared no better in trying to trace the initial link between

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Townsend and his employer in Japan, James R. Morse. Did Townsend have a contract for employment or other agreement before he left for the East? Did he strike out cold and subsequently find a job after his arrival? I just don't know.

Morse himself is another fascinating character who could properly be the subject of a separate paper. An enterprising Yankee, with sufficient amounts of capital and ingenuity at his disposal, Morse established the American Clock and Brass Company at Yokohama in 1877 for the purpose of merchandising clocks and brassware.

Although founded for the purpose of handling small specialized lines, American Clock and Brass, in the person of its energetic founder, quickly discovered that the field for American goods in the Far East was as wide as their production. In 1884 Morse changed the name of his firm to American Trading Company and in 1900 merged, under this name, with the older New York firm of Flint, Eddy and Company, which traced its origin back to 1857. Under Morse's proprietorship, American Trading Company grew to be the largest American general trading company in the Orient.

How James R. Morse and Walter D. Townsend first got together remains unclear. Whatever the motivation, and whatever the arrangements, however, Walter D. Townsend left San Francisco on December 3, 1878 on the Pacific Mail Steam Ship Company's "City of Tokio;" 5,050 tons, Captain Maury in command. He reached Yokohama, Japan slightly more than three weeks later on the day after Christmas. Trans-Pacific cabin passage cost him \$250.

American Clock and Brass Company's Yokohama office was located at that time in a two-story building at 28 Main Street, opposite the Yokohama branch of the Chartered Mercantile Bank. Other businesses sharing the same address were The Yokohama Curio Mart and Kelly and Company. The latter were dealers in stationery, books, tobacco, and fancy goods.

James R. Morse, President of American Clock and Brass Company, lived with his wife and two infant children at 234 Bluff, overlooking the harbor. I was unable to discover the location of Townsend's residence.

American Clock and Brass Company was a frequent advertiser in the English language press of that day. I cite some examples:

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Waltham Watches. Key and Stem Winding. The undersigned has just received a fresh supply of these celebrated watches, which they offer at very low prices. Also, a few elegant Mantel Marble Clocks. From \$25 to \$75 each.

\* \* \* \* \*

American Watches. Gold and Silver. At Manufacturer's Prices. The undersigned are Sole Agents in Japan for the celebrated Waltham Watch Company.

\* \* \* \* \*

Gentlemen's Gold Watches priced from \$55 to \$120 each. Key winders and stem winders. Also a variety of ladies' Watches always kept in stock. Watch movements are William Ellery; P. S. Bartlett; Waltham Watch Company; Appleton, Tracy & Company; and American Watch Company.

\* \* \* \* \*

At the International Exhibition at Sidney, the Judges on Horology gave to the Waltham Watch Company Two Special and Five First Class Awards, on their Second, Third, and Sixth Grade Watches (other grades not exhibited), for originality, invention and discovery, utility and quality of material, skill in workmanship, fitness for purposes intended, adaptation to public wants, economy, cost, finish and elegance of cases, and time-keeping qualities. Four English, three Swiss, two French, and one German manufacturer competed, and the result was as shown above. The American Company triumphed over all. These Watches are for Sale at Manufacturer's Prices, at the Office of The American Clock and Brass Company, Agents for Japan and China.

Just what Townsend's duties were with his new employer cannot be stated with certainty but can be imagined. It was his job to help Morse sell various products of American manufacture in Japan. From the shipping lists published daily in the English language press, we know that

he made at least two trips to Kobe and possibly to Nagasaki in the spring and summer of 1880. Undoubtedly there were other trips which either were not recorded or which my research did not disclose.

Townsend lived and worked at Yokohama from December 1878 until he set out for Korea in April 1884, an interval of somewhat more than five years. This was the period of his life when he was between twenty-three and twenty-eight years of age. It must have been a romantic time, discovering Japan and meeting the Japanese girl who eventually became his wife, bore his children, and shared his long years in Korea with him.

Meiji Japan of the early 1880s was a rapidly developing nation; the first non-Western land to adopt the industrial and commercial techniques of the West on a significant scale. She had opened Korea in 1876, incorporated the ancient kingdom of Ryukyu into the empire as Okinawa prefecture in 1879, and was constantly pressuring the Western powers for a revision of the unequal treaties which had been forced on her a generation earlier. She had built railroads and streetcar lines; installed gas lights and a telegraph system; and opened factories and schools. Japan of that day, in short, was an exciting place for a young American to be.

It was Korea, rather than Japan, however, which was to claim Townsend's interest and attention for the rest of his life. And, it was a Korean, Kim Ok-kyun, that late 19th century pioneer advocate of enlightenment and reform, who served as the instrumentality that brought this about.

Kim was in Tokyo for the first time during June and July 1882. He was there again from mid-October of the same year to early March 1883. Finally, he spent over nine months in the Japanese capital from July 1883 to April 1884.

During his third visit, Kim's principal task was to secure a foreign loan for Korea. The amount which he sought was three million yen. Among the people who listened to Kim with interest were James R. Morse and Walter D. Townsend.

American Minister John A. Bingham in Tokyo wrote to his counterpart, Lucius H. Foote, in Seoul on September 10, 1883 that Kim had consulted with him "several times" on the subject of a loan and that



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on one occasion he had come to the legation in the company of Morse. Kim had visited Bingham again that very day, in fact, and told him that Morse had gone to New York, attempting to arrange for a loan.

The loan, unfortunately or otherwise, never materialized, although Morse worked hard on it. Financial circles in both New York and London would have none of it, and as one prominent banker reportedly put it, "Korea is too far from the Bowery."

If Morse and Townsend couldn't loan the Koreans any money, at least they could sell them something, shrewd Yankee traders that they were. First, being agents for the Waltham Watch Company, they talked Kim Ok-kyun into buying some gold watches, decorated with diamonds, as presents for King Kojong, Queen Min, and others. Next, they decided that what Korea needed was some firearms. As early as December 1883 we find reference to a Korean government purchase from Morse's company of 4,000 rifles. The weapons reached Korea in June 1884. A second purchase in July of the latter year covered an additional 1,000 rifles plus six Gatling guns. The latter, as you know, was the machine gun of its day, named after its inventor, Richard J. Gatling, and having a revolving cluster of barrels which fired once each per revolution.

Expanding the scope of their activities just a bit, Morse and Townsend signed a contract with Kim Ok-kyun in April 1884 for the cutting and export to Japan of timber from Ullŭng island, off Korea's east coast. What they failed to realize at the time, however, was that Kim already had given the same rights to a Japanese businessman who subsequently tried unsuccessfully to take the case to court. Further problems involving Ullung island and its timber will come into context slightly later.

In any event, in the same month in which they signed the timber agreement, Morse decided to send Townsend to Korea with Kim to have a firsthand look at trading potentialities. Townsend and Kim left Yokohama on the "Nagoya Maru," reaching Nagasaki on April 13. There they transferred to the "Chitose Maru" and set out for Korea. After a short stop at Pusan, they reached Inch'on, or Chemulp'o, on May 1, 1884. For Walter D. Townsend, the great adventure had begun.

## KOREA

Townsend spent the first few months in Korea getting acquainted. He undoubtedly met more than once with Captain Charles H. Cooper, the only other American in Chemulp'o at the time engaged in business. By October, he had made a trip into the interior in order to buy a quantity of rice for resale at Chemulp'o. Townsend ran into trouble with the local Korean authorities, however, with the result that Minister Foote wrote the following letter on his behalf to the Korean foreign office:

Two junk-loads of rice, in which Mr. W. D. Townsend, a citizen of the United States, has one half interest, are detained at Yong Ho, by order of the Governor or Magistrate of the District. This rice was bought in the district of Kim Joi [Kimje] by Choe Han Yo [Ch'oe Han-yo] and Choe Sa Haeung [Ch'oe Sa-hyöng], the Agents of Mr. Townsend and others, and was intended for shipment to Chemulpo. By Treaty stipulations, citizens of the United States have the right to purchase produce in the interior of Corea, and to have it transported to the open ports, without being subject to the payment of any tax, excise or transit duty whatsoever. . . I could therefore ask Your Excellency to direct the Governor or Magistrate by whose order these junks are being detained to release the same, that they may proceed on their way to Chemulpo.

This letter was written by Minister Foote on November 27, 1884. Before the matter could be resolved, however, the December 4th incident occurred at Seoul, and final disposition of Townsend's rice problem became lost in the pages of history.

Townsend was living in Seoul, with his Japanese wife and infant son, at the time of the December 4, 1884 incident. I was unable to ascertain when his family came from Japan to join him. A Japanese employee of the newly established Korean postal service wrote an eye-

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witness account of the incident which included this colorful reference to Townsend:

Townsend, his Japanese wife, and child lived near the Japanese legation. Since the disturbance on the night of the 4th, they had been staying at the legation. Townsend had a long sword stuck in a sash around his waist, and he carried a rifle. He was guarding the Japanese legation with some Japanese soldiers. On the morning of December 7, he decided to go to the American legation. Therefore, accompanied by a Japanese who spoke Korean well, he and his family went to the American legation.

Among the articles pillaged from Townsend's house in Kyo-dong (which was an area extending through parts of present-day Kyöngundong, Nagwön-dong, and both Chongno 2-ga and 3-ga), at the time of the incident, were the following. From this listing we can get some idea of the contents of the home of a Western foreigner in Seoul in this period of early contact:

2	bags of flour	1½	bags of potatoes
3	bags of beans	2	pillows
2	bags of turnips	6	pillow cases
24	pints of beer	5	blankets
3½	bottles of brandy	12	towels
3	dozen cans of milk	1	rug
2	dozen cans of vegetables	2	umbrellas
4	bottles of raisins	2	lamps
6	tins of jam	1	lot of medicine
4	tins of butter	1	overcoat
6	cups and saucers	4	suits of clothes
12	dinner plates	3	shirts
6	dessert plates	2	pairs of underpants
6	soup bowls	1	pair of boots
24	forks, knives, & spoons	12	linen handkerchiefs
6	glass tumblers	2	dozen cotton socks
6	Sherry glasses	1	horse

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6	Claret glasses	1	saddle and bridle
3	pairs of window curtains	1	revolver
6	bed sheets	160	cartridges
			Etc., etc.

Townsend estimated the total amount of his loss at \$562.90. The horse alone was tagged at \$44, which, by present-day standards, is a very small amount. Interestingly enough, the list makes no mention of any personal effects belonging to his Japanese wife. Through the American legation in Seoul, Townsend presented a claim for reimbursement to the Korean government in January 1885, the month following his loss. It took fourteen months' time and seven letters from the American legation to the Korean foreign office before the Korean government finally reimbursed Townsend for this loss in February 1886. Townsend's receipt for payment was dated at Yokohama on March 30 and indicates he must have returned to Japan for a while on business or for a vacation.

Despite this personal setback, business went on, however. In mid-1885, a report from the American legation to the secretary of state referred to Townsend and American Trading Company in these terms:

Mr. W. D. Townsend, Agent for the American Trading Company of Yokohama, makes frequent visits to Korea and has executed considerable commission business for the Korean government, such as importing stock animals of the several kinds from America for the Korean government farm, table-ware, furniture, etc. for the Palace, arms and ammunition etc. The business transacted by this company to date will probably foot up to \$175,000 paid up in full.

The story was not all sunshine and roses, however. On February 16, 1885 Townsend wrote directly to the Korean foreign office as follows. The topic was the aforementioned Ullŭng island and its lumber, and the letter represents the only substantial example of Townsend's own writing that I found in all my hours of research:

I beg to inform your Excellency that our company contracted on

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April 1884, with the Korean Kaitakushi [Kaech'öksa] Department, to work for Korean Government account, the timber on the Island of Ullunto [Ullŭng-do]. As the contract states that a Korean Official shall be appointed to attend to the business on behalf of the Korean Government and changes having taken place in the Government, I beg to ask Your Excellency that some Korean official be appointed to take charge of the business, with whom we may cooperate in the future working of the timber, as given in the contract.

Townsend's letter was addressed to the head of the foreign office. The reply of the next day, however, was signed by a lowly clerk. It stated curtly that one Yi Kyu-wŏn had replaced Kim Ok-kyun as development commissioner and that Townsend should do business with him.

Things didn't go well, however, for in June the American legation wrote to the Korean foreign office and pointed to the existence of two contracts for Ullŭng island's timber; one with Townsend and another with an Englishman, J. F. Mitchell. No reference was made, however, to yet a third agreement, mentioned earlier, between Kim Ok-kyun and a certain Japanese businessman. The letter asked the foreign office to declare Mitchell's contract null and void and to reaffirm Townsend's sole right to the timber. The answer came back that all contracts with the Korean government had to be endorsed by the foreign office. Since Townsend's contract bore no such endorsement, it was that contract, not Mitchell's, which must be declared null and void.

American response was prompt and to the point. Chargé d'affaires George C. Foulk fired back this reply:

. . . .I beg to state that the Korean government has not heretofore given notice that contracts made with the government must all be endorsed by the Foreign Office. Such a notice is very rarely issued by the governments of the world, and it is the rule to regard an officer's commission as a guarantee that the government is responsible for the work he does in his name. If no such notice is given, how can foreign merchants and others know how Korea wishes them to transact business with it? Even if such a notice is

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given, does the Korean Government wish the merchant to secure himself the indorsement of the Foreign Office? A notice of this kind might well be issued by the Korean government, if it be assented to by the treaty powers, but no such notice could apply to transactions of the time when it had not so been issued.

As in other countries, where no such regulation exists, it was right and natural that the Head of the Kaichoksa [Kaech'ōksa] should be regarded as competent to make contracts for the sale of Ullonto [Ullūng-do] timber. In closing your letter you refer me to Kim Ok Kiun to settle this matter. I beg your Excellency to please explain this statment. I have addressed the government of His Majesty upon a subject which certainly belongs to it, and it would appear that Your Excellency in making this statement asks the Government of the United States to deal with a man whom your government has denounced as a traitor.

To prevent any misunderstanding, I would request a reconsideration of my letter of the 12th instant and a reply which I may forward to my Government.

At least five other letters went back and forth on this subject until a compromise was worked out in August. American Trading Company was permitted to sell the wood which it already had imported into Japan, deduct its commission and expenses, and transmit the proceeds to the Korean government. At the same time, the company was to return its contract for cancellation. Mitchell's contract would continue in force, but he was to sell wood only in Shanghai, not Japan. Neither American Trading nor Mitchell was to be held in any responsibility for the wood which certain Koreans and Japanese had cut secretly and shipped to Japan. In September, additionally, American Trading was given authority to seize this latter wood and sell it in Japan on behalf of the Korean government.

The monkeyshines weren't over, however. Six months later, in February 1886, at the same time that Townsend, who had just turned thirty, finally was being reimbursed by the Korean government for his loss of December 1884, Chargé Foulk was writing again to complain that Mitchell had taken a load of timber from Ullūng island to Kobe, Japan for

sale there. Foulk protested this in the strongest terms and demanded that Mitchell be ordered to turn over this wood to American Trading Company. I could find no reply from the Korean side, nor any further correspondence on this matter. Ullŭng island and its timber slipped from the pages of history.

Townsend was a businessman, and he must have registered a profit in Korea or he wouldn't have stayed here. It is the problems and the frustrations which stand out in the record, however, and which give us some insight into what it must have been like to live and work in Korea, as a Westerner, back near the turn of the century.

As already indicated, Townsend was living in Seoul at the time of the December 1884 incident. He moved his residence to Inch'ŏn, or Chemulp'o, shortly thereafter, however, and continued to reside in that port city for the rest of his long years in Korea. I have been unable to determine the location of his house or office in relation to present-day Inch'ŏn geography.

In November 1886 Chargé Foulk was writing again to the Korean foreign office on Townsend's behalf:

For some time past the Chinese Telegraph Company has been using the house called Sun Shing Chang [Sunsinch'ang] in the General Foreign Settlement at Chemulpo as telegraph office. This house is the property of an American citizen, Mr. W. D. Townsend, who does not wish to rent it to the Telegraph Company. In reply to Mr. Townsend's request that the Telegraph Company vacate the house, the agent at Chemulpo states that the Korean Government has given them the use of it and directs him to apply to that government in regard to the matter. I have now to lay this matter before Your Excellency, with the request that steps be taken to cause the Telegraph Company to vacate the house as soon as possible. The house was formerly owned by the Korean subject So Sang Ok [Sŏ Sang-ok], who sold it to Mr. Townsend with the full knowledge of Your Excellency's Office to whom I referred the matter last year and exhibited the deeds.

Two letters in the foreign office files indicate that the Korean govern-

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ment told Foulk that they would look into the matter and that the foreign office had referred the subject to the telegraph bureau. Nothing happened, however.

A month later, in December, Foulk took pen in hand again:

I beg to ask Your Excellency's attention to the fact that the Telegraph Company of the Korean Government continues to use the house called Sun Shing Chang [Sunsinch'ang], belonging to Mr. W. D. Townsend in Chemulp'o as telegraph office in spite of the protests of the owner, who has never consented to the Company's using his property. . . I now learn that the Telegraph employees at Chemulpo state that they will continue to occupy the property as long as they please, and have made no sign of leaving. This conduct is most extraordinary.

The fact of the Telegraph employees having occupied the house without making any agreement with the owner was highly irregular. . . .

I now, once more, ask Your Excellency to cause the telegraph office to be removed at once. . . . Further delay. . . . may unfortunately result in a claim for damages. . . . to compensate the loss to Mr. Townsend in being unjustly deprived of the use of his own property.

This letter brought no reply, so another one was dispatched at the end of December. The nature of the Korean foreign office reply to the latter reminder is contained in the response which it evoked from the American legation on New Year's day, 1887;

. . . . (Y)ou state that the telegraph employes at Chemulpo living in the house called the Hsun hsin chang [Sunsinch'ang], belonging to Mr. Townsend, cannot leave the house at present on account of the cold weather. . . .

While I feel very sorry that the people now living in this building should be put to inconvenience and obliged to leave during the cold weather, Your Excellency must agree with me that these reasons are not sufficient to justify me in approving of any delay



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in settling this affair.

I have learnt that in the Chinese settlement at Chemulp'o there are many vacant houses one of which the Telegraph employes could occupy, and I must beg Your Excellency to order them to remove to one of them and return to Mr. Townsend his property.

Four days later the foreign office replied that the house in question actually did not belong to Mr. Townsend and that he had only been using it. Besides, the weather was too cold to consider forcing the telegraph employees to move.

The American response flatly contradicted the Korean assertions and demanded action. Five days later Townsend filed a claim for \$380 to cover rent for December and January plus repairs which he would have to make to the property when he reoccupied it.

Still nothing happened. At the end of January 1887 the American chargé wrote again:

I have the honor to request that you will give me an immediate and definite answer in the business of Townsend's house called the "Shun Shin Chang" [Sunsinch'ang], failing which I will have to telegraph to my Government requesting it to take further measures in the matter.

At this juncture, the telegraphers finally moved out, but Townsend collected no compensation. In a report to Washington, dated February 10, 1887, the American chargé concluded on this note:

This case is one of many which will illustrate the utter ignorance of the Korean government in all which concerns its obligations under the treaties, and the dilatoriousness of its methods, so incompatible with Western customs and ideas of justice. There is no legal means of regress [sic] for foreigners for wrongs done them by natives except through their legations and the Foreign Office, and the latter, while recognizing the validity of a claim will put off considering it until absolutely forced to do so. So long as such methods endure so long will foreigners be prevented from entering into any commercial or other relations with this country except at great risk and too frequently considerable loss.

*Walter D. Townsend*

A few months later, in April, Townsend made an extensive trip through the northern provinces of Hwanghae, Pyöngan, and Hamgyöng. He was looking at mining prospects, but I have been unable to discover any report of his findings.

Exchanges of correspondence between the American legation and the Korean foreign office in 1888 are the first to refer to the firm which Townsend represented as "Morse Townsend and Company," rather than American Trading Company. The name indeed was changed about this time, although I have never found the exact date nor the specific reason for the change. A few years later, at about the time of the Sino-Japanese War, the "Morse" was dropped, and the firm became known simply as Townsend and Company. It remained that way even after Walter D. Townsend's death in 1918.

American Minister Hugh A. Dinsmore wrote to the Korean foreign office at the end of April 1888:

I have the honor to enclose herewith a contract given by one Song Hak Su [Song Hak-su], a Korean subject to Morse Townsend and Company, American Merchants, in which to secure the payment of One Thousand Five Hundred Dollars they have given a lien on certain rice lands.

This Song Hak Su has three times as I am informed tried to run away to avoid the settlement of his debt, but was taken by his partners in the contract and has been delivered to the Examiner at Chemulpo who now has him in custody. I beg Your Excellency will make an order that this case be examined and that the lands be sold that the debt may be satisfied, provided that the debt is not sooner paid, and that Song Hak Su may be held until the proper steps may be taken.

The foreign office replied that it would look into the matter.

Over four months later, in early September, Dinsmore wrote again to state that Song had settled his debt with Morse Townsend and Company and, therefore, should be released from custody in Chemulpo.

There the matter should have rested, but it didn't. Dinsmore wrote thusly at the end of October;

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In the settlement after Song Hak Su had been arrested he gave to Mr. Townsend certain deeds for rice lands to secure the payment of his debt, and the rice grown this year on the lands. When Mr. Townsend went to get his rice he discovered that the deeds which Song Hak Su had given him were fraudulent and that they were not for lands owned by Song Hak Su.

It is said that he borrowed the deeds of a poor widow with which to perpetrate the fraud, and it is probable that his consul who lives in the vicinity of his rice lands assisted him in the fraud. Song Hak Su evidently is a bad man and I beg Your Excellency will give us benefit of Your Excellency's official assistance in the collection of the debt from him.

Nearly a month went by with no response to this letter. Dinsmore wrote again. By the end of December the case was in the hands of a court of claims in the Seoul magistracy. There, as with Ullŭng island lumber, it disappeared from the pages of history.

In the summer of this same year, 1888, there occurred two instances of the forceful obstruction of Townsend's commercial activities. On both occasions, boats which he had hired to carry his cargo along the coast were attacked, the crews beaten, and the cargo and flags of Morse Townsend and Company were seized and carried off. Dinsmore wrote:

This conduct seems to be directed solely against this one firm as I am informed there is no interference with other persons employing boats in the same way. The matter has been carried so far now that Messers. Morse Townsend and Company find it almost impossible to secure a boat. Why is it Your Excellency that our citizens are thus discriminated against?

The foreign office replied that it would look into the matter.

Dinsmore wrote again at the end of July, in rather dramatic fashion:

I have today returned from Chemulpo to Seoul. I regret to find that my two despatches written to you asking you kindly to protect our American citizens against a violation of treaty regulations

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in the use of Corean boats for transport of cargo have not secured to our merchants the relief asked, but on the contrary have had only the effect to do our people greater injury. I am informed that a Corean man employed by the firm Morse Townsend and Company and whose service is very valuable to them is about to be punished and probably taken away from them. While I was at Chemulpo I investigated the matter about the boats thoroughly and I am sure that the statements in my two despatches are true and that the Corean employee mentioned has done no wrong. The Government of the United States has ever been the friend of His Majesty the King of Corea and has done all in its power to assist your country. Is this then the return which you make for our kindness?

It will pain our President and high officials when I write that Americans cannot obtain protection of their rights in Corea.

The Korean foreign office replied, in usual fashion, that it would look into the matter. It added, however, that the Korean in question would not be punished. The record contains no further references to this matter, so I presume it was settled satisfactorily.

In mid-1889 Townsend made another extensive trip through the interior of Korea, but we know none of the details.

In mid-1890 Morse Townsend and Company was plagued by minor officials and underlings of the Korean government office at Chemulp'o. Exchanges of correspondence between American Minister Augustine Heard and the Korean foreign office indicate that the problem was settled quickly.

