



TRANSACTIONS

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KOREA BRANCH

The Anglican Cathedral Seoul 1926-1986

by J. E. HOARE

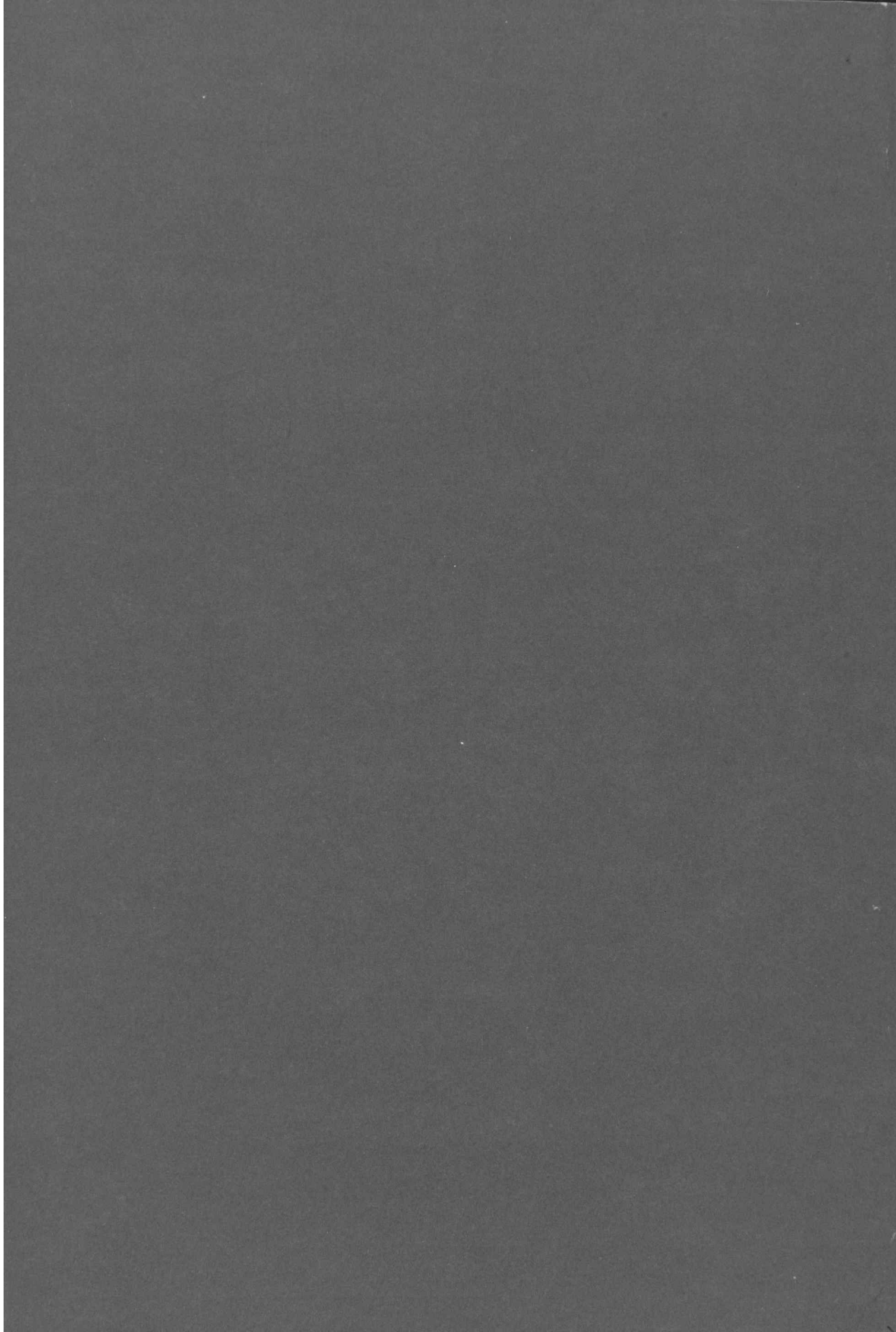
Generational Change and Confucianism:
Organization and Interaction in Korea

by Tony MICHELL

Journey to Old Korea:

The 1886 Diary of Gertrude Hall Denny

by Robert R. SWARTOUT, JR.



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The Anglican Cathedral Seoul 1926-1986

J. E. HOARE

May 1986 marked the sixtieth anniversary of the consecration of the Anglican pro-cathedral of St. Mary and St. Nicholas, the central church of the Anglican community in Korea. This great church is situated on the edge of Seoul's old foreign quarter, Chōng-dong, and is an imposing brick and granite building. Once it stood out clear from its surroundings, but today it is in among the high-rise hotels and the tall office blocks which are so characteristic of modern Seoul.

It is not a well-known landmark. Many of Seoul's citizens whether Christians or not are familiar with the Roman Catholic cathedral in Myōng-dong, and also with the newer churches south of the Han River, but very few are even aware of the Anglican cathedral's existence and even fewer know how to find it. Crowds of people visit sights such as the National Museum or Tōksu Palace every day, but in 1983, an official of the Anglican cathedral noted that only about fifteen visitors came to the cathedral each day. Yet on Sundays and festivals, several hundred Koreans come to worship. There is also a small but devoted group of foreign Anglicans (or Episcopalians as they are generally known in the United States) who attend the Sunday mass in the cathedral crypt.¹

The general lack of knowledge about the cathedral is reflected in guide-books and other tourist aids. Indeed, few guide books mention the cathedral at all, and those that do are frequently not very informative or sometimes wrong. Even Seoul city authorities, who have designated the cathedral as "Local Tangible Property No. 35," have erected an incorrect notice outside the building.

This neglect is a pity. The cathedral has long been regarded as one of the most attractive western-style buildings in East Asia. The story of how it came to be built, and its survival during the troubled times of the past sixty years is an interesting one both in itself and as part of the wider history of the Anglican church in Korea. Together with the nineteenth-century buildings of the nearby British Embassy compound and Tōksu Palace, the cathedral forms part of an older Seoul that has almost vanished.

The Anglican church began to take an interest in Korea from 1880, and the Korean Anglican mission dates from the appointment of Charles John Corfe, a former British naval chaplain, as bishop of Korea (or Corea as he and most of his contemporaries spelt it) by the archbishop of Canterbury in 1889. The decision to make such an appointment arose from a visit to Korea in 1887 by the Anglican bishops of Tokyo and North China. It was perhaps the confidence of nineteenth-century Anglican missionaries which led one of the visitors, Bishop Bickersteth of Tokyo, to foresee a future Anglican church established in Korea with its own cathedral in Seoul before an Anglican mission had begun to function there.²

The reality was that Corfe's fledgling church was in no position to support a cathedral during his episcopacy or for many years afterwards. His policy for himself and his missionary colleagues was to concentrate their energies on learning the Korean language before beginning the task of making converts. Even when the work of conversion began, Corfe emphasized the need for a well-trained few rather than large numbers who might only half understand what they were supposed to believe. These few and the small number of foreign Anglicans could worship adequately in the small churches erected in Seoul, Chemulpo (now Inch'ŏn) and Kanghwa island.

This small Anglican community expanded during the episcopacy of Corfe's successor, Bishop Turner. Both men believed that the Anglicans in Korea should minister to all people there. The Anglican church therefore came to be almost alone in having Korean, Japanese and western congregations. Although they were all Anglicans, however, they did not generally worship together. By 1910, Turner and his colleagues believed that the Anglican community was able to support the erection and upkeep of a large central church, where the various nationalities could all meet together under one roof on at least some occasions. Thus in August of that year, the *Korean Mission Field* reported that the Anglican mission intended to erect a cathedral and commented that "with the usual good taste of their denomination in matters of architecture and art, [they] will follow the general lines of Korean architecture in the structure. . . ."³ In the event, both predictions proved incorrect. Bishop Turner died before he could put his plans into action. His death led to the postponement of the cathedral project for the time being. When it was revived under his successor some years later, any idea of a building based on traditional Korean architecture had been abandoned.

Turner's successor was Mark Trollope, one of the first Anglicans to join Corfe in Korea. During his years with the Korean mission, he had acquired a reputation for getting things done. He had also been responsible

for building what was and is one of the most attractive churches in Korea, the church of St. Peter and St. Paul in Kanghwa town. This church completed in 1900, was an imaginative blend of traditional Korean temple and palace style of construction and layout with the needs of a Christian place of worship. With a reputation as a builder of churches already established, it was natural that Trollope should take on the cathedral project. There was now an added incentive, in the fund collected to erect a memorial to Bishop Turner. It was this fund which was to become the basis of the cathedral construction fund.

The outbreak of the first world war in 1914 effectively postponed the project for several years. But Trollope did not lose sight of it. In August 1915, he spelt out his thoughts on the subject in his "Charge" or instruction to his clergy. These now included Koreans and Trollope took account of their susceptibilities. He disclaimed any intention of fixing finally where the central church of the Korean Anglican community should be. That was for the Koreans themselves to decide when in due course they took over the complete running of the church. In the meantime, there should be a temporary central church in Seoul, which would be a "pro-Cathedral."⁴ This term was to be a source of some confusion in subsequent years, and Trollope on one occasion felt the need to explain that it stood for "pro-temporary Cathedral," not as some apparently claimed, "Protestant Cathedral."⁵

In July 1918, as the war in Europe showed signs of ending, Trollope again turned his attention to the question of the cathedral. Space was available at the mission's site in Chōng-dong, following the reconstruction of a boys' home run by the mission. Although the mission possessed other possible sites in Seoul, this was the best, "adjoining the Bishop's residence on the great high road through Seoul from the railway station to the Governor-General's official residence." There was already a small church on the site, the "Church of the Advent," used particularly by the foreign community.⁶

In order to begin raising additional funds, Trollope consulted an old acquaintance, the architect Arthur S. Dixon, on his proposed church. They had met when Trollope had been the priest in charge of the church of St. Alban the Martyr in Birmingham while Dixon was establishing a reputation as a church architect in and around that city. They seem to have got on well, for Dixon drew up the plans for the Seoul cathedral without charge and also made two trips to Korea at his own expense to supervise the work once it started.⁷ It was Dixon's drawings which formed the basis for Trollope's appeal for funds for the great undertaking. From the very beginning,

Trollope decided not to build in Korean style. Without specifying what the problems were, he told the supporters of the Korean mission in Britain that "The difficulties in the way of adopting the indigenous architecture of these lands—a task we have essayed with some *small* measure of success in Kangwha—are possibly well-nigh insuperable. . . ." Instead Trollope, who had a great nostalgia for the undivided church, decided that what was needed was a building which would in some way reflect universal Christian values of beauty and art. He also hoped that his church would become a model for all Korean church building. At the same time, the new cathedral must fit into the modern city which Seoul was rapidly becoming under Japanese influence. He therefore decided to build in the "Romanesque, Lombardic or 'Norman' style. . . ." ⁸

That decision taken, money was the next problem. In 1918, the memorial fund for Bishop Turner stood at some £5000 (US\$20,000 at the then rate of exchange), but that would not go very far. Prices in Korea as elsewhere had increased dramatically as a result of the war. The British Embassy in Tokyo reported in December 1919, for example, that differences in exchange rates alone compared to pre-war days meant about a twenty-four percent decrease in the value of British currency, even before local inflation was taken into account. ⁹ Dixon's plans would cost about £50,000 if executed in their entirety. This was too much. But even the modified version with which Trollope proposed to begin would take some £18,000 to £20,000. These were large sums, and there was no possibility that the small Korean church could raise them. Trollope therefore saw no choice but to appeal outside Korea. ¹⁰

Undaunted by the problems of fund-raising, Trollope announced that work would start on the crypt which would form the memorial to Bishop Turner. It could also serve as a place of worship until the whole church was completed. Trollope pointed to the tradition of the great medieval churches, some of which had taken centuries to complete, and to the more recent example of Lancing College in Sussex, the school founded in 1848 which both Corfe and he had attended, and where the chapel had taken forty years to finish.

The appeal for outside funds met with success from three main sources. The Anglo-Catholic conference of 1920 responded with a donation of £5000. To this was added a further £5000 from the Wills' Bequest, a fund set up under the will of H. W. Wills, a member of a prominent British tobacco company. Money also came from the Marriott Bequest, established in 1896, one of whose purposes was to provide funds for church building

overseas. And always, in addition to these large amounts, there was a steady trickle of private donations. Although the money from these various sources was to come in sporadic bursts, with the result that much of the bishop's correspondence from 1921 to 1926 was taken up with chasing funds or bemoaning their non-arrival, Trollope could see his way forward. Work therefore commenced.¹¹

By September 1922, the foundations of the crypt were finished and the walls had begun to rise. Work was much slowed up by the rains in July and August, and Trollope at one time thought that it would not be sufficiently advanced to hold the planned ceremony of laying the foundation stone on 24 September. But, rain or no rain, the work kept up, and what had been planned as a simple ceremony for the Anglican faithful grew into something much grander. The Anglican bishops from Peking and Shantung were joined by the bishop of Osaka. There were American priests from Japan, a Chinese priest who had also come from Shantung, plus the Korean, British and Japanese clergy of the Korean mission itself. The ceremony was also attended by the Japanese governor general, Baron Saito, the governor of the province, the mayor of Seoul, the British consul-general, and other consular representatives. Though rain fell at one point, the ceremony was a great success, as were a series of celebratory tea-parties and "at homes" held to mark the event.¹²

After the excitements of that day, the more humdrum task of building continued. By mid-summer 1923, the outline of the main church was taking shape; the roof went on that autumn. For Trollope, it was all something of a strain. To his constant worries about money were added concern over the laborers and the primitive conditions in which they worked. As with most other major building projects in Korea at that time, the actual construction work was in the hands of a Chinese contractor, who managed a mixed Chinese and Korean workforce. Supervising the contractor was a young British architect, Leslie C. Brooke, who, understandably, knew neither Korean nor Chinese. He was aided by the bishop and the other Anglican priests, but it was a difficult task, not helped by the contractor's equally understandable unfamiliarity with either the construction or the purpose of cathedrals.¹³

Yet by July 1924, the crypt was finished and the main shell of the cathedral proper was almost ready. At this stage, Trollope's concern shifted somewhat, for he began to fear that he would be left with nothing but a shell. Funds to finish and furnish the building were now needed, and seemed unlikely to be forthcoming. Yet these problems too were

overcome. The trickle of donations continued; amongst them were funds for the high altar, which came from fourteen of the bishops and archbishops of England and Scotland.¹⁴

On 3 May 1926, the new cathedral was consecrated. The day chosen was Holy Cross Day, which Bishop Corfe had selected in 1889 as the festival day of the Korean mission. The dedication of the new cathedral was to Mary, the mother of Jesus—perhaps again a sign of Trollope's concern with the traditions and beliefs of an undivided and universal church—and St. Nicholas, who as patron saint of sailors and children, had been a particular favorite of Bishop Corfe. It was no coincidence that Lancing College chapel was similarly dedicated. This ceremony was a far more modest affair than that of 1922. Only members of the Anglican community were invited. Trollope explained that this "semi-privacy" was decided upon for a number of reasons. One member of the mission, Fr. Hodges, had died a week or so earlier. The last Korean emperor had also died in April and his death had led to an upsurge of patriotic feeling among Koreans; clearly this was no time to bring Koreans and Japanese officials together. The disturbed state of China made it difficult for visitors to come from there. Trollope also wrote that his own health was poor, and that he did not wish to receive large numbers of visitors. So it was a quiet, domestic ceremony, with only the bishop of Kobe representing the outside world.¹⁵

The new building was much admired. Soon after its consecration, one British resident wrote:

"The Cathedral itself is a handsome granite building, Byzantine in style. . . it stands up resolute and serene against the blue Korean sky. The choir is faced with Irish marble, and the alcove behind the altar has recently been inlaid with mosaic. Its mere size is significant when you consider that its congregation consists of little more than the thirty boys from the hostel and perhaps as many girls from the convent."