In April 1892 Heard wrote again on behalf of Townsend, asking for help in collecting two claims; one for \$12,012.41 against Hong Chong-dae and the other for \$5,530.68 against Chŏn To-il. Nothing happened, of course, and Heard wrote again in June. He closed with tongue in cheek: "I would therefore pray Your Excellency by no means to relax pursuit, and if necessary to increase the vigor which has hitherto been shown."

In September Heard pointed out that certain Chinese creditors of Hong had been able to secure settlement of their claims "through the

action of the local authorities upon his relatives, many of whom are well to do, in his native town of Weiju [Ŭiju].” Heard also remarked that he had learned that a large portion of the claim against Chŏn had had been recovered. He concluded: “I would suggest making payment to Morse Townsend and Company. A merchant always needs money and these gentlemen have been deprived of the use of theirs for a long time.”

Results were not forthcoming, so Heard wrote again in October and November. Finally the foreign office replied that collection of debts from the families of debtors “was in opposition to the Treaty.” Heard rejected this answer and urged “serious consideration without delay.” The foreign office waited two weeks and then responded that it was not customary in Korea to compel the family of a debtor to contribute toward paying his debts.

The matter dragged on through the winter, and in March of the following year Heard pointed out:

(C)ustom at the north appears to be different from what it is here, as the magistrate at Weju [Ŭiju] seized his [i.e., Hong’s] relatives and extorted from them large sums of money for the purpose as alleged of paying his [i.e., Hong’s] debts to the Governor of Ping Yang [P’yŏngyang].

In June Heard was pleading that the present course of events in this long, drawn out case “can only lead to heart burning and ill feeling, and is manifestly unjust.”

Keep in mind, please, that this whole business started in April of 1892. In July 1895, over three years later, American Minister John M. B. Sill, who had replaced Heard, was still writing to the Korean foreign office in a vain attempt to get satisfaction for Townsend. The name of Chŏn To-il, the lesser of the two debtors, had dropped from the record, either because a settlement had been reached or because the case proved hopeless. Townsend was still after Hong, however:

I have the honor to present a brief statement of the course pursued by Mr. Min, former governor of the Province of Ping An [P’yŏngan] in the matter of money collected by his order under instructions

from the Foreign Office, from the relatives and debtors of Hong Chong Tae [Hong Chong-dae], an insolent debtor to Morse Townsend and Company. [Governor Min collected money from Hong's relatives and debtors and kept it for himself to cover debts allegedly owed to him by Hong.] It is now known that the debt due to Governor Min. . . was a private debt, and that he had no color of right to seize in payment thereof. . . . (I)t is known that Governor Min was in a business partnership with Hong, that money was lost in the transaction, and that the alleged debt was his own private matter. . . . (C)ash collected from book debts was in consequence of credits given for goods which Hong got from Morse Townsend and Company but never paid for; and, therefore, belonged especially to that firm. . . . (W)hile the Governor kept the share, he allowed, either through neglect or else purposely, the Wei Ju [Ūiju] Magistrate to keep a large amount . . . . He [i.e., Min] refuses to pay over any money to Morse Townsend and Company for the astonishing reason that it has all been spent and therefore that he can pay nothing over.

I believe. . . that Governor Min wrongfully withheld money justly due to Morse Townsend and Company and that Justice demands that any property possessed by him when he went into exile should be held and sold for the full amount of Morse Townsend and Company's claim.

History's curtain comes down at this point, and we are left wondering, but certainly speculating, on the outcome of it all.

At the beginning of July 1893—we're backtracking a bit now—an electric light plant, ordered by the Korean government through Morse Townsend and Company, arrived at Inch'ŏn. The American legation notified the Korean foreign office that an advance payment of \$10,000 was due before the cargo could be delivered and that the balance of about \$37,000 would have to be paid upon receipt of a final statement showing settlement of exchange and expenses of transshipment in Japan. Ten days and three letters later Townsend received \$7,000 and a promise to pay "within a few days." It took an additional week and several more letters to produce the \$3,000.

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In August 1894 Minister Sill wrote to the foreign office about a shipment of nine *li* (about three miles) of wire which the Korean government had ordered through Morse Townsend and Company for its electric light plant. The contract called for a payment of \$4,000 by July 23 and the balance upon delivery. No money had been forthcoming. Sill wrote again two months later, in October, repeating his request. In December the foreign office notified the American legation that it was cancelling the contract.

On the evening of April 30, 1896, Townsend's residence at Chemulp'o was burglarized and the following items taken: 1 Seth Thomas Pendulum Clock, 8 day, strike; 1 Remington 44 caliber revolver with a box of cartridges; 1 Smith and Wesson 38 caliber revolver with a box of cartridges; 1 Hopkins and Allen 38 caliber revolver with a box of cartridges; 1 dark blue coat; and 1 vest to match. Considering the den of thieves in which he apparently was living and doing business, Townsend doubtlessly had need of these firearms.

Townsend, who was now forty years old, offered a reward of \$20 and gave indication of whom he thought the guilty party might be. Minister Sill notified the foreign office on May 2 and suggested that the police watch the residence of Mrs. Mary Scranton, founder of that pioneer educational institution for girls which grew into present-day Ewha Woman's University, as the suspected culprit's aunt was in Mrs. Scranton's employ. Again, we are left in doubt as to the outcome, for the record is silent.

In this same year of 1896 James R. Morse, on behalf of his own firm, American Trading Company, signed a contract with the Korean government for the right to construct the country's first railroad, the line between Inch'ŏn and Seou'. Ground was broken at a point about two miles from the waterfront of downtown Inch'ŏn on March 22, 1897 with Walter D. Townsend supervising a group of "fifty picked coolies" equipped with American wheelbarrows, shovels, and pickaxes.

Also in 1896, in October, Townsend purchased 11,700 square meters of property on Wŏlmi island, in the harbor at Chemulp'o, for the purpose of erecting kerosene warehouses which could not be built within the limits of the General Foreign Settlement. Purchase price was a mere \$132. Within less than a year, Townsend transferred title for half of this prop-

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erty to Standard Oil Company of New York, for whom, at that time, he was the agent in Korea.

On March 26, 1899 Townsend had his only recorded audience with Emperor Kojong. The occasion was a visit to Korea of Mr. J. Sloat Fassett of New York who was largely responsible for the money with which the gold mines in Korea were being worked at that time. Townsend represented both Oriental Consolidated Mining Company and Seoul Mining Company and accompanied Fassett when the latter was received by the Emperor.

In October 1900 Townsend was again appealing to the Korean government, through the American legation, for help in collecting an overdue debt, this time for more than \$7,000. In June 1901 he asked for assistance in collecting damages for a house which he owned in Seoul, formerly the property of a Chinese from whom he had taken it in settlement of an outstanding account. The house had been partially wrecked by a mob in some sort of altercation on June 18. Townsend asked for \$50 and finally received it eighteen months later in January 1903. There is nothing in the record to indicate final disposition of the \$7,000 debt.

## CONCLUSION

And so it went. As I remarked earlier, he certainly must have made money or he wouldn't have stayed here, but it was not all sunshine and roses. You businessmen here in Korea today don't have these problems, do you?

As you can see, at this point, the record provides some interesting episodes but yields precious little information about Townsend himself.

Additional information is fragmentary. We know, for example, that he was five feet eleven inches tall and that he had gray eyes, brown hair, a prominent nose, full mouth, round chin, fair complexion, and a medium full face. At least, that was how he looked at age thirty-two in 1887 when he renewed his passport in Seoul. We know that he played a good game of billiards, for he won the silver cup at a tournament in



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Seoul in 1904.

We also know that he had two children; a son, who was the older of the two, and a daughter. The boy was called Kimio, a Japanese name. After Townsend's older brother Edward, who was president of a wholesale coal company, died in Boston in February 1910, the son adopted his uncle's name. At some point in time he left Korea for Hawaii, where he went into business for himself. A letter to Townsend from his friend, Horace N. Allen, written in October 1904 while Allen was still American Minister to Korea, poses some questions. Townsend asked for legal advice regarding adoption and citizenship for Kimio. Allen concluded, "You had better arrange the whole matter by will." Townsend, in fact, made a specific point of acknowledging paternity in his will. At the time of his death, the son already was an American citizen.

Townsend's daughter's name was Margaret. I have yet to discover much of anything about her, except that on March 19, 1905 she married James de Forrest Atkinson, who worked for her father. Townsend, at the time, was one year short of his fiftieth birthday. The wedding took place in the Chemulp'o Methodist Church with a reception at the Townsend residence. Margaret's husband was one of six children of Reverend Doctor John L. Atkinson, a Christian missionary in Japan for as many years as Townsend was a businessman in Korea. Atkinson eventually inherited his father-in-law's business, much to the chagrin of Edward, the son in Hawaii.

Townsend's father, it will be recalled, died when Walter was only a boy of ten. His mother survived her husband by forty years and died in February 1906. I was unsuccessful in finding out anything about Townsend's wife.

Over the years, Townsend and Horace N. Allen became particularly close. Allen liked Townsend and referred to him as "a very busy man and quite successful;" "the most conservative man out here," whose business in kerosene, rice, cigarettes, and general items was "flourishing well;" "a very highly respected man here and good in all things;" a man "who always rails so against fuss, feathers, and ceremony." At the turn of the century the Townsends were regular guests of the Allens each year for Christmas dinner, and it was the Allens who gave an engagement party in honor of Margaret and her fiancé. When Allen's two young sons

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first went off to the United States to study, they lodged with Townsend's older brother Edward in Boston.

It is from Allen, for example, we learn that in 1897 Townsend's kerosene imports on behalf of Standard Oil were "upwards of 1,000,000 gallons." In early 1899, it also was Allen who wrote that Townsend was "so angered by this missionary agency business, and especially Underwood's attempts to get out a cargo of kerosene, coal, etc. that he wrote in such a strong manner to his mother as to cause her to cease her very considerable annual subscriptions to the cause of missions."

Townsend was active in civic affairs in Chemulp'o, where he owned at least seven lots of land, totaling nearly 10,000 square meters. He served numerous terms on the Chemulp'o Municipal Council, including several as treasurer, and was a member of the Chemulp'o Club. His son-in-law was one of the three managers of the Chemulp'o Foreign Public Cemetery.

As he approached the age of sixty in 1916, Townsend suffered from urinary gravel and diabetes. He sought treatment in the United States which resulted in much improvement. He fell, however, and was left with some stiffness of the back and a little weakness of the left leg.

Death, "sudden and painless," came from cardiac failure on March 10, 1918, at the age of sixty-two. Burial was in a three-grave lot in the Chemulp'o Foreign Public Cemetery. As indicated earlier in this lecture, two of those graves were never used. James de Forrest Atkinson, the son-in-law, inherited Townsend and Company, while son Edward in Hawaii got \$20,000.

We've taken a look at this man, his life and times, and have considered the various steps involved in trying to put the whole story together. Apart from all that has gone before, I wish to add in closing that Walter D. Townsend also gets credit for introducing to Korea the horse and dray, a water pumping windmill, and a mechanized rice cleaning mill. And, last but not least, he was, for eighteen years, a member of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

## KOREA CHRONOLOGY 1901-1960

Yi Kyöngsik

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### 1901

- Feb 2: Ch'ing Dynasty China and Czarist Russia conclude secret pact concerning the status of Manchuria; abrogated 12 April because of pressure from world powers.  
12: Korean Government proclaims New Currency Law, adopts Gold Standard.
- Apr 1: Inch'ön Railroad begins carrying postal matter.  
Apr: Korean Government appoints Cho Minhüi as first Korean Minister to USA.
- May 15: Hansöng (Seoul) City Government and Hansöng Court move into new building in Chöng-dong, Seoul.  
28: Cheju Riot. Island inhabitants clash with Catholic believers living in the island; 700 Catholics slain. Korean, French and Japanese warships arrive off Cheju Island to quell the riot. Masterminds of the riot, O Taehön, Yi Chaesu, and Kang Ubaek later hanged.

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- Jun 1: Yongsan Mint begins stamping silver coins.
- Aug 17: Seoul has first electric light. Ceremony at Hansŏng (Seoul) Power Company in the eastern suburbs to celebrate the occasion.
- 20: Ground-breaking ceremony in Yŏngdŭngp'o, Seoul, for the construction of Seoul-Pusan Railroad Line.
- Oct 9: Ha Wŏnhong, Ŏm Chubong and seven other leaders of Hwalbin Party beheaded for attempted plot to overthrow the Korean Government.
- 14: Ŏm Sunbin becomes Korean Imperial Consort

1902

- Jan 27: Emperor Kojong orders composition of Korean National Anthem.
- 30: Britain and Japan conclude Offensive-Defensive Treaty.
- Mar 14: Sŏbuk Railroad Bureau holds ceremony in Map'o, Seoul, for beginning of Seoul-Sinŭiju Railroad line construction.
- 20: Korean Government opens telephone service between Seoul and Inch'ŏn.
- Aug: German composer, Franz Eckert, composes Korean National Anthem.
- Oct: Sungŭi-myo (shrine) erected outside Tonŭi-mun.
- Nov 23: Seoul Mayor prohibits sale of real estate around palaces to foreigners.
- Dec 20: Franz Eckert awarded T'aegŭk Medal Third Class.

1903

- Jan 4: Thirty-six US Marines arrive in Seoul as guards of US Legation. Number increased to 100 on 15 January, but reduced to 28 on 29 April.
- 29: Emperor Kojong wears Korean-made clothes to encourage frugal living among his subjects.
- Jan: Syngman Rhee (Yi Sŭngman) and Yang Ŭijong teach internees in prison.

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- Feb 5: Telephone service opened between P'yöngyang and Kae-söng.  
13: Korean Government withdraws decree prohibiting circulation of Japanese bank notes in Korea.
- Mar 18: Ministry of Defence establishes Conscription Law, requires men between 17 and 40 to serve on active, reserve and militia lists.  
24: Korean Government proclaims Central Bank Law.
- Apr 21: Russian Army invades Korea and captures Yongam-p'o, P'yöngan Namdo. Russia requests lease of Yongam-p'o from Korea in July.
- May 5: Korean Minister to Russia Yi Pömjin informs home government by telegram of movement of Russian troops to Ŭiju via Antung, Manchuria.  
13: 12,000 Russian troops move into the vicinity of Ŭiju.  
20: Russians purchase land in Yongam-p'o and begin lumbering in the area.
- Jun 8: Telephone and telegraph service opened between Seoul and Suwön.  
14: All foreign ministers to Korea hold secret meeting at Russian Legation.  
16: Ford Company established in the USA.
- Jul 16: Russian Legation announces that Russian troops near Yalu River are lumber company employees.  
20: Forest Officer Cho Sönghyöp concludes lease of Yongam-p'o to Russian lumber company.
- Aug 3: Ministry of Defence decides to organize mercenaries (6,000 men in Seoul and 2,000 in rural areas).  
7: Yun Pyöngu and Hong Süngha form first Korean residents' association in USA, Sinmin-hoe.  
12: Japan proposes to Russia compromise plan on protection of Korea and Manchuria. On 3 October Russia counter-proposes division of Korea along the 39th parallel.
- Sep 30: Tramcar runs over a citizen in Seoul; crowd destroys the car. Hansöng (Seoul) Electric Company requests protection from Korean Government on 9 October.

*Korea Chronology 1901-1960*

- Oct 3: Japanese Foreign Minister Komura Jutarō orders Japanese Minister in Korea Hayashi Gonsuke to conclude a secret pact with Korea.
- 5: British, US and Japanese Ministers to Korea demand that Korea open Yongam-p'o to foreign trade.
- 14: Japanese Minister to Korea Hayashi Gonsuke agrees to conclude a secret pact with Korea, respecting the independence of Korea, and providing Japanese Government will increase Japanese troops in Korea, extend loan to Korea, and demand punishment of assassins of Queen Min.
- 24: Russian soldiers appear in disguise in Kyōnghūng.
- 26: Korea demands that Russia remove her battery in Yongch'ŏn.
- 28: Hwangsōng Young Men's Christian Association organized.
- 31: US Presbyterian Missionary S. A. Moffett establishes Sungsil Girls' School in P'yōngyang.
- Nov 15: British national Hamilton and Japanese national Oda Teitarō jointly establish Inch'ŏn Tobacco Company; begin sale of cigarettes on 29 November. (Daily output: 300,000 cigarettes)
- 26: Korean and Chinese troops exchange fire in Musan, Chongsōng, and Hoeryōng.
- Dec 5: Yōngdūngp'o-Suwōn section of Seoul-Pusan Railroad completed; test operation conducted.
- 11: Government officials and citizens of Korea and Japan clash in Mokp'o. Japanese Navy lands soldiers in Korea 14 December.
- 17: Wright brothers in USA successfully fly world's first aeroplane.
- 30: Japanese Cabinet meeting decides on policies towards Korea and China in case of conflict with Russia. Policies stipulate domination of Korea and maintenance of neutral relations with China.
- Dec: Russian Oriental Fleet enters Inch'ŏn harbour.

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1904

- Jan 5: Sixty-four US soldiers move into Seoul for the protection of US legation and US citizens in Korea. US troops stationed in Hansŏng (Seoul) Electric Company.
- 6: Thirty-five Russian Navy personnel move into Seoul to guard Russian Legation. Forty more arrive on 9 January and 147 more on 11 January.  
Russian Minister to Japan hands ultimatum to Japanese Foreign Minister.
- 8: Twenty-one British soldiers move into Seoul to guard British Legation; number increased to 35 on 19 January.
- 9: Twenty Italian soldiers move into Seoul to guard Italian Legation
- 11: Japanese Minister to Korea Hayashi Gonsuke reports to Japanese Government on the progress of concluding a secret pact with Korean Government.  
Korea leases Changjŏn, Chinp'ŏ Island and Ulsan to Japan as whaling bases for 11 years.
- 16: Inch'ŏn Trading Office checks Japan's transport of ammuni-  
tions into Korea.  
Forty-one French Navy personnel move into Seoul to guard the French Legation; number decreased to 20 on 15 February
- 21: Korean Government declares neutrality. Korea's secret envoy to China, Yi Hakkyun, notifies all foreign governments. British, German, French and Italian Legations in Korea notify Korean Government of their receipt of the Korean declaration on 29 January.
- Feb 8: Combined Japanese Fleet attacks Russian Fleet off Port Arthur; destroys two Russian warships off Inch'ŏn on 9 February.  
Japanese Army lands in Inch'ŏn, Namyang, Kunsan and Wŏnsan, moves into Seoul in spite of Korean Government's declaration of neutrality.
- 10: Japan declares war on Russia.

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- 21: Japanese Army General Headquarters in Korea forms temporary Military Rail Transport Department. Japanese Army Railroad Battalion lands in Inch'ŏn on 4 March and begins construction of Yongsan-Map'ŏ section of Seoul-Sinŭiju line on 12 March.
- 25: Korea opens Sinŭiju to foreign trade.
- Mar 17: Ito Hirobumi visits Korea, leaves for Japan on 26 March.
- 21: First Japanese Army lands in Chinnamp'ŏ near P'yŏngyang.
- 23: Korea opens Yongam-p'ŏ to foreign trade.
- May 1: First Japanese Army crosses Yalu River. Second Japanese Army lands in Liaotung Peninsula on 5 May. Japanese Army captures Dairen on 30 May.
- 18: Korean Government abrogates Korea-Russia Treaty and nullifies lumbering contract with Russia.
- 31: Japanese Cabinet meeting decides on Korea policy; resolves to seize Korea's military, diplomatic and financial powers, expand Japan's interests in Korea, and push program to turn Korea into a protectorate.
- Jun: Severance Medical College founded in Seoul.
- 15: Russia's Vladivostok Fleet sinks two Japanese warships in Tsushima Straits.
- 22: Telephone service opened between Wŏnsan and Inch'ŏn.
- Jul 5: Japan demands Korean Government punish anti-Japanese Koreans.
- 7: Japanese Army lands in South Karafuto (Sakhalin); lands in North Karafuto 24 July.
- 18: *Taehan Maeil Sinbo* established jointly by E. T. Bethell of Britain (president) and Yang Kit'ak of Korea (general manager).
- 21: Japan notifies Korean Government of her intention to use Japanese Army to perform police duties in Korea.
- Aug 6: Korean Police Chief Sin T'aehyu recommends Korean Foreign Ministry to take action about Japanese gendarmes' arrest of Korean nationals.
- Syngman Rhee (Yi Sŭngman) of Tongnip Hyŏphoe (Independence Club) is released from prison on amnesty.



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- 10: Japanese Fleet attacks and routs Port Arthur-based Russian Fleet in the Yellow Sea.
- 18: Song Pyŏngjun and Yun Sibyŏng form pro-Japanese association, Yusin-hoe; association renamed Ilchin-hoe 20 August.
- 22: Yun Ch'ihŏ of Korea and Hayashi Gonsuke of Japan sign First Korea-Japan Treaty. Treaty stipulates that Korea employ financial and diplomatic advisers recommended by Japan and take prior consultation with Japan on concluding diplomatic treaties with foreign countries and on awarding patent rights to foreign nationals.
- Oct 13: Hasegawa Yoshimichi appointed Commander of the Japanese Army in Korea.
- Nov 4: Syngman Rhee (Yi Sŏngman) leaves Korea for the U.S.A.
- 10: Seoul-Pusan Railroad completed; formally opened 1 January 1905.
- 15: Typhoon hits South Kyŏngsang; 419 killed, 30,518 houses destroyed.
- Dec 25: Korean Police Office arrests Yi Chun, Na Yusŏk and Yun Hyojŏng.

1905

- Jan 7: Japanese Minister in Korea instructs his consuls in Korea to report to him on Korean local officials' mal-administration.
- 13: Japanese Army captures Port Arthur.
- 20: Chief of First Department of Japanese Police Headquarters, Maruyama Shigetoshi, appointed Police Adviser to Korean Government.
- Jan Japanese gendarmerie arrests Kim Hakchin for memorializing Emperor Kojong to recover respect for imperial rights and independence of Korea.
- Feb 15: Rail bridge over Imjin River opened.
- 17: Japanese gendarmerie arrests Ch'oe Ikhyŏn for memorializing Emperor Kojong and denouncing Yi Chiyŏng and five other pro-Japanese Koreans.
- 22: Japan seizes Tokto Island off Kyŏngsang Province, renames

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- it Takeshima, and annexes it to Shimane Prefecture, Japan.
- Mar 1: Japanese Army begins attack on Shenyang (Mukden); captures the city on 10 March.
- 25: Emperor Kojong sends secret letter to Russia asking her to check Japan's advance.
- Apr 3: Yi Yongik returns from Japan and establishes Posŏng School (now Korea University) in Susong-dong, Seoul.
- 10: Japanese Minister to Korea demands that Korea recall Korean ministers from all foreign countries.
- 13: Korea reduces military forces; leaves only 3 battalions in Seoul and 8 battalions in rural areas.
- Apr: Korea turns over control of Communications Office to Japanese.
- May 27: Japanese Fleet destroys Russian Fleet in East Sea (Japan Sea).
- 28: Seoul-Pusan Line dedication ceremony at Sŏdaemun Station.
- Jun 25: Naktong Rail Bridge opened.
- Jun: Korea gives Japan fishery rights in coastal waters of Ch'ung-ch'ŏng, Hwanghae, and P'yŏngan Provinces.
- Jul 1: Seoul Branch of Japan's Daiichi Ginko Bank is renamed Korean Central Bank.
- 2: Japan takes over Korea's communications.
- 6: Emperor Kojong's secret emissaries, Yun Pyŏnggu and Syngman Rhee (Yi Sŏngman), hand letter to US President Theodore Roosevelt asking US assistance for Korea's independence.
- 8: Emperor Kojong orders establishment of Taehan Red Cross Hospital.
- 29: US Secretary of the Army Taft meets Japanese Prime Minister Katsura Taro, signs memorandum concerning status of Korea and Philippines, providing that Japan recognize interests and rights of the USA in Philippines and the USA recognize the interests and rights of Japan in Korea.
- Aug 11: *The Korea Daily News*, English-language edition of the *Taehan Maeil Sinbo*, begins publication.
- 12: Second British-Japanese Alliance Treaty signed in London, confirming Japan's right to dominate Korea.

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- Sep 5: Russia and Japan sign peace treaty in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, USA, entitling Japan to protectorate of Korea, occupation of South Karafuto (Sakhalin), lease of Liaotung, and control of Manchurian railroad.
- Nov 3: Ilchin-hoe recommends Korean Government to turn over Korea's diplomatic power to Japan.
- 5: Seoul-Sinŭiju Railroad formally opened.
- 9: Japanese Envoy Extraordinary Ito Hirobumi visits Korea, submits draft Korea-Japan Treaty to Emperor Kojong on 15 November, demands on 16 November that Korean Foreign Minister Pak Chesun sign the treaty.
- 17: Second Korea-Japan Treaty (Ŭlsa Protectorate Treaty) signed: provides that Japan control Korea's diplomatic activity, prohibiting Korea's conclusion of treaty with any foreign country without Japanese consent, that Japan will install Japanese Resident-General in Korea, and that Japan will protect the Yi Imperial Household.
- 20: Korean newspaper *Hwangsŏng Sinmun* ordered to close for Chang Chiyŏn's editorial 'The Nation Bemoans'.
- 27: Emperor Kojong instructs H. B. Hulbert to declare to the world that the Second Korea-Japan Treaty is null and void.
- Dec 8: House of Education Minister Yi Wanyong set afire.
- 15: Emperor Kojong issues edict prohibiting military personnel from interfering in political affairs.
- 21: Japan proclaims Residency-General in Seoul. Ito Hirobumi becomes first Japanese Resident-General in Korea.
- 22: Koreans stone train with Ito Hirobumi and Hayashi Gonsuke aboard near Anyang Railroad Station. Ito sustains light injury.
- 22: China and Japan sign agreement concerning Japan's rights and interests in Manchuria.

1906

- Jan 13: The London *Times* reports that Korea-Japan Protectorate Treaty was forced upon Korea.

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- Feb 1: Japanese Residency-General opened in Seoul, using former Korean Foreign Ministry building. Hasegawa Yoshimichi appointed Acting Resident-General.
- 9: Japanese gendarmerie in Korea seizes administrative and judicial police power.
- 28: *Hwangsŏng Sinmun* resumes operation.
- Mar 2: Ito Hirobumi appointed first Japanese Resident-General in Korea.
- Apr 17: Japanese Residency-General in Korea issues Security Regulations designed to control Korean press.
- May 19: Anti-Japanese Korean guerrillas led by Min Chongsik attack Japanese garrison and capture Hongju fort.
- 22: Myŏngsin Women's School (now Sungmyŏng Women's University) founded in Seoul.
- Jun 26: Japan proclaims law governing litigations in Korea, seizes Korea's judicial power.
- Jun: Ch'oe Ikhyŏn and Pak Pyŏngch'an start resistance movement against Japanese in Sunch'ang.
- Jul 1: Japanese Residency-General in Korea establishes Railroad Management Bureau; purchases Seoul-Pusan, Seoul-Sinŭiju and Pusan-Masan Lines by September.
- 2: Japanese police take over guard duties of Kyŏngun (now Tŏksu) Palace, dissolve Korean Imperial Guard Force.
- Aug: Japanese Army establishes headquarters in Seoul.
- Sep: Korea leases Chinhae and Yŏnghŭng to Japan as Japanese naval ports.
- Oct: Koreans form resistance movements against Japanese in Kangwŏn and Kyŏngsang Provinces.
- Dec 29: Japanese Resident-General in Korea proclaims Local Tax Law.

1907

- Jan: An Ch'angho and Yi Kap form secret anti-Japanese organization, Sinmin-hoe.
- May 22: Yi Wanyong forms Korean Cabinet. Prime Minister Yi

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- Wanyong, Minister of Home Affairs Im Sŏnjun, Minister of Defence Yi Pyŏngmu, Minister of Justice Yi Hayŏng.
- Jun 1: Long distance telephone line opened between Seoul and P'yŏngyang.
- 24: Emperor Kojong's secret emissaries, Yi Sangsŏl, Yi Chun, and Yi Wijong arrive at the Hague, Netherlands, apply to International Peace Conference chairman for Korea's representation at the meeting on 29 June. Request rejected. On 10 July, they meet H.B. Hulbert and announce that the Second Korea-Japan Treaty was signed against the will of Emperor Kojong.
- Jul 1: US newspapers report emissaries' activities at the Hague.
- 3: Japanese Resident-General Ito Hirobumi protests to Emperor Kojong against dispatch of emissaries to the Hague.
- 14: Yi Chun kills himself at the Hague in protest against Japan's seizure of power in Korea.
- 16: Korean Prime Minister Yi Wanyong insists that Emperor Kojong abdicate throne.
- 19: Kojong issues Imperial Edict abdicating throne.
- 20: Abdication ceremony held amidst anti-Japanese resistance movements in various parts of Korea. Japanese Army 12th Division moves into Seoul.
- 24: New Korea-Japan Treaty (Chŏngmi July Treaty) signed with attached secret memorandum; proclaimed the following day. Treaty entitles Japan to take over Korea's judicial power and dissolve Korean military forces.
- 27: Kwangmu Newspaper Law promulgated, restricting freedom of the press.
- 29: Security Law promulgated, restricting freedom of assembly and association.
- 30: First Russo-Japanese Treaty signed.
- 31: Korean Imperial Edict issued deactivating Korean military forces.
- Aug 1: Korean Army deactivated. Korean Imperial Guard Commander Pak Sŏnghwan commits suicide in protest.
- 16: Japanese Crown Prince Yoshihito (later Taisho Emperor)

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- visits Korea.
- 27: Emperor Sunjong accedes to throne.
- Sep 1: First trade fair in Korea held in Seoul till November 15. 79,000 items from Japan and Taiwan displayed.
- Sep: An Ch'angho and followers form Sinmin-hoe.
- Oct 9: Japanese Resident-General in Korea sends official letter to British Consul-General in Korea asking for punishment of *Taehan Maeil Sinbo* publisher E. T. Bethell. Bethell pays 3,000 yen as good conduct guarantee money.
- Dec 5: Crown Prince Yi Ŭn forced to visit Japan; enters Japanese Peers' School on 1 April 1908.

1908

- Jan 25: Korean Government decides to publish all instructions and reports in Japanese.
- Mar 11: Work begins on removing Seoul City Wall; walls beside East Gate removed first.
- 23: Chŏn Myŏngun and Chang Inhwan assassinate former Foreign Ministry Adviser Stevens in Oakland, California, because Stevens supported Japan's protectorate of Korea.
- Aug 26: Japan proclaims Oriental Development Company Organization Law.
- Dec 28: Japanese Oriental Development Company is established in Seoul with a capital of 10 million yen. President Usagawa Kazunari, Vice-president Min Yŏnggi.

1909

- Jan 7: Emperor Sunjong tours rural areas till 8 February.
- Feb 1: Opium Conference in Shanghai, China.
- Apr: Japanese Residency-General in Korea proclaims Foreign Passport Regulations.
- Jun 11: Forty teams formed to survey state-owned real estate in Korea.

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- 30: Korean Cabinet resolves to transfer judicial power to Japan and to abolish Ministry of Defence.
- Jul 6: Japanese Cabinet decides to annex Korea.
- 10: Japanese Resident-General demands that Yi Wanyong and Pak Chesun entrust him with the power of rule and dissolve Korean Ministry of Defence.
- 12: Korean Prime Minister Yi Wanyong and Japanese Resident-General in Korea sign 'Kiyu Memorandum', entrusting Japanese Government with Korea's judicial power and penitentiary administration. Memorandum announced by Japanese Residency-General on 24 July.
- Aug Work begins on rail bridge over Yalu River; completed October 1911.
- Oct 26: An Chunggŭn assassinates Ito Hirobumi when Ito arrives in Harbin, Manchuria, for talks with Russian Minister of Finance. An arrested.
- 29: Bank of Korea established with capital of 10 million wŏn.
- Nov 25: Rail bridge completed over Imjin River.
- Nov: Korea opens first modern theater, Wŏn'gaksa, in present Ŭlchi-ro, Seoul.
- Dec 23: Pro-Japanese Korean association, Ilchin-hoe, petitions Japanese Prime Minister Katsura Taro to annex Korea to Japan.
- 31: Korean Government reorganizes administrative districts.

*1910*

- Jan 19: Population of Seoul announced: 161,656 Koreans, 26,316 Japanese, 1,914 other foreign nationals.
- Feb: Korean Nationalist Council formed in San Francisco.
- May 30: Terauchi Masatake appointed Japanese Resident-General in Korea.
- Jun 24: Acting Korean Prime Minister Pak Chesun and Japanese Resident-General Terauchi Masatake sign memorandum

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- transferring Korea's police powers to Japan.
- Aug 22: Korean Prime Minister Yi Wanyong and Japanese Resident-General in Korea sign Korea-Japan Annexation Treaty, transferring Korea's sovereignty to Japanese Emperor.
- 29: Korean Imperial Edict issued and Korea-Japan Annexation Treaty proclaimed. Name of Korea changed from Taehan to Chosŏn. Korea formally annexed to Japan.
- Japanese Imperial Ordinance issued establishing Japanese Government-General in Korea. Japanese Resident-General in Korea temporarily exercises powers of Governor-General.
- Sep 12: Japanese Resident-General in Korea orders dissolution of Ilchin-hoe, under policy dissolving all Korean political organizations.
- 30: Japanese Government-General in Korea announces government organization. Japanese Resident-General Terauchi Masatake appointed Governor-General.
- Oct 4: Korean Government dissolved in a ceremony.
- 31: Work begins on Seoul-Wŏnsan Railroad; ends in August 1914.
- Dec 27: An Myŏnggŭn apprehended by Japanese law enforcement agency for attempted murder of Japanese Governor-General Terauchi Masatake.
- 31: Population of Korea: 13,128,780 Koreans, 171,543 Japanese, 11,818 Chinese, 876 other foreign nationals.

1911

- Jan 1: Japanese Police Headquarters in Korea conducts general arrest of Korean nationalists in Anak, Hwanghae Province, following apprehension of An Myŏnggŭn.
- Mar 29: Government-General promulgates Korean Banking Law.
- Apr 17: Government-General proclaims Korean Land Expropriation Law.
- Jul: Population of Koreans in Manchuria: 256,900 (Chinese Government statistics)



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- Aug 23: Korean Educational Law proclaimed, based on Japanese Imperial Rescript, providing for education of Korean people to become loyal subjects of Japanese Emperor and for establishment of primary schools, high schools, and girls' schools.
- Nov 1: Rail bridge over Yalu River completed, connecting Korean line to South Manchurian Railroad.

1912

- Jul 30: Meiji Emperor dies. Japanese Crown Prince Yoshihito enthroned. Japanese era changed to Taisho.
- Aug 13: Government-General proclaims Land Survey Law.
- Sep 28: Yun Ch'ihō, Yang Kit'ak and other members of Sinmin-hoe sentenced to heavy prison terms for involvement in attempted assassination of Governor-General Terauchi.

1913

- Mar 20: Japanese Appellate Court in Korea tries Yun Ch'ihō, Yang Kit'ak and others for involvement in Sinmin-hoe case.
- May 13: Korean nationalists An Ch'angho, Chŏng Towŏn, Ha Sangok, and Kang Yŏngso form Hŭngsa-dan in Los Angeles, to promote Korean patriotic movements.
- Dec 15: Double tracks on Han River Rail Bridge completed. Test 25 December.

1914

- Mar 22: Seoul-Mokp'o Railroad opened.
- Jul 28: World War I breaks out, Austria declaring war on Serbia.
- Aug 4: Britain declares war on Germany.  
15: Panama Canal formally opened.  
23: Japan declares war on Germany.
- Aug: Seoul-Wŏnsan Railroad Line formally opened.

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- 25: German Consulate-General in Korea closed because of Japan's declaration of war on Germany.
- Sep: Russia expels Koreans from Vladivostok at the request of Japan.
- 10: Night fair held in all markets in Seoul.
- 16: Seoul-Wönsan Line opening ceremony in Wönsan.

*1915*

- Jan 15: Yun Sangt'ae, Sö Sangil and Yi Siyöng secretly organize Korean Sovereignty Restoration Association in Talsöng-gun, Kyöngsang Pukto.
- Feb 13: Yun Ch'ihö, Yang Kit'ak, and three others, serving prison terms for involvement in attempted assassination of Governor-General Terauchi, released on parole.
- Apr: College Department of Kyöngsin School opened. Department renamed Yönhüi College 1917. (Chosen Christian College, now Yonsei University.)
- May 31: German air raid by airships on London.

*1916*

- Mar 18: Chinhæ port formally opened.
- Apr 1: College Organization Law promulgated. High School Organization Law promulgated 16 May.
- 19: Electric power supply begins in Yöngdöngp'o, Seoul.
- Jul 3: Fourth Russia-Japan Agreement signed.
- 21: Wönsan-Yönghüng Railroad opened.
- Oct: 9: Terauchi Masatake resigns as Governor-General in Korea; appointed Prime Minister of Japan.
- 16: General Hasegawa Yoshimichi appointed Governor-General of Korea.

*1917*

- Mar 12: Russian February Revolution.

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- Apr 3: USA declares war on Germany.  
Jun 9: Government-General proclaims Myŏn Organization Law.  
Oct 17: Han River Road Bridge opened.  
Nov 1: Pusan-Seoul-Sinŭiju Railroad Line extended to Shenyang, Manchuria.  
7: Russian October Revolution. Nikolai Lenin establishes Soviet Government.

1918

- Jan: Sŏ Chaep'il, Chŏng Han'gyŏng, Min Ch'anho, An Ch'angho, Syngman Rhee (Yi Sŭngman) form Sinhan Hyŏphoe in Washington, DC.  
Jun 7: Korean Siksan Savings Bank Organization Law promulgated.  
Oct: 1: Korean Siksan Industrial Bank established with a capital of 10 million yen, absorbing Agricultural-Industrial Bank.  
27: Inch'ŏn Dock opened.  
Nov 5: Government-General completes land survey. Land under cultivation: 4,342,091 *chŏngbo*, an increase of 80 percent over 2,399,842 *chŏngbo* in December 1910.  
13: Kim Kyusik, Kim Chwajin, and 37 other members of Korean Chunggwang Association in Manchuria declare Korea's independence.  
15: US Presidential Special Envoy Crane meets New Korea Youth Party leader, Yŏ Unhyŏng, in Shanghai. On 30 November, Yŏ Unhyŏng hands Crane letters addressed to US President and to the Paris Peace Conference asking for Korea's independence.  
Dec 1: Korean residents in the USA at general meeting decide to send Syngman Rhee (Yi Sŭngman), Chŏng Han'gyŏng and Min Ch'anho to Paris Peace Conference. They fail to obtain exit permits from the US Government.  
5: Engagement of Korean Prince Yi Ũn and Nashinomotomiya Masako (Yi Pangja), a member of the Japanese Imperial Family.

1919

- Jan 22: Emperor Kojong dies at Töksu Palace, Seoul; buried at Hongnŭng, Kŭmgök in National Funeral on 3 March.
- Jan: Song Kyebaek, Korean student in Tokyo, enters Seoul with Declaration of Korean Independence in the name of Korean Independence Youth Corps, and hands it to Hyön Sangyun. Ch'oe Rin, Song Chinu, Hyön Sangyun, and Ch'oe Namsön meet at Chungang Middle School, select Pak Yöngghyo, Yun Yonggu, Han Kyusöl, Kim Yunsik, and Yun Ch'ihö as representatives of Korean independence movement, and appoint Ch'oe Namsön to draft the Declaration of Korean Independence.
- Feb: 1: Korea Youth Party leaders, Yö Unhyöng, Chang Töksu, Kim Kyusik, and Kim Ch'öl meet in Shanghai, and decide to send Kim Kyusik to Paris, Chang Töksu to Japan, Kim Ch'öl and Sö Pyönggho to Korea, and Yö Unhyöng to Russia, to lead Korean independence movements.
- 8: Six hundred Korean students meet in Tokyo Young Men's Christian Association and read Declaration of Independence in the name of Korean Youth Independence Corps. Japanese police arrest Ch'oe P'aryong and 60 other Korean students.
- 28: Underground Korean newspaper, *Chosön Tongnip Sinmun*, is published by Posöng-sa in Seoul. Underground newspapers increase to 26 by end of 1919.
- Twenty-five Korean nationalist leaders meet at the house of Son Pyöngghüi and select T'aehwa-gwan restaurant as the site for announcing Declaration of Korean Independence.
- Feb: Korean Women's Association in the USA submits petition for Korea's independence to US President Woodrow Wilson.
- Mar 1: Samil Independence Movement begins. Thirty-three Korean nationalist leaders meet at T'aehwa-gwan restaurant in the afternoon, read the Declaration of Independence and notify the Japanese Government-General. Twenty thousand citi-

- zens meet at Pagoda Park in Seoul. Demonstration spreads throughout Korea. 1,542 independence assemblies held, 2,023,098 persons participate. 23,470 persons killed, and 46,948 persons arrested.
- 3: National Funeral for Emperor Kojong
- 17: Korean National Council in Russia announces Declaration of Independence, proclaims organization of Korean Provisional Government on 21 March: (Son Pyŏnghŭi President, Pak Yŏnghyo Vice-president, Syngman Rhee [Yi Sŭngman] Prime Minister).
- 25: Son Pyŏnghŭi and 265 others involved in Declaration of Korean Independence referred to preliminary trial.
- Apr 1: Independence movement woman leader, Yu Kwansun, arrested while demonstrating at Anae Market (Pyŏngch'ŏn), Ch'ungch'ŏng Namdo; sentenced to 7 years in prison, dies in prison October 1920.
- Japanese set up 20th Japanese Army Division Headquarters at Yongsan, Seoul.
- 10: Twenty-nine Korean nationalist leaders meet in French Concession at Shanghai, form Provisional Korean National Assembly (Speaker Yi Tongnyŏng, Vice-speaker Son Chŏngdo). Assembly passes Korean Provisional National Assembly Law of 57 articles, organizes Provisional Korean Cabinet.
- 11: Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai establishes name of country as Taehan Min'guk, elects cabinet (Prime Minister Syngman Rhee).
- 13: Establishment of the Korean Provisional Government announced. Provisional Government appoints Kim Kyusik Minister of Foreign Affairs and Ambassador Plenipotentiary to France.
- 23: Twenty-four nationalist leaders from 13 provinces of Korea establish Hansŏng (Korean) Provisional Government, announce Constitutional Law and list of Cabinet members (Syngman Rhee President, Yi Tonghwi Prime Minister).
- Aug 12: Governor-General of Korea Hasegawa Yoshimichi relieved of office. Saito Makoto appointed to succeed.

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- 20: Government-General Organization Law revised, depriving Governor-General of command of the Japanese Army in Korea.
- 21: Korean Provisional Government in China founds *Tongnip Sinmun* (Independence Daily).
- Sep: 2: Kang Ugyu throws bomb at newly appointed Governor-General Saito Makoto at Seoul Railroad Station. Bomb kills 30 Japanese police officers, but Saito escapes.
- 11: Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai promulgates Temporary Korean Constitutional Law and appoints Syngman Rhee Temporary Korean President.
- Nov 9: Kim Wŏnbong forms Korean Independence Fighter Corps in Chi-lin province, South Manchuria.
- 18: Japanese Government invites Korean nationalist leader, Yŏ Unhyŏng, to visit Japan. Yŏ proclaims Korea's independence in Tokyo.

1920

- Jan: Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai sends An Ch'angho, Yŏ Unhyŏng, and Han Songgwŏn to Moscow. Russian Government donates 1 million rubles to Korean Provisional Government.
- Feb: Korean Liberation Army formed in Manchuria.
- Mar 5: Korean language newspaper, *Chosŏn Ilbo*, founded in Seoul.
- Mar 15: Two hundred men of Korean Independence Army attack Japanese police station in P'ungni-dong, Korea from across Tumen River and attack Japanese forces in Ŭnsŏng and Namyang. Fighting continues till 29 March.
- 22: Seoul High Court concludes preliminary trial of Son Pyŏng-hŭi and 47 Korean nationalist leaders for sedition.
- Apr 1: Korean language newspaper, *Tonga Ilbo*, founded in Seoul.
- 28: Korean Prince Yi Ŭn married to Nashimoto Masako.
- Apr: World Socialist Party Congress in Brussels asks world powers

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- to recognize the Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai.
- Jul: Korean Independence Army attacks Japanese Army in Feng-wu-tung, killing 157 Japanese soldiers and wounding 200.
- Aug 24: US Congressional Delegation (38 senators and representatives) arrives in Korea. Independence demonstration coincides with arrival.
- Sep 14: Korean Pak Chaehyök throws a bomb into Pusan Police Station, killing Japanese station chief and destroying station building. Pak starves himself to death in prison on 22 September.
- Oct 20: Ch'ing-shan-li Battle begins. Pungno Army commanders, Kim Chwajin, Na Chungso and Yi Pömsök, attack the 19th and 21st Japanese Army Divisions with 2,500 Korean Independence Pungno Army men in Ch'ing-shan-li, Manchuria, killing 3,300 Japanese soldiers. 150 Koreans killed and wounded, 200 missing.
- 30: Seoul Appellate Court tries Son Pyönghüi and 47 other Korean nationalist leaders for involvement in the Samil Independence Movement, sentencing Son Pyönghüi, Yi Sünghun, O Sech'ang, and 5 others to 3 years in prison. Ch'oe Namsön and 3 others sentenced to 2 years and 6 months in prison.
- Nov 9: Primary School term extended to 6 years.
- Nov: Korean Independence Army units assemble in north-eastern Manchuria to avoid large-scale Japanese Army offensive; form Korean Independence Army Corps with 3,500 men; Sö Il commander.
- Dec 31: Government-General prohibits the use of old Korean currency as legal tender.

1921

- Feb 4: One unit of Korean Independence Army Corps attacks Japanese forces in Ch'öngjin, Hamgyöng Pukto, kills and wounds 640 Japanese. 50 Koreans killed in action.
- Apr 1: Tobacco Monopoly Law proclaimed. Office of Monopoly

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- opened on 25 July.
- Jun 22: Soviet Government demands disarmament of Korean Independence Army Corps in Freedom City (Iman), Heilungchou, North-eastern Manchuria.
- 28: Soviet Red Army attacks Korean Independence Army Corps in Freedom City, kills 270 Koreans and captures 900 others.
- Jul 1: Chinese Communist Party formed in China.
- Sep: Korean Provisional Government dispatches Sŏ Chaep'il and Syngman Rhee to the Pacific Conference in the USA.
- Oct 9: Taedong River Bridge construction begins in P'yŏngyang. Completed 30 November 1923.
- Dec 3: Korean Language Research Society formed, with Im Kyŏngjae as president, at Hwimun School, Seoul.

1922

- Jan 23: Far East Nationalists' Conference in Moscow. Kim Kyusik attends representing Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai.
- Mar 28: Kim Iksang, O Sŏngnyun, and Yi Chongam shoot Japanese General Tanaka Yoshiichi in Shanghai. They fail and are arrested. O Sŏngnyun escapes from Japanese prison on 1 April.
- May 19: Son Pyŏnghŭi dies.
- Jul: 200 Korean workers massacred at Niigata, Japan.
- Oct 1: Kim Ku, Cho Sangsŏp, Kim Injŏn, Yŏ Unhyŏng and 4 others organize Korean Labor Army in Shanghai to train soldiers and raise funds.
- Dec: Korean population in Manchuria: 515,685.
- 30: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics established in Russia.