The writer, a teacher named H. B. Drake, somewhat played down the size of the congregation; though small, it was still larger than his account implied. From the earliest days, the main church was used for Korean services, while the much smaller Japanese and western congregations used the crypt. Together these amounted to more than the handful described by Drake.¹⁶

The cathedral was now in use, and Trollope went home on leave, exhausted by his recent labors. But though his great church was functioning, it remained incomplete. The nave was only half the projected length, and

the cathedral lacked its planned transepts. Furnishing and decorating too were not easy tasks; the mosaics mentioned by Drake, which were carried out by a British craftsman, were not cheap. Other minor but expensive problems included a fire early in 1930 which destroyed much of the altar linen. Sister Mary Clare, one of the Anglican sisters, whose convent then and now adjoins the cathedral, managed to raise the not inconsiderable sum of £120 for replacements. More important, perhaps, in marking the coming of age of the Anglican church in Korea, was the visit of the bishop of London late in 1926. He took high mass in the nave and evensong in the crypt. He also complained about the cold of the new cathedral; he got little sympathy from the western clergy, who felt that a Korean winter could hardly be said to have begun in December!¹⁷

Bishop Trollope died in November 1930. He had gone to London for the Lambeth Conference, since 1867 the regular forum of all bishops of the Anglican communion. On his way back to Korea, the ship on which he was travelling was in a collision at Kobe in Japan and Trollope suffered a fatal heart attack. His remains were brought back to Seoul and laid in state in the cathedral he had built. In keeping with a long established Christian tradition that a bishop who builds a cathedral is buried in it, permission was sought to inter the body in the crypt. This was granted, and so took place the only known burial inside Seoul's ancient city walls since the founding of the city in 1392. Again in keeping with tradition, Trollope's tomb is marked by a fine ornamental brass, which depicts him in his robes, holding the cathedral in one hand and his crozier, symbol of his office, in the other.¹⁸

The following years were peaceful, with no changes to the cathedral. Then in late 1940, as tensions grew in East Asia, all western missionaries including the Anglicans withdrew from Korea under growing Japanese harassment, leaving their local congregations to manage as best they could. Despite the wartime pressures on Christians, the Anglicans of Seoul, both Korean and Japanese, still managed to use the cathedral for worship, and the building was generally left alone by the Japanese authorities. Like the rest of the city, it suffered from neglect and a general lack of maintenance.

During the war no news of the Anglican community nor of the cathedral reached the outside world. But soon after Japan's defeat, a letter arrived in London, addressed to the archbishop of Canterbury, from Sgt. J. G. Mills, a member of the United States' forces which had landed in Korea in September 1945. Soon after reaching Seoul, Sgt. Mills

had come upon the cathedral by chance. He had found a Korean priest, a Japanese priest and the Japanese bishop who had been left in charge in 1940. From them he learned that throughout the war, some hundred Koreans had continued to worship at the cathedral, while about ten Japanese had braved government opposition to attend services. Mills added that the cathedral itself was "in excellent condition. . ." as was the bishop's house. Other buildings, however, were in a poor state.¹⁹ A month after Sgt. Mills' report, a solemn Eucharist of Thanksgiving was held in the cathedral, with five American generals among the congregation.²⁰

With the end of the war, the Japanese congregation disappeared. There were at first few Westerners to replace them, and the cathedral was mainly used by Koreans. But by the time the first foreign clergy were able to return to Korea in the autumn of 1946, the position had begun to change. It was not long therefore before Bishop Cooper and Fr. Hunt were again using the crypt for non-Korean services.²¹

Then came the Korean war in June 1950. Bishop Cooper, Fr. Hunt and Sister Mary Clare were captured by the North Koreans. All three were taken on the "Death March" into North Korea. Only Cooper survived. Other Anglicans, both Korean and Western, disappeared without trace.

The cathedral survived. After Seoul fell in the panic of June-July 1950, the North Koreans used the building as a storehouse for the large quantity of Western furniture which they collected from all over the city. Much of this may have been destined to go north, together with the collection of the National Museum, then in nearby Tōksu Palace, which with other art treasures was found boxed ready for departure when Seoul was retaken by U.N. forces in September. The collected furniture was then distributed, on the basis of need rather than ownership, to the small band of diplomats and others who returned to the city. During the January 1951 evacuation of Seoul, and again when it was retaken by the U.N. forces, the cathedral served as a refuge for those seeking shelter from the fighting.²²

The war dispersed the Anglican faithful and clergy from Seoul. Bishop Chadwell, deputizing for Bishop Cooper, was in Pusan with most of the clergy until 1953. But a form of worship continued in the cathedral all through the war. Even during periods of North Korean occupation, the churchwarden Yi Zacharias and his wife Elizabeth stayed put. They lived in the crypt, where they said matins and evensong whenever possible. More surprisingly, they were often able to ring the bells for the

Angelus.²³

Bishop Chadwell returned to Seoul in March 1953, in advance of most of the Korean government and the diplomatic corps. He found the cathedral still structurally sound, but in need of much repair. By the end of the year, however, Chadwell reported that the roof was "reasonably watertight, all the outside cement work and drainage. . . renewed. . . ." The processional cross had been rediscovered and was once again in use. Services too were also back to normal. Though at first the congregations had been so small that all services were held in the crypt, by mid-summer 1953, the nave was again in use.²⁴

Bishop Cooper, along with a number of others taken in 1950, was released in April 1953, and in November of that year he returned to his diocese. But captivity had taken its toll, and he resigned a year later. He retired to England, where he died in 1960. Under his successors, who are now Korean, the Anglican church has continued to grow and expand, though perhaps not as spectacularly as some other denominations.

The cathedral shows few outward signs of the Korean war, apart from a few bullet marks. The main reminder of the conflict is a number of war memorials. One British regiment is commemorated by a plaque in the crypt, while near the high altar is a series of simple photographs of those priests and nuns who died or disappeared in the war. The most notable monument is a stained glass window over the nave. It is to the memory of those who fell from the British Commonwealth Division, and shows St. George and the Dragon. It was made by a British craftsman, and unveiled by the then President of the Republic of Korea, Yun Po-sun, on 3 September 1961, the thirty-fifth anniversary of the cathedral's consecration.²⁵

Another addition to the cathedral, of more recent vintage, was a pipe organ. Built in Britain especially for the cathedral and installed in 1985, the organ, which replaced various earlier, inadequate models, was built by Harrison and Harrison Ltd. of Durham in the north of England, a company with a long tradition in this field, who have also in the past built organs for the Shanghai Anglican cathedral in 1925 and that in Tokyo in 1980. The new organ, delivered in October 1985, was dedicated by the bishop of Seoul on 21 December 1985.²⁶

The cathedral has not become the model for other church building as Trollope had hoped; the limitations of the model for Korean churches at a time of great poverty were recognized almost as soon as the

cathedral was erected.²⁷ Today, when there is much more money available, most Korean churches, of whatever denomination, remain architecturally nondescript. Neither has the cathedral ever been finished. Although still holding the original plans, the Anglican church in Korea has never had the funds to complete the building. While the full effect of Trollope's great church may never now be achieved, because of the tall buildings all around, there can be no doubt that its completion would add to the attraction of central Seoul. Perhaps now, over sixty years after the consecration, the project might be set in hand.

NOTES

While living in Seoul from 1981 to 1985, I became interested in the history of the Anglican cathedral, whose outline greeted me every morning as I drove to work, and which stood like a sentry on the lane outside the British embassy compound. In August 1984, I gave a talk on the history of the British embassy compound and the cathedral to a group from the RAS, who then accompanied me on a tour of these two areas which have played such an important role in the history of the British community, and indeed the wider foreign community in Korea. It is from that occasion that the present paper developed. I am most grateful to the Right Reverend Bishop Richard Rutt, formerly of Taejŏn and now Bishop of Leicester, and to Dr. Horace Underwood of Yonsei University for their comments on earlier drafts, and for advice about additional information. I am also grateful to Miss A. J. Roberts, MBE, formerly of the Anglican mission in Korea, whose interest and enthusiasm for the byways of history was infectious. Any faults or errors of interpretation are mine.

1. "Cultural Asset: Anglican Cathedral," *Korea Newsreview*, 2 April, 1983.

2. Bickersteth, S. *Life and Letters of Edward Bickersteth, Bishop of South Tokyo*, (London, 1901), p. 162. The diocese of South Tokyo had not been created in 1887. For the tradition of Anglican missionary cathedrals, see Clarke, Basi. *Anglican Cathedrals outside the British Isles*, (London, 1958), p. 8.

3. *Korean Mission Field*, Vol. VII, No. 8, 1 Aug. 1910. See also Trollope, Constance, *Mark Napier Trollope: Bishop in Korea, 1911-1930*, (London, 1936), pp. 60-61.

4. United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG) Archives, Trollope Papers X620, Box 1, Charge to the Clergy 3 Aug. 1915. Trollope also mentioned the need for a cathedral in his history of the mission, published that same year: Trollope, M. *The Church in Corea*, (London, 1915), pp. 39-40.

5. *Corean Leaflet Letter*, No. 51, Sept. 1918.

6. *Corean Leaflet Letter*, No. 51, Sept. 1918; Trollope, *Mark Napier Trollope*, p. 65.

7. Clarke, *Anglican Cathedrals*, p. 120; Trollope, *Mark Napier Trollope*, p. 63. For an appraisal of Dixon's work in Britain, see Pevsner, N. and Wedgwood, A. *The Buildings of England: Warwickshire*, (Harmondsworth, 1966, reprinted 1981), pp. 131 and 186.

8. *Corean Leaflet Letter*, No. 62, March 1921. For some of the influences on church building in Britain at this time, see Service, A. *Edwardian Architecture*, (London, 1977), pp. 80-83 and Clifton-Taylor, A. *The Cathedrals of England*, (London, 1967), Chapter 10.

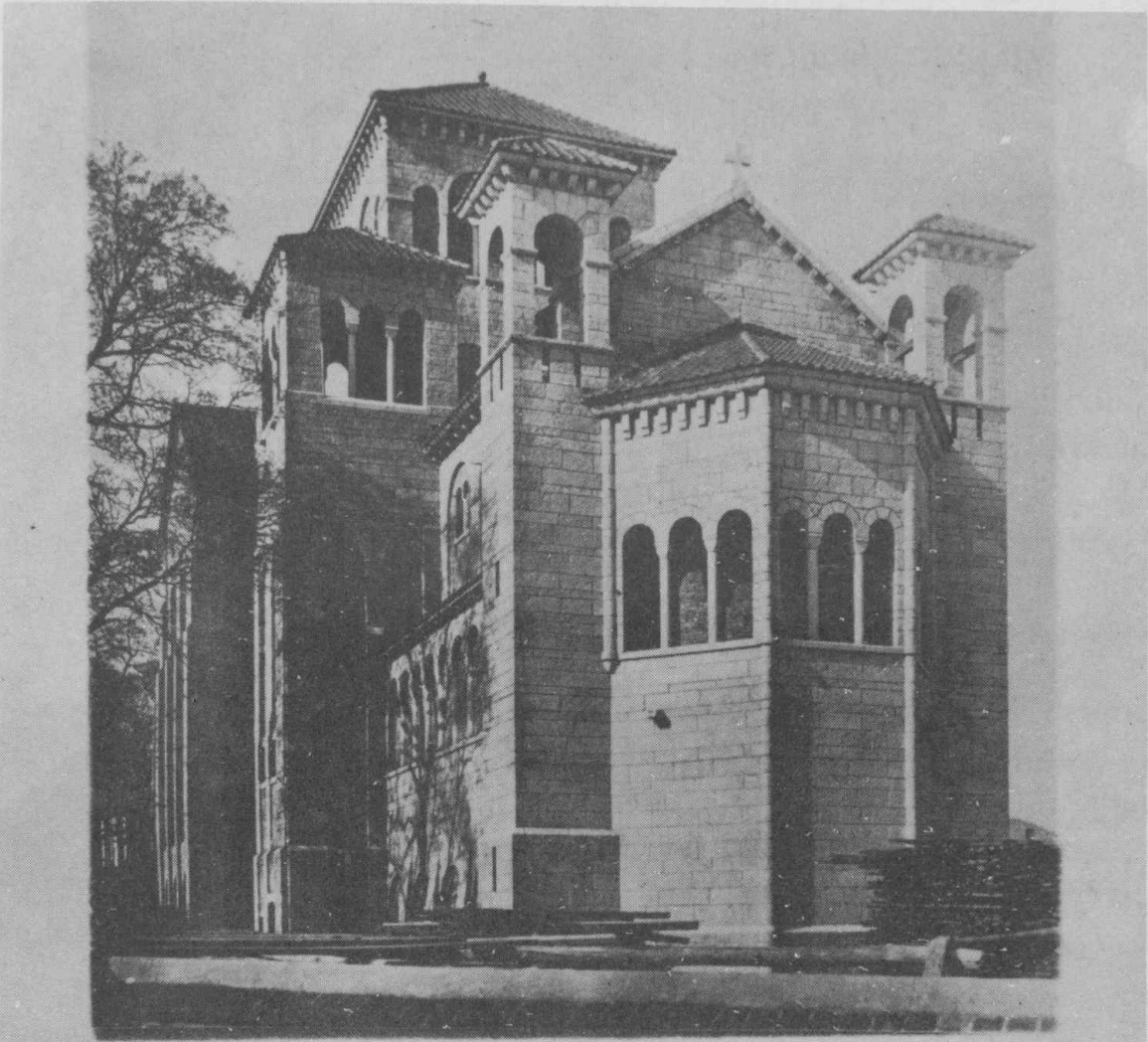
9. Foreign Office Archives, FO369/1172/K3027, Tokyo telegram to the Foreign Office, No. 477, 4 Dec. 1919.
10. *Corean Leaflet Letter*, No. 62, March 1921.
11. Trollope Papers X620, Box 2, letters to his family, 23 July, 19 Aug. and 15 Nov. 1923, 13 Jan. and 29 June 1924. See also "The Corean Mission and the Monetary Crisis," *The Morning Calm*, Oct. 1933.
12. *The Morning Calm*, Jan. 1923.
13. Trollope Papers X620, Trollope to his sister Lily, 29 June 1924. For another account of the primitive work conditions, see Drake, H. B. *Korea of the Japanese*, (London and New York, 1930), p. 115. Mr. Brooke, the junior architect, did work for other missions: *Korean Mission Field* Vol. XX, No. 2, Feb. 1924. I know nothing of his subsequent career.
14. See the account of some of the gifts in *The Morning Calm*, July 1926.
15. USPG Archives Africa, India, the Far East, E. 1926, English Church Mission in Korea, Report for 1926; D1926, the Far East; and *The Morning Calm*, July 1926.
16. Drake, *Korea of the Japanese*, pp. 193-84. Mrs. Winifred Bland, daughter of H. W. Davidson, for many years the treasurer of the Anglican church in Korea, also remembers small Korean congregations; interview, 2 November 1983, Mrs. Bland was also married in the cathedral in 1936.
17. USPG Archives, Africa, India, the Far East, E 1926, English Church Mission in Korea, Report for 1926; Trollope Papers X620, Trollope to his sister Constance, 16 May 1930.
18. The only biography of Trollope is that written by his sister in the 1930's. He deserves more, not only because his sister glossed over many aspects of a complex personality but also because of his record as both a missionary bishop and a scholar.
19. USPG Archives, D 1945, Copy of Sgt. J. G. Mills to the archbishop of Canterbury, 21 Sept. 1945.
20. Thompson, H. P. *Into All Lands: The History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1950*, (London, 1951), p. 708.
21. Marrison, D. *The English Church, 1890-1954*, pp. 12-14.
22. Conversation with Mr. A. Adams, CMG, CBE, British charge d'affaires in Korea 1950-52, 23 Aug. 1985.
23. Morrison, *English Church*, p. 17.
24. USPG Archives, D 1954, Korea: Report on 1953 by Bishop Chadwell, 20 January 1954.
25. Letter from the Right Reverend C. R. Rutt, CBE, MA, Bishop of Leicester, 24 Dec. 1985.
26. Press release and pamphlet issued by Harrison and Harrison Ltd., December 1985. I am grateful to Mr. C. T. L. Harrison for permission to make use of his company's material.
27. Missionary Council of the Church Assembly, *The Call from the Far East*, (Westminster, 1926), p. 134.



Bishop Trollope with the first Korean clergy of the Anglican Mission. (Collection of Miss A.J. Roberts)



Laying the foundation stone 1922. (Collection of Miss A.J. Roberts)



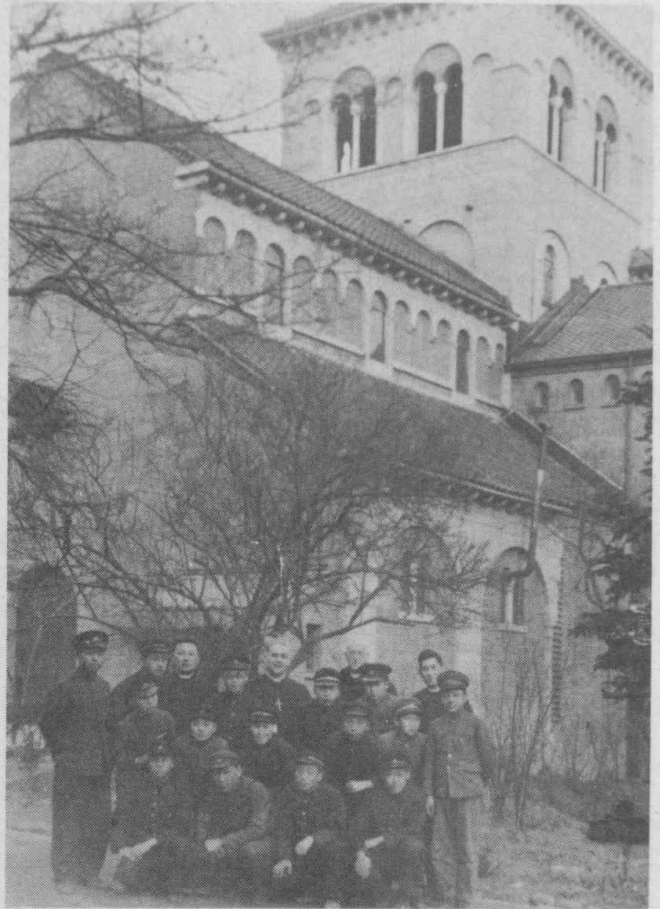
Pro-Cathedral
Church of S. Mary and S. Nicholas,
Seoul, Korea.

as photographed Nov. 1923.