1923

- Jan 1: South Gate Railroad Station renamed Seoul Station.
- 12: Kim Sangok throws a bomb into Chongno Police Station,



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- Seoul; escapes arrest. Kim kills and wounds several Japanese policemen in a fire fight in Samp'an-dong, Seoul on 17 January; kills more Japanese police in a 3-hour fight with 1,000 Japanese policemen in Hyoje-dong, Seoul; commits suicide.
- May 15: Tramways begin operation in P'yöngyang.
- Jun 2: Kim Kyusik, Han Hyanggwön, Yi Ch'öngch'ön and Yö Unhyöng leave Korean Provisional Government in China and declare formation of Korean Republic in Shanghai.
- Aug: Floods in Korea kill 2,500 persons and destroy 46,000 houses.
- Sep 1: Severe earthquake near Tokyo, Japan. Japanese authorities kill 5,000 Korean residents in Japan on charges of attempted riot.
- 3: Pak Yöl and Kaneko Fumiko arrested in Tokyo charged with attempted assassination of Japanese Emperor.
- Nov 30: Roadbridge over Taedong River completed at P'yöngyang.

1924

- Jan 4: Kim Chisöp throws bomb at Nijubashi Bridge of Imperial Palace in Tokyo; is arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment on 6 November. Dies in prison on 20 February 1928.
- Feb 3: Former US President Woodrow Wilson dies at the age of 68.
- May 2: Keijo Imperial University Organization Law promulgated. Medical and Law Departments open on 1 April 1926.
- Aug 17: Chön Il, Yi Namdu, Yi Chöngsu, and 4 others form Korean Labor Party in Seoul.

1925

- Mar 3: Government-General opens Korea Railroad Bureau
- Apr 17: Kim Ch'an and Cho Pongam organize Korean Communist Party at Asawön (Ya-hsü-yüan) Restaurant in Seoul.
- Apr: Ehwa Women's College founded from Ewha School (established 1887).
- 18: Pak Hönyöng forms Korean Communist Youth Association.

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- Jul 12: Storm hits southern Korea, inundating Yongsan and Ttuk-sŏm in Seoul; Seoul-Pusan Railroad out of operation for 10 days. Rescue boat capsizes on 19 July; 292 persons drowned.
- Oct 15: Seoul Station building opened.  
Seoul Stadium opened.

1926

- Jan 2: Japanese kills Korean residents in Mie Prefecture, Japan, causing clash between Japanese and 1,000 Korean residents in the area.
- 8: Government-General moves to new building in Kyŏngbok Palace.
- Feb 12: Former Prime Minister Yi Wanyong dies.
- 26: Japanese Supreme Court in Tokyo tries Pak Yŏl and his wife, Kaneko Fumiko; both sentenced to death on 23 March. Sentence commuted to life imprisonment on 5 April. Kaneko commits suicide in prison on 23 July. Pak Yŏl released in 1945 following Japan's surrender.
- Apr 26: Emperor Sunjong dies in Hŭngbok-jŏn, Ch'angdŏk Palace.
- 28: Song Haksŏn shoots Sato Torajiro in front of Kŭmho-mun of Ch'angdŏk Palace, mistaking him for Governor-General Saito. Shoots and kills 3 other Japanese. Executed by firing squad 19 May 1927.
- May 13: Korean trade fair held in Seoul.
- Jun 10: Yuksip Manse Incident: On the day of Sunjong's funeral, Yŏnhŭi College student Yi Pyŏngnip, Keijo Imperial University student Yi Ch'ŏnjin, and Chungang High School student Yi Sŏnho lead student demonstrations in 8 different places, disseminating leaflets and demanding Korea's independence.
- 11: Japanese police arrest 106 Korean students on charges of involvement in the Yuksip Manse Incident.
- 19: Chungang High School Physical Training Instructor Cho

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Ch'örho and 70 students imprisoned for involvement in the Yuksip Manse Incident.

Oct 25: Telegraph service begins between Seoul and Osaka.

Nov 30: Seoul Broadcasting Station established.

1927

Feb: Korean nationalists and communists form a united nationalist front under the name of Sin'gan-hoe. Communist members of Sin'gan-hoe are arrested by the Japanese in March 1928 for involvement in the 3rd Communist Party Incident.

Jun 5: Korean industrial fair in Seoul sponsored by a Seoul daily, *Keijo Nichi-nichi Shinbun*.

Dec 6: Chinese expulsion of Koreans from Manchuria rouses citizens in Iri, Chölla Pukto, to lead demonstrations, causing Chinese stores to close. Anti-Chinese demonstrations spread through Korea.

10: General Yamanashi Hanzo appointed Governor-General of Korea.

1928

Mar 25: Yi Tongyöng, An Ch'angho, Kim Ku, and Yi Siyöng form Korean Independence Party in the French Concession at Shanghai, China.

1929

Mar: Korean Revolutionary Party formed in Chi-lin Province, Southern Manchuria.

Apr 1: Yöüi-do Airfield opened in Seoul.

Jul 29: Governor-General Yamanashi Hanzo's trusted associate Hida arrested on charge of abuse of authority. Yamanashi relieved of post later in connection with this.

Aug 17: Saito Mokoto succeeds Yamanashi Hanzo as Governor-

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General of Korea.

- Oct 24: World Economic Depression begins as stock prices in New York decline sharply.
- 30: Japanese students tease Korean girls in a train on Kwangju-Naju Line. Korean students scuffle with the Japanese students.
- Nov 3: Students of Kwangju High School demonstrate against Japanese students' behavior and *Koshu Nippo's* misrepresentation of the incident; Korean students clash with Japanese students; all Korean students in Kwangju demonstrate in support of Kwangju High School students. Anti-Japanese student demonstrations spread throughout Korea. By March 1930, 54,000 students from 194 different schools participate, 580 students are put into prison, 2,330 students are expelled from schools.
- 4: Sin'gan-hoe calls an emergency meeting to investigate the Kwangju Student Uprising, and despatches Kim Pyöngno, Hō Hōn, and Hwang Sanggyu to Kwangju.
- Dec 13: Japanese police raid Singan-hoe headquarters and arrest 44 leaders.

1930

- Jan 24: Korean nationalist leader, Kim Chwajin, assassinated by communists Pak Sangsik and Kim Ilsöng in North Manchuria.
- 28: Yi Tongyöng, Yi Siyöng and Kim Ku form Han'guk (Korea) Independence Party in Shanghai.
- Feb 26: Kwangju District Court sentences Kwangju Student Uprising leader, Hwang Namok (student of Kwangju High School) and 50 others to prison terms ranging from 4 to 8 months.
- Jul 13: Floods throughout Korea. 2,657 persons injured or killed; 37,438 houses damaged.
- Oct 1: Simple census: 10,763,679 males, 10,294,628 females.
- Nov 28: Tangin-ni thermo-electric power station opened southwest of Seoul.

1931

- Jun 17: Governor-General Saito Makoto resigns. Ugaki Kazushige succeeds him.
- Jul 1: Wan-pao-shan Incident occurs: Korean and Chinese farmers clash over irrigation construction at Wan-pao-shan in Chi-lin, Manchuria.
- 2: Japanese Legation in Manchuria mobilizes police force to 'protect the subjects of the Japanese Empire' (i.e. Koreans). Chinese authorities also mobilize police force. Koreans complete irrigation work as planned.
- Chosŏn Ilbo*, a Korean daily published in Seoul, obtains report from its Manchurian Bureau reporter, Kim Isam, of Chinese massacre of Koreans in Wan-pao-shan area, issues extra with the news.
- Korean residents in Manchuria denounce Kim Isam as a Japanese spy.
- 3: Enraged Koreans assault Chinese residents in Seoul and Inch'ŏn in retaliation for reported massacre of Koreans in Manchuria.
- 5: Korean citizens attack Chinese residents in P'yŏngyang. Anti-Chinese movement spreads throughout Korea.
- 14: Kim Isam admits that his report of the Chinese massacre was not true; *Chosŏn Ilbo* carries correction and apology for the false report.
- 15: Kim Isam assassinated in Chi-lin.
- 16: Government-General announces results of Korean 'persecution' of Chinese in Korea; 100 Chinese killed and several hundred wounded.
- 28: Chinese Nationalist Party issues statement attributing the Wan-pao-shan case and Korean raids on Chinese residents in Korea to Japanese manoeuvring, and urging the Chinese people not to bear malice to Koreans.
- Sep 18: Manchurian Conflict. Japanese Army attacks Chinese in retaliation for the destruction of Manchurian Railroad con-

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trolled by the Japanese at Liut'iaokou, west of Shenyang. Japanese Army occupies Manchuria within a few months. Pro-Japanese government in Manchuria set up March 1932. Conflict leaves 19,304 Koreans homeless in Manchuria, 384 Koreans wounded and killed.

1932

- Jan 8: Yi Pongch'ang throws a hand-grenade at Japanese Emperor outside Sakurada Gate in Tokyo, but fails to assassinate Hirohito. Yi sentenced to death by Japanese Supreme Court on 30 September; executed in Tokyo on 10 October.
- Apr 29: Yun Ponggil throws a bomb at Japanese generals at Japanese Emperor's birthday party in Hung-kou Park, Shanghai; kills Army Commander Shirakawa Yoshinori and wounds 10 others. Yun is arrested and sent to Nagasaki 8 November. Japanese military tribunal tries Yun; sentences him to death 20 November. Yun executed at Kanezawa Japanese Army Prison 19 December.
- 30: An Ch'angho arrested inside French Concession at Shanghai, on suspicion of involvement in the assassination of Shirakawa at Hung-kou Park. Sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment by Seoul District Court on 26 December; released on parole from Taejŏn Prison 10 February 1935.
- Jul 29: Heat wave in south Korea: 42 degrees centigrade in Kyŏng-sang Pukto.
- 30: Korean nationalist leaders, Cho Mansik and Kim Tongwŏn, form Kŏnjung-hoe in P'yŏngyang.
- Aug 12: Korean Revolutionary Army Commander Yang Sebong killed in raid on Japanese Army.
- Nov 10: Kim Kyusik and Ch'oe Tongu form Korean Anti-Japanese Front Unity League in Shanghai.

1933

- Jan 30: Adolf Hitler becomes Chancellor of Germany.

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- Feb: Syngman Rhee attends League of Nations conference as representative of Korean Provisional Government in China. Denounces Japanese invasion of Manchuria.
- Mar 4: Franklin Delano Roosevelt inaugurated as 32nd President of the USA. Roosevelt issues New Deal Policy to overcome economic depression.
- 7: Naktong Bridge opened (1,060 meters long).
- Apr 15: Korean Independence Army in Manchuria conducts joint operation against Japanese Army.
- Jun 7: Twenty-two Nations Committee of the League of Nations adopts resolution not to recognize Japanese-backed Manchurian Empire.
- Aug 28: Floods in Korea damage 25,650 houses. 741 persons drowned and injured.
- Aug: Korean Revolutionary Army Supreme Commander Yang Sebong killed by the Japanese.
- Sep 12: Naktong road-bridge construction begins.
- Oct 29: Korean Language Research Society publishes Standard Korean Orthography.
- Nov 25: Kūmgang Railroad Bridge opened near Kongju, Ch'ungch'ōng Namdo.
- Dec 6: Soyang Bridge opened near Ch'unch'ōn.

*1934*

- Jun 2: Typhoon hits Yōnp'yōng Island, west coast; 200 killed, 200 fishing boats destroyed.
- Jul 2: Sinūiju Airfield completed.
- Aug 21: Han River road-bridge construction begins. Opened 23 October 1936.
- Sep 22: Pak T'aeyōl arrested in Shanghai, for bombing and destruction of P'yōngan Namdo Provincial Office 15 years before. Sentenced to death in 1936 by P'yōngyang District Court, and executed in P'yōngyang Prison.

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1935

- Jul 5: Han'guk (Korean) Independence Party, Korean Revolutionary Party and other Korean independence organization leaders meet in Nanking; form Nationalist Revolutionary party.
- Aug 1: Chinese Communist Party declares anti-Japanese national salvation struggle.
- Sep 25: Pak Ch'angse, Mun Ilmin, Cho Soang and others declare reconstruction of Han'guk (Korean) Independence Party.
- Oct 1: National census: 11,271,005 males, 10,937,097 females, including 333,410 Japanese males and 285,595 Japanese females.
- Dec 3: Ch'öngjin Airfield opened.
- 10: Keijo (Seoul) Citizens' Hall opened.

1936

- Jun: An Ikt'ae composes Korean National Anthem (now in use).
- Aug 5: Minami Jiro appointed Governor-General of Korea, to succeed Ugaki.
- 9: Son Kijöng establishes world record in marathon at 11th Olympic Games in Berlin (2 hrs. 29 mins. 2 secs). Son runs for Japan because Korea is under Japanese occupation.
- 29: Korean-language newspaper, *Tonga Ilbo*, obliterates the Japanese flag from the chest of Son Kijöng in the news picture. Japanese authorities suspend *Tonga Ilbo* till 2 June 1937.
- Oct 23: Han River road-bridge opened (381 meters long).
- Nov 25: Germany and Japan conclude Anti-Communist Treaty.
- Dec: Anti-Japanese People's Front formed in Kapsan, Hamgyöng Namdo.

1937

- Jan 16: Yalu River Hydroelectric Power Company founded.
- 31: Taegu Airfield opened.



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- Feb: Yi Ch'öngch'ön, Hyön Ikch'öl, Yu Tongyöl, and Yang Kit'ak eliminate Kim Wönbong and other leftists from the Nationalist Revolutionary Party and rename the party Han'guk Nationalist Revolutionary Party. Kim Wönbong forms separate Chosön Nationalist Revolutionary Party.
- 26: Tongdae-mun Police Station arrests Yu Inho, Yu Taeyöl and 150 other leaders of Paekpaek-kyo sect for the massacre of 300 believers. Paekpaek-kyo founder Chön Haeryong is found dead on 7 April. Fourteen Paekpaek-kyo leaders sentenced to death in August 1941.
- Mar 18: Government-General orders use of Japanese language in government offices and in the performance of official duties.
- May 1: Northeast Anti-Japanese Korean guerrillas raid Japanese police station in Poch'ön-bo, Hyesan-jin, northern Korea.
- Jun 6: Government-General begins arrest of members of Korean cultural organization, Tongu-hoe, on charges of breach of peace; imprisons 150.
- 8: Bodies of 380 victims of Paekpaek-kyo unearthed.
- 22: Paekpaek-kyo leaders, Son Haeju, Chöng Munhwan, Kim Hanyun and 17 others arrested on charges of violating 800 rural women at P'algongsan, North Kyöngsang.
- Jul 7: Japanese and Chinese troops clash on Lukouch'iao (Marco Polo Bridge), China. Outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War.
- Aug 9: Pioneer Korean film actor Na Un'gyu dies.
- 20: Donation of ornamental gold hairpins begun by pro-Japanese women.
- 21: Japan and USSR sign non-aggression pact.
- Sep 25: Nationalist and Communist Chinese Governments form alliance.
- 28: League of Nations adopts resolution criticizing Japan for the Sino-Japanese War.
- Oct 1: Government-General of Korea publishes 'Imperial Subjects' Oath' and requires Koreans to chant it every morning.
- 5: Government-General conducts air defence training in Seoul and Inch'ön.
- Nov 21: Wöلمي Island causeway opened.

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- Dec 12: Japanese Army captures Nanking.  
23: Government-General issues Japanese Emperor's picture to all schools in Korea, requires all students to bow to it.

1938

- Mar: Government-General removes Korean language from middle school curriculum.  
Mar: Korean nationalist leader, An Ch'angho, dies while on parole.  
Apr 3: Japanese Government announces Special Volunteer Recruitment for conscription of Korean youths in the Japanese Army.  
20: Sungmyōng Women's College founded in Seoul.  
May 10: Imperial Decree on application of the General Mobilization Law to Korean people.  
31: Government-General ordinance concerning mobilization of Korean women for road repair and other engineering work.  
Jul 1: Students of Keijo Imperial University and Ehwa Women's College organized into work units.  
20: Government-General orders all policemen to shave their heads.  
Sep 1: Naktong River Railroad Bridge construction begins.  
Oct: Leftist Korean Nationalist Front forms Korean Volunteer Army. Rightist Korean Liberation Front organizes Korean Liberation Youth Corps in February 1939.  
Nov 3: Japanese Government announces Great East Asia New Order.

1939

- Feb 9: Seoul City decides to build twenty air defence parks.  
May 5: Government-General starts purchase of gold and collection of metal.  
Jul 3: Government-General activates Keibo-dan para-military organization in Korea.  
22: Seoul-Ch'unch'ŏn Railroad opened.

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- 25: Kanggye Hydro-electric Power Plant construction begins.
- Jul: USSR departs 10,000 Koreans from the Far East to Central Asia.
- Sep 3: Second World War begins. Britain, France, Austria, and Egypt declare war on Germany.
- 30: Government-General begins drafting Korean labor for Japanese munitions factories under Personal Service Drafting Law. 450,000 Korean workers drafted as of August 1945.
- Sep: Official residence of Japanese Governor-General of Korea completed (now the Blue House).
- Oct 27: Government-General freezes price of commodities at 18 September level.
- Nov 1: Government-General issues Foreigners' Residence Control and Expulsion Orders. Orders implemented in November.
- 10: Government-General requires all Koreans to adopt Japanese names.
- 25: Sorok-to Leprosarium opened. Accomodation for 6,000 patients.
- Kwangju Airfield opened.

1940

- Mar: Korean Provisional Government in China formulates National Foundation Principles.
- May 11: Winston Churchill forms new Cabinet in Great Britain.
- Jun 4: Government-General proclaims organization of Manchuria Settlers Training Camp.
- 10: Italy declares war on Britain and France.
- 14: German Forces capture Paris.
- Jul 15: Government-General recruits 100 college students for Manchurian State Construction Student Work Force.
- Aug 10: Government-General closes Korean language newspapers in Seoul (*Chosŏn Ilbo* and *Tonga Ilbo*). *Maeil Sinbo*, official organ of the Government-General, remains as sole Korean-language newspaper.
- 20: Government-General begins rice rationing. Private shipment

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- and sale of rice prohibited.
- Sep 1: *Keijo Nippo* (Japanese-language daily newspaper in Seoul) sponsors Korea trade fair in Seoul.
- 9: Government-General requires all Korean students to wear khaki uniform.
- 17: Yi Ch'öngch'ön and Yi Pömsök form Korean Liberation General Headquarters in Chungking.
- 20: 3,200,116 Korean families (79.3 percent of the Korean population) are registered with Japanese names.
- 22: Japanese Army captures northern region of Indochina
- 27: Germany, Italy, and Japan conclude tripartite alliance. Government-General begins mass arrest of Korean Christians on charges of anti-war instigation.
- Oct 1: National census: 12,266,230 males, 12,069,900 females.
- Oct: Government-General organizes National General Mobilization League to promote assimilation of Korean people with Japanese.
- 16: Wages Control Law proclaimed.
- Nov 8: Employee Movement Control Law proclaimed.
- 9: Ship Crewmen Conscription Law proclaimed.
- 16: 229 of the 600 US citizens in Korea leave Inch'ön for the USA.
- 20: Housing Plot and Buildings Price Control Law proclaimed.

1941

- Feb 12: Government-General issues Korean Political Offenders Preventive Arrest orders.
- 21: Government-General organizes Korean Youth Corps.
- Mar: Japanese police arrest 15 US and British Christian missionaries in Korea.
- 15: Government-General orders activation of Korean Students Volunteer Corps.
- Apr 1: P'yöngyang-Wönsan Railroad opened.
- Government-General begins rationing of vital goods.
- Jun 17: Pro-Japanese Chinese Government Chief Wang Chao-ming

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- visits Korea.
- 22: Russo-German War begins.
- Jun: Central (Seoul-Pusan) Railroad opened.
- Jul 7: Itagaki Seishiro appointed Commander of Japanese Forces in Korea.
- 25: USA and Britain freeze Japanese capital in the USA, Britain, China, and the Netherlands.
- Aug 2: USA signs agreement with USSR to furnish economic assistance to USSR.
- 5: Yalu River Power Plant begins supply of electricity to Manchuria. Power supply to Korea begins 1 September.
- 14: Atlantic Charter announced. Heads of US and British Governments meet aboard ship in the Atlantic Ocean, decide on purpose of war, post-war reconstruction, and eradication of Nazis.
- Aug Government-General orders compulsory delivery of rice and other agricultural products from Korean farmers.
- 26: Government-General controls entry of foreigners into Korea.
- Oct 2: German Forces attack Moscow.
- 12: Militarist Tojo Hideki forms new Cabinet in Japan.
- Dec 8: Japanese Forces begin landing in Malay Peninsula at 0200 hours, attack Pearl Harbor at 0300 hours. Japan hands ultimatum to USA after 0400 hours.
- Japanese police arrest 67 US and other foreign Catholic priests and bishops in Korea.
- 9: Korean Provisional Government in China declares war on Japan. Nationalist Chinese Government declares war on Germany, Japan and Italy.
- 11: Japan, Germany and Italy conclude alliance.
- 15: US Secretary of Finance withdraws freeze on properties of Korean residents in USA.
- 22: Korean residents in USA form Korean National Defence Guard Corps with the permission of the US Department of the Army.
- Japanese Imperial Decree issued concerning the punishment of wartime criminals.

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Nationalist Chinese Government concludes military alliance with Britain.

25: Japanese Army captures Hong Kong.

1942

Jan 2: Japanese Army captures Manila.

May 9: Japanese Cabinet decides to extend Conscription Law to Koreans.

18: Korean Provisional Government in China absorbs Kim Wŏnbong's Korean Volunteer Corps into the Korean Liberation Army.

19: Korean Provisional Government appoints Kim Wŏnbong as Deputy Commander and Kim Hongil as Chief of Staff of the Korean Liberation Army.

25: Government-General recruits Koreans as Japanese Army civilians and assigns them to duties at prisoner-of-war camps.

29: Koiso Kuniaki appointed Governor-General of Korea.

May: Government-General forms Conscription Law Execution Preparatory Committee.

Jul: Kim Tubong organizes Korean Independence League.

28: Japanese Navy decides to employ Korean civilians.

Aug 22: German Forces begin attack on Stalingrad.

Sep 8: Government-General begins compulsory collecting of metal.

10: Government-General gives military training to all Koreans from 17 to 21.

Oct 1: Japanese police begin arresting members of the Korean Language Research Society (Chosŏn-ŏ Hakhoe). 33 arrested by April 1943.

Nov 20: No Kinam first Korean ordained bishop (Vicar Apostolic of Seoul).

1943

Mar 1: Government-General proclaims Korean Youth Conscription Law. First conscripts undergo physical examination from

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April to August 1944.

- Jun 10: Seoul divided into seven *ku* (wards) under administrative reorganization.
- Jun: Korean Liberation Army Supreme Commander Yi Ch'öng-ch'ön concludes mutual military assistance pact with the Acting Commander of the British Forces Asia Theater in India.
- Aug 1: Japan begins recruiting Koreans for duty with Japanese Navy.
- Oct 20: Government-General conscripts Korean students for service with Japanese Army.
- 25: Korean students undergo physical examination for service with Japanese Armed Forces.
- Nov 8: Government-General serves notice of compulsory labor on all conscription-age Korean students of liberal arts colleges and high schools who do not volunteer for military service.
- 12: Only 38.7 percent of conscription-age students volunteer for service with the Japanese Forces.
- 27: Leaders of USA, Britain, and China meet in Cairo and sign Cairo Declaration, demanding unconditional surrender of the Japanese and assuring independence of Korea.
- Dec 24: Government-General lowers conscription age by one year.

1944

- Jan 20: Government-General begins enrolment of Korean student drafts in Japanese military camps.
- Feb 8: Government-General begins total mobilization of Korean workers to mines and munitions factories.
- 10: Government-General issues orders concerning special training for Korean women.
- Feb: Government-General abolishes Sundays for government officials.
- Mar: Government-General abolishes evening editions of all newspapers in Korea.
- Apr 22: Protestant pastor Chu Kich'öl martyred for resisting Japanese

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- orders to pay homage to Japanese Shinto shrine. Ch'oe Pongsök, Pak Kwanjun, and other ministers also martyred.
- 17: Hong Yongho becomes bishop (Vicar Apostolic) of P'yöngyang.
- 28: Government-General proclaims Student Mobilization Headquarters Organization Decree, to recruit all students from 4th year to university seniors.
- May 4: Government-General orders all schools to open on Sundays.
- 9: Single Korean women are recruited and sent to work in steel mills in Tomiyama Prefecture, Japan.
- Jul 18: Japanese Prime Minister Tojo Hideki and his Cabinet resign *en masse*.
- 22: Koiso Kuniaki resigns as Governor-General of Korea on appointment as Prime Minister of Japan.
- 24: Abe Nobuyuki appointed Governor-General of Korea.
- Aug 4: Japanese Cabinet decides on total armament.
- 23: Government-General issues Korean Women Mobilization decree, requiring all unmarried Korean women from 14 to 40 to work in Japan and South Sea Islands.
- Aug: Government-General conscripts catholic priests and theological students for military service and forced labor, commandeers catholic church buildings in P'yöngyang, Taejön, and Yönan for use by Japanese Armed Forces.
- Nov 24: Seventy US Air Force B-29 heavy bombers make first raid on Tokyo.
- Dec: Seventy Korean student recruits of Japanese Army, P'yöngyang Division, mutiny and are arrested.

1945

- Jan: Government-General mobilizes schoolgirls to work in munitions factories, requires primary school children to collect pine needles and pine cones.
- Feb 4: Yalta Secret Agreement signed by USA, Britain, and USSR, providing for USSR's entry into war against Japan.
- 9: Korean Provisional Government in China declares war on



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- Germany.
- Mar 1: Double tracking of Pusan-Sinūiju Railroad Line completed.
- Mar: Korean forced labor accounts for 33 percent of workers in coal mines in Japan. 725,000 Koreans drafted for forced labor from 1939 to 1945.
- Apr 1: US Marines land on Okinawa. Defending Japanese troops wiped out. 90,000 Japanese troops and 100,000 civilians killed.
- 4: Government-General orders decongestion of major cities in Korea, evacuates population from the cities.
- May 7: Germany signs unconditional surrender to Allied Forces.
- Jun 23: Government-General proclaims Korean Volunteer Military Service Law, requiring every Korean male from 15 to 60 and every Korean female from 17 to 40 to serve in the National Volunteer Combat Corps.
- 28: United Nations Charter formulated.
- Jul 16: USA makes first atomic bomb test in New Mexico.
- 26: Leaders of USA, Britain, USSR, and China meet in Potsdam and issue joint declaration demanding unconditional surrender of Japan. Declaration also reaffirms Korea's independence.
- Aug 6: USA drops atomic bomb on Hiroshima. 200,000 Japanese killed. USA drops second atomic bomb on Nagasaki, 9 August.
- 7: Korean Prince Yi U dies in Hiroshima from atomic blast.
- 8: USSR declares war on Japan. USSR troops move into north Korea.
- 14: Japanese Government accepts Potsdam Declaration; declares unconditional surrender to the USA on 15 August. Government-General in Korea prints and circulates unlimited paper money: 7,355,000,000 yen from 14 August to 5 September. Governor-General Abe Nobuyuki agrees to transfer government to left-wing Korean nationalist leader, Yō Unhyōng.
- 15: Japan announces unconditional surrender to the USA, signs surrender document on board US battleship *Missouri*, 2 September 1945.

- Korean National Foundation Preparatory Committee is formed in Seoul, with Yŏ Unhyŏng as chairman, An Chae-hong and Chang Tŏksu as vice-chairmen.
- 16: Governor-General orders release of all Korean political and economic offenders.
- 17: Right-wing nationalist Cho Mansik forms National Foundation Preparatory Committee in P'yŏngan Namdo, with 20 promoters including 2 communists. Committee takes over administration of P'yŏngan Namdo. Korean Communist Party forms P'yŏngan Namdo committee.
- Aug 20: USSR Forces land at Wŏnsan.  
USSR's 28th Army Commanding General issues Decree Number 1, ordering formation of People's Committee with anti-Japanese Korean independence fighters and asking cooperation with USSR Army in NK.
- 22: USSR Forces move into P'yŏngyang.
- 24: People's Committees formed in all provinces of NK.
- 25: US news media report the partitioning of Korea at 38th parallel and occupation of divided zones by US and USSR forces. USSR Army establishes headquarters in P'yŏngyang.
- 27: USSR Army Headquarters P'yŏngyang orders dissolution of right-wing National Foundation Preparatory Committee and its merger with P'yŏngan Namdo People's Political Committee, to have equal rightist-leftist representation (16 rightists and 16 leftists).
- 28: USSR Army crosses 38th parallel, and moves into Kaesŏng then withdraws.
- 30: SK forms provisional military force.
- Sep 1: Korean Nationalist Party formed in Seoul with An Chae-hong as chairman. Absorbs four right-wing neutralist parties on 24 September.
- 2: Allied Forces Supreme Command (General MacArthur's Headquarters) announces occupation of SK by US Forces and NK by USSR Army.
- 6: Korean National Foundation Preparatory Committee in SK announces establishment of Republic of Korea. On 14 Sep-

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- tember 1945 Committee announces Cabinet: Syngman Rhee President, Yŏ Unhyŏng Vice-president, Hŏ Hŏn Prime Minister. Rhee declines 7 November 1945.
- 7: US Army Far East Command announces establishment of US Military Government in SK.
  - 8: US Army Lt-Gen. John R. Hodge's US 24th Corps lands at Inch'ŏn, and moves into Seoul.
  - 9: Japanese Governor-General signs surrender instrument.
  - 11: Lt-Gen. John R. Hodge announces basic US Military Government policies including US economic assistance to SK.
  - 14: USSR Army Political Bureau in NK announces administrative policy. Stipulates: all NK citizens continue to operate private shops and business enterprises; price of commodities restored to pre-15 August (1945) level; religious believers continue church activities.
  - 16: Rightist Han'guk Democratic Party formed with Song Chinu as chairman in SK.  
USSR Army Political Bureau announces establishment of military government in NK.
  - 19: US authorities in SK announce official name: 'USA Military Government in Korea'.
  - 21: USSR Army in NK begins use of USSR military currency. Kim Ilsŏng enters NK with USSR Army wearing USSR Army uniform. (Exact date not released to NK public.)
  - 29: Leftist Chosŏn Proletarian Artists League formed in SK.
  - Oct 1: Korea Athletic Association formed in SK; Yi Pyŏnghak, chairman.  
5: Kim Sŏngsu and 10 other Koreans appointed advisors to US Army Military Governor in SK.  
8: USSR Army in NK sponsors organization of People's Committees in all five provinces of NK and Central People's Committee; offers right-wing nationalist Cho Mansik chairmanship of Central People's Committee. Cho declines.  
9: US Military Government in SK nullifies Japanese Police Law, Publication Control Law and other unpopular laws.  
10: US Military Governor Maj-Gen. Arnold formally announces

- decision not to recognize the People's Republic of Korea formed by Korean National Foundation Preparatory Committee of Yŏ Unhyŏng.
- Kim Ilsŏng establishes NK Branch of the Korean Communist Party.
- Thirty-two political parties and public associations in SK demand abolition of 38th parallel boundary.
- Kim Ilsŏng makes keynote address to NK Communist Party Provincial Delegates' meeting held behind closed doors.
- 14: P'yŏngyang citizens' rally to welcome Kim Ilsŏng, who makes first formal appearance to NK public.
- 15: Kim Yongmu appointed Chief Justice in SK.
- 16: Syngman Rhee returns to SK from the USA.
- 17: Keijo Imperial University renamed Seoul University.
- 20: US State Department expresses its intention of putting Korea under five-power trusteeship.
- 22: National Foundation League in SK renamed Korean People's Party.
- 24: US Military Government in SK orders repatriation of Japanese residents in SK to Japan.
- 26: Syngman Rhee forms Independence Promoting Central Council in SK.
- Nov 3: Rightist NK Democratic Party formed; Cho Mansik chairman, Yi Yunyŏng and Ch'oe Yonggŏn vice-chairmen.
- 5: Hŏ Sŏngt'aek forms leftist National Council for Labor Unions in SK.
- 7: Students offer resistance to communists in Hamhŭng. Over 50 students arrested.
- 10: Marine Defence Corps formed in SK.
- 11: Yŏ Unhyŏng forms Chosŏn People's Party in SK.
- 12: Oriental Development Corporation in SK renamed New Korea Corporation.
- 13: US Military Government in SK establishes National Defence Command and starts recruiting members.
- 15: National Federation of Korean Youth Associations formed in SK.

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- 18: NK Democratic Women's League formed in P'yŏngyang.
- 23: Rightist students cause uprising at Sinŭiju against communists and USSR troops in NK. USSR aircraft strafe students; 23 killed, 700 wounded. USSR Army authorities arrest over 2,000 students.
- Kim Ku and other members of the Korean Exile Government in China return to SK.
- 23: Pro-Japanese Korean-language daily newspaper *Maeil Sinmun* renamed *Seoul Sinmun*. *Chosŏn Ilbo* resumes operation.
- Dec 1: Korean-language daily *Tonga Ilbo* resumes operation.
- 6: US Military Government in SK confiscates all Japanese properties (USA Military Government Ordinance Number 33).
- 16: Foreign Ministers of the USA, Britain, and USSR meet in Moscow. Hong Myŏnghŭi forms leftist Korean Writer's Association in SK.
- 20: Kukche T'ongsin (International Press) in SK renamed Hap-tong T'ongsin.
- 27: Moscow Ministerial Conference decides to place Korea under Five-Power Trusteeship for five years.
- 29: Kwŏn Tongjin forms Central Committee for Anti-Trusteeship National Mobilization in SK.
- NK Democratic Youth League and other communist organizations issue posters in NK denouncing Moscow Ministerial Conference decision to place Korea under Five-Power Trusteeship.
- 30: Han'guk Democratic Party President Song Chinu in SK assassinated by Han Hyŏnu. Han arrested 9 April 1946.
- 31: Nation-wide demonstrations and strikes in SK on orders of the Anti-Trusteeship Central Committee.

1946

- Jan 2: Korean Communist Party in SK declares support for Five-Power Trusteeship.
- 5: USSR Army Headquarters in NK and Kim Il-sŏng try to per-

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- suade right-wing Democratic Party Chairman Cho Mansik to support the Moscow Ministerial Conference decision. Cho refuses and is placed under house arrest in NK.
- 6: NK people's rally in P'yöngyang to support Moscow Ministerial Conference decision.
- 12: National meeting in SK protests against Five-Power Trusteeship.
- 15: Korean Constabulary Force activated in SK.
- 16: Preliminary Joint USA-USSR Committee meets in Seoul.
- 19: Ex-Japanese Army Korean Draftees' League causes trouble in SK.
- Feb 1: MacArthur Headquarters abolishes Yi Royal Household system.
- 5: Meeting of pro-Communist members of Rightist Democratic Party in NK deprives Cho Mansik of party chairmanship and elects Kang Yanguk (brother of Kim Ilsöng's mother) chairman.
- 8: Syngman Rhee's Korean Independence Promotion Council in SK absorbs Anti-Trusteeship Mobilization Central Committee. Rhee names Kim Ku and Kim Kyusik as vice-chairmen.  
Provisional People's Committee in NK formally organized; Kim Ilsöng chairman, Kim Tubong vice chairman, and Kang Yanguk secretary-general.
- 13: Korea Coast Guard Unit activated in SK.
- 14: Syngman Rhee forms SK Democratic Assembly as supreme advisory council to US Army Military Government in SK. Kim Ku and Kim Kyusik appointed vice-chairmen.
- 15: Leftist Yö Unhyöng, Communist Pak Hönyöng, and labor leader Hö Hön form leftist Democratic National Front in SK.
- 20: US Military Government in SK proclaims Political Parties Registration Law.
- 21: US Military Government in SK freezes circulation of Japanese bank notes.
- 24: Kim Yangha and Im Hwa organize Federation of Korean

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Cultural Associations in SK.

- Mar 5: National rally in Seoul demands abolition of 38th parallel as boundary between SK and NK.  
NK Provisional People's Committee proclaims Land Reform Law stipulating confiscation of all privately owned land in excess of 5 *chōngbo* (12.25 acres) per family.
- 10: Rightist labor leader Chōn Chinhan forms Federation of Taehan Independence Labor Unions in SK.
- 13: Chōng Injin forms Pan-Chosōn Writer's Association in SK.
- 20: First joint US-USSR Committee meeting in Tōksu Palace, Seoul. Maj-Gen. Arnold represents the USA and Lt-Gen. Stikov the USSR  
Right-wing leader Kim Ku reorganizes Han'guk Independence Party in SK with Cho Soang as vice-chairman.
- 23: Kim Ilsōng issues 20-point political platform which later becomes core of NK Constitutional Law.
- 30: NK Provisional People's Committee announces completion of land reform.
- Apr 17: *Chungoe Sinbo* founded in SK.  
25: Leftist Chosōn Youth League formed in SK.
- May 12: Rightist parties' national rally in SK resolves to promote formation of independent Korean government.
- 14: Rightist parties form National Federation of Patriotic Associations in SK.
- 15: US Military Government in SK announces discovery of Communist-led Chōngp'ansa Counterfeit Case.
- 23: US Military Government in SK prohibits Korean civilians from unauthorized passage across 38th parallel to NK.
- 28: US Military Government forms Central Economic Committee and Central Food Administration Office to enforce controlled economy in SK.
- 29: US Military Government in SK requires new newspapers and periodicals to obtain licences.
- Jun 2: Cholera breaks out in Pusan; spreads throughout SK, claiming 11,000 lives.  
3: Syngman Rhee advocates formation of separate government

- in SK.
- 4: Organ of NK Provisional People's Committee, *P'yŏngyang Minbo* renamed *Minju Chosŏn*.
- 14: Moderates Kim Ku, Wŏn Sehun, Yŏ Unhyŏng, and Hŏ Hŏn begin negotiations for merger of right and left-wing camps in SK.
- 19: SK Ministry of Education announces state-operated Seoul National University plan.
- 22: Yi Pŏmsŏk and members of Korean Liberation Army return to SK from China.
- 27: Syngman Rhee forms National Unification Headquarters in SK with Kim Ku as vice-chairman.
- Jul 12: Kim Ilsŏng forms Democratic National Unification Front in NK.
- 13: Cheju Island promoted to province.
- 17: US Military Government prohibits marine navigation beyond 38th parallel.
- 21: Security Cadre School is established in NK. Later becomes NK Army Officers Training School.
- 30: Yi Ch'ŏlsŭng forms National Student's Federation in SK. NK Provisional People's Committee proclaims Law on Equal Rights for Women.
- Aug 1: NK Provisional People's Committee issues Committee Decision Number 57 concerning Citizen's Identity Card.
- 10: NK Provisional People's Committee promulgates Nationalization Law, nationalizing transport, communications, banks, and other major industries.
- 22: Seoul National University formally established.
- 28: NK Communist Party and New People's Party merged into NK Worker's Party.
- 31: First meeting of Central Committee of NK Worker's Party elects Kim Tubong chairman, Kim Ilsŏng and Chu Yŏngha vice-chairmen.
- Sep 1: NK Worker's Party organ *Nodong Sinmun* established in P'yŏngyang by merging NK Communist Party organ *Chŏngno* and New People's Party organ *Kŭllo Sinmun*.



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- School system in SK changed to 6 years primary school, 6 middle school and 4 college.
- 5: NK Provisional People's Committee 2nd plenary session upgrades P'yöngyang to Special City; also decides NK Election Law.
- 15: Kim Ilsöng University established in P'yöngyang.
- 17: Seoul Metropolitan Police office formed in Seoul with Chang T'aeksang as first director.
- Oct 1: Students and Workers riot in Taegu. 16 killed, 3,700 persons arrested.
- 7: Rightist-leftist merger promoters in SK agree to seven-point principle.
- 13: Yi Pömsök forms Korean National Youth League with US Military Government support.
- 15: Moderate leftists in SK merged into Socialist Labor Party with Yö Unhyöng as chairman. Party renamed Diligent Laboring People's Party, 24 May 1947.
- Nov 3: NK holds Provincial, City and County People's Committee elections.
- 11: 400 prisoners break out of Chönju Prison in SK.
- 23: US Military Government enforces political party registration in SK.  
Leftists in SK form Worker's Party with Hō Hön as chairman.
- 27: US Military Government enforces 48-hour week for all workers in SK.  
NK Red Cross Society organized.
- Dec 2: Syngman Rhee visits USA, explains necessity of government in SK separate from NK. Returns to SK 21 April.
- 5: NK Central News Agency founded in P'yöngyang.
- 9: University students in SK strike in protest against nationalization of Seoul University. 4,956 students expelled, 380 professors dismissed 27 May 1945. 3,518 students reinstated 14 August 1947.
- 12: Interim Legislative Assembly formed in SK; Kim Kyusik chairman, Ch'oe Tongo and Yun Kisöp vice-chairmen.

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1947

- Jan 13: Over 40 political parties and social organizations issue joint statement protesting against Five-Power Trusteeship of Korea.
- 18: Precautionary State of Emergency proclaimed in Seoul because of anti-trusteeship demonstrations.
- 22: US Military Government issues Order Number 126 enforcing election of local government officials in SK.
- 24: Former Exiled Korean Government leaders form Anti-Trusteeship Struggle Committee in SK.
- Feb 5: US Military Government appoints An Chaehong Chief Civil Administrator in SK.
- 11: US Military Government enforces citizenship registration in SK.
- 12: National Federation of Cultural Associations formed in SK.
- 17: National meeting of NK Provincial, City and County People's Committees elects members of NK People's Assembly (Legislature) and ratifies major decisions and laws proclaimed by the NK Provisional People's Committee.
- 21: NK People's Assembly first meeting elects Kim Tubong speaker. Assembly appoints Kim Ilsong to form NK People's Committee (Administration). Assembly endorses Committee on 22 February.
- Mar 1: Rightists and leftists clash near Namdaemun, Seoul.
- 22: Leftists stage 24-hour limited strike throughout SK. Many leaders arrested.
- Apr 4: US Military Government in SK organizational changes: new government consists of 13 departments, 2 offices, and 3 boards.
- 19: SK's So Yunbok wins first place in Boston Marathon in USA.
- May 15: NK People's Assembly holds 2nd meeting; ratifies amendment to Law on Tax in Grain, endorses budget for fiscal 1947.
- 21: Second Joint US-USSR Committee convenes. Maj-Gen.

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- Brown represents the US and Lt-Gen. Stikov represents the USSR.
- Jun 3: US Military Government in SK changes name of Korean Department in the government to Interim Government.  
16: Preparation Committee for Provisional Government formed in SK.  
20: US Military Government in SK invites Sŏ Chaep'il from USA as Special Administrator.  
21: International Olympic Committee approves SK's participation in London Olympic Games.  
27: US Military Government Interim Legislative Assembly passes General Election Law.
- Jul 3: Syngman Rhee declares discontinuation of cooperation with US Army Lt-Gen. John R. Hodge.  
9: US Military Government in SK liberalizes political assembly.  
18: Moderate leftist Yŏ Unhyŏng assassinated in Seoul. Accorded People's Funeral.
- Aug 6: US Military Government Interim Legislative Assembly passes Korea Provisional Government Constitution.  
26: US Presidential Special Envoy Wedmeyer arrives in SK.
- Sep 1: SK international radio call-sign fixed as HL.  
17: Korean question formally introduced to the United Nations General Assembly.  
21: Taedong Youth League is formed in SK, Syngman Rhee Rhee president, Yi Ch'ŏngch'ŏn chairman.
- Oct 17: US Secretary of State George Catlett Marshall calls for immediate independence for SK without world power trusteeship.  
30: US Army Maj-Gen Dean appointed chief of US Military Government in SK.
- Nov 14: United Nations resolution to hold general elections in Korea, establish United Nations Commission for Korea, and withdraw US and USSR Forces from Korea.  
18: NK People's Assembly 3rd meeting appoints committee to

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- draw up NK Constitutional Law.
- Dec 1: NK People's Committee announces currency reform. Exchange of old currency for new begins 6 December; completed 12 December.
- 2: Han'guk Democratic Party Political Department Chief Chang Töksu assassinated in Seoul.
- 22: Right-wing leader Kim Ku publicly opposes establishment of government in SK alone.

1948

- Jan 7: US Military Government in SK announces compulsory education system.
- 8: United Nations Commission for Korea arrives in SK and requests from USSR military authorities permission for entry into NK.
- 9: People's Committee Chairman Kim Ilsöng announces NK will not allow United Nations Commission for Korea access north of 38th parallel.
- 11: Kim Ilsöng tours military establishments in Kaech'ön and Kanggye for formation of NK Army.
- 23: USSR military authorities deny United Nations Commission for Korea access to NK.
- 27: Rightist Kim Ku in SK advocates withdrawal of US and USSR Forces before elections in Korea.
- Feb 4: NK People's Committee decides to install National Defence Bureau in the Committee, appoints Kim Ch'aek director.
- 6: NK People's Army activated. Parade in P'yöngyang celebrates 2nd anniversary of formation of NK People's Committee.
- 8: NK People's Army activated. Parade in P'yöngyang.
- 10: NK People's Committee announces draft Provisional Constitution.
- 26: United Nations Special General Assembly passes resolution to hold elections in zone where possible.
- Mar 8: Right-wing leader Kim Ku in SK proposes South-North

- political negotiations for unification of Korea. NK announces acceptance of proposal 25 March.
- 12: Right-wing leaders Kim Ku and Kim Kyusik issue public statement in SK opposing the holding of elections in SK alone.
- 16: NK and Communist China conclude secret military pact.
- 27: NK Worker's Party 2nd general meeting revises party platform, elects members to Central Committee. All key posts filled with close followers of Kim Ilŏng.
- Apr 3: Armed Communist Riot in Cheju. Guerrillas sweep island, looting and destroying from their bases in Halla-san. SK Constabulary moves in and conducts mop-up operations.
- 19: Kim Ku and Kim Kyusik cross 38th parallel to attend South-North Political Leaders' Conference in P'yŏngyang. Second meeting 21 April without Kim Kyu-sik. Meetings yield little result. Kim Ku returns to Seoul 5 May.
- May 1: People's Army parade in P'yŏngyang to impress leaders from SK in NK for South-North Political Leaders' Conference.
- 7: USSR Army in NK announces its withdrawal from NK in response to call of South-North Leaders' Conference, on condition that US Army in SK does the same.
- 10: Free elections in SK under supervision of United Nations Commission for Korea. Leftists and rightist advocates of North-South negotiations boycott elections.
- 14: NK discontinues supply of electric power to SK.
- 31: Constitutional Assembly formed in SK.
- Jun 1: US Military Government abolishes military trial system in SK.
- 2: Demonstrations throughout NK against elections in SK.
- 7: USSR Army announces reduction of USSR troops in NK and appoints major-general as commander. (Post formerly held by lieutenant-general.)
- 8: NK propaganda offensive against 'bombing of Korean fishing boat by US Air Force near Tokto Island'.
- 10: National Assembly in SK passes National Assembly Law. Syngman Rhee elected Speaker of National Assembly in SK.