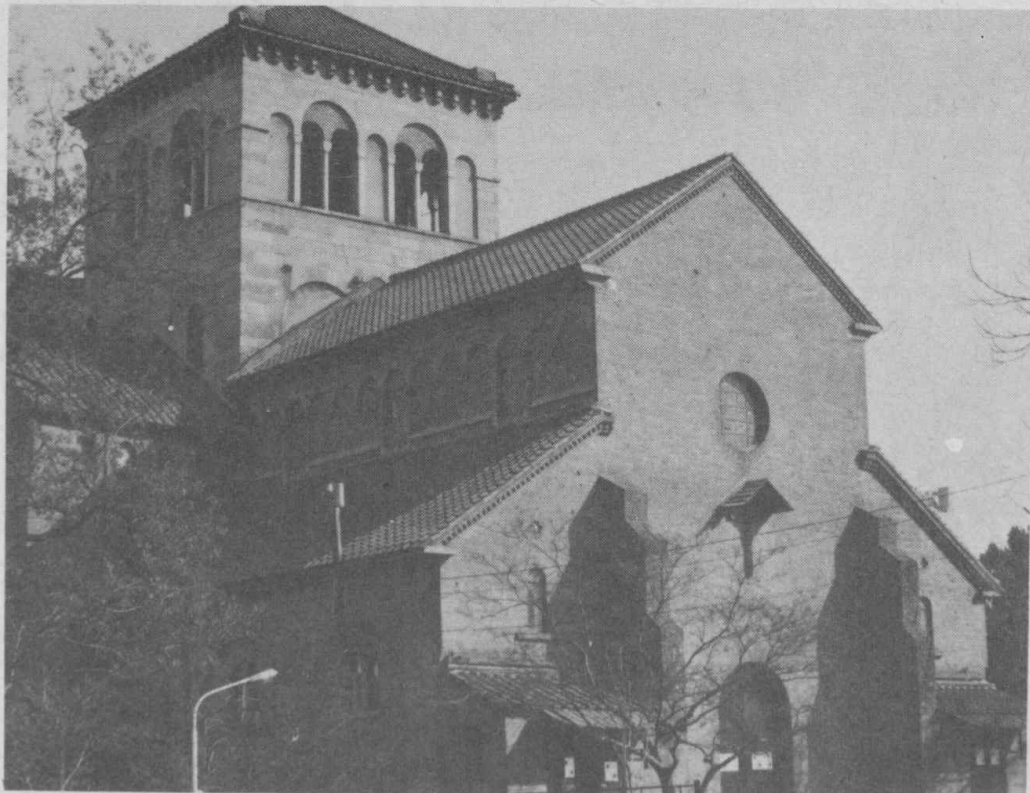
Foundation stone laid : 24 Sept 1922.

Completion re-arranging
hoped for Autumn 1924
or Spring 1925.

The Cathedral under construction, November 1923. Notes by Bishop Trollope (USPG Archives, Trollope Papers)



Bishop Cooper and boys from the boys' home outside the Cathedral—1930's (Collection of Miss A.J. Roberts).



The main entrance of the Cathedral as the building appears today. (Photo by B.R. Mintz)

Generational Change and Confucianism: Organization and Interaction in Korea

by Tony MICHELL

*“A people who love singing and dancing”—Early Chinese description
of Korea*

“Our problem is that we consume too little”—Pak Che-ga 18th c.

I. INTRODUCTION

“‘What makes a Korean tick?’ This question has intrigued Westerners since their first contacts with Koreans early in the nineteenth century. For Westerners living in Korea or concerned with Korean problems, it is important to understand the workings of the Korean mind, how the taught-philosophical-value system functions” (Crane, 1978:13). Sooner or later Westerners in Korea begin to try to explain to themselves or to others the ways in which Koreans are different from Westerners. This difference usually concentrates on the way Koreans organize themselves, interact with one another, or perform other actions. More sophisticated versions argue that Korean priorities and logic somehow differ from Western priorities and logic.

Inevitably at some point, the explanation invokes Confucianism. Very rarely does the explanation invoke comparisons with Western society of the past to which Korean behavior is also closely akin.

Korea is in many ways unique in the sense that physical modernization and industrialization have gone together much more so than in Japan (Bendix, 1967:27-29). But physical modernization in clothing, houses, and cars does not necessarily tell us anything about the intellectual and social modernization process in Korea. The time line for social modernization is likely to be much longer than for physical modernization: mental attitudes change more slowly than the streetscape of Seoul.

To what degree have traditional ideas and thought or social patterns survived the abrupt shock of the 20th century in Korea? And how much longer will they do so? The present grows out of the past, but it is unlikely

to be the same as the past. That is, "it is a matter of treating what people do in the present as a struggle to create a future out of the past, of seeing that the past is not just the womb of the present but the only raw material out of which the present can be constructed" (Abrams, 1982:8). It is also important to note that ideas can be revived from the past as well as lost, though the ideas are frequently changed in the process.

For those not very familiar with Korea, some examples of Korean behavior, especially behavior in the business world, may be offered. Perhaps the most striking is the failure of a Korean employee to do what looks like a relatively simple task: to contact another Korean, but one he doesn't know. The reason for the employee's failure to do so is that Koreans try to avoid contacting people with whom they have no previous human relationship. If the employee does not know the person he should telephone, he will be extremely reluctant to do so, indeed, probably will not do it at all.

For another instance, an outsider's approaches to senior members of a company often produce goodwill, but no action. What then are the chances of producing action if the outsider approaches a junior member of the company? Often the chances are good—if the junior enjoys a special relationship with the seniors or a senior in the company.

Again, a letter of inquiry to a company may never be answered, yet during a personal, face-to-face visit, the letter is produced and a reply given.

As a last example: business files are regarded as personal property and when an employee leaves his position, apart from official documents, there is no record of memos, personal notes, or the normal accumulation of office procedures because the employee has taken them all with him—they belong to him.

These illustrations could be multiplied and are still general, but they represent highly interesting instances of behavior that can be explained, much of it in terms of differences of behavior according to how old the performers are. The behavior of one generation is not the same as that of other generations. Indeed, a major argument of this paper is that there are distinct generational shifts in social behavior between Koreans born at different points in the 20th century. By looking at these differences, we can begin to plot the course of social change in Korean society.

II. CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

Only after developing the general argument of this paper did I discover P. Abrams' *Historical Sociology* (1982:277, 266) and the discussion of the problem of generations in the works of such sociologists as Erikson (1968), Daudt (1969), Herberle (1951) and Wohl (1979) dealing with generational differences and changes in Western society. The distinctiveness of Korean society, as I shall argue, is that it is an "ageist" society, one in which specific roles are stereotyped for specific ages. This distinctiveness makes the issue of generational change all the more interesting. On the whole, while approaches to problems differ among the generations, the ageist structure has held. That is, the specific tasks assigned to different age groups have remained broadly the same.

The stand of sociological research which explores this question is not a well-exploited one: sociological literature, development literature, and social historical literature all lack a comprehensive methodology about social change and the operational elements in society. It would appear that sociology has gone the way of economics in an increasing fragmentation of sub-disciplines and a reduction in integrative disciplines. Especially I feel this is true in the failure to link the kingdom of ideas and the kingdom of action. Sociologists still study great thinkers, rather than analyse the impact of popularized ideas.

My approach concentrates heavily on socialization and education as variables in the way ideas and action change and in particular looks at intergenerational gaps and continuities. This methodology is highly appropriate to Far Eastern societies because of their emphasis on education and their essentially ageist structure. That is, generations seem to be quite homogeneous, and there is a clear age division of labor.

I therefore adopted a conceptual strategy of the roles men (as opposed to women) play at various ages in Korean society as set out in Table 1.

Table 1. Schematic of Age Sets and Characteristics of Korean Society

Ages	Process	Agents
0 — 7	Socialization	Family and peers
7 — 14	Formal Education plus socialization	Peers and teachers
14 — 25	Formal education or early work experience	Teachers and direct experience of the world
25 — 35	Junior operational class	Work
35 — 45	Senior operational class	Work
45 — 55	Strategic class	Work
55 +	Mentor	Work

This model simplistically suggests that Koreans learn most of their ideas and practices about society and how it works by the age of 25: informal education to age 6-7 from mothers and peers, formal education from 6-14-18, and early work experience from 14-25 depending on the length of time in education. The three variables become socialization from the family and peer group, which is the slowest changing pattern; formal education, which has gone through the most radical changes, from Japanese wartime education through American-style education to post 1968 "Korean nationalistic" education; and finally early experience of the world in work and through media—novels, newspapers, radio, and more recently television.

There is a tendency to describe Korean society as though it were immutable, as though there were some genetic Koreanness about Koreans. Perhaps that is true, since one can readily recognize "the people who love singing and dancing," one of the earliest descriptions of Koreans. However, as a social scientist, one can hardly accept the genetic determination of societies without abandoning the field altogether.

III. CONFUCIANISM—LIVING IDEAS OR PAST HERITAGE?

I wish to start my analysis with the phrase "Confucian society." I do so more because it is a phrase so commonly used in a journalistic fashion, rather than because it has a meaning which is readily understandable in itself. Indeed, I want to suggest that describing a society as Confucian is a block to analysis rather than an aid, unless we are clear about what Confucianism means in a specific time and country. Japan is a Confucian society; so was/is China, Vietnam, and Hong Kong. But they are all very non-Korean. Disputes about what is Confucian and the correct interpretation of Confucianism in various Far Eastern countries are recorded from at least the 13th century when a Korean shipwrecked in China left a record of his disagreements with Chinese Confucian scholars. The main disagreement was over whether filial piety or loyalty was more important. In Korea, alone amongst Confucian cultures, filial piety was given the predominant place over loyalty (Morishima, 1982; Wright, 1960; Wright and Nivison, 1959).

But is much of what is called Confucian Confucian at all? When I read descriptions of 17th century England or medieval Europe (Laslett, 1966), I feel they also have characteristics of Confucianism—which is absurd! Rather they have characteristics of a wide range of pre-industrial societies in which patriarchal and ageist forms of behavior predominate. When I try to set down characteristics which many observers would call Confucian, I see such strong parallels in medieval Europe and other paternalistic pre-industrial societies that I seriously hesitate to call any of it—including Korea's—Confucian.

I prefer the term "sub-Confucian" to describe modern Korea. The reason is that while Western society is clearly post Christian—that is, we have argued ourselves out of Christian belief but retain a set of values largely based on Christianity, Korean society has never argued through and beyond Confucian tenets. Indeed since the so-called enlightenment period of the late 19th and early 20th centuries when Korean thinkers tried to adapt Western ideas to Korea, Confucianism has remained ignored by those who wished to modernize Korean society (Lee Kwang-rin, 1975: 1-16).

Explicit Confucian teaching in the sense of teaching Confucian classics at a traditional school (the *sōdang*) has gradually faded away, at least from the center of Korean life. Although every middle-school student is forced to learn the eight Confucian principles of proper human relationships (*sam-*

gangoryōn), I have found no Korean in his twenties or thirties who can tell me all eight. Indeed, I am lucky if Koreans can tell me one phrase of Confucius or Mencius. If one phrase lingers, it is the one about the need of government for the trust of the people. Whatever is Confucian in Korean thought is therefore buried deep in Korean thinking at the level of socialization rather than of explicit education. There is indeed still a conscious Confucian element active in Korean politics as, for instance, in the influence of Yi Dong-ju's Confucian studies institute and, in contrast, the opposition to revisions of the Confucian-based family law. There are Koreans who tell me that they see an attempt at the conscious re-Confucianization of society. How weak this is as a central specifically Confucian force can be seen by contrast with Taiwan where the *Analects* lie alongside the Bible in hotel rooms and where proliferating statues of Confucius and disciples provoke internal debate as a major public issue.

Before extending this theme further, I want to look at the derivation of modern Korean sub-Confucianism. Diagram 1 sets out the lineage of Korean Confucianism. The different ways in which Japan and Korea interpreted the basic tenets of Confucianism is revealing, particularly the very

Diagram 1. Lineage of Modern Korean Confucianism



*Silhak: A late 19th century movement in Korea which attempted a synthesis of Western and Confucian thought.

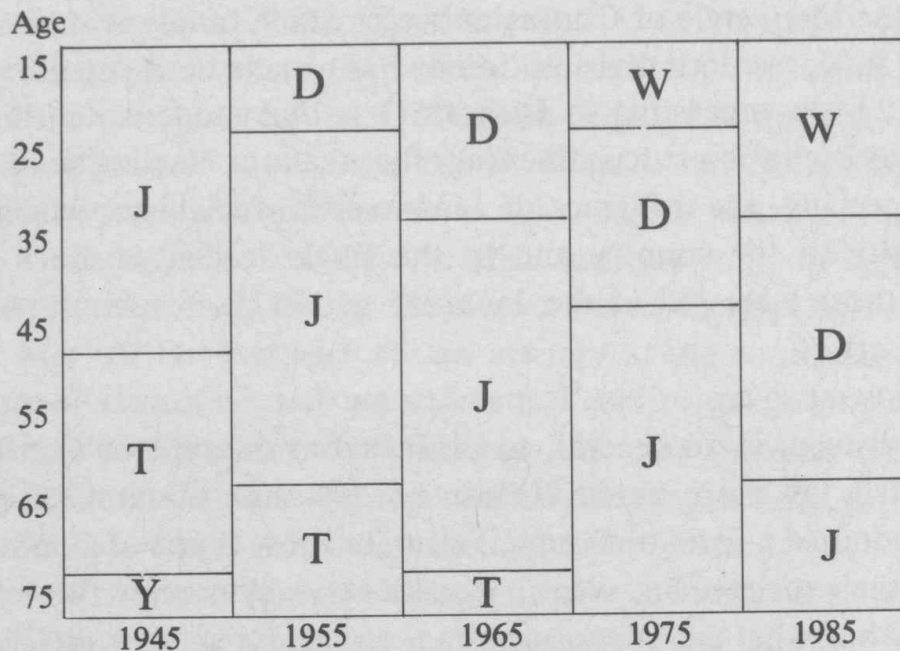
different concepts of loyalty. Some may be surprised to see North Korea included. However, to my mind, the North Korean system is very much stuck in the Meiji style of Confucianism in which family is subordinate to emperor. In Korea until division, family has usually been superior to ruler.

What I am suggesting in Diagram 1 is that modern Korean Confucianism has been subject to influences other than the classic line of development. Especially, the influence of Japanese Confucianism, which emphasizes loyalty to the country and to the single leader, is much stronger amongst those educated in the Japanese period than in those who came before or after.

But I want to go further. It seems to me that the Korean interpretation of Confucianism is, in general, so distinct that the type of Confucianism adopted tells us more about Korean society than about Confucianism. Koreans adopted a form of Confucianism, or those tenets of Confucianism, which fit their society. But even so it was a two-way process. We know little of Koryō, but what we know suggests a social system very different from succeeding ones. Mark Petersen's analysis of the early family registers and inheritance customs shows the steady adaptation of Confucianism to society and society to Confucianism (Peterson, 1983:32-44). This process is also the result of the adoption of different aspects of Confucian society to respond to changes in Korean society brought about by social changes and pressures (Michell, 1979/1980: 65-93).

Confucianism would appear to have changed many aspects of Korean life. Korea became steadily more Confucian during the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, but from the early nineteenth century, there has been relatively little development, and since 1945 little conscious Confucianism has been inculcated.

Diagram 2. Changing Perspectives of Age Cohorts



Y — Yi dynasty
 T — Transitional
 J — Colonial Japanese
 D — Deprived
 W — Western

Diagram 2 illustrates how those educated or socialized under the various Confucian influences have moved or are moving out of the picture through generational progression. Whatever is preserved now as “Confucian thought” is therefore preserved because it is Korean through socialization rather than education. That does not mean it was not once Confucian and created through the Confucian education system; rather that it has taken on a life of its own, independent of its origins, and is therefore more susceptible to change since it is no longer intellectually based on an explicit canon of ideas as expressed in the *Analects* and other Confucian classics. This ability for educational ideas to become socialized or operational ideas is one of the bases of my analysis.

IV. THE DYNAMICS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF MODERN KOREAN SOCIETY

There are seven characteristics of Korean society which can be singled out as important in determining the way that Korean society operates.

1. It is a highly sexually segregated society. After leaving elementary school until entering university, sexes are treated very differently, and male and female expect to be treated differently. While this belief is breaking down gradually, it explains why formal Confucian opposition to changes in the family law are so strong. Since 1945, the largest social changes are the growth in the numbers of women receiving formal education and of the numbers of women experiencing a period of work after graduation and the consequent delaying of the age of marriage from 18 to 25. Continuing sexual segregation permits the survival of important elements of traditional Confucian society—which is a male-oriented society. While women have more or less status in different Confucian societies, it is never in doubt that a Confucian society is male centered.

2. Society is acted out as though it were a face-to-face society (a concept from the static *yangban* “aristocratic” society of the past). While the telephone is often an acceptable substitute for face-to-face communication, the telephone can only be used between equals or from superior to inferior. For many purposes, the telephone is seen as too impersonal. Letters are almost never used for important communications between men. Thus we see why business letters of inquiry from a stranger may not be answered.

3. Society is organized on a deferential basis. Korean society is usually described as an heirarchical society, but *heirarchy* in Korea has a different meaning from *heirarchy* in the West. Korean society operates (as opposed to only having the outward form) in a much less hierarchical way and has a wider devolution of responsibility than do many Western organizations.

Koreans defer to the man, not to the position. This behavior is consistent with the idea that deference is based on relationships. The interconnections between past superiors and long out-of-office and past juniors remains important because a relationship once formed is rarely undone.

4. In Korea, loyalty is highly personalized and is seen rather as a lifetime relationship than as an abstract quality. Whereas in Japanese Confucianism, loyalty is the highest of the virtues, in Korea it ranks much lower than filial piety or the pursuit of right.

5. Everyone, however low in social status, has a position in society. So much is consistent with the strictures of heirarchy. But each person also has an independent jurisdiction: this is perhaps the most important operational

aspect. This principle applies to housemaids and bus drivers as much as to company presidents. It is not appropriate for superiors or inferiors to meddle within someone's jurisdiction because to do so would violate the code of comfortable relations. As explained below, this principle is related to that of appropriate actions for different age groups.

6. Important people often appear to be "being" rather than "doing" and the manner of their doing is often formalistic rather than substantial. I take this to be a manifestation of Confucian principles in which practicing moral virtue is an end in itself and observing proper relationships the beginning and end of society. It is also a traditional Korean value. The Korean *yangban* aristocrat must have been the physically least ostentatious in the world. Frugality was a living virtue. But while Pak Che-ga rightly observed that Koreans consumed too little in the sense of material things, they consumed too much in the sense of deriving status from behavior rather than from possessions.

7. For dealing with inter-personal and inter-jurisdictional relationships, the dynamics of *pyōn handa* "being comfortable," of taking the line of least social discomfort, is followed. It may be said that Korean society is an "uncomfortable society," full of socially uncomfortable relationships. Koreans are brought up as little children to believe in a series of discomforts that include deferences to age and seniority, even the seniority of only a year, and a sense of ranking. At an early stage in our relationship, my future wife remarked on how comfortable and relaxed I was in talking to my parents. Korean children are brought up to feel uncomfortable when speaking to superiors and will in later life try to deal through either members of their age cohort or through special relationships—family, teachers, connections of a personal nature. I find that Koreans will say "Oh, he is like a younger brother to me." "Yes," I have taken to saying. "That means you feel very comfortable with him, but does he feel comfortable with you?" There is also the special license allowed the youngest in the family, or one adopting the role of the youngest in the family—the *munngnae* relationship.

Picking up the telephone and calling blind to search for the person one needs to talk to about even a business matter, the normal Western practice, is an extremely "uncomfortable" act, and the reason, then, why office workers are often reluctant to do so. Instead, to approach a stranger, a Korean with any status will search through his rarely seen informal network

of family relations, schoolmates and the like to find a mutual acquaintance who can act as go-between for him. Once so introduced, the two who were strangers can now talk comfortably on the telephone.

Deference does not seem to me to mean obedience in the way it might in Western society. It means rather observing the *form* of deference. For instance, a son, even if he is in his 40's, will retreat to another room to smoke because it is not proper to smoke in front of his father.

It becomes necessary to consider the way in which these characteristics become actualized. First, there is the ageist hypothesis set out in Table 1. This states that every age cohort is assigned a given role. For simplification purposes, Table 1 gives a sketch of the types of operational activity by age group. These would change by occupation: government officials were those on whom I first framed the system; businessmen might be somewhat younger, especially in periods of opportunity such as the late 1960's. While in the West there are remnants of ageism, there is nothing like the rigidity of the Korean ageist system.

The role of those younger than 25 is learning or working at menial jobs that have no jurisdiction. However, such people are learning how society operates in the real world. They will carry with them a particular view of the world. For instance, those coming to maturity in the late Japanese period had a high achievement-oriented attitude with a strong statist trend. Those coming to maturity in the late 1950's accepted a level of corruption, which those in the late 1960's and early 1970's found unacceptable (Abrams 1982: 277-266).

Between the ages of 25 and 35 comes the junior operational class. I owe a debt here to Lee Hahn Been's thinking on operational and strategic groups in Korean society (Lee Hahn Been, 1968:42-56). From 25, a jurisdiction is given. The man becomes the responsible person, the *tangdam saram*. At this point, the segregation of men and women takes over. Women should not be advanced to the status of *tangdam saram*, since the proper jurisdiction for women is the home. As a consequence of such thinking, men become "uncomfortable" about older women working in their establishments. For this reason even in 1985 it was common practice to fire female employees when they reached 25 and married since the proper jurisdiction for women of this age is homemaking and child-rearing, not the office. For this reason too, many employers feel uncomfortable about married women whatever their age because they have two jurisdictions—work and the household. Women, of course, become resentful about being treated as if they had no minds.

From those 35 to 45 comes the senior operational class, the group who are still expected to be strongly action orientated, but are moving steadily towards a more status-oriented role in society.

By the age of 45-55, a man should have entered the strategic class. He is expected to deal in generalities, and not to concern himself with details which should be left to the *tangdam saram*, the responsible person. He will spend a lot of time being, rather than acting.

It seems to be a characteristic that communications are bad between the senior operational class and the strategic class, but communications between the junior class and strategic class are often good. This is partly because the senior operational class realizes that they will one day step into the strategic class and there is an unspoken rivalry which makes the senior operational class extremely reluctant to speak out in front of their seniors, (the strategic class) whereas juniors are allowed a more intimate relationship with the strategic class. The most intimate of relationships, one which is essential for the operation of most larger Korean enterprises, is *simbok* (translated by the dictionary as being "confidante" or "right-hand man," but which is commonly used to describe a young man in the junior operational class who has the ear of senior management). *Simbok* allows the flow of ideas between generations in organizations which characteristically have better horizontal communications than vertical communications.

Above 55-60 (and clearly all these demarcation lines are fuzzy) comes the mentor class. It is a characteristic of Korean society, as opposed to Japanese society, that the transition from strategic class to mentor is at a considerably lower age in Korea than in Japan. One might speculate that this is the result of the disgrace of the strategic class at the end of the Yi dynasty. Some Koreans of the Japanese generation in business have tried to hang on, as in the cases of Lee Byung-chul (Chairman of the Samsung Group) and Chung Ju-young (Chairman of the Hyundai Group), although their generation has been pushed aside in political and administrative life.

One example may be given to illustrate many of these points. When an executive in government or in business moves from being what in government terminology is an assistant director to becoming a director at a typical age in government of 35+, he moves from junior to senior operational class. In a Western hierarchy, a new director would likely change the direction of his department. In Korea, however, the new director does very little for a year or more. His role is to practice being a director and cement relationships with his superiors and new juniors. He will leave all the day-to-day operations to his juniors because it is their jurisdiction. Later as he grows

closer to the strategic class and the inferiors themselves have rotated to other more superior positions, he is in a position to give more direction. Still he will leave the minutiae to his juniors and do little more than scan documents presented for his signature.

Above the operational level, it seems to me that most Korean executives are playing traditional status games within the context of a modern industrial society. Being important is itself important.

Inter-jurisdictional disputes or negotiations follow *pyōn handa* ("being comfortable") lines. Juniors talk to equals or get an introduction to those more senior than themselves if they must. Seniors talk to seniors. Seniors in one ministry or division do not talk to juniors in other divisions. There is of course a way to paving comfortable relations—the *sul* or drinking society. Drinking together is a way of speedily building a human relationship in circumstances where normal inhibitions between people are relaxed. There is also the possibility of recommendations from seniors to juniors or between institutions, and there is always the *simbok*, the system in which a junior has a special relationship with the senior and acts as interloquitor between age groups.

This then is my working model of Korean society, a society in which the default values (to borrow software terminology) are always set to face-to-face and in the least uncomfortable route. Each Korean in any organization is part of two networks: the formal organization of his company or institution, and the rarely seen network of personal relationships—family and others. He will tend to use the one to help the other. It may be that there is a weakening or change here. Crane believes, "A wise man will see that his family members find places in business or government in his own office, so that he will have a group of supporters and agents to preserve his position against other groups in the establishment" (Crane, 1978:32). Either Crane exaggerated the role of the family vis-à-vis other relationships, or there has been a real change. Directly related persons in the same office are relatively rare: the strength lies in school ties or in other connections.

How do Koreans reach group decisions? In Japan the emphasis is on consensus; in Korea under the dynamics of *pyōn handa*, the emphasis is on cellular thinking in which each person is given his own jurisdiction and the cells are added together to form a whole. Everything is evaluated on the basis of no precedent: it is a society based on a Markov chain in which past decisions do not affect the present decision. Decisions are judged on how important they are within Korean values, not Western values. Most practical or operational decisions are not seen as important. General direction

will come from the top, but it is very general. It is left to the lower orders to decide what the general direction means and whether they will implement it or not.

What, however, of those who cannot afford the luxury of feeling uncomfortable? What of the working married woman or the older unskilled working man? There have been few studies of these problems. Because of the age pyramid, this has been less of a problem in the past, but the tendency is to encourage the departure of such problem people into self-employment or employer status, whatever their capability—into petty retailing and the service sector, if to nowhere else. In industry, business or government, an older person in a low grade rank is rare.

Confucian society traditionally disparaged the practical man. This means that technocrats, being practical empirical men, are allowed to hold operational positions, but not to rise to strategic positions without ceasing to be a technocrat and becoming a generalist instead. When I ask why Korea is so successful, I can only answer that it is because of a disregard for practical affairs. Practical affairs are left as the jurisdiction of practical men of little status but of great experience who either will never rise or who will one day rise and forget their practicality.

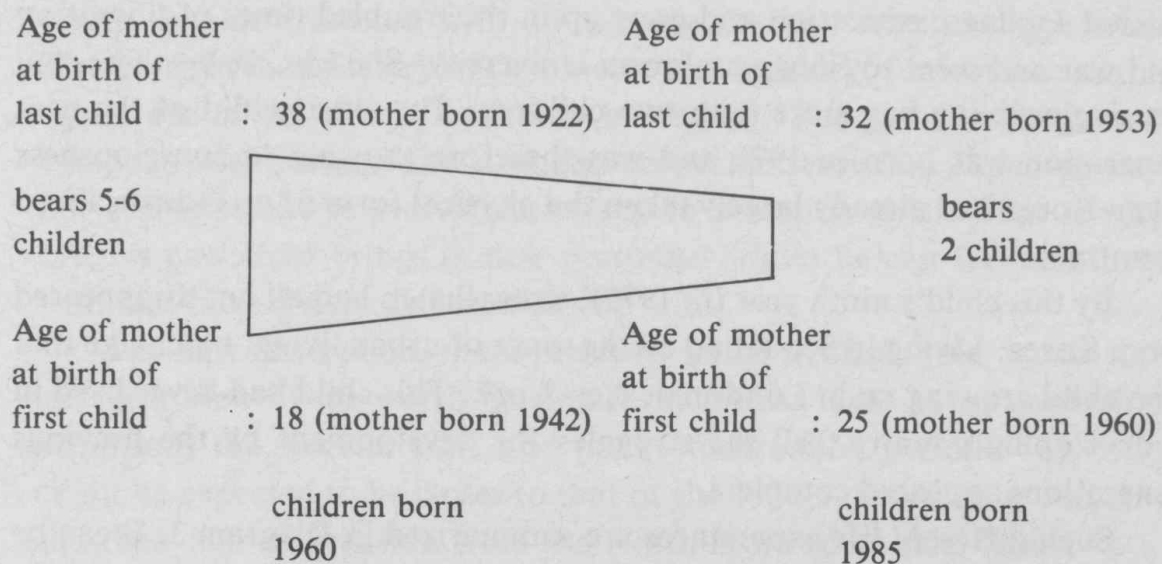
V. DYNAMICS OF CHANGE IN KOREAN SOCIETY

If the characteristics described above appear to be timeless, it is also time bound and I want to illustrate some of the dimensions of the way in which these elements may change. We might also aspire to some predictive quality. That is, one might suppose that the 1980's would have a set of strategists with a less clear view of the world compared with strategists earlier or later.

In the first illustration of dynamics, we can see an element which might lead to greater conformity, but which would also break down one of the ways in which hierarchy and deference is socialized and reinforced.

Diagram 3 illustrates how the band of those who do the socialization (mothers) has become a narrower band generationally. This framework is borrowed from Professor Michael Anderson's view of the increasing social homogenization of age cohorts under industrialization (Anderson, 1984).

Diagram 3. Increasing Standardization of Families as They Grow Smaller



As we can see with the trend towards smaller families, most people's parents fall into the same age group. Thus each age cohort becomes more alike, and perhaps more unlike those that come before or after. But the large family is one of the major structures for enforcing deference and uncomfortableness. Within the six-child family common in the 1910's, 1950's and 1960's, a sense of order is much more clearly defined than in a two-child household. Older children teach the younger their position within the family. But in a two- or especially one-child family, that sense of order is absent.

Diagram 2 shows a way in which the structure of Korean society may be expected to change for demographic reasons, but the 20th century has created a great disparity of experiences for different age groups. I will illustrate what I mean from British experience. It is my argument that in the United Kingdom there are two alternate generations: one my own, whose grandfathers fought in World War I and fathers fought in World War II. We are the children of the postwar bulge, the radical students of the 1960's. The other generation has grandfathers too young to have fought in World War I and fathers too young for World War II. This generation was born in conservative times in the 1930's and produced conservative students in the 1950's and a conservative government in the 1970's and 1980's.

Now there are purely external features set into continuous socialization of what is Britain. Now let us look at Korea in the same light. My wife's grandfather was born in 1883 and grew to maturity in rural Pyōngyang-do,

seeing little in the way of modernization. Her father was born in 1912 under the beginnings of colonial rule, was educated in Seoul and at Waseda University in a largely Japanese way. Her eldest brother, born in 1940, missed Japanese education and grew up in the troubled times of liberation and war and went to Sōnggyun'gwan University. She has six brothers, but no single sibling has more than two children. The eldest child of the next generation was born in 1970 and was therefore growing to consciousness when Korea had already largely taken the physical form of an industrialized country.

By this child's ninth year (in 1979), straw thatch had all but disappeared from Korea. Living in Seoul had all the sense of urban living, much like that of a child growing up in London or New York. This child had never lived in a developing country. All the struggles for development by the previous generations appeared complete.

Such different life experiences are summarized in Diagram 3. It can be easily seen that there should be very real differences in outlook amongst generations. Such differences would explain too the changes in attitude towards the family: its importance as the core relationship has been translated to the work environment. The men Crane was observing grew up before formal education was widespread. Before the growth of formal education, the ability to form alumni groups was severely restricted and played a much less important role than it does now.

If the operational model described in the previous section is reasonably realistic, there will be conflict on disagreement between groups with different jurisdictions within any organization. The junior operational class will have a view of the world and of how to do business quite different from those in the strategic class.

It is easiest to see these generational differences in the generation of Park Chung-hee—those educated and forming their consciousness under the late Japanese period. There is no doubt that this generation had a unique emphasis on *doing* rather than *being*. It was a generation with a very egalitarian, not to say socialistic, view of the world, and it had a sense of nationalism that the preceding generation lacked.

Uri nara (our country) as a concept is the legacy of this generation, the careful inculcation of a form of nationalism that supports development against family values. Loyalty to an abstract principle is not natural to Koreans nor (according to my readings) to Confucianism unless that principle is a moral virtue. The elevation of *uri nara* as a rival to the traditional Korean small view of the world in which the individual or family is

important is a new element in Korea, though well established in Japan.

Compared with Japanese firms, Korean companies have a great problem in fostering loyalty to themselves. If anything, such an idea of company loyalty has deteriorated with the passing of the "Japanese" generation. There was in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, for instance, a strong *esprit des corps* which I take to be fading. Being a Samsung man (a company with perhaps the strongest corporate sense in a Japanese way) is not as important as individual loyalty to a section chief. That is why so often a new chief brings in new personnel whom he can feel comfortable with and have a personal relationship with.