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- Jul 1: National Assembly designates SK as the Republic of Korea (ROK).
- 9: NK People's Assembly 5th meeting decides on enforcement of NK Constitutional Law, adopts resolutions on the election of delegates to NK Supreme People's Assembly.
- 12: ROK National Assembly passes Constitutional Law. Law promulgated on 17 July.
- 16: ROK National Assembly passes Government Organization Law.
- 20: ROK National Assembly elects Syngman Rhee first President of ROK and Yi Siyŏng Vice-President.
- 24: Syngman Rhee and Yi Siyŏng inaugurated as ROK President and Vice-President.
- Aug 1: ROK National Assembly ratifies Presidential nomination of Yi Pŏmsŏk as first Prime Minister.
- 4: ROK National Assembly elects Sin Ikhŭi Speaker and Kim Yaksu Vice-speaker.
- 5: ROK National Assembly approves appointment of Kim Pyŏngno as first Chief Justice. Kim retires 16 December 1957.
- 6: Train overturned at Tonong Station near Seoul. 206 killed and injured.
- 8: NK Central Election Management Committee announces registration of 227 candidates in 212 electoral districts for NK Supreme People's Assembly.
- 13: USA and Nationalist China tentatively recognize ROK Government.
- 15: US Army Lt-Gen. John R. Hodge announces termination of US Military Government in ROK.  
Establishment of ROK Government formally declared.
- 16: ROK and USA begin talks on transfer of power.
- 20: NK holds South Korean People's Representative Meeting in P'yŏngyang.
- 23: First US Ambassador to ROK John J. Mucho arrives in Seoul.
- 25: ROK and USA sign Temporary Military Agreement.
- 28: NK general elections. Central Election Management Com-

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- mittee announces election of 572 delegates to the NK Supreme People's Assembly.
- Sep 1: NK Supreme People's Assembly first meeting. First-day session elects Hŏ Hŏn chairman, Yi Yŏng and Kim Tarhyŏn vice-chairmen. Assembly examines NK Constitutional Law. Adopts Constitution on 8 September.
- 5: 25,000-man Korean Defence Constabulary Force renamed ROK Army, Coastal Defence Unit renamed ROK Navy.
- 8: NK Supreme People's Assembly 5th day session elects Presidium; Kim Tubong chairman, Hong Namp'yo and Hong Kisu vice-chairmen, Kang Yanguk secretary-general. Assembly appoints Kim Ilsŏng to form cabinet.
- 9: NK Supreme People's Assembly 6th day session announces members of cabinet; declares establishment of 'Democratic People's Republic of Korea' (DPRK).
- 10: NK Supreme People's Assembly 7th day session recommends USA and USSR to withdraw their armed forces from NK and ROK.
- 11: ROK and USA sign Administrative Agreement Governing Financial Matters and Properties.
- 13: ROK and US announce transfer of power from US Military Government to ROK Government.
- 18: Supreme Soviet Congress Presidium accepts recommendation of NK Supreme People's Assembly for withdrawal of US and USSR armed forces from NK and ROK, and instructs USSR Government to withdraw USSR Armed Forces by end of 1948.
- 30: ROK National Assembly passes law bill for exclusive use of *han'gul*. Law promulgated 9 October 1948.
- Oct 2: ROK Army garrison in Cheju on riot control mission causes mutiny. 200 arrested before rebels are brought under control on 2 November.
- 5: Night curfew lifted throughout NK.
- 10: NK dedicates new building of Kim Ilsŏng University.
- 11: ROK Education Council adopts a new school system: 6 years primary school, 4 middle school, 2 high school, and 4

- college.
- 13: Forty members of ROK National Assembly introduce emergency motion requesting withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea.  
ROK Ministry of Education abolishes middle-high school coeducation except in normal schools.
- 19: ROK President Syngman Rhee visits Japan at invitation of Gen Douglas MacArthur. Returns 20 October.
- 20: ROK Army mutiny in Yösu and Sunch'ön, masterminded by ROK Army 2nd-Lt Kim Chihoe of 14th Regiment. ROK Government sets up Emergency Security Command.
- 24: Man'gyöng-dae School (for the children of distinguished NK personalities) opened in P'yöngyang.
- 26: NK Government announces completion of 3rd quarter of year's economic plan
- 27: ROK Army mutiny brought under control.
- Nov 1: ROK Army executes 89 persons involved in Yösu mutiny.  
3: Right-wing leader Kim Ku makes public statement requesting withdrawal of US and USSR forces from Korea and calls for formation of a unified Korean government.  
11: ROK Government promulgates Special Law on Local Administration.  
20: ROK National Assembly passes National Security Law. Law promulgated 1 December.  
21: ROK National Assembly requests continued presence of US Forces in ROK.  
25: ROK National Assembly passes National Traitors Investigation Organization Law. Law promulgated 7 December.  
30: ROK Government promulgates ROK Army Organization Law.
- Dec 1: ROK Army and NK Army exchange fire along 38th parallel.  
10: ROK and USA sign Economic Assistance Agreement.  
12: United Nations General Assembly passes resolution, 46 to 6, recognizing ROK Government as only legitimate government in Korea, and resolution to form new United Nations Commission to promote unification of Korea.



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- 13: ROK National Assembly ratifies ROK-USA Economic Assistance Agreement; US Economic Cooperation Administration begins economic assistance to ROK.
- 21: Taehan Youth Corps formed in ROK with Yi Ch'öngch'ön as chairman. Corps absorbs Korean National Youth Corps 15 January 1949.
- 27: USSR Government announces complete withdrawal of USSR forces from NK.

1949

- Jan 1: USA recognizes ROK Government. US legation in Seoul upgraded to embassy 20 February 1949.
- 4: ROK Government establishes mission in Tokyo. US State Department announces it will not withdraw forces until ROK becomes capable of defending itself.
- 8: National Traitors Investigating Special Committee is formed in ROK to punish pro-Japanese Korean traitors. Committee begins functions on 21 February.
- Feb 3: ROK State Council passes Agricultural Land Reform Law.
- 5: N. w United Nations Commission for Korea arrives in ROK.
- 10: Han'guk Democratic Party renamed Democratic Nationalist Party.
- 22: NK Premier Kim Ilsöng leads delegation to USSR requesting economic assistance.
- Mar 2: Japanese *Keizai Shinbun* (Economic Daily) reports NK possesses 200,000-man regular army and 150,000-man reserve.
- 8: ROK Students National Defence Corps activated.
- 10: ROK National Assembly passes Local Autonomy Law. Law promulgated 5 July.
- 17: USSR and NK sign economic and cultural cooperation agreement. USSR offers 2,112,000,000 ruble loan to NK, and makes secret agreement to give military assistance to NK including 150 aircraft.
- 31: ROK Government prohibits trade with NK.
- Apr 5: ROK Minister of Commerce and Industry Im Yöngsin

- (Louise) dismissed for involvement in graft and abuse of authority by Special Inspection Committee. Arrested and prosecuted 28 May.
- 10: United Nations Security Council votes down ROK membership in United Nations.
- 17: ROK State Council formulates Five Year Economic Development Plan.
- 18: ROK Marine Corps activated.
- May 1: ROK national census.  
ROK Government changes Barter Trade System to Trade-in-Gold System.
- 11: NK Army steps up attacks on ROK Army along the 38th parallel.
- 20: SK Worker's Party ROK National Assembly Infiltration Case. ROK law enforcement agencies arrest National Assembly Vice-speaker Kim Yaksu and Assemblymen Yi Munwŏn and No Irhwan for involvement in communist activities.
- 28: US State Department announces withdrawal of US forces from ROK except for military advisers. Withdrawal completed 28 July. United Nations Commission for Korea confirms withdrawal.
- Jun 3: ROK National Assembly recommends *en masse* resignation of Cabinet assuming responsibility for US Forces withdrawal.
- 6: Seoul Metropolitan Police Bureau deactivates Special Police Unit.
- 8: ROK National Assembly upholds earlier decision demanding resignation of cabinet for failure to prevent withdrawal of US forces.
- 14: Wŏn-dollar exchange rate fixed at 900 to 1 in ROK.
- 21: ROK Government promulgates Agricultural Land Reform Law. Reform implemented on 6 April 1950 by government purchase of land and resale to peasants.
- 25: ROK National Assembly Vice-speaker arrested for involvement in Communists' National Assembly Infiltration Case.
- 26: Right-wing leader Kim Ku assassinated by Army 2nd Lt. An Tuhŭi. Kim Ku accorded national funeral 5 July.

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- Jul 1: US Economic Cooperation Administration announces Three Year ROK Investment Plan.  
8: Syngman Rhee advocates alliance of Pacific nations.  
9 Syngman Rhee rejects NK offer for South-North general elections.  
12: Syngman Rhee declares ROK participation in Anti-communist Struggle.  
15: ROK National Assembly passes Military Service Law. Law promulgated 6 August.
- Aug 7: Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek arrives in ROK for summit talks with Syngman Rhee at Chinhae. Joint communiqué issued 8 August.  
17: ROK gains membership of World Health Organization.  
18: Train accident on Central Railroad Line near Chungnyŏng. 46 killed and 100 injured.
- Sep 14: 350 inmates break out of Mokp'o Prison.  
26: ROK Government promulgates Court Organization Law.  
27: Kim Taejun and 8 other SK Worker's Party leaders sentenced to death.
- Oct 1: United Nations passes recommendation to invite only ROK delegation.  
12: ROK Air Force activated with 22 light planes. Col. Kim Chongyŏl appointed first ROKAF Chief of Staff.  
19: ROK Government outlaws all Communist and leftist political parties and other public organizations; withdraws registration of SK Worker's Party and 132 other political parties and organizations.  
27: 300 communist guerrillas raid Chinju.
- Nov 5: ROK becomes member of World Food and Agricultural Organization.  
16: ROK Government opens Foreign Supply Purchasing Office.  
26: ROK National Assembly passes Education Law separating middle and high schools. Law promulgated 31 December.
- Dec 1: ROK Government installs Ministry of Social Welfare.  
6: ROK gives first physical examination to conscripts for military service.

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- 17: ROK National Assembly ratifies ROK-Japan Trade Pact. Han'guk Writer's Association formed in Seoul.
- 24: Yun Ch'iyŏng and Yi In form Taehan Nationalist Party.
- 28: Taehan Farmer's Association formed in ROK.

1950

- Jan 6: ROK Government holds first Higher Civil Service Examination.
- 12: US Secretary of State Dean Acheson publicly states ROK is out of US Pacific Defence Line.
- 26: ROK-US Mutual Defence and Assistance Agreement signed. ROK National Assembly ratifies Agreement 30 March.
- Feb 16: Syngman Rhee visits Japan at invitation of General MacArthur, to discuss anti-Communist problems. Returns 18 February.
- Mar 1: ROK Government arrests 196 members of NK Political Subversion Unit.
- 13: ROK National Assembly votes down 1st Constitutional Amendment Bill introduced by opposition Nationalist Party.
- 19: ROK National Assembly passes Election Law. Law promulgated 12 April.
- 27: ROK law enforcement agency arrests SK Worker's Party leaders Kim Samyong and Yi Chuha. NK proposes on 16 June exchange of Kim and Yi for rightist Cho Mansik held in NK. Rhee accepts NK offer with conditions. 20 June, NK rejects Rhee's conditions.
- Apr 3: Yi Pŏmsŏk resigns as ROK Prime Minister. Rhee names Yi Yunyŏng as successor and asks National Assembly for ratification.
- 6: ROK National Assembly turns down Rhee's nomination of Yi Yunyŏng as Prime Minister.
- 12: ROK marathon runners Ham Kiyong, Song Kiryun, and Ch'oe Yunch'il placed first, second, and third in Boston Marathon in USA.
- 21: Sin Sŏngmo appointed acting ROK Prime Minister.

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- 24: Radical rightist Taehan Political Operation Unit fabricates charges of involvement in NK espionage against opposition leaders in ROK.  
ROK 1st National Arts Exhibition.
- 28: NK airplane pilot Yi Kōnsun defects to ROK.
- May 30: Second ROK National Assembly election returns 126 independents, 23 Nationalists, 22 Min'guk, 10 Kungmin-hoe, and 10 Han'guk Youth Association.
- Jun 1: ROK Government formally announces 6-year compulsory Education.
- 2: ROK-Japan Trade Agreement signed. Becomes effective 8 June.
- 5: ROK Government adjusts wōn-dollar exchange rate at 1,800 to 1.
- 7: Central Committee of NK Fatherland Front for Peaceful Unification proposes general elections in all Korea to establishing unified South-North Korean Government.
- 10: United Nations Commission for Korea holds talks with NK representatives at Yōhyōn railroad station, seeking entry into NK. NK refuses to admit commission.  
NK proposes to release right-wing Cho Mansik and his son, in exchange for communists Kim Samyong and Yi Chuha held in ROK.  
NK Army Chief of Staff General Kang Kōn calls divisional and brigade commanders' conference and orders complete troop movement preparations by 23 June.
- 12: Bank of Korea in ROK established with Ku Yongsō as President.
- 16: Female communist agent Kim Suim sentenced to death in ROK.
- 17: US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles visits ROK. Syngman Rhee asks him to include ROK in US Pacific Defence Region.
- 18: NK Premier Kim Ilsōng secretly orders NK Armed Forces to complete preparations for war.
- 19: Second ROK National Assembly convenes; elects Sin Ikhūi

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- Speaker, Chang T'aeksang and Cho Pongam Vice-speakers.
- 24: ROK Court tries SK communists Kim Samyong and Yi Chuha.
- 25: Korean War breaks out. NK Forces attack ROK along whole 38th parallel. United Nations Commission for Korea urges NK to halt aggression.  
Kim Ilsŏng assumes Supreme Command of NK People's Army.
- 26: NK forms Military Committee: Kim Ilsŏng chairman; Pak Hŏnyŏng, Hong Myŏnghŭi, Kim Ch'aek, Ch'oe Yonggŏn, and Pak Iru members.
- 27: United Nations Security Council resolves military restraint on NK.  
ROK Government moves to Taejŏn.  
US Government orders Navy and Air Force to Korea.  
Presidium of NK Supreme People's Assembly declares war on ROK.
- 28: NK Army captures Seoul.  
ROK Government proclaims Wartime Emergency Decree and Special Law on Punishment of Crimes Under Emergency.  
ROK Army destroys Han River road bridge.  
United Nations Air Force makes first sortie.
- 29: General Macarthur visits ROK and promises full US military assistance.
- 30: ROK Army Brig Chŏng Ilgwŏn appointed Chairman of ROK Joint Chiefs of Staff.  
US Government orders Army to Korea.
- Jul 1: United Nations Ground Forces land at Pusan.  
NK Supreme People's Assembly Presidium proclaims War-time General Mobilization Decree.
- 2: 36 member countries of the United Nations announce their military aid to ROK.
- 3: US Government orders Marine Corps to duty in Korea.
- 4: National Salvation Federation formed in ROK by Cho Pyŏngok.  
NK Supreme People's Assembly Presidium decrees land re-

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- form in NK-Army-occupied zone of SK.  
NK Supreme People's Assembly Presidium formally approves Kim Ilŏng as Supreme Commander of NK People's Army.
- 6: ROK National Assembly sets Combined ROK-US Naval Defence Command in Pusan with Gen. MacArthur as Supreme Commander.
- 7: ROK Army merged into United Nations Forces.  
100,000 Korean members of Gen. Lin Piao's Communist Chinese Army move into NK.
- 8: Martial Law proclaimed throughout ROK.  
Korea Student Volunteer Corps activated in ROK.
- 12: ROK Government signs Taejŏn Agreement with US transferring operational control of ROK Armed Forces to US Forces.
- 16: ROK Government moves from Taejŏn to Taegu.
- 19: US Government issues Korea White Paper (US policy on Korean crisis).
- 20: NK Army takes Taejŏn, captures US Army Maj-Gen. William F. Dean.
- 21: NK Army moves into Chŏlla. Chŏnju and Kunsan fall on 21 July, Kwangju on 23rd, Mokp'o on 24th.
- 23: ROK Government calls reservists into active service.
- 25: NK holds county, township, and village elections in occupied zones of SK.
- 28: ROK Government issues Homeland Emergency Defence Decree.
- 31: United Nations Security Council adopts resolution to aid ROK.
- Aug 3: United Nations Forces form Walker Defence Line linking Masan, Waegwan, and Yŏngdŏk.  
7: Special US Presidential Envoy Harriman arrives in ROK.  
15: NK Army begins general offensive north of Taegu.  
18: ROK Government moves to Pusan.  
26: ROK Government announces discontinuation of Chosŏn Bank notes as legal tender.
- Sep 1: ROK National Assembly convenes in Munhwa Theater,

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- Pusan.
- 15: United Nations Forces land at Inch'ön,  
Bank of Korea issues new bank notes in ROK and begins exchange of Chosŏn Bank notes.
- 16: United Nations Forces begin counter-offensive along Nak-tong River.
- 19: ROK signs International Telephone Communication Pact.
- 26: United Nations Forces move into Seoul and free the city by 28 September.
- 28: ROK President Syngman Rhee announces United Nations Forces' advance into NK across 38th parallel.
- 30: US Army Lt-Gen. Walker orders United Nations Forces to move into NK across 38th parallel.
- Oct 1: General MacArthur calls on Kim Il-sŏng to surrender.
- 7: United Nations General Assembly approves United Nations forces' advance into NK and establishment of United Nations Commission for Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.
- 19: United Nations Forces capture P'yŏngyang.  
NK Government moves to Sinŭiju.
- 25: Communist Chinese Forces intervene. Peng Te-huai appointed Supreme Commander of Chinese Forces in Korea.
- 26: ROK forces reach Ch'osan on south bank of Yalu.
- 27: ROK Government returns to Seoul.
- 29: Syngman Rhee visits P'yŏngyang.
- Nov 1: Soviet MIG fighter aircraft make first appearance in Korean war.
- 6: General Macarthur makes special report to United Nations concerning China's armed intervention in Korean war.
- 10: Exchange rate of 2,500 ROK wŏn to 1 US dollar fixed, retroactive to 1 November 1950.
- 11: ROK Government promulgates NK Collaborators Punishment Special Law.
- 15: Communist Chinese Forces put 600,000 men in Korean war and begin 'human sea' tactics.



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Communist Chinese Forces and NK Army begin counter-offensive.

- 23: ROK National Assembly approves appointment of Chang Myŏn as Prime Minister.
- 29: ROK Foreign Minister Im Pyŏngjik speaks at United Nations Security Council, demanding immediate withdrawal of Communist Chinese Forces from Korea.
- Dec 1: United Nations General Assembly passes resolution to establish United Nations Korea Reconstruction Agency.
- 3: ROK Defence Minister Sin Sŏngmo calls on United Nations to use atomic bombs in Korean War.
- 7: United Nations Political Committee passes resolution demanding withdrawal of Communist Chinese Forces from Kor. a.
- 10: 500,000 NK refugees flee to ROK from NK.
- 14: United Nations General Assembly resolves to set up Korea Truce Commission. Chou En-lai of Communist China turns down offer 21 December.
- 16: ROK National Assembly passes Civil Defence Corps Activation Law. Law promulgated 21 December.
- 19: ROK Government rounds up billion-wŏn counterfeit ring.
- 23: Eighth US Army Commander Lt-Gen. Walker dies in traffic accident. Gen. Mathew Ridgway succeeds him.
- 24: Seoul citizens served evacuation orders. All reservists called for duty with ROK Civil Defence Corps.

1951

- Jan 1: Six Communist Chinese Army Corps moves south across 38th parallel.
- 3: 300,000 citizens flee from Seoul.
- 4: NK and Communist Chinese Forces capture Seoul. ROK Government moves to Pusan.
- 22: ROK forces' counter-offensive.
- 26: ROK Marine Corps lands at Inch'ŏn.
- 31: United Nations Political Committee condemns Communist

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- China as aggressor.
- Feb 1: United Nations General Assembly labels Communist China as aggressor.
- 10: ROK forces recapture Seoul.
- 11: 9th Regiment of 11th ROK Army Division by mistake massacres 500 innocent civilians in Sinwŏn-myŏn, Kŏch'ang-gun, Kyŏngsang Namdo.
- 18: War-time Consolidated University is opened in Pusan.
- Mar 5: ROK Government announces distribution of land to 1.2 million peasants.
- 6: ROK National Assembly changes education system to 6 years primary school, 3 middle school, 3 high school, 4 college.
- 24: General MacArthur orders United Nations Forces to advance beyond 38th parallel.
- 25: United Nations Forces cross the 38th parallel into NK.
- 29: ROK National Assembly discloses Civil Defence Corps graft case, in which Kim Yun'gŭn and 5 others misappropriated 2.3 billion wŏn and 52,000 bushels of rice. Kim and 5 others executed 13 August 1951.
- Apr 5: Kyŏngsang Namdo Provincial Martial Law Commander Kim Chongwŏn attacks ROK National Assembly Probe Committee investigating the Kŏch'ang massacre. Kim disguises his men as communist guerrillas in raid on assemblymen.
- 11: General MacArthur relieved as Commander of United Nations Forces in Korea. Lt-Gen. Mathew Ridgway succeeds him.
- 23: ROK-Japan Trade Agreement is signed. Agreement becomes effective 24 April.
- 30: ROK National Assembly passes bill recommending deactivation of Civil Defence Corps and Homeland Defence Corps; announces dissolution of Corps 12 May.
- May 4: ROK Government promulgates Wartime University Education Special Measures Law.
- 8: ROK National Assembly elects Sin Ikhŭi speaker, Cho

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- Pongam and Kim Tongšong vice-speakers.
- 9: ROK Vice-president Yi Siyong expresses intention to resign. National Assembly disapproves resignation 11 May. Yi again tenders resignation 13 May. Assembly accepts 14 May.
- 15: ROK National Assembly elects Kim Šongsu Vice-president.
- Jun 23: USSR Senior Delegate to the United Nations Jacob Malik offers Korean cease fire along 38th parallel.
- 25: President Rhee rejects Malik's offer.
- 25: Syngman Rhee calls for occupation of NK by United Nations Forces all way to the China border.
- 29: US President Harry S. Truman orders Gen. Ridgway to begin truce negotiations.
- 30: Gen. Ridgway proposes truce negotiating meeting on board Danish ship off Wönsan. NK turns down offer, proposes Kaesong as truce site on 1 July.
- Jul 1: ROK demonstrations against truce, calling for territorial reunification of Korea.
- Kim Ilsong and Communist Chinese Commander Peng Te-huai agree to truce proposed by the United Nations Commander.
- 8: Preliminary truce negotiations begin at Kaesong, NK.
- 10: Full-scale truce talks in Kaesong.
- 11: Passenger boat *P'yölli-ho* 5 sinks off Song-do near Inch'on claiming 55 lives.
- 14: Foreign exchange rate set at 6,000 wön to 1 US dollar.
- 24: ROK National Assembly forms Impeachment Court.
- Aug 5: Truce talks suspended indefinitely because of Communist Chinese incursions in'o Kaesong Neutral Zone. Meeting reconvenes 10 August; is suspended again because of alleged bombing of Kaesong by United Nations aircraft.
- Sep 6: ROK women's Army Corps activated.
- 20: Syngman Rhee proposes conditions for accepting Korean truce: withdrawal of Communist Chinese Forces from Korea; disarmament of NK Armed Forces; general elections in all Korea under United Nations supervision.
- 24: ROK Government promulgates Financial Administration

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Law.

- Oct 1: Korea Newspapers Association formed in ROK.  
3: Korean Mint Corporation established in ROK.  
8: ROK-US Financial Agreement signed in Washington DC.  
15: NK Government decree provides for punishment of families of Army personnel involved in treason or desertion.  
16: Communist guerrillas overturn locomotive at Namwŏn, and abduct 200 passengers.  
17: ROK State Council recommends constitutional amendment to allow popular voting for President and bicameral parliament. Council introduces recommendation to National Assembly 28 November. Amendment promulgated 30 November.  
20: First ROK-Japan Preliminary Talks held in Tokyo.  
21: Train derailed on Sunch'ŏn-Yŏsu Line, ROK. 120 persons killed or injured.  
25: Truce conference reconvenes in P'anmunjŏm.
- Nov 2: Emergency Martial Law proclaimed in Chŏlla Pukto.  
5: ROK National Assembly passes vote of no confidence against Home Minister Yi Sunyong.  
6: Hŏ Chŏng appointed Acting Prime Minister of ROK  
22: US Vice President Burfley visits ROK.  
27: United Nations Command and Communists agree to a tentative 30-day cease-fire.
- Dec 2: ROK Army mops up communist guerrillas in Chŏlla Provinces. Operation ends 12 March 1952.  
5: NK Government decree urges collaborators with ROK and United Nations Forces to surrender to NK Government.  
18: United Nations Command and Communists exchange lists of prisoners of war at truce talks.  
23: Ruling Liberal Party in ROK splits into National Assemblymen Group and Non-Parliamentary Group. Syngman Rhee heads Parliamentary Group; Yi Kapsŏng and Kim Tongsŏng head Non-Parliamentary Group.