The next generation, those presently in the strategic role, would have a less clear view of the world, having formed their ideas in the confusion of liberation, the Korean war, and the reconstruction period. Their mores might be expected to be closer to that of the 1950's than their predecessors' and their fear of invasion from the North more acute than theirs.

What then of the future? The next generation to take strategic control was born in 1940's. Members of this generation experienced the heady days of the student revolution, and the military revolution and its first hundred days. One might expect a clearer and radical view of the world. They will be more open to breaks with the past, but may lack the practical orientation of the Park Chung-hee generation.

VI. CONCLUSION

What is presented here is a preliminary outline which helps explain how different attitudes can co-exist in the same society. It is a methodology which could become predictive of the behavior we could expect as one generation moves into a new role in society. This preliminary work calls for a further analysis of how people are educated and socialized and how they change later in life.

There are other changes which could be considered. One of the strongest can be considered by re-reading Paul Crane's *Korean Patterns*, which is based on his experiences in the 1950's and early 1960's. It is evident that since then the growth of a substantial middle class arising from lower class backgrounds has vulgarised protocol considerably. The former emphasis on polite manners except in very restricted circumstances and the meticulous protocol demanded by the old *yangban* aristocratic class has become more an emphasis on a general attitude towards politeness (Crane, 1978:29-39, 86-88).

Correspondingly, the consciousness of being a *sangnom* (a commoner) seems to have almost disappeared amongst young people, as those who were socialised when *yangban* and *sangnom* were real distinctions have ceased to have an educational role. The old Korean game of citing *chokbe* (genealogy) during early introductions with strangers has been replaced by identifying a few common acquaintances. Thus we see and can explain some of the change Korean society has undergone and is now undergoing. Of course, there are elements of permanence in the society. Korea is still a nation that loves singing and dancing. But do all Koreans dance the same dances and sing the same songs?

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Journey to Old Korea: The 1886 Diary of Gertrude Hall Denny

by Robert R. SWARTOUT, JR.

The rise of international rivalries in East Asia during the second half of the nineteenth century had a profound impact on the fate of late Yi dynasty Korea. As both Western and Asian imperialist forces began to appear on the horizon, it became increasingly difficult for the peninsular kingdom to maintain its traditional policy of seclusion. In 1876 the Korean government under the leadership of King Kojong finally broke from this tradition of self-imposed isolation by signing the Kanghai Treaty with Japan, the first modern diplomatic agreement in Korean history. Over the next dozen or so years Korea would sign a series of treaties with various foreign powers, including the United States, Great Britain, Russia, France, Germany, and Italy. Korea entered into these latter agreements, at least in part, in the hope of using Western power and influence to counterbalance the ever increasing pressures coming from Japan and China.¹

King Kojong and several of his reform-minded government officials were particularly eager to strengthen their country's ties with the United States. Among the various powers active in East Asia, America seemed to be the least likely to directly threaten Korean interests. After all, America was thousands of miles away; even more important, the United States—unlike Great Britain, France, and Japan—expressed little desire in establishing its own colonial network in East Asia. It appeared to King Kojong, especially after the signing of the 1882 Shufeldt treaty, that the United States might be a prime candidate to support continued Korean independence while also helping to develop the commercial resources of the peninsula.²

One important result of this budding Korean-American connection was King Kojong's request—in fact, several requests—for American advisers to serve the Korean government. These advisers would range from military instructors to agricultural experts, from diplomatic specialists to English-language teachers.³ The purpose of employing such advisers was two-fold. First, they would instruct Koreans in various technical, political, and

economic fields, thereby helping to modernize Korea as it struggled to compete with the advanced nations. Second, it was hoped that by simply being Americans they could and would work to prevent the takeover of Korea by some other foreign power.

Indeed, over the next two decades the Korean government would directly employ numerous Americans in a variety of fields.⁴ One of the most important of these advisers turned out to be a man by the name of Owen Nickerson Denny, who from 1886 to 1890 held two positions simultaneously in the Korean government: Director of Foreign Affairs, and Vice-President of the Home Office.⁵ Throughout his four-year stay in Korea, Denny was accompanied by his wife and confidant, Gertrude Hall Denny. It is her personal diary, kept from April to September, 1886, which serves as the focal point for this article.

II

As was so often the case in nineteenth-century America, that nation's frontier heritage had a significant impact on Gertrude Denny's own personal experiences. Born to Peter and Eliza Hall at Ten Mile Run, New Jersey, on May 15, 1837, Gertrude Jane spent her early childhood on the East Coast. At the age of six, however, she moved with her family to the state of Illinois. Just four years later, in 1847, the Halls were on the move again, this time to the newly opened Oregon country of the Pacific Northwest, where Peter Hall's skills as a designer and builder would be of special value.

Unfortunately, tragedy struck the family before these dreams could be realized. Arriving in the Pacific Northwest in the fall of the year, the Halls decided to remain temporarily at the missionary station run by Marcus and Narcissa Whitman (located near present-day Walla Walla in southeastern Washington state), instead of continuing immediately on to the Willamette Valley. Thus by coincidence, the Halls happened to be at the mission when the famed "Whitman massacre" occurred on November 29 and 30, 1847. Peter Hall was one of the fourteen persons killed by the Cayuse Indians who attacked the mission.⁶ In the wake of this tragedy, Eliza Hall and her children finally made their way to the Willamette Valley and settled near Oregon City.

Such experiences—the trek along the Oregon Trail, the sudden and frightful loss of a parent, and the demands of establishing a new homestead in a distant place—often forced children to grow up quickly on the

American frontier. This must have been the case for Gertrude Jane, the eldest of the five Hall daughters. In any event, on July 3, 1853, Gertrude Jane Hall—at the age of just 16—married Leonard White, a well-known steamboat captain in the Oregon territory and ten years her senior. Over the next three years the Whites had two children: Judd, born in 1854, and Fonetta, born in 1856. Sadly, their son Judd accidentally drowned in the Columbia River in 1863. Ultimately the couple began to drift apart (perhaps Gertrude could not adjust to the nomadic ways of a riverboat captain); in 1866 she left Leonard and soon thereafter obtained a divorce. However, Gertrude was not to remain single for long. On December 23, 1868, local newspapers carried the announcement that she had married the up-and-coming Owen N. Denny. As one historian has remarked, Denny “had known Gertrude Jane Hall White for some time and had the good sense not to be intimidated by the fact that she was a divorcee. To him it was much more important that she had a good store of common sense well tempered with twinkling humor and that she seemed miraculously endowed with the ability to stand up to fortune, good or bad.”⁷ Indeed, this marriage, marked by mutual respect and affection, proved to be extremely successful for both partners. It would not end until 1900, and then only by the death of Owen Denny.⁸

Like his wife, Denny was also an Oregon pioneer, having arrived with his family in 1852 at the age of fourteen. Following the completion of his formal education, Denny chose to pursue a legal career. He passed the Oregon state bar examination in 1862 and held several local government positions in the state over the next decade. During these early years in Oregon he also became an active member of the Republican Party. As a result of his party loyalty and his legal background, President Ulysses S. Grant in 1874 appointed him collector of internal revenue for Oregon and Alaska. This federal appointment was followed by an even more important one in 1877. In that year President Rutherford B. Hayes, Grant’s successor, selected Denny to be United States consul at Tientsin, China.⁹

The Tientsin appointment marked the beginning of six years of consular service in China for the Dennys. Owen Denny served as consul at Tientsin from 1877 to 1880, and as consul general at Shanghai from 1880 to 1883. During this period Denny developed a close personal relationship with Li Hung-chang, one of the most powerful government officials in late Ch’ing China and the foremost architect of China’s Korean policy in the 1880’s and 1890’s. Denny resigned from the American consular service in late 1883 and returned to his home in Portland, Oregon.¹⁰ This resignation was crucial, for it freed him to accept other possible government positions in

East Asia. In late 1885 such a opportunity arose. Li Hung-chang, believing that his friend in Oregon would support Chinese interests in Korea and knowing that King Kojong desired the employment of American advisers in the peninsular kingdom, recommended to Kojong that the Korean government offer Denny a contract as foreign affairs adviser. Kojong accepted the recommendation, and soon thereafter the offer was made. On April 9, 1886, Owen Denny officially received his joint appointment as Vice-President of the Korean Home Office and Director of Foreign Affairs.¹¹

III

Immediately upon his arrival in Seoul in the spring of 1886, Owen Nickerson Denny found himself thrust into the thick of Korean politics. He helped to negotiate both the Franco-Korean treaty of 1886 and the Russo-Korean trade agreement of 1888. (In both cases, he was one of the official signatories on behalf of the Korean government.)¹² He also played a part in the Korean decision to dispatch envoys to various Western nations.¹³ In addition to these diplomatic efforts, he strove to develop Korea's economic potential—albeit often for the benefit of his American clients—throughout his four years in office.¹⁴

Despite his friendship with Li Hung-chang, Denny believed that his primary duty was to serve the interests of his employer, the Korean government, and especially those of King Kojong. For this reason, he opposed Chinese efforts to dominate Korean foreign and domestic affairs, and ultimately became one of the most outspoken critics of Peking's Korean policy. His distrust of Chinese intentions was reinforced by the aggressive actions of China's representative in Seoul, Yuan Shih-k'ai. One result of Denny's anti-Chinese position was the publication in 1888 of his pamphlet, *China and Korea*. In the booklet he strongly condemned Yuan's behavior in Korea; at the same time he presented a legal argument for Korea's international status as an independent nation.¹⁵ After the publication of this spirited defense of Korean interests, Li Hung-chang and the Chinese government tried to pressure the Koreans into removing Denny from office, but were unsuccessful—at least in the short run. Denny remained an employee of the Korean government until the conclusion of his second two-year contract in the spring of 1890.¹⁶

As noted earlier, Gertrude Denny accompanied her husband throughout his years of service in Korea. While being his constant companion, she also proved to be a source of great strength to him during

these complex and often difficult times. Owen Denny genuinely admired his wife, and thus shared with her his deepest thoughts and concerns regarding his activities in Korea. As a result of this special husband-wife relationship, Gertrude Denny's personal diary is of particular value to students of nineteenth-century Korean foreign relations.

First of all, the diary gives us a very honest glimpse of what it was like for Western visitors in Korea planning to take up residence there for an extended period of time. A gap between Korea and the West certainly still exists today, but it is rather modest compared to the great physical and cultural gulf that existed in the late nineteenth century. The Dennys attempted to overcome such problems by creating a slice of Western culture and convenience within Korea. Perhaps the best example of this attitude is found in their efforts to remodel the Korean residence that had been provided them by the government. The house itself was to become a most interesting mixture of East and West.¹⁷

A second striking aspect of the diary concerns the interdependence of the foreign community in Seoul. Given the small size of that community, it is not too surprising that these people would spend a considerable amount of time in one another's company—especially since few of them, including the Dennys, spoken much Korean. Nonetheless, one is struck by the truly international flavor of the community at that early date. Americans, Britons, Germans, Italians, the French, and Japanese all intermingled to form a special kind of psychological and well as cultural network.

The most important historical contribution of Gertrude Denny's diary involves the critical political developments in Korea during the late summer of 1886. Throughout that year the Chinese representative in Seoul, Yuan Shih-k'ai, had become more and more concerned over Korea's increasingly independent foreign policy, and in particular over the budding friendship between Seoul and St. Petersburg. (The Russians themselves had shown a pronounced interest in Korea ever since the British occupation of Kōmundo [Port Hamilton] on April 15, 1885.)¹⁸ To thwart such independent Korean behavior, Yuan recommended to Li Hung-chang on August 5, 1886, that King Kojong be dethroned as a first step in the Chinese annexation of Korea.

To justify this drastic action, Yuan claimed just eight days later, on August 13, that a secret agreement had been reached between Korean officials loyal to Kojong and the Russian minister in Seoul according to which Korea was to become a protectorate of Russia. The public revelations of Yuan's claims, and his plans for Kojong, threw Seoul into

turmoil. Owen Denny himself became quickly convinced that Yuan's so-called protectorate document was a forgery, and thus worked with other foreign diplomats in the capital to prevent an overthrow of the Korean government. Russia, for its part, denied the existence of any such agreement, and stated that it had no desire to dominate or control the peninsula. Since many of these exciting events were observed directly by Gertrude Denny, her diary provides us with a rare first-person account of this important episode.¹⁹

The crisis finally dissipated in September 1886 when the Chinese government rejected Yuan's recommendation for a direct takeover of Korea. Nonetheless, the affair tended to strengthen China's hand in Korea, since it helped to ward off other would-be supporters of Korean independence. The incident also proved to be the first in a series of confrontations between Owen Denny and Yuan Shih-k'ai which would eventually lead to a total rupture between the Oregonian and his original Chinese patron, Li Hung-chang. In the long run, the crisis in many respects was a graphic indication of how the winds stirred up by the international rivalries in the late nineteenth century buffeted the Korean kingdom almost continually until the peninsula was finally annexed outright by Japan in 1910.

IV

Although Gertrude Denny resided in Korea for over four years, she maintained her diary for just five months—from April to September, 1886. Perhaps she, like many of us who have lived abroad, found it difficult to keep up her enthusiasm for the diary in the face of her daily responsibilities. At any rate, the diary begins in Shanghai, where the Denny's stopped on their way to Korea in order to purchase household supplies for their stay in Seoul. The diary ends in Tientsin, China, which the Dennys briefly visited in September and October so that Owen might meet with Li Hung-chang to discuss the August crisis in Seoul and to explain his own commitment to the preservation of Korean sovereignty.

For the most part, the sentence structure, grammar, and spelling of the original diary have been retained. In a few instances, I have slightly altered punctuation and spelling to clarify Gertrude Denny's meaning. I have also eliminated a few entries from the diary containing the most mundane material—usually brief and repetitious accounts of the weather. On the other hand, I have retained some of the references to the weather in the diary because I feel that they help to capture a bit of the flavor of the times.

At the time that I prepared this article, the original copy of the Denny diary was in the possession of Stephanie Scott Williams, a great granddaughter of Gertrude Hall Denny. (That original copy has just recently been donated to the Manuscripts Department of the Oregon Historical Society Library in Portland.) I owe a tremendous debt to Mrs. Williams for the completion of this article. In addition to providing me with a copy of the diary and giving permission to transcribe and edit it for publication, she generously shared with me other valuable family documentation and, most important of all, her own rich knowledge of the Denny family's personal history.

THE DIARY OF MRS. O. N. DENNY²⁰

Shanghai

April 17, 1886

Left San Fransisco Dec. 29 [1885] for Korea via Honolulu. Had a lovely trip all the way to Yokohama. Stop[p]ed at the "Windsor House" there, which took fire from an adjoining photograph galary on the 8th of February. We lost about \$2,000 worth of things, and came near being suffocated in the smoke. My left ankle and thumb were badly sprained.

Left Yokohama for Shanghai [on the] 18th of Feb.; arrived on the 25th and went to Mrs. Wetmore's.²¹ Husband left for Tientsin March 8th and arrived the 11th. [He] left Tientsin for Korea and arrived at Seoul April 3rd. [He] left Seoul [April] 24th for Shanghai, via Chefoo and Tientsin.²²

April 30, 1886

Went from Mrs. Wetmore's to "Astor House." Had from three to five tailors employed for three weeks, making underclothes and other things to replace [those] lost by the fire at Yokohama.

May 4, 1886

Husband arrived from Seoul, Korea. We at once began looking up furniture for our house in Seoul.

May 8, 1886

Husband left again this morning for Korea, having only three days to

help me here. We bought two bedroom sets of furniture, one dining room and drawing [room] set each.

May 28, 1886

Left Shanghai on steamer "Chungking" under Capt. Shaw, having with me 4 servants—an Amah, a boy, a tailor, & a washman. Had a very smooth trip to Chefoo. Went on shore Sunday morning at nine o'clock [May 30]. Was the guest of Mr. & Mrs. Bristow, the English Consul and old neighbors and friends [of ours] at Tientsin.

June 1, 1886

Left Chefoo at noon. Weather lovely. Had exceedingly smooth sea all the way over to Chemulpoo [Chemulp'o], which place we reached on June 2, Wednesday, about two o'clock. I was met on board by the Japanese Consul & Judge, Mr. Suzuki, [and] also a Mr. Smith whom my husband had sent down to look after me as he could not leave Seoul that day because of the French treaty still pending.²³ He came the next day. The Japanese "Man of War" lying in the Harbor sent a boat to take me off. Mr. Suzuki took us to his house, where he entertained us very nicely during our stay in Chemulpoo. The name of the steamer that brought us from Chefoo was the "Tsuruga Maru" under Capt. Hussy. [This entry obviously was not written on June 1, despite the date given above. Most likely, it was written about the 3rd of June.]

Thursday

June 3, 1886

Mr. Denny came from Seoul today, reaching here just at three o'clock. He was obliged to be back and at the Office by three o'clock, June 4th, Friday, so we at once began making preparations to leave very early. We were started by six o'clock in the morning [June 4]. The day was fine but rather warm. Mr. Denny left us at "Mapoo" [Map'o] (that is where we cross the river and is about 3 and a half miles from Seoul), and took a pony that had been sent there by Mr. Underwood²⁴ and rode on as fast as he could go. He got home, changed his dress, and was at the Office exactly one minute before three. The rest of us reached Seoul about three o'clock. We were quartered at Mr. Underwood's, and remained there three days.

The German steamer "Hever" was at Chemulpoo when I arrived, and as

our household furniture and stores were on her, my husband's "man of affairs," a Chinaman, "You-Le-Yow" by name, and Mr. Smith were left in Chemulpoo to see the things discharged into boats and brought up the river [that is, the Han River] to Mapoo. Sunday afternoon, June 6th, our "man of all work" arrived, telling us the boats with our things were at the landing and asking for carts, coolies, cash & to bring them to the house, which we gladly furnished him, for he had brought the boats up in a remarkably short time. These people, the "Koreans," never do any thing in a hurry. I thought the Chinese could take a longer time to do things than any other people, but they are so much quicker than these people that there is no comparison.²⁵ [This entry, begun on June 3, was most likely concluded sometime on June 6, but before the following entry.]

Sunday

June 6, 1886

Had a most restful, peaceful day. Wrote 8 letters again, making 6 ready for the mail. Had a call from Mr. Baber, the English Consul, and Mr. Heuret.

Monday

June 7, 1886

Came up to our house after tiffin and attended to having some of our things carried in. I also saw that it was very necessary that I was on hand to direct every thing because the Koreans have never seen any thing of foreign houses or life, and so with the best will in the world, they can do almost nothing without someone to direct them. I had a very good "store room," but not a shelf in it, so the first thing was to put [in] shelves.

Tuesday

June 8, 1886

Came to the house before nine o'clock and proceeded to have the shelves put in the store room, in the mean time attending to the placing of boxes as they came in, and having those opened that looked as if they contained bedding or furniture. Was too tired to go to Mr. Underwood's for dinner, so had it brought to me. Got our bed up and slept in the house that night.

Wednesday
June 9, 1886

Was up at six o'clock, and began as soon as possible to unpack stores and eatables. Also got the side board, table, and dinner wagon up. Also got the cook stove up ready to use next day.

Thursday
June 10, 1886

Got the lamps out, cleaned and going. Had a man from the English Consulate to come and help set up furniture: put the (looking glass) back up on the sideboard, doors (also looking glass) in the wardrobes, and the glasses and drawers on the dressing tables &c &c. Also got our dishes so we could have our meals. Got the dining room floor cleaned; sofa and chairs set about so it began to look more like living. Had a very comfortable dinner and went to bed at an early hour—dead tired.

Friday
June 11, 1886

Worked with flowers to late in the afternoon, repotting some and putting others in pots. I brought nearly a hundred plants with me from Shanghai. They stood the trip very well. It began to rain just as we were getting through with them, and did them a world of good. They are all looking splendidly. It rained hard that night.

Saturday
June 12, 1886

Had the bedroom and drawing room floors cleaned, and a large box of bedding opened. The things in it looked like old friends. I had not seen them since we packed them up in Shanghai at the Consulate General 3 years ago—and every thing was in perfect condition.

Sunday
June 13, 1886

Did as little as possible, but found myself very tired when night came. The servants find almost nothing to interest them outside of their work, and some of them are more or less homesick.

Monday

June 14, 1886

Hung up a lot of Dakimonos (pictures) today, and set the carpenters to work running the partitions in the back part of the house, making three rooms and a large closet of what is now one long room. The first room as we go out is the Amah's; the second, a sewing room for the tailor. The large closet opens into that room and at the end is the kitchen, a hall running from the dining room to the kitchen, and the two rooms between opening into it.

Tuesday

June 15, 1886

Was very busy all the forenoon, looking after carpenters and putting things to rights. Took out three screens, two large and one small. Made calls in the afternoon. Weather was very oppressive, the smoke hanging close to the ground and not a breath of air. After nine o'clock a light wind came up and blew the smoke away, and towards morning it began to rain.

June 16, 1886

Rained in torrents all the forenoon. Fell off to a light rain soon after twelve, and by four there was only occasionally a few drops, but is still cloudy and threatening.

Thursday

June 17, 1886

This is the first day I have had any rest. The weather was still cloudy with very light rain in the forenoon. There was a large picknick given by a "General Chung," to which we were invited. But the weather looked so threatening, and I was so worn out with unpacking and getting our house in order, I did not go. My husband went. The day was very cool; got really chilly in the evening. Mr. Waeber, the Russian Consul General, and his wife came in. I forgot to speak of them. They are old friends and neighbors at Tientsin also. They are charming people. I am more thankful than I can tell to have them here.²⁶

Friday

June 18, 1886

Was a lovely day, just cloudy enough to be pleasant. The carpenters and paperers finished the back part of the house, all but the shelves in the closet. The men are now sawing the lumber for those.

Saturday

June 19, 1886

Was a lovely day. Commenced getting our lawn turfed, or sodded. Had two Koreans to tiffin, and finished off little Denny's first stocking for next winter and began its mate. The weather just now is perfect—what wind there is, is fresh. The nights so far are perfectly comfortable.

Sunday

June 20, 1886

Was a lovely day. These people having no Sunday, the sodding went on. It was well, for it looked very much like rain.

Monday

June 21, 1886

It began to rain and it was hard work to keep the men at the sodding, but it had to be done, and as the rain was warm and even & the air felt warm and heavy, I knew it would not hurt them to work in it. Besides, it is not likely to stop raining very long at a time for about the next six weeks, so it would be no use to wait for it. There is still another piece of sodding to be done, but as it is not yet begun we will wait till the first heavy rain is over.

Tuesday

June 22, 1886

It rained in torrents Monday night, but eased off towards morning. We had light rain or mist all day Tuesday. The water stood on the grass till ten o'clock, and it made the grass too soft to be entered that day. In fact it was not fit weather to do any thing outside. I read some, wrote three letters, and knitted in the afternoon.

Wednesday
June 23, 1886

Was a lovely day. Finished the sodding. In the afternoon a young man called, Mr. Walter, whom we also knew in Tientsin.

Thursday
June 24, 1886

Was excessively hot; at least the heat was very oppressive, although I was told that the thermometer did not register extreme heat. There was hardly a breath of air stirring. We had Mr. & Mrs. Waeber, Russian Consul General, and Mr. Baber (E. Calborne Baber), English Consul, and Mr. Stevens of the "Palos" dining with us.²⁷ Had a very pleasant evening, our guests not leaving till a few minutes before twelve.

Friday
June 25, 1886

It began to rain before morning, and rained in torrents till after two o'clock. A fine penetrating mist [fell] all the rest of the day.

Saturday
June 26, 1886

A steady, heavy mist all day.

Sunday
June 27, 1886

Dull and cloudy, but no rain. Was a most restful, peaceful day. Had two roses taken out of their pots and put in the ground in the "square" at the entrance.

Monday
June 28, 1886

A bright, lovely day. Was deluged with Korean officials calling. Have had more or less of them *every day*, but not in such numbers nor so continuously. Mr. Scott of the English Consulate called, and we got to talking upon the subject of the riot and massacre here about two years ago.²⁸ I was

quite surprised to learn that there was no real danger to foreigners at all. He told me it came of an old feud between the Japanese and Koreans.

About three hundred years ago, the Japanese came here and "sacked" and "looted" the Palace, killed many people, and destroyed all of the buildings of the Palace, took every thing out of the country worth taking, and left both people and country so demoralized that they have never recovered. The Koreans date their poverty, "ill-luck," and in fact nearly all the "ills" of life from that time, and have never forgiven them. In truth, the Japanese have always behaved in the most arbitrary way towards them, and treated them more like dogs than human beings.²⁹ But since Korea has come into treaty relations with other nations, Japan has very much modified her treatment of them [the Koreans].³⁰ The present King [Kojong] sees and appreciates the strength and protection it gives his country to have these relations with Western powers.

June 29, 1886

Clear, bright day, but very hot. No wind in the evening, and looked as if it might rain during the night. Mrs. Scranton called,³¹ and Mr. & Mrs. Waeber; also Mr. Parker, the American Minister Resident & Consul General.³²

Wednesday

June 30, 1886

A clear, bright day, rather hot, but a fresh cool breeze made it very bearable. In the evening it was cool enough to make one very thinly dressed feel chilly sitting out on the verandah.

July 4, 1886

Hot and dry, but the breeze, always cool and fresh, makes it fairly comfortable. It is the quietest fourth of July I ever spent. I didn't hear so much as a "fire cracker." Every thing was as still and peaceful as a Sunday in the country. Went to see Mrs. Allen in the evening. She is still in bed from her confinement. Has a little boy, their second son.³³

July 7, 1886

Weather is just the same; evenings delightfully cool and refreshing after the hot days. The nights also are very comfortable.³⁴

Saturday

July 10, 1886

Friday it began to rain. It poured in torrents from two to five o'clock Saturday morning, then came off to a light sprinkle till noon, then ceased altogether till about six o'clock, when it began in light showers with pretty high winds.

Saturday

July 17, 1886

This is the first clear day. Rather hot, but a good breeze.

Tuesday

July 20, 1886

Rather hotter, not much breeze. Italian Embassy arrived to exchange treaty ratifications.

July 22, 1886

Very cloudy, and strong breeze. Began to rain very heavy about ten o'clock. Had squalls and rain at intervals all day. Had a dinner party in the evening given to the Italian Embassy. The minister (pro tem) is our guest. Mr. Craviosa is his name.³⁵

Saturday

July 24, 1886

Sun came out in the morning, and was pretty bright till noon. Came up cloudy, was very pleasant till about five o'clock, when it began to rain in torrents and kept it up for an hour. Then it slacked up to a light mist.

July 28, 1886

Husband was seized with violent vomiting and was very ill all day. Head very dizzy.

Sunday

August 1, 1886

The whole week has been about the same. Hot and little wind up to Saturday, when it came to rain but not very hard. However, towards Sunday morning it came down in torrents.

Wednesday

August 11, 1886

The rain seems to be done for the present. It is hot through the day, but begins to feel a little cooler at night.

Sunday

August 15, 1886

Very hot and no wind. Clouded in the afternoon, and had some thunder, the second time this summer that I have heard it only. I am surprised there is so little lightening and thunder.

Sunday

August 15, 1886

[second entry]

My husband made a visit to the Chinese Legation today, Sunday the 15th, and found nearly all the members of the Korean Office there. He soon saw there was considerable excitement. He indicated that he knew of the subject they were discussing, which was that the King of Korea had asked to have Russia take Korea under her protection.

My husband had heard the rumor but did not believe it at all, and so stated to the people present. He discussed it at length with them, showing them the danger and unquiet that was sure to follow such a step; showing them that beyond a possibility of a doubt, such a step would nearly if not quite destroy Korea; that it would be like getting into two vices instead of one; that it was such a mad thing to do that he was sure no sane man or men could seriously think of such a thing; that there was a way to compel China to keep her faith with Korea—and that was the only safe way out of the difficulty &c.

At any rate he quieted the excitement very much, and put a stop to the course the present Chinese "Consul General," Yuenn, is taking in the matter—that is, threatening these people with soldiers, creating great

excitement, accusing innocent people &c &c. It looked very much as if another massacre might be enacted any day.³⁶

Monday
August 16, 1886

It began to rain about four o'clock in the morning and kept it up pretty steady till about five o'clock in the evening.

Tuesday
August 17, 1886

It has cleared off, but we have a nice cool breeze. There is much excitement just now. There has been a rumor going the rounds that Korea has asked Russia to take her (Korea) under her protection, and yesterday my husband found out there is some truth in it. Korea gives as her reason for such a step the bad faith of China in allowing the occupation of Port Hamilton by the English.³⁷ I must confess it looks as if we may have still more exciting times.

Tuesday
August 17, 1886
[second entry]

Mr. Denny has found out there is truth in the rumor, but he also is quelling the excitement by insisting that "Yuenn" shall proceed in his actions, or investigations, more *quietly*, and not accuse before having proof, and in every thing to act so as not to endanger the lives of innocent parties.

Wednesday
August 18, 1886

Every thing very quiet today. Weather pretty hot.

Thursday
August 19, 1886

Weather a little less hot than before the rain, but still hot enough to be offensive. Every thing seems very quiet just now on the surface, but the pot is boiling furiously. I only hope things can be brought to a satisfactory

settlement without bloodshed, but it looks dark and stormy now. I should not like to be in the place of the King or Queen. If they save their heads they will do well. We are satisfied "Min-yoong-Eck"³⁸ has a hand in it. Many of the Koreans feel quite justified in any course that would give them liberty. The trouble is, their present course is only "jumping out of the frying pan into the fire."

Friday
August 20, 1886

Weather hot, but a nice fresh breeze is blowing. Wednesday the Foreign representatives delegated Mr. Kempermann, who is German Consul General here,³⁹ to call on "Yuenn," the Chinese representative, and protest against the course he is pursuing in setting afloat exciting rumors, such as that there are twenty thousand Chinese soldiers coming, and that his government has promised him thirty thousand more of their picked men, also that there are ever so many Chinese "Men of War" coming &c &c.⁴⁰ Almost before we, the foreigners, knew any thing about it, the whole place, and especially the officials and people at the Palace, were in a terrible state of excitement. He [Yuan?] at once gave it out that there were no soldiers coming (which is true at this writing at least), and things began to quiet down. I got my trunks in readiness so I could go at a moment's notice, and I shall leave them so, for no one knows one week what the next week may bring forth in this part of the world.

Saturday
August 21, 1886

Yesterday my husband had an interview with the King in behalf of the four innocent men who were first condemned to death, and afterwards the sentence commuted to banishment.⁴¹ These men were as innocent of any offence as a babe. This fact was so apparent to all that every humane instinct revolts at it [the sentence]. All knew it was "Yuenn" who brought it about. My husband took up the case and told the King that he should follow it up and prevent such high handed proceedings, [even] if he had to take it to "Pekin." "Yuenn" has bullied the King into complete subjection, and the Koreans dare not say their soul is their own, much less their country. After seeing the King my husband went to see "Yuenn," and told him the same thing to his face.

There is a strong undercurrent of fear and excitement, but for the

present it is quiet on the surface. "Yuenn" doesn't like my husband, but he fears him, and that is a check upon him. The weather is hot, but a good fresh breeze makes us fairly comfortable. It is a new experience to the Chinese to have any outside power here who dares to say any thing, or do any thing, to check their tyranny. I have just been told that they are very angry because of the foreign representatives interfering in condemnation of those four men [sentenced] to death. They act as if this country and people belong to them body and soul. It makes Yuenn furious to find himself, or any thing he commands, set at naught. The state of affairs is truly pitiful for the poor Koreans. One of our missionary Doctors, who [attended to] some one who was being sent away from the Chinese Legation, asked if there was danger here. "Yuenn's" interpreter wrote him, saying he considered it *very wrong* for foreign representatives to get together and discuss rumors concerning Korea and China.

Sunday

August 22, 1886

Every thing is outwardly quiet; weather hot. I heard today that the Chinese Consul and English Consul have begun to blame and accuse each other for being the cause of all this trouble, each saying that the other is at the bottom of it. It reminds one of the saying, "When thieves fall out &c." I am certainly ashamed of Mr. Baber's course in this business. My husband will follow it out to the bitter end. He has asked all the foreign representatives to ask their governments to take up the cases of the four men condemned, for there is nothing against them. The truth is, the Chinese Consul has bull-dozed the King into doing it, and his object is to frighten all Koreans so they dare not become interpreters to the foreign representatives, and in that way prevent any intimacy [between foreign representatives and the Koreans]. He is trying to bring about a condition of things that would shut off all foreign influence from Korean officials, and cut off all relations of friendly intercommunications, so they [the Chinese] will have the government in their own hands entirely. But his man is overstepping all bounds, and Mr. Denny thinks he is doing it on his own authority. He does not think the Chinese government has dictated such a harsh course.⁴² Certain it is that Mr. "Baber" and "Yuenn" have acted like "hand and glove" in the affair so far.

Monday

August 23, 1886

Nothing new today. Weather hot, and little breeze. I am putting away many things, and getting ready to go to Tientsin with my husband, and on to Peking if necessary.

August 24, 1886

Weather very hot and oppressive, but clouded up in the afternoon. About eleven o'clock news came that the American Man of War, Ossipee, had arrived at Chemulpoo.⁴³ And in the evening news came that four Chinese Men of War, and one troop ship, had arrived. And we know that the "Lee Yuen" (Chinese boat) brought over 250 or more soldiers. They were secretly landed and came into Seoul in small lots by different routes, dressed in the garb of coolies. The news is there are fifteen or more Chinese "gunboats," troop ships &c expected daily. For more than two weeks we have been bottled up here, unable to get a word over the telegraph line. We were always told it was broken, and yet we know positively messages were going back and forth to Tientsin all the time. All foreign representatives have been denied the use of the telegraph, and could not send for their gunboats to protect them. We were extremely glad when we heard there was *one* American Man of War at Chemulpoo.