1952

- Jan 2: United Nations Command and Communists agree at truce talks to exchange prisoners of war.
- 18: ROK National Assembly rejects 2nd Constitutional Amendment bill 143 to 16 with 1 abstention.  
Syngman Rhee proclaims Peace Line, claiming sovereignty over waters around ROK.
- Apr 17: National Assembly in ROK proposes 3rd Constitutional Amendment, recommending Responsible Cabinet System. Law proclaimed 7 May.
- 20: Chang T'aeksang again appointed Premier of ROK.
- 24: Yi Yunyŏng appointed Acting Premier of ROK.  
ROK National Assembly member Sŏ Minho shoots and kills ROK Army Cptn. Sŏ Ch'angsŏn.
- 25: Elections held throughout ROK for city mayors, town magistrates and township chiefs.
- 28: Full-scale truce meeting reconvenes and agrees to formation of Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission.
- May 7: Communist prisoners of war in Kŏje-do abduct US Army Brigadier Dodd and keep him captive for 3 days. Communist prisoners riot 20 May and 10 June. 160 prisoners and 16 US soldiers killed.
- 10: First Provincial Assemblymen's elections held. Liberal Party wins landslide victory in ROK.  
Liberal Party National Convention in Taejŏn, ROK. Former Nationalist Youth Corps faction gains leadership of party.
- 14: ROK Government recommends 4th constitutional change for bicameral parliamentary system and popular voting of President. National Assembly passes recommendation.
- 19: Liberal Party in ROK is split over Constitutional change. Terrorist groups, National Self-determination Corps and White Skeleton Group, demonstrate demanding dissolution of ROK National Assembly.

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- 20: Chang T'aek-sang's Liberal Party Unity Faction in ROK forms Silla Club and promotes partial Constitutional amendment.
- 24: ROK-US Economic Coordination Agreement (MAIA Agreement) signed.
- 25: ROK Government proclaims Martial Law in Pusan which continues until 28 July. ROK Army Chief of Staff Yi Chong-ch'an refuses to dispatch troops.
- 26: Pusan Political Turbulence erupts. Political unrest after passage of Constitutional revision for popular voting for President. Many opposition Assembly members arrested.
- 27: Vice-president Kim Söngsu tenders resignation to ROK National Assembly; accepted 28 May.
- Jun 18: ROK National Assembly elects Sin Ikhüi acting Speaker, Cho Pongam and Kim Tongsöng Vice-speakers.
- 20: Terrorist International Club attacks opposition Min'guk Party ROK National Assembly members and foils Anti-dictatorship Constitution Safeguard Declaration meeting.
- 21: Third and fourth Constitutional Amendments introduced to ROK National Assembly.
- 23: United Nations Air Force bombs Sup'ung Hydroelectric Plant Dam, NK.
- 25: Assassination of ROK President Syngman Rhee attempted by Yu Sit'ae. Yu arrested.
- 30: Terrorist National Self-determination Corps puts 80 ROK National Assembly members under house arrest.
- Jul 4: Night session of ROK National Assembly passes partial Constitutional amendment bill 163 to 0 with 3 abstentions. Law promulgated 7 July.
- 10: ROK National Assembly elects Sin Ikhüi Speaker, Cho Pongam and Yun Ch'iyöng as Vice-speakers.
- 18: ROK National Assembly conducts interpellation on Tungsten Graft Case and forms *ad hoc* probe committee.
- Aug 5: Popular Presidential elections held in ROK. Syngman Rhee elected President and Ham T'ae'yöng Vice-president. Both inaugurated 15 August.

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- 13: ROK National Assembly passes Standard Labor Law. Law proclaimed 13 May 1953.
- Sep 30: Chang T'aeksang resigns as ROK Premier, assuming responsibility for Furushi Susumu Case.
- Oct 6: ROK Government authorities release civilian detainees from Masan Prisoner-of-War Camp.
- 9: Pak Tujin appointed Acting Premier of ROK.
- 17: ROK National Assembly votes down recommendation of Yi Yunyŏng as Prime Minister.
- Dec 1: NK Academy of Science established in P'yŏngyang.
- 2: US President Eisenhower visits Seoul, stays in ROK till 5 December. ROK-US summit conference 3 December.

1953

- Jan 5: Syngman Rhee visits Japan, meets Premier Yoshida Shigeru.
- 9: Passenger boat *Ch'angyong-ho* capsizes off Tadaep'o, Pusan 227 persons drowned.
- 19: ROK Cabinet members enter Seoul.
- 30: Fire in Kukche Market, Pusan. 4,260 houses destroyed
- Feb 15: First currency reform in ROK. Wŏn devalued from 100 to 1 in denomination. Reform approved by National Assembly 21 February.
- 27: ROK Government claims sovereignty over Tokto.
- Mar 5: Foreign Minister and Vice-premier Pak Hŏnyŏng of NK, native of SK, purged on charges of espionage.
- Joseph Stalin dies.
- 22: ROK Army Provost Marshal Office established.
- Apr 15: Second ROK-Japan Talks held.
- 17: Yi Siyŏng dies.
- 21: Paek Tujin appointed Premier of ROK.
- Jun 8: United Nations Command and Communist Forces sign Prisoner-of-War Exchange Agreement. Exchange begins 5 August, ends 6 September.
- 18: President Rhee releases 27,000 anti-Communist NK Army prisoners of war.

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- Jul 27: Korean Armistice signed. All fighting stops at 2200 hours.  
28: Kim Il-sŏng accorded title of Hero of NK Republic and awarded NK National Flag Medal First Class.  
30: NK Government issues Cabinet Decision 126 concerning rehabilitation of cities and towns in NK.
- Aug 3: Former NK Minister of Justice Yi Sŏng-yŏp subjected to an open trial on charges of involvement in anti-NK espionage. United Nations Command Military Armistice Commission sets up Headquarters in P'anmunjŏm.  
9: ROK-US Mutual Security Pact tentatively signed. Formally signed in Washington DC, 1 October 1953; becomes effective 17 November 1954.  
15: ROK Government returns to Seoul.  
16: ROK National Assembly returns to Seoul.  
31: Chŏng Kugun Spy Case disclosed. ROK National Assembly forms probe committee 24 September and approves arrest of National Assembly member Yang Ujong 17 October.
- Sep 1: Kim Il-sŏng visits USSR.  
21: NK Air Force pilot CPT No Kŭmsŏk defects to ROK with MIG-15, first Soviet jet fighter plane to defect to the West.
- Oct 3: New Criminal Code proclaimed in ROK.  
6: Third ROK-Japan Talks held. Japanese chief delegate Kubota makes statement on ROK property claims and ruptures talks on 21 October.  
12: ROK Coastal Defence Unit activated.
- Nov 10: KIM Il-sŏng visits Peking.  
12: US Vice-president Richard Nixon visits ROK.  
27: Syngman Rhee visits Taipei and issues joint statement with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, calling for formation of United Anti-Communist Front.  
Fire in business district in front of Pusan Railroad Station; over 2,000 houses destroyed.
- Dec 1: Emergency Martial Law proclaimed south of Seoul to mop up Communist guerrillas.  
14: ROK-US Joint Economic Commission Agreement signed.



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1954

- Jan 18: ROK Government establishes territorial markings on Tokto. Civilian guards dispatched to the island 1 May.  
30: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization-Korea Commission formed in ROK.  
31: Train accident at Osan, Kyōnggi-do, ROK. 120 casualties.
- Mar 21: Korean Standard Time set 30 minutes ahead of Japanese Standard Time, based on 127 degrees and 30 minutes east longitude.  
First ROK Army activated.
- Apr 3: Korean Industrial Bank established in ROK.  
4: Fire at Pusan-jin, ROK, causes 134 deaths.
- May 13: Syngman Rhee issues Buddhist Purification Instructions, touching off dispute between Bhiksu Sect and married monks.  
16: US Government issues Korean War White Paper.  
20: Third ROK National Assembly General Elections held. Assembly convenes 9 June, Elects Yi Kibung Speaker, Ch'oe Sunju and Kwak Sanghun Vice-speakers.
- Jun 15: Asian People's Anti-Communist League formed in ROK.  
17: Construction of Taedong Bridge Completed in P'yōngyang.  
28: ROK National Assembly ratifies appointment of Pyōn Yōngt'ae as Premier.
- Jul 25: Syngman Rhee visits USA.
- Aug 12: Kim Ilsōng Square, Stalin Street, Mao Tse-tung Square, NK People's Army Street named in P'yōngyang.
- Sep 6: Communist Chinese Commander in NK Peng Te-huai resigns. Chinese announce plans to withdraw 7 Army divisions from NK.
- Oct 3: Communist Chinese announce completion of withdrawal of 87,894 Chinese Army troops from NK.  
24: International Pen Club Korea Chapter formed in ROK.
- Nov 14: ROK Government assumes administrative control of re-captured territory.  
27: ROK National Assembly votes down recommendation of

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- constitutional change to abolish restriction of re-election of President.
- 29: ROK National Assembly reverses previous day's decision to reject Constitutional change, declares passage of recommendation by vote recount regarding fractions of .5 and over as whole numbers and disregarding the rest.
- 30: Opposition ROK National Assembly members form Constitution Safeguarding Comrades' Association.
- Dec 10: Fire at Yongdu-san Pusan, destroys 3,400 national treasures.

1955

- Jan 7 : ROK State Council resolves to separate middle schools from high schools.
- 17: ROK-US Military Assistance protocol signed.
- Feb 15: Chŏn Chinhan forms Korean Labor-Farmer Party in ROK.
- 17: ROK Government merges Public Health Ministry and Social Welfare Ministry; establishes Ministry of Reconstruction.
- 18: Kim Sŏngsu dies in ROK. National Funeral on 24 February.
- 22: ROK Army Reserve Division activated.
- NK reorganizes administrative districts in P'yŏngyang; *ri* are renamed *dong*.
- Mar 17: Opposition-oriented Seoul daily newspaper *Tonga Ilbo* ordered to suspend operation on charges of misstatement in article on NK. Suspension withdrawn 16 April.
- 25: Communist Chinese announce withdrawal of 6 Chinese Army divisions from NK between March and April.
- 31: Communist Chinese begin withdrawal of 6 Chinese Army divisions from NK (52,192 men, 67 tanks, 1,758 artillery pieces).
- Apr 9: NK Central Broadcasting Station opened in P'yŏngyang.
- 20: Communist Chinese announce completion of withdrawal of 6 Army divisions from NK with equipment.
- May 22: US Military Assistance and Advisory Group Korea activated in ROK.
- 25: Pro-NK Koreans' association in Japan, Choryŏn, formed

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- after dissolution of Chosŏn Minjŏn (Korea Democratic Nationalist Front).
- Jun 21: NK Air Force Captains Yi Unyong and Yi Insŏn defect to ROK with a Soviet Yak fighter aircraft.
- Aug 8: ROK Government orders pro-Communist members of Neutral Nations Military Armistice Supervisory Commission to leave ROK. Nationwide demonstrations in ROK demand expulsion of pro-Communist Neutral Nations delegates.
- 17: ROK Government orders discontinuation of trade with Japan. Order withdrawn 18 January 1956.
- 26: ROK becomes member of International Monetary Fund and International Development Bank.
- Sep 1: National census in ROK.
- 13: Provincial daily newspaper *Taegu Ilbo* reprimanded for editorial denouncing ROK Government's political use of students.
- 18: Constitution Safeguarding Comrades' Association forms opposition Democratic Party with Sin Ikhŭi as chairman in ROK.
- 29: Communist Chinese announce withdrawal of 6 Army divisions from NK in October.
- Oct 1: Industrial Exhibition in Seoul in commemorating 10th anniversary of Liberation.
- 8: Korea Independence Party members arrested on charges of attempted assassination of Syngman Rhee.
- Dec 15: NK court sentences former NK Deputy Premier Pak Hŏn-yŏng (native of SK) to death for involvement in US espionage activities.

1956

- Jan 2: Yi Pŏmsŏk and Chang T'aeksang form anti-Government party Minjŏng-dang in ROK. Minjŏng-dang renamed Republican Party 30 March.
- 25: ROK National Assembly finds ROK Defence Ministry Logistics authorities involved in misappropriation of US

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- Foreign Operation Administration raw cotton. Ninety-seven percent of US \$500,000 worth of raw cotton found illegally sold to local market.
- 30: ROK Army Counter-intelligence Corps Commander Lt-General Kim Ch'angnyong assassinated. Col. Hŏ T'aeyŏng arrested as suspected assassin 27 February, and Lt-General Kang Munbong arrested on charges of conspiracy. Both found guilty and convicted. Hŏ T'aeyŏng sentenced to death and executed. Kang Munbong sentenced to life imprisonment.
- Feb 1: Fire in East Gate Market, Seoul.  
3: ROK-US Atomic Energy Agreement signed.  
23: ROK and USA sign agreement concerning purchase of military supplies by US forces from local market.
- Mar 3: Stock exchange office opens in ROK.  
17: US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles visits ROK, confers with President Rhee on territorial reunification of Korea.
- May 1: Korea Farmer's Bank established in ROK. National Assembly passes Farmer's Bank Law.  
5: Opposition Democratic Party Presidential Candidate Sin Ikhŭi dies of heart attack in train during campaign tour in ROK. National Funeral on 23 May.  
12: First television studio (HLKI) is opened in ROK. Starts operation 16 June.  
15: Third Presidential and Vice-Presidential elections in ROK. Syngman Rhee elected President, opposition Democratic Party Candidate Chang Myŏn Vice-President.  
29: Sixteen United Nations member states with troops in Korea decide to request withdrawal of Neutral Nations Military Armistice Supervisory Commission from Korea and notify Communists.
- Jun 1: Kim Il-sŏng visits USSR and East European countries.  
8: ROK National Assembly elects Yi Kibung Speaker, and Cho Kyŏnggyu and Hwang Sŏngsu Vice-speakers.  
16: ROK Red Cross Society receives list of 8,156,456 SK captives in NK.  
21: Sixteen Japanese Communist Party members arrested in

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- Sŏkch'o, ROK.
- Jul 10: Opposition ROK National Assembly members disclose Government prejudices in granting easy-term loans to industries. T'aech'ang Industry and Kumsŏng Textile are given 7.2 billion wŏn easy-term loans.
- 27: NK Peaceful Unification Promotion Committee sends letter to ROK Government, ROK National Assembly and people calling for peaceful unification of Korea.
- Aug 8: City, town and township chief elections in ROK.
- 13: Seoul City Assembly and Provincial Assembly elections in ROK.
- Sep 28: Opposition Democratic Party in ROK elects Cho Pyŏngok Party President. Kim Sangbong attempts to assassinate Vice-President Chang Myŏn at Democratic Party National Convention in Seoul. Wire-puller Ch'oe Hun arrested 1 October.
- Oct 15: Asian Anti-Communist Students' Conference held in Seoul.
- Nov 3: NK Supreme People's Assembly Presidium announces decree guaranteeing NK citizenship rights to NK defectors to ROK.
- 10: Korean Progressive Party formed in ROK with Cho Pongam as chairman and So Sangil as Secretary-General.
- 27: NK holds Provincial, County and District People's Assembly elections.
- Dec 5: ROK National Assembly elects Yi Chaehak Vice-speaker to succeed Hwang Sŏngsu.

1957

- Jan 1: Robbery at Chongno Branch of Chohŭng Bank in Seoul.
- 11: United Nations General Assembly decides on all-Korea general elections under supervision of United Nations.
- 30: United Nations Political Committee adopts resolution to admit ROK into the United Nations.
- 31: NK Red Cross Committee chairman sends letter to ROK Red Cross Society President through International Red Cross Committee, proposing postal exchanges between ROK and NK.

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- Feb 3: ROK Government formulates Five Year Economic Reconstruction Plan.
- 5: ROK Cabinet meeting decides to introduce 3rd-trial system in courts martial.
- 21: ROK Agriculture Ministry building gutted by fire.
- Mar 24: ROK-US Military Conference is held in Washington DC. ROK requests aid in modernizing equipment of ROK Armed Forces.
- 28: Japanese Government declares null and void the 1905 Protectorate Pact and Japanese claims to property in ROK.
- Apr 7: Korea Newspaper Editors' Association formed in ROK. Korean Newspapermen's Code of Ethics established.
- 10: Seoul National University Law School students walk out of school in protest against University's granting Yi Kangsök (President Syngman Rhee's adopted son) matriculation against school regulations.
- 17: ROK Army Court Martial sentences Lt-Gen. Kang Munbong to death for involvement in assassination of Lt-Gen. Kim Ch'angnyong. Sentence commuted to life imprisonment on 1 September.
- 22: US Military Police authorities unlawfully search civilian houses in P'aju County, SK, and confiscate property.
- 24: ROK-USA Aviation Agreement signed in ROK.
- 30: Japan releases all World War II Korean war criminals in Tokyo.
- May 5: Children's Charter established and proclaimed in ROK.
- 22: US President Eisenhower hints at supplying ROK with modern weapons US Government sends ROK Government formal notification on 30 June concerning supply of modern weapons.
- 25: Pro-ruling-party terrorists obstruct opposition speech rally in Changch'ung Park, Seoul. Terrorist leader Yu Chigwang arrested 5 December.
- Jun 11: ROK Ambassador to Japan Kim Yut'aek meets Japanese Premier Kishi Nobusuke and reaches agreement on mutual release of detainees and resumption of ROK-Japan talks.

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- 21: United Nations delegation to the Military Armistice Commission notifies Communists of its repudiation of Paragraphs (b) and (d) of the Armistice Agreement. Repudiation is aimed at facilitating modernization of equipment of the ROK Armed Forces.
- 27: New US F100 Fighter Group arrives in ROK.
- Jul 1: United Nations Command moves to ROK from Japan.  
2: Opposition Democratic Party in ROK announces constitutional amendment proposal for Responsible Cabinet System.  
11: Korea Press Agencies Association formed in ROK.  
15: US announces armament of US Forces in ROK with nuclear weapons.  
29: ROK National Assembly approves disqualification of National Assemblyman To Chinhŭi.  
31: ROK-Japan normalization preliminary conference reconvenes.
- Aug 1: First US Cavalry Division moves to ROK.  
5: Floods in ROK kill 247 persons, leaving 60,000 homeless.  
17: Fire in Yang-dong, Seoul, destroys 300 houses.  
22: NK espionage agent Kim Chŏngje (former Liberal Party leader) arrested in ROK.  
British troops leave ROK.  
27: NK Supreme People's Assembly election results announced.
- Sep 9: USSR in United Nations Security Council vetoes ROK entry into the United Nations.  
18: Republic of Vietnam President Ngo Dinh Diem visits ROK for ROK-Vietnam Summit Conference. Ngo leaves on 22 September.  
First session of 2nd term NK Supreme People's Assembly in Moran-bong Theater, P'yŏngyang, forms Supreme People's Assembly Membership Qualifications Screening Committee, organizes Supreme People's Assembly permanent committees, approves Supreme People's Assembly decrees, elects members to Supreme People's Assembly Presidium, forms Cabinet, appoints Attorney-General, and elects Chief Justice.
- Oct 6: NK Red Cross Committee becomes member of the International Red Cross Society.

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- 10: Korean historian Ch'oe Namsŏn dies in ROK.
- Nov 5: Chang Kŏnsang arrested in ROK on charges of involvement in NK spy ring of Pak Chŏngho
- 16: Kim Chunyŏn forms Unification Party in ROK.
- 18: International Red Cross Committee sends ROK Red Cross Society a list of 337 prominent personalities held captive in NK.
- 23: ROK Judges Conference recommends Kim Tonghyŏn as 2nd Chief Justice.
- Dec 5: Seoul National University Liberal Arts and Science College journal writer indicted for article 'System for the Sake of Proletarian Masses'.
- 18: NK Olympic Committee sends letter to ROK Olympic Committee proposing one Korean Olympic team.
- 26: ROK Supreme Court rules election of National Assemblyman in Hamp'yŏng, Chŏlla Namdo, null and void because of illegal change of votes.
- 31: ROK-Japan Preliminary Conference agrees on mutual release of detainees and resumption of 4th plenary session.

1958

- Jan 7: Secret agreement signed between ROK and Japan concerning return of cultural properties to ROK and Japan's consideration of ROK property claims.
- 11: Journalists' rally in Seoul demands withdrawal of restrictions in ROK Election Law.
- 13: Progressive Party Chairman Cho Pongam and others arrested in ROK on charges of espionage. Cho Pongam and Yang Myŏngsan sentenced to 7 years imprisonment at the first trial on 2 July. Sentenced to death at second trial on 15 October. Supreme Court on 27 February 1959 upholds decision of second trial at Appellate Court.
- 18: Seoul press issues statement protesting against press control provisions in ROK Election Law.
- 28: ROK Judges' Council recommends Cho Yongsun as Chief Justice. President appoints him and he assumes office on 9



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- June. National Assembly approves appointment on 16 June.
- 29: US Forces in ROK announce introduction of nuclear weapons.
- Feb 7: Communist China proposes withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea.
- US State Department issues statement of continued stationing of US Forces in ROK on 19 February. Sixteen United Nations member states with troops in ROK issue similar statement on 5 March.
- 16: Korean Air Line passenger plane skyjacked to NK with 34 passengers. 26 passengers repatriated 6 March. Plane and other passengers held in NK.
- 20: Communist Chinese Command in NK announces withdrawal of all remaining Chinese troops from NK by end of 1958.
- 22: ROK National Assembly resolution calls for rescission of Korean Armistice Agreement, withdrawal of Chinese forces from NK and holding of free elections in NK.
- Mar 3: NK Premier Kim Il-sŏng purges rival Yen-anist Kim Tubong. NK begins Ch'ŏllima (Flying Horse) Production Increase Campaign.
- NK Workers' Party holds 1st National Congress, discusses Five Year Economic Development Plan, calls for unity among Party members, and debates organization of the Party.
- 24: ROK begins telephotographic service.
- 31: ROK and US agree to reduce ROK armed forces by 60,000 men.
- Apr 3: ROK forwards memorandum to US on territorial reunification of Korea.
- 8: Sixteen United Nations member states with troops in ROK send note to China on territorial reunification of Korea.
- 10: NK agents unsuccessfully attempt to skyjack ROK Air Force transport plane to NK.
- 15: Fourth ROK-Japan Talks held.
- 25: Turkish Premier Menderes visits ROK.
- May 2: Fourth ROK National Assembly elections held. Liberal

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- Party wins 126, Democratic Party 79, and independents 27. Assembly convenes on 7 June and elects Yi Kibung Speaker, Yi Chaehak and Han Hŭisŏk as Vice-speakers.
- 15: Seoul Han River Roadbridge repairs completed.
- 19: Japanese Prime Minister's special envoy Yasugi Katuo visits ROK.
- 21: Dishonest ROK military suppliers arrested for supplying soap causing alopecia.
- 27: US Forces in ROK change Military Payment Certificate.
- 30: Yi Ch'anghun ROK first in marathon at the Third Asian Sports.
- Jun 9: Third session of 2nd term NK Supreme People's Assembly convenes. Adopts ordinances concerning first Five Year Economic Development Plan (1957-61).
- 12: ROK Police Sergeant Yi Wŏnyŏng defects to NK.
- 30: NK Supreme People's Assembly effects partial reorganization of administrative divisions in P'yŏngyang.
- 31: ROK Supreme Court nullifies election of Kim Ingno in Yŏngil B District.
- Jul 11: ROK National Assembly criticizes Korea Industrial Bank loaning 4 billion wŏn.
- Aug 8: ROK religious writer Ham Sŏkhŏn is arrested for 'slip of the pen'.
- 9: NK scientific exhibition commemorating 10th anniversary of establishment of NK People's Republic.
- Oct 10: Second ROK Army house-cleaning. 70 officers and men arrested.
- 13: ROK National Assembly passes law extending term of judges.
- 23: West German Economic Minister Ludwig Erhard visits ROK.
- 26: Communist Chinese Forces complete withdrawal from NK.
- Nov 5: ROK President Syngman Rhee visits Vietnam.
- 10: ROK Ruling Liberal Party pushes amendment to National Security Law. Administration sends draft to National Assembly on 18 November. Opposition members form strug-

- gle committee on 27 November. National Assembly Legislature-Judiciary Committee forces passage of law on 19 December.
- Nov 21: Kim Ilsŏng leaves on tour of China and North Vietnam, heading NK military mission.
- Dec 16: United Nations Command in Seoul announces possession of guided missiles in ROK.
- 24: ROK National Assembly expels opposition members from the Assembly Hall invoking National Assembly Police Authority and rams National Security Law through in absence of opposition. Law promulgated on 26 December.
- 28: Opposition political parties in ROK form Committee for Protecting People's Sovereign Rights.