Wednesday

August 25, 1886

It began to rain about five o'clock this morning. I am still putting away all small things that would be easily stolen or carried off. Mr. Stripling came in about ten o'clock with the good news that Capt. McGlensy of the Ossipee is coming with about 125 soldiers.⁴⁴ That will make us all feel decidedly comfortable. My husband is going to Tientsin by the next steamer, and he will not leave me behind, so I am getting ready to go along.

Thursday

August 26, 1886

The weather is much cooler since the rain. It is really quite comfortable. Capt. McGlensy called; he brought up only 20 men, which is quite enough. My husband's course, and management of "Yuenn," has put a stop to his high handed operations. Whatever may be the final result of this

“shindig,” he [Yuan] is stopped from inciting massacre, and his open and unscrupulous antagonism to all foreign (except the English) representatives will result in the several different governments taking it up and inquiring into it. That certainly will stop, or at least check, the “knock down and drag out” course that “Yuenn” has heretofore pursued. In fact, my husband has already checked that. Now, before there is “blood shed,” all the Powers that are in Treaty relations will at least be informed what is going to be done and then they can have something to say in the matter.

Friday

August 27, 1886

Nothing extraordinary has happened, except that the 20 soldiers [from the *Ossipee*] are going back. For the time being, the excitement has subsided very much.

Saturday

August 28, 1886

Weather warm, and very little wind. Nothing new. I forgot to say that Mr. Nickles, the experimental farm Superintendent for the Chinese, came over Thursday. His time is up with the Chinese and he would like to take charge of the Korean farm.⁴⁵

Sunday

August 29, 1886

The weather [is] a little cloudy, and consequently delightfully cool. It came on to rain about seven o'clock and just poured down for a while. Rained all night more or less. My husband dined at the Palace with the other diplomats.

Monday

August 30, 1886

I was called to see the “King,” “Queen,” & “Crown Prince,” or rather I should say the “*Queen*,” and the other two were present. The wife of Dr. Allen and also Dr. Ellers, a woman physician to the Queen, were present.⁴⁶ Her Majesty had asked that Mrs. Allen have her two little

boys brought along, the eldest is two years old and the youngest only two months. It was fortunate they were there; their presence broke up the stiffness greatly. All three of the royal personages were very much interested in them and seemed very fond of children. There were the usual flatteries and compliments passed. They said many nice things to me of my husband, and hoped he would remain in Korea many years to help them govern and improve their country and their people; that they hoped he would help them to make the city of Seoul cleaner, and more like our cities &c &c &c.

After the audience, which lasted it seemed to me a long time, we were shown into another room, where lemonades and light wines were served with sweet crackers. That lasted about an hour, after which we went again into the presence of the royal family to take our leave. Then we were told that the Crown Prince was having a dinner prepared for us at the "Pavillion Royal" (which was very nearby), together with music and dancers according to their custom, and that they hoped we would enjoy it. During the dinner kind messages were sent to us from the "Queen" and "Crown Prince," to which my husband replied for all present. Of course, we drank to the health of the Royal family, and said and did all the things usual on such occasions.

We left our house a few minutes before two o'clock, as the audience was set for *two*. We were too early, and waited at the Royal Pavillion, I should say, more than half an hour before seeing them. It was a few minutes of ten o'clock when we got back. We were sent home in grand style, with a guard of 25 or 30 soldiers. All of the King's cabinet were present at the dinner, [along with] many other officers. At times it was tedious, but taken altogether, not more so than usual in such cases.

Tuesday

August 31, 1886

Weather cloudy; looked like rain. I finished up the last little arrangements for starting for Tientsin.

Friday

September 3, 1886

We got started about half past seven. It was raining and looked very discouraging, but we had to go—rain or shine—or lose the steamer and then wait three weeks for the next trip. We started the baggage on ahead and sent a servant with it. The rain made the roads very slippery, and it was hard

traveling for the chair bearers, but we got into Chemulpoo in about nine hours. It was far more agreeable for me on account of the rain, because the glare and heat from the sun are very trying to me. Our baggage came in all right about half an hour after we got in—nothing got wet or damaged. The “Tsuruga Maru” arrived at Chemulpoo about the same time we did. We soon learned that she would lay in port the next day, and leave on the morning of the [fifth]. We were invited by the “English Consul in Charge,” Mr. Parker, to stay with him, which we did.⁴⁷

I forgot to say that our American Minister, whose name is also Mr. Parker, came down with us from Seoul on his way home to America. He was recalled after being there only three months.⁴⁸ Mr. Foulk, who had been Acting Minister since “Gen’l Foote” had gone home two years ago, is appointed to the post. He is a very young man, but having shown himself well worthy and capable during the two years he was in charge, every one was very glad to have him back as “Minister Resident & Consul General.”⁴⁹

Saturday

September 4, 1886

It came off clear and fresh. We tiffined with Mr. Schoenicke, Commissioner of Customs.⁵⁰ Admiral Davis and four officers called in the forenoon.⁵¹ Mr. Gilmore, whom we had met years ago in Shanghai, China, and . . . in Washington in the winter of “81,” was among them. They invited us on board to spend the afternoon, and also to dinner, but we had engaged to dine on board the Tsuruga Maru and meet some friends who were also invited. So we went off to visit the ship, “Marion,” at four o’clock and returned on board the Tsuruga at quarter before seven.

Sunday

September 5, 1886

Left about eight o’clock. Had a very smooth passage to Chefoo, arriving there [Monday] about ten o’clock. Left a little before three same day for Tientsin. Had it a little rough after leaving Chefoo. There had evidently been a hard blow. We arrived at the Takoo bar about noon Tuesday, the 7th. The company’s tug came along side and took us on board, together with our baggage, and we started up the “Peho,” the crookedest river in the world! In several places one can see the ships that are really ahead, *directly behind*. We reached Tientsin about twelve o’clock at night. Went to the “Globe Hotel.” [This entry, which apparently began on

September 5, 1886, was evidently not completed until September 7 or 8.]

Wednesday

September 8, 1886

It was like coming home to get back here, and see our old friends. Mr. Denny was appointed "Consul" here in 1877. We were here not quite three years and he was promoted to "Consul General" at Shanghai. I found many of our old friends still here and the place very much improved. We were invited to go to Mr. Detring's, who came here the same year we did,⁵² but we had already accepted the kind invitation of R.M. Brown, Agent for Russell & Co., who is also an old friend. We had many calls from old friends Wednesday at the Globe Hotel.

Friday

September 10, 1886

Our baggage was taken over to Mr. Brown's in the forenoon. We tiffined with the "Bristows." He was English "Vice Consul" here at the time Mr. Denny was U.S. Consul, and they are up here in charge during the absence of the present Consul. So that gives us another of our old friends and neighbors, and makes it seem all the more like old times. I had afternoon tea at Mrs. James Henderson's, who was living here when we were, and met Mrs. Von Mullendorff,⁵³ also our old neighbor here, together with several others. We had a quiet dinner at the Detrings that night and got home half past eleven o'clock.

Saturday

September 11, 1886

Weather lovely.

Sunday

September 12, 1886

Cloudy and considerable wind. Had a very quiet, peaceful day. Went to Mrs. Detring's for tea at half past four, and dined at the French Consulate in the evening.

NOTES

1. On these changes in Korean foreign relations in the 1870's and early 1880's, see Song Pyōng-gi, *Kūndae Han-Chung kwangyesa yōn'gu* [A study of modern Korean-Chinese relations] (Seoul: Tandae ch'ulp'ansa, 1985); Key-Hiuk Kim, *The Last Phase of the East Asian World Order: Korea, Japan, and the Chinese Empire, 1860-1882* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980); Martina Deuchler, *Confucian Gentlemen and Barbarian Envoys: The Opening of Korea, 1875-1885* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1977).

2. Robert R. Swartout, Jr., *Mandarins, Gunboats, and Power Politics: Owen Nickerson Denny and the International Rivalries in Korea* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1980), pp. 31-37; Young-ick Lew, "The Shufeldt Treaty and Early Korean-American Interaction, 1882-1905," in *After One Hundred Years: Continuity and Change in Korean-American Relations*, ed. Sung-joo Han (Seoul: Asiatic Research Center, Korea University, 1982), pp. 3-27.

3. In employing Western advisers, Korea was following in the footsteps of both China and Japan. For a study of this process see Jonathan Spence, *To Change China: Western Advisers in China, 1620-1960* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1969). Many of the documents related to Korea's employment of such advisers are contained in George M. McCune and John A. Harrison, eds., *Korean-American Relations: Documents Pertaining to the Far Eastern Diplomacy of the United States, Vol. I: The Initial Period, 1883-1886* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1951), pp. 53-65; Spencer J. Palmer, ed., *Korean-American Relations: Documents Pertaining to the Far Eastern Diplomacy of the United States, Vol. II: The Period of Growing Influence, 1887-1895* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), pp. 141-83.

4. For valuable studies of these advisers, see Young I. Lew, "American Advisers in Korea, 1885-1894: Anatomy of Failure," in *The United States and Korea: American-Korean Relations, 1866-1976*, ed. Andrew C. Nahm (Kalamazoo, Michigan: The Center for Korean Studies, Western Michigan University, 1979), pp. 64-90; Yi Kwang-nin [Lee Kwang-rin], *Han'guk kaehwasa yōn'gu* [A study of the history of enlightenment in Korea] (Seoul: Hehogak, 1969), pp. 103-33, 159-218; Donald M. Bishop, "Shared Failure: American Military Advisors in Korea, 1888-1896," *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society; Korea Branch* 58 (1983): 53-76.

5. Denny's position as Vice-President of the Korean Home Office was particularly important, since it provided him with access to King Kojong. On the other hand, we should not be misled by Denny's titles. They appear impressive, but in reality Denny, as a foreigner and as someone with little knowledge of the Korean language, had only a limited impact on the Korean decision-making process. He was, after all, an official for Korea, not a Korean official.

6. To a considerable degree, the Whitman mission tragedy was the result of the great cultural gap existing between whites and Native Americans. At that particular time, the Cayuse Indians were being decimated by a measles epidemic (a disease introduced into the Pacific Northwest by whites and against which the Cayuses had no immunities). As a physician, Marcus Whitman had attempted to treat the Indians, but was largely ineffective. According to Cayuse traditions, the Cayuses then had the right to retaliate against this "medicine man" whose medicine was a failure.

7. Virginia C. Holmgren, *Chinese Pheasants, Oregon Pioneers* (Portland: Oregon His-

torical Society, 1964), pp. 8-9.

8. Gertrude Denny lived to the age of ninety-six. Her death occurred on August 5, 1933. The information on her background contained in this and the previous two paragraphs has been compiled from the following sources: Holmgren, *Chinese Pheasants, Oregon Pioneers*, passim; *The Oregonian*, December 28, 1868; May 14, 1931; August 6, 1933; and family manuscripts in the possession of Mrs. Stephanie Scott Williams, great-granddaughter of Gertrude Hall Denny.

9. Swartout, *Mandarins, Gunboats, and Power Politics*, pp. 1-3.

10. Swartout, pp. 3-16.

11. Li Hung-chang contacted Denny through Gustav Detring, Li's German-born foreign adviser, in July 1885 about the post in Korea. Mrs. Denny later wrote that her husband "was loath to go [to Korea], for he had made preparations to remain in America. His friends, however, advised him to accept this opportunity, he was still young, and he could return later and still find his place awaiting him." Gertrude Hall Denny, "Facts in the Biography of Judge Denny," p. 12, unpublished manuscript, Owen N. Denny Papers, Mr. William C. Ralston Collection, Portland, Oregon.

Owen Denny's original commission from King Kojong is in the possession of Stephanie Scott Williams. His official appointment was recorded in *Ilŏngnok: Kojong* [Record of daily reflection: Kojong's reign], 44 vols. (Seoul: Sŏul taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu ed., 1967-72), 23:68; *Kojong Sunjong sillok* [The veritable record of Kojong and Sungjong], 3 vols. (Seoul: T'amgudang, 1970), 2:229; *Sŏngjŏngwŏn ilgi: Kojong* [Records of the Royal Secretariat: Kojong's reign], 15 vols. (Seoul: Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe ed., 1967-68), 9:551. On the controversy surrounding Denny's appointment, see Swartout, *Mandarins, Gunboats, and Power Politics*, pp. 56-58.

12. Swartout, *Mandarins, Gunboats, and Power Politics*, pp. 60-65, 129-32. For English-language copies of these two diplomatic agreements, see *ibid.*, pp. 153-66.

13. Swartout, pp. 88-95.

14. Swartout, pp. 129-43.

15. Swartout, chapters 4 and 5; Owen N. Denny, *China and Korea* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, Limited, 1888). Denny's rare booklet has been reproduced in its entirety in Robert R. Swartout, Jr., ed., *An American Adviser in Late Yi Korea: The Letters of Owen Nickerson Denny* (University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1984), pp. 139-61.

16. In the long run, the Chinese indeed did play a role in Denny's eventual departure from Korea. In early 1890 King Kojong requested that Denny sign a third two-year contract to continue on as an adviser to the Korean government. Denny finally turned down this request after his attempts to negotiate an American loan to Korea, along with other economic concessions, fell through. What Denny did not know at the time was that the Chinese had worked behind the scenes to successfully block the completion of the loan negotiations with the Americans. The Denny's left Korea permanently in January 1891.

17. This home, occasionally referred to as the "Denny Palace" by other foreign residents of Seoul, received a considerable amount of public attention in the late 1880's. For example, see an article entitled "Glimpses of Corea," in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, November 24, 1888, pp. 239-41, which includes several illustrations of the Denny dwelling. For a similar effort at modernizing the American legation in Chŏngdong, see Fred. C. Bohm and Robert R. Swartout, Jr., eds., *Naval Surgeon in Yi Korea: The Journal of George W. Woods* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1984), pp. 37, 42-43, 76-77.

18. On the Kōmundo affair, see Yi Yong-hūi, “Kōmundo chōmryōng oegyo chonggo” [Diplomacy respecting the occupation of Komundo], in *Yi Sang-baek Paksa hoegap ki'nyōmnon ch'ong* [Essay collection in commemoration of the sixtieth birthday of Dr. Yi Sang-baek] (Seoul: Ūryu munhwasa, 1964), pp. 459-99; Yung Chung Kim, “Great Britian and Korea, 1883-1887” (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1965), chapters 4 and 5; Swartout, *Mandarins, Gunboats, and Power Politics*, pp. 65-70.

19. For detailed studies of the August 1886 crisis, see Swartout, *Mandarins, Gunboats, and Power Politics*, pp. 81-88; Dalchoong Kim, “Korea’s Quest for Reform and Diplomacy in the 1880’s: With Special Reference to Chinese Intervention and Controls” (Ph.D. dissertation, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 1972), pp. 383-99; Kim Wōn-mo, “Wōn Se-gae ūi Hanbando anbo ch'aek (1886)” [Yuan Shih-k'ai's security policy for the Korean peninsula, 1886], *Tongyanghak* 16 (October 1986): 227-61.

20. This is how Gertrude Denny's name is printed on the cover of her original diary.

21. William S. Wetmore, an American businessman in Shanghai, and his wife were close personal friends of the Dennys. They had gotten to know one another during Owen Denny's service as United States consul general in Shanghai from 1880 to 1883.

22. Owen Denny stopped at Tientsin in March in order to consult with Li Hung-chang regarding Korean affairs. The next month, of course, he was officially appointed to his twin positions in Seoul.

As is the case with a few other entries in Gertrude Denny's diary, this one is actually dated a few days prior to the completion of the events described therein.

23. The 1886 Franco-Korean treaty, in which Owen Denny played a critical role as negotiator, was formally signed on June 4th. See Swartout, *Mandarins, Gunboats, and Power Politics*, pp. 60-65; Ch'oe Sōk-u, “Han-Pul choyak kwa sin'gyo chayū” [The Korean-French treaty and religious freedom], *Sahak yōn'gu* 21 (September 1969): 209-29.

24. Horace G. Underwood was one of the earliest, and perhaps the most important, of all the American Protestant missionaries who began arriving in Korea in the wake of the signing of the 1882 Korean-American treaty. See especially Lillias Underwood, *Underwood of Korea: Being an Intimate Record of the Life and Work of the Rev. H. G. Underwood* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1918).