1959

- Jan 5: Demonstrations throughout ROK denounce new National Security Law.
- 7: ROK and US sign Development Loan Fund Agreement.
- 21: Fire at P'yŏnghwa Market in Seoul.
- 22: Anti-Communist Youth Corps activated in ROK.
- 27: *Pravda* Reporter Yi Tongjun defects to ROK through Panmunjŏm.
- Feb 5: Confiscation and Investigation Warrant issued against *Kyŏnghyang Sinmun* (opposition-oriented daily) in Seoul. Editorial writer Chu Yosŏp indicted.
- 11: Korean Language Examination Committee in ROK standardizes spelling of naturalized foreign words.
- 13: Japanese Government decides to repatriate Korean residents to NK.
- 18: ROK Army 28th Infantry Division Commander Brig. Sŏ Chongch'ŏl murdered by his subordinate battalion commander Lt-Col. Chŏng Kuhŏn. Chŏng executed 17 April.
- Mar 11: ROK Supreme Court nullifies election of National Assemblymen in Inje and Yŏngdŏk.
- 15: NK emphasizes Ch'ŏllima (Flying Horse) Movement to in-

- crease industrial production.
- 19: Anti-Communist Artists and Theatrical Performers Association formed in ROK with Im Hwasu as chairman.
- 30: ROK Army calls Corps Commanders' Conference and decides on Army house-cleaning.
- Apr 3: NK Red Cross representatives leave for Geneva talks with Japanese Red Cross representatives.
- 15: Twenty-one 1,500-year-old ceramics unearthed at Yuwŏn Temple in Yangsan, Kyŏngsang Namdo.
- 30: Seoul Court closes *Kyŏnghyang Sinmun* by invoking US Military Government Ordinance Number 88. Seoul Appellate Court on 26 June suspends decision of the lower court. On same day, Government orders indefinite suspension of the paper.
- May 27: ROK Supreme Court nullifies election of National Assemblyman in Ulsan B District.
- 28: ROK Supreme Court nullifies election of National Assemblyman in Wŏlsŏng B District.
- Jun 3: NK publishes 'Memoirs of Anti-Japanese Guerrillas'.
- 10: Sales ban on ROK monthly magazine *Yahwa*, for misrepresenting Chŏlla provinces.
- 15: ROK Government suspends trade with Japan in protest against Japan's repatriation of Korean residents to NK.
- 24: ROK Supreme Court nullifies election of National Assemblyman An Yongbaek in Posŏng District.
- 29: United Nations Forces office of Economic Coordinator in ROK renamed United States Operations Mission.
- Jul 7: Pusan Customs Warehouse is reduced to ashes. Loss estimated at 300 million hwan.  
Former ROK Army War Relief Chief Brig. Kim Kŭnbae arrested on charges of misappropriation of military supplies.
- 22: ROK Supreme Court nullifies election of National Assemblyman Chi Yŏngjin in Yangsan District.
- 27: ROK Navy sinks NK gunboat, killing 5 persons and capturing 2.
- 30: Former NK Supreme Assembly Chairman Hŏ Hŏn's daughter

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- ter Hŏ Kŭnuk discloses stories about literary circles in NK.
- Aug 12: ROK-Japan Talks reconvene. ROK delegate Hŏ Chŏng asks Japan to discontinue pro-communist policy.
- 13: NK and Japan Red Cross Societies sign agreement on repatriation of Korean residents to NK.
- 15: ROK Ambassador to United Nations Im Pyŏngjik asks USSR Premier Nikita Khrushchev for free elections in NK.
- Sep 17: Typhoon Sara hits ROK south of Seoul. 924 killed, 985,000 homeless, and 13 billion-hwan property damage.
- 18: Seoul Bank established.
- 22: NK expands P'yŏngyang adding 5 new districts to the city.
- Oct 14: ROK National Assembly elects Im Ch'ŏrho to succeed Han Hŭisŏk as Vice-speaker.
- 20: ROK Army Investigation authorities arrest 6 ROK Army officers on charges of involvement in 303rd ROK Army Transportation Control Group Graft Case.
- 21: ROK Korean Mint Corporation makes 10-hwan and 50-hwan coins.
- 26: Second ROK Army Provost Marshal authorities arrest Chŏlla Namdo Provincial Draft Board Chief Colonel Yi Tuhwang on suspicion of prejudice against Chŏlla Provincial natives in Second ROK Army.
- 30: Seoul City authorities invoke Land Requisitioning Law (775 *p'yŏng* of land in front of City Hall) for the first time since 1945.
- Seoul District Prosecutor's Office announces arrest of NK Agent Kim Sunggyun in act of crossing Demilitarized Zone. Kim had secured freedom of movement in ROK after falsely surrendering to ROK authorities.
- Nov 16: Fire at International Department Store in ROK.
- 18: Octagonal Pavilion dedicated on Namsan, Seoul.
- 22: ROK Army 25th Infantry Division Aviation Unit's Lt. Mun Yongsŏk defects to NK aboard L-19 trainer plane with his mistress.
- 26: ROK Navy sinks NK agent boat off west coast and arrests

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- 4 NK agents.  
ROK opposition Democratic Party nominates Cho Pyöngok Presidential candidate and Chang Myön Vice-Presidential candidate.
- 27: ROK opposition Democratic Party elects Chang Myön as chairman of party, Cho Pyöngok vice-chairman.  
Motion picture of USSR Premier Khrushchev's tour of USA shown in P'yöngyang.
- Dec 9: ROK Supreme Court nullifies election of Yi Chönghui as National Assemblyman for Yöngju.
- 11: NK delegation arrives in Niigata to receive Korean repatriates to NK.
- 13: ROK Government proposes to take to International Court Japan's repatriation of Korean residents to NK. Japan refuses ROK's proposal on 18 December.
- 14: First group of Korean residents in Japan depart Niigata for Ch'öngjin.
- 25: ROK President Syngman Rhee orders ROK Armed Forces clean-up.

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- Jan 10: ROK Coastal Patrol Boat 701 sunk off Hüksan-do by Communist Chinese gun boats.
- 14: ROK Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry issues plan for suspension of usurious practices in rural districts.
- 15: ROK Army Logistics Command activated.
- 21: ROK Army Counter-Intelligence Corps refers to ROK Prosecution NK Agent Pak Hogun and 7-man spy ring (Moran-bong Spy Ring).
- 26: Footbridge stampede at Seoul Station; 31 killed, 41 injured.
- 29: Opposition Democratic Party ROK Presidential Candidate Cho Pyöngok visits USA for medical treatment. Dies in USA 15 February. National Funeral 25 February in ROK.
- Mar 2: Fire at International Rubber Shoe Factory, Pusan. 62 Killed.
- 15: Fourth ROK Presidential Elections. Syngman Rhee elected

- President, Yi Kibung Vice-president. Opposition Democratic Party condemns fraudulent elections and declares them null and void. Election riggings arouse public resentment. Demonstrations in Masan; eighty persons killed and injured.
- Apr 11: Masan middle-school student Kim Chuyŏl's body recovered from the sea, killed for demonstrating against election rigging. Recovery of body adds to public antipathy to government.
- 18: Koryŏ University students stage street demonstration in Seoul denouncing election rigging. Pro-government terrorists attack them in Chongno 4-ga and injure 40 students.
- 19: 19 April Student Revolution. Students of all schools in Seoul protest against election rigging. ROK Police fire at demonstrating students in front of Presidential Mansion, killing 100. Demonstrating students set fire to pro-government *Seoul Sinmun* offices and Anti-Communist Hall. Seoul citizens join students; demonstrations spread throughout ROK. Government proclaims Martial Law in five cities and appoints Lt-Gen. Song Yoch'an Martial Law Commander.
- 21: ROK Cabinet resigns *en masse*.
- 23: Chang Myŏn resigns as Vice-president.
- 24: Syngman Rhee resigns as head of ruling Liberal Party. Vice-president-elect and National Assembly Speaker Yi Kibung resigns from all public posts.
- 25: University professors meet in Seoul and demand resignation of President, all National Assemblymen and Supreme Court judges. Professors stage street demonstration after the meeting.
- 26: ROK National Assembly recommends resignation of Syngman Rhee as President, new elections, and constitutional revision; asks Foreign Minister Hŏ Chŏng to form Interim Government. Syngman Rhee resigns as President, sending written resignation to National Assembly; moves to private house, Ihwa-jang, on 28 April.

- Kyŏngnyang Simun* resumes operation.
- 27: ROK National Assembly appoints Foreign Minister Hŏ Chŏng acting President.
- 28: Yi Kibung family commits suicide.  
Chief Justice Cho Yongsun tenders written resignation.  
Resignation accepted 11 May.  
ROK Interim Government formed with Hŏ Chŏng as Premier.
- May 1: ROK Interim Government confirms nullification of 15 March elections.
- 2: ROK National Assembly elects Kwak Sanghun as speaker, announces resignation of Syngman Rhee as 3rd President and 4th President-elect.
- 3: Seoul District Prosecution authorities arrest Home Minister Ch'oe In'gyu and Police Chief Yi Kanghak on charges of violation of Election Law. Prosecution arrests Han Hŭisŏk on 7 May and Yu Ch'ungyŏl and Kwak Yongju on similar charges.  
ROK Cabinet decides on dissolution of Students National Defence Corps.
- 4: ROK Government repeals restriction on entry of Japanese newsmen to ROK. Fifteen Japanese reporters visit ROK 17 May.
- 11: Bereaved families of Kŏch'ang Massacre victims capture former Chief of Sindo Township Pak Yongbo and burn him alive.
- 21: ROK Government announces preparation of bill for constitutional revision for responsible cabinet system.
- 22: Interim Government punishes dishonest fortune accumulators as tax-law violators.
- 27: Emergency Martial Law lifted in Seoul.
- 29: Syngman Rhee goes to exile in Hawaii.
- Jun 1: ROK Interim Government gives 20 days for dishonest fortune accumulators to surrender. Samsŏng Industry and eight other businesses report having dodged 3.6 billion hwan in taxes.



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- Tonga University students raid *Pusan Ilbo* office and destroy printing machine.
- 4: Ko Chonghun's National Salvation Youth Corps in ROK is renamed Social Reform Party.
  - 5: Seoul Prosecutor's Office arrests 9 former members of ROK Cabinet and 13 members of former Liberal Party Planning Committee.
  - 14: Ch'oe Kyunam and 42 other reformist Liberal Party National Assemblymen organize Constitutional Administration Comrades' Society.
  - 15: ROK National Assembly passes 3rd constitutional revision, adopting responsible cabinet system. Constitutional revision proclaimed and Second Republic established.
  - 17: Yun Kilchung forms Socialist Mass Party in ROK.  
ROK National Assembly Speaker acts as President under revised Constitution.
  - 19: US President Eisenhower visits ROK.  
ROK-US Joint Communiqué issued; Eisenhower assures continued US assistance to ROK.
  - 22: Kwak Sanghun resigns as Speaker of ROK National Assembly. Hŏ Chŏng acts as President.  
ROK National Assembly passes National Assembly Election Law. Law promulgated 23 June.
  - 24: ROK National Assembly repeals US Military Government Ordinances 55 and 88; passes Newspaper and Political Party Registration Laws.
  - Jul 29: ROK House of Representatives and House of Councilors elections. Riots in 13 electoral districts, destroying and burning ballot boxes.
  - Aug 3: NK Air Force 2nd Lt. Chŏng Nakhyŏn defects to ROK aboard MIG-17.
  - 4: Old Faction of Democratic Party declares severing of relations with New Faction.
  - 8: ROK House of Representatives and House of Councilors convene.  
Representatives elect Kwak Sanghun speaker, Yi Yong-

- jung and Sŏ Minho vice-speakers.  
Councilors elect Paek Nakchun chairman and Sŏ In'gyu vice-chairman.
- 12: Joint ROK House of Representatives and House of Councilors session elects Yun Posŏn President of 2nd Republic. ROK Interim Government transfers investigation of illicit fortune accumulators to new ROK Government.
- 13: Second Ongnyu Bridge (over Taedong River) opened in P'yŏngyang.
- 14: NK Premier Kim Ilsŏng announces Seven Year Economic Development Plan.  
P'yŏngyang Grand Theater, Ongnyu-gwan (guest house), Moran-bong Stadium dedicated in P'yŏngyang.  
NK Premier Kim Ilsŏng proposes South-North Federation.
- 17: ROK National Assembly rejects President Yun Posŏn's appointment of Kim Toyŏn as Prime Minister 112 to 111.
- 19: ROK National Assembly approves appointment of Chang Myŏn as Prime Minister 117 to 107.
- 23: Chang Myŏn forms ROK Cabinet.
- 31: ROK Government orders 24 business tycoons to pay 11 billion hwan in tax arrears and 8.7 billion hwan in fines.
- Sep 6: Japanese Goodwill Mission headed by Foreign Minister Kosaka visits ROK.
- 10: Lt-Col. Kim Chongp'il and ten other 8th class graduates of the ROK Military Academy recommend National Defence Minister Hyŏn Sŏkho to streamline the ROK Army.
- 22: Old Faction secedes from Democratic Party.
- 24: Cnl. Kim Myŏnghwan and 15 other Army officers recommend ROK Army Chief of Staff Gen Ch'oe Yŏnghui to weed out inefficient officers to make room for efficient young officers and ask Ch'oe to resign. They are referred to court martial but acquitted of charges on 12 December.
- 28: Teachers protest against ROK law prohibiting formation of teachers' union, stage sit-down in front of National Assembly and sit-in at the Ministry of Education.
- 29: ROK Supreme Court decides in favor of Kim Ch'angsuk in

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- the Confucian Dispute law suit.
- Oct 8: Seoul District Court passes judgement on 6 major election cases including firing at demonstrators. Yu Ch'ungyŏl sentenced to death, remainder acquitted.
- 11: Wounded students of 19 April Revolution in Seoul protest the court ruling, demonstrate, demanding dissolution of National Assembly, and occupy Speaker's seat.
- 12: House of Representatives passes bill to punish traitors to democracy.
- 21: US Senator Michel J. Mansfield proposes Korean reunification on neutralist formula after Austrian style.
- 22: ROK Government rejects Mansfield proposal.
- 25: Fifth ROK-Japan Talks held.
- 30: Smugglers and hoodlums abduct over 100 ROK policemen in Pusan and torture them.
- 31: ROK Government proclaims revised Local Autonomy Law.
- Nov 1: Seoul National University students form National Reunification League and ask Prime Minister Chang Myŏn to visit USA and USSR for reunification of south and north Korea. League calls for south-north students meeting.
- 12: Former Old Faction of Democratic Party forms New Democratic Party.
- 15: Former Liberal Party in ROK forms Democratic Party with Yi Kapsŏng and Kim Chunyŏn.
- 19: NK Supreme People's Assembly Presidium Chairman Ch'oe Yonggŏn proposes formation of South-North Federation and Joint South-North Commission for economic and cultural exchanges.
- Eighth session of the 2nd term NK Supreme People's Assembly reviews results of first Five Year Economic Development Plan and adopts appeal to people in ROK for peaceful unification of Korea.
- 23: ROK House of Representatives passes constitutional revision. Revision passed by House of Councilors on 28 November and promulgated 29 November.
- 24: Kim Tarho forms Socialist Mass Party in ROK.

- 27: Former moderate leftist Diligent Laboring People's Party leaders in ROK form Socialist Party with Ch'oe Kūnu as chairman. Party advocates reunification and neutralization of Korea.
- Dec 1: Regular ferry service begins between Pusan and Hakada, for the first time since the end of World War II.
- 10: Over one thousand members of Elder Pak T'aesŏn's Sect raid *Tonga Ilbo* office in Seoul because of stories about Pak carried in the newspaper.
- 12: Seoul City and Provincial Assembly elections. Seoul City mayoral and gubernatorial elections are held on 29 December.
- 13: ROK Supreme Court nullifies election of National Assemblyman Son Ch'ihŏ in Ongjin-gun.
- 23: ROK Government proclaims Special Court and Special Prosecution Organization Law.
- 25: Fire at International Market, Pusan.
- 30: ROK Presidential Mansion Kyŏngmu-dae renamed Ch'ŏng-wa-dae (Blue House).
- 31: ROK Government proclaims Election Irregularities Disposition Law and Civil Rights Restriction Law.

## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, KOREA BRANCH, 1972

(Presented at the Annual General Meeting, 6 December 1972)

The Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society experienced an extremely active year of progress in 1972, the seventy-second year of its existence. From its new and expanded office in the modern Han'guk Ilbo (Korea Times) Building, 1972 proved to be the most profitable and worthwhile year in the Society's long history of attempting to make Korea and things Korean better known and appreciated by the English speaking world.

*Membership:* As of 1 December 1972 the total was 1,019, an all-time high. Of this total, 35 were life members, 275 were overseas, and 709 were in Korea. We kept in touch with overseas members by our quarterly newsletter and with our local membership by our monthly activities bulletin.

*Meetings:* During 1972 we held 28 meetings, which were attended by a total of 3,900 persons. As an innovation this year, we held 4 meetings in Taegu, which are included in the total. Included in our offerings were such items as a masked dance drama, movies, a garden party, a demonstration of yoga, and lectures on a variety of topics, such as 'The Korean Character', 'A Western Artist's Approach to Calligraphy', 'Twenty Years of Negotiations at Panmunjom', and 'Traditional Poetry Criticism'.

*Tours:* During 1972 we took 1,519 persons on 28 tours, including 3 overseas tours, one each to Japan (Winter Olympics), Taiwan and Hong Kong, and Southeast Asia. Average participation in domestic tours was 58. Tours in Korea included Cheju Island (twice), Kyōngju, Sōrak-san, Chiri-san, and Ch'ungmu. We conducted 9 weekend tours of 2 to 4 days duration. The remainder were one-day, half-day or evening

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restaurant tours.

*Publications:* The year 1972 was another active one for the publication of RAS *Transactions* and books. Highlight of the year was Richard Rutt's *James Scarth Gale and his History of the Korean People*, a long-awaited volume, which came out in July. Earlier, in March, we published Harold F. Cook's *Korea's 1884 Incident: Its Background and Kim Ok-kyun's Elusive Dream*. We also brought out a 6th printing (1st printing of 3rd edition) of Paul S. Crane's tremendously popular *Korean Patterns*. We now have 11 books in print. Finally, we published Volume 47 in our *Transactions* series, half the copies in paperback and half in hard covers. In early 1973 we hope to bring out *Three Clan Villages* by Pak Kihyuk and the late Sidney D. Gamble. From our enlarged office we continue to offer our membership our own publications as well as a fine selection of other English language books about Korea.

The officers and councilors of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society wish to thank the membership for making 1972 such an eventful year. We look forward to your continued interest and cooperation during the year ahead.

## MEETINGS

		Attendance
<b>January</b>	12 Film selections	270
	26 Reminiscences of the Burma Campaign in World War II and China after the Japanese Surrender in 1945 (Lt. Gen. William R. Peers)	190
<b>February</b>	16 Philosophy & Techniques of Yoga (Kim Hyönsu)	65
<b>March</b>	8 Traditional Poetry Criticism (Richard Rutt)	240
	22 Goethe & Asia (Michael R. Engelhand)	65
<b>April</b>	5 Excavation of Paekche King Munyong's Tomb (Prof. Kim Wonyong)	140
	26 Urban Problems in Korea (Gregory Pai)	92
<b>May</b>	17 Special Program for Buddha's Birthday (Mrs	130

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	Dallas Hunter & Dr Harold F. Cook)	
<b>May</b>	25 Korean Poetry (Richard Rutt; in Taegu)	70
	31 Rural Migrants to Seoul (Dr Vincent S. R. Brandt)	240
<b>June</b>	7 Geography of the Republic of Korea (Dr Patricia Bartz)	105
	15 Introduction to Korean Music (Alan Heyman; in Taegu)	76
	21 Study of Foreign Influence (Donald S. Macdonald)	85
<b>July</b>	12 Film selection :	75
	26 James Scarth Gale & His History of the Korean People (Richard Rutt)	225
<b>August</b>	9 Twenty Years of Negotiations at Panmunjom (Prof. Roy U. T. Kim)	140
	23 Haein-sa (Mr & Mrs Charles Lauster)	120
<b>September</b>	6 Experiences & Impressions while doing Research in Korea (George Yuan, Alexander Townsend, & Peter Bartholomew)	115
	13 Turn of the Tide: 1950 Inchon Landing (Alan M. MacDougall)	85
	14 Masked Dance Drama (In Taegu)	175
	27 Indian & Korean Folk Music: Observations & Contrasts (Dr Rosetta Renshaw)	95
	29 Garden Party & Unveiling of Memorial Stone for Min Yonghwan at French Embassy	250
<b>October</b>	11 Western Artist's Approach to Calligraphy (Prof. Margaret Rigg)	80
	25 Korean Character (Dr Edward W. Poitars)	160
<b>November</b>	15 Masked Dance Drama	350
	16 America Comes to Korea: The Early Contacts (Dr Harold F. Cook; in Taegu)	20
	29 Korean Shamanism (Dr Yu Tongshik)	105
<b>December</b>	6 Annual General Meeting; presentation of slides of Korea taken around 1900 (Dr Horace G. Underwood)	135

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**TOURS**

		Participants
<b>February</b>	1-11 Overseas tour (Winter Olympics)	25
<b>March</b>	29 Restaurant & movies (Korea House)	70
<b>April</b>	1 Sŭjong-sa	76
	9 Mystery tour	44
	23 Churches of Seoul	42
	29 Vegetarian meal (Pogwang-sa)	100
<b>May</b>	6-7 Puyŏ & Kongju	34
	6-19 Overseas tour (Southeast Asia)	12
	14 Chŏng-dong	55
	20 Buddha's Birthday lantern procession & restaurant (Hyangdo)	73
	26-29 Sŏrak-san	32
<b>June</b>	4 Inch'ŏn	71
	10-12 Kyŏngju	34
	18 Boating on the Han River	92
	25 Changnung	81
<b>September</b>	2-4 Cheju-do	30
	8-10 Cheju-do	23
	17 Emille Museum & mudang ceremony	140
	24 Haengju Sansong & West Three Tombs	82
<b>September</b>	30 Kanghai Island	24
<b>-October</b>	1	
<b>October</b>	7-9 Ch'ungmu	57
	14 Sŏgang University	37
	20-23 Chiri-san	30
	29 North Han Valley	77
<b>November</b>	4 Kaya Hills and Sudŏk-sa	86
	11-12 Pŏpchu-sa	31
	18-25 Overseas tour (Taiwan & Hong Kong)	21
<b>December</b>	1 Restaurant (Handong-wŏn)	40



# KOREA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

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As of 20 June 1973

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