25. This rather negative view of Korea was typical of many nineteenth-century Western accounts of the country. On the other hand, it is worth remembering that the Dennys—despite all of their problems in Korea—retained warm sentiments for the peninsular kingdom long after their return to the United States. Owen Denny himself saved his greatest scorn for corrupt government officials and the *yangban* class, who he once described as those “Now feeding upon and exhausting the labor of the country because it is considered dishonorable for them to do any work.” Should this “idle Yang Ban class (so-called gentlemen),” Denny declared, be “compelled to earn the bread they eat, and the agricultural classes stimulated and encouraged by the protection of their surplus products from the squeezing and other illegal exactions now made upon it, . . . Korea would then enter upon that era of prosperity which the natural wealth of the country so justly merits.” Owen N. Denny, *China and Korea*, as reprinted in Swartout, ed., *An American Adviser in Late Yi Korea*, p. 160.

26. Karl Waeber, the Russian consul and chargé d'affaires in Seoul during the late 1880's, worked closely with his old friend Owen Denny on a number of important issues, including the negotiations of the 1888 Russo-Korean trade agreement and the removal of British naval forces from Kōmundo. For more information on Waeber, and on general Russian activities in Korea,

see George A. Lensen, *Balance of Intrigue: International Rivalry in Korea and Manchuria, 1884-1899*, 2 vols. (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1982), passim.

27. The *Palos*, like other vessels of America's Asiatic Squadron, made occasional visits to Korean ports after the signing of the Shufeldt treaty in 1882.

28. Gertrude Denny was referring to the famed *Kapsin* coup of 1884, when a group of young, reform-minded intellectuals led by Kim Ok-kyun attempted to seize control of the Korean government. For historical studies of this important affair, see Harold F. Cook, *Korea's 1884 Incident: Its Background and Kim Ok-kyun's Elusive Dream* (Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 1972); Yu Hong-nyōl, "Kapsin chōngbyōn" [The 1884 political coup], in Ch'oe Yōng-hūi et al., eds., *Han'guksa* [History of Korea], 24 vols. (Seoul: Kuksa p'yōnch'an wiwōnhoe, 1975-78), 16:500-50; Sin Kuk-chu, *Han'guk kūndae chōngch'i oegyosa* [A history of modern Korean politics and diplomacy] (Seoul: T'amgudang, 1968), pp. 237-306.

29. Here Denny was talking about the infamous Hideyoshi invasions from Japan in the 1590's.

30. This description of Japan's change in attitude was not necessarily inaccurate. Following the signing of the Tientsin convention (negotiated between Japan and China by Ito Hirobumi and Li Hung-chang) in 1885, Japan temporarily withdrew from active involvement in Korean affairs. For the next six to eight years, the Japanese would focus on domestic problems and on treaty revisions with the Western powers. Of course, the events surrounding the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 would bring this more benign period to an end.

31. "Mrs. Scranton" was either the wife of Dr. William B. Scranton, one of the first Methodist missionaries to come to Korea, or William Scranton's mother, Mary F. Scranton, who was also a Methodist missionary working in Korea.

32. William H. Parker served as United States minister to Korea from June 12, 1886, to September 1, 1886. He was forced to resign his post in Korea because of an alcoholic condition.

33. Dr. Horace N. Allen and his wife Frances arrived in Korea in 1884. Allen was a well-known Presbyterian missionary from 1884 to the late 1880's. In the early 1890's he served as secretary of the American legation in Seoul, and from 1897 to 1905 he held the position of United States minister to Korea. The Allens' two boys were Horace E. ("Harry"), born in Shanghai in 1884, and Maurice, born in Seoul in 1886. The classic study of Allen is Fred Harvey Harrington's *God, Mammon, and the Japanese: Dr. Horace N. Allen and Korean-American Relations, 1884-1905* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1944). This influential book has been translated into Korean by Yi Kwang-nin [Lee Kwang-rin] as *Kaehwagi ui Han-Mi kwangye: Allen Paksa ūi hwaldōngŭl chungsimŭro* [Korean-American relations during the enlightenment period: Focusing on the activities of Dr. Allen] (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1973).

34. Owen Denny shared his wife's generally favorable view of Korean weather. He once wrote to a friend in Shanghai: "This climate is far ahead of any other port in the East that we know of. The summer months' nights are cool; even the days are not as trying as they are in Shanghai. The nights are so cool that you always feel good in the morning and ready for the business of the day." Denny to Wetmore, July 13, 1886, in Swartout, ed., *An American Adviser in Late Yi Korea*, p. 21.

35. Captain Frederico Craviosa of the Italian navy was the representative dispatched by Rome to exchange treaty ratifications. The original Italian-Korean treaty had been signed on June 26, 1884; the formal exchange of ratifications took place on July 24, 1886.

36. The "Yuenn" Gertrude Denny referred to was Yuan Shin-k'ai, China's primary representative in Seoul and the man responsible for implementing Peking's Korea policy from 1885 to 1894. For Owen Denny's own comments on the origins of the crisis, see Denny to Detring, August 12, 1886, in Swartout, ed., *An American Adviser in Late Yi Korea*, pp. 39-40.

37. The British occupation of Kōmundo [Port Hamilton] from April 1885 to February 1887 was part of a larger Anglo-Russian rivalry that involved much of Asia during the 1880's. The Chinese, indeed, had seemed to support the British during the early stages of the occupation. See also Denny to Li Hung-chang, with enclosure, June 29, 1886, in Swartout, ed., *An American Adviser in Late Yi Korea*, pp. 37-39.

38. Min Yōng-ik, the adopted nephew of Queen Min, was a leading government official in the late nineteenth century. He was one of Korea's first envoys to be sent abroad after the kingdom opened its doors to the West. He was also severely wounded during the *Kapsin* coup of 1884.

39. T. Kempermann served as the German consul general in Seoul from May 17, 1886, to May 22, 1887.

40. These Chinese troops never actually arrived in Seoul, but the threat to bring them was very real.

41. The four condemned officials were Kim Hak-u, Cho Chon-tu, Chōn Yang-muk, and Kim Ka-jin. All four had opposed Chinese control over Korea, and had close contacts with Western officials and institutions. In fact, Kim Ka-jin served as liaison between Owen Denny and King Kojong. Although eventually stripped of their offices due to Chinese pressure, the four men were spared execution or banishment.

42. Although Yuan was the instigator of the dethronement scheme, and Peking gave this scheme only lukewarm support at best, it is nonetheless important to note that Chinese officials back in Peking and Tientsin were determined to keep the peninsular kingdom under Chinese control. In that sense, the overall goals of Yuan and Peking remained the same; they differed only in terms of tactics.

43. The U.S.S. *Ossipee* was a member of America's Asiatic Squadron in 1886. Owen Denny played a key role in bringing the ship to Korea during the August crisis. For studies on American naval activity in late nineteenth-century Korea, see Donald M. Bishop, "Navy Blue in Old Korea: The Asiatic Squadron and the American Legation, 1882-1897," *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 42 (December 1975):49-63; Bohm and Swartout, *Naval Surgeon in Yi Korea*, pp. 1-21.

44. A. B. Stripling worked for the Korean Maritime Customs Service, which in turn was largely under the control of Robert Hart's Chinese Maritime Customs Service.

45. For a study of this experimental Western farm in Korea, see Yi Kwang-nin, *Han'guk Kaehwasa yon'gu*, pp. 203-18.

46. Annie J. Ellers, the missionary physician serving Queen Min at that time, had arrived in Korea on July 5, 1886.

47. This was E. Colbourne Baber's successor as British consul general in Korea.

48. See note 32, above.

49. "Gen'l Foote" was Lucius H. Foote, America's first regular minister sent to Korea following the signing of the 1882 treaty. Foote, a staunch supporter of Korean independence and closer Korean-American ties, served in his post from May 1883 to January 1885. Ultimately, he resigned in protest when the Department of State reduced his rank in Korea from minister plenipotentiary to minister resident and consul general. This reduction was not a

personal attack on Foote, but rather an indication that officials back in Washington did not share their Seoul-based minister's conviction that Korea ought to be of special importance to the United States. For studies of Foote's career in Korea, see Yur-Bok Lee, *Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and Korea, 1866-1887* (New York: Humanities Press, 1970), pp. 52-85; Soon C. Hong, "The Kapsin Coup and Foote: The Role of an American Diplomat," *Koreana Quarterly* 15 (Fall-Winter 1973): 60-70.

The "Mr. Foulk" Mrs. Denny referred to was George C. Foulk, one of the most important figures in early Korean-American relations. Foulk had first come to Korea as a naval attaché. When Foote left Korea in January 1885, Foulk took over temporary control of the American legation as chargé d'affaires *ad interim*. Thus, despite Gertrude Denny's description, Foulk never officially served as "Minister Resident & Consul General." Nonetheless, Foulk was America's highest-ranking diplomatic representative in Seoul for almost two years. Unfortunately, Foulk was recalled from Korea in June 1887 by Secretary of State Thomas F. Bayard after his pro-Korean stance aroused the ire of Chinese officials in Seoul and Peking. For important studies on Foulk and these tragic events, see Lee, *Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and Korea*, pp. 86-186; Robert E. Reordan, "The Role of George Clayton Foulk in United States-Korean Relations, 1884-1887" (Ph.D. dissertation, Fordham University, 1955); and especially Donald M. Bishop, "Policy and Personality in Early Korean-American Relations: The Case of George Clayton Foulk," in Nahm, ed., *The United States and Korea: American-Korean Relations, 1866-1986*, pp. 27-63.

50. J. F. Schenicke served as head of the Korean Maritime Customs Service from 1889 to 1892.

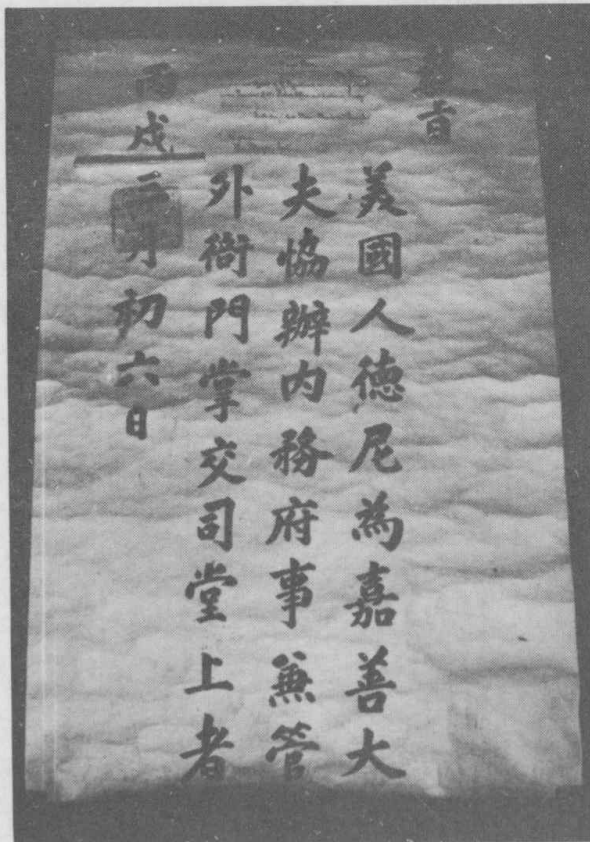
51. Admiral John L. Davis was commander of America's Asiatic Squadron in the mid-1880s.

52. Gustav Detring, from Germany, was a member of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service. From 1877 to 1904 he worked for the service in Tientsin, where he first met Owen Denny and where he also became Li Hung-chang's most trusted foreign adviser. As indicated earlier, it was through Detring that Li contacted Denny about the advisory position in Korea.

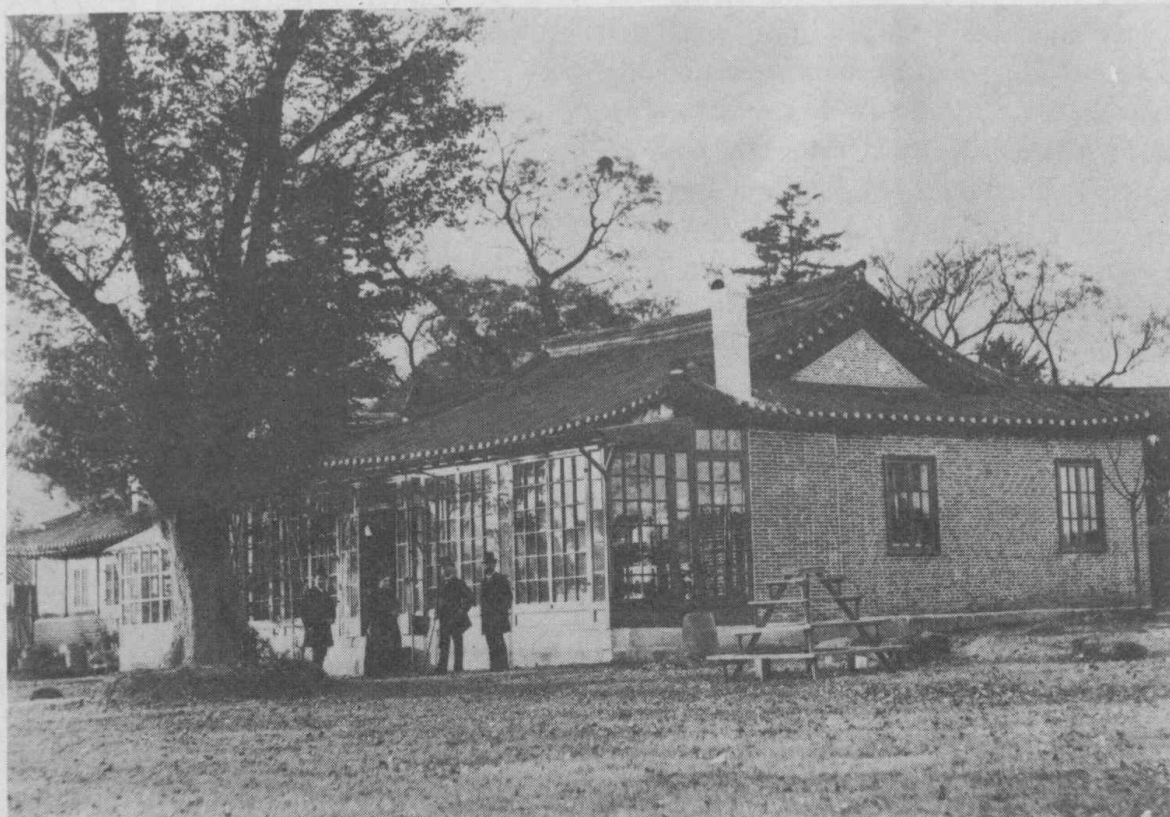
53. An occasional rival of Owen Denny, Paul Georg von Moellendorff had served as adviser to the Korean Foreign Office and head of the Korean Maritime Customs Service from 1882 to 1885. The hiring of Denny by the Korean government was made possible by von Moellendorff's departure the previous year. See Ko Pyōng-ik, "Mok In-dōk ūi kobing kwa kū paegyōng" [Von Moellendorff's employment and its background], *Chindan hakpo* 25-27 (December 1964): 225-44; Deuchler, *Confucian Gentlemen and Barbarian Envoys*, pp. 158-64; Walter Leifer, "Paul-Georg von Moellendorff—Scholar and Statesman," *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch* 57 (1982): 41-52.



Gertrude Hall Denny (1837-1933) and her husband, Owen Nickerson Denny (1838-1900). (Courtesy of the Oregon Historical Society, negative #3447)



Owen N. Denny's original Korean commission, appointing him Vice-President of the Korean Home Office and Director of Foreign Affairs. (Courtesy of Stephanie Scott Williams)



The rear garden of the Dennys at their residence. Owen Denny is on the far right; Gertrude Denny is third from the right. (Courtesy of Stephanie Scott Williams)



The enclosed patio-greenhouse of the Denny residence in Seoul. The Dennys are on the right. (Courtesy of Stephanie Scott Williams)



Dining room of the Denny residence. Note the combinations of Western and Asian furnishings. (Courtesy of Stephanie Scott Williams)



Gertrude and Owen Denny, in front row center, with friends. (Courtesy of Stephanie Scott Williams)



Gertrude Denny departing in a sedan chair, Seoul, late 1880s. (Courtesy of Stephanie Scott Williams)



Seoul in the late 1880s. The Denny residence is located in the center of the photograph, just to the left of the Korean flag. (Courtesy of Stephanie Scott Williams)

Annual Report of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1986

The Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, is one of several branches of its parent organization, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Founded in London in 1824 under the royal patronage of King George IV, the purpose of the Society as a whole is to study the "progress of knowledge in Asia and the means of its extension." Since its founding in Seoul in June 1900 by a small group of foreign residents, the Korea Branch has been devoted, as its constitution requires, to stimulating interest in, promoting the study of, and disseminating knowledge about the arts, history, literature and customs of Korea and neighboring countries. To meet these requirements the Korea Branch sponsors lecture meetings, tours, and publications. Among the requirements of the Branch's constitution is one that specifies an annual meeting at which a report of the year's activities should be made to the membership and an election of the next year's officers and Council held. The annual report follows:

Membership: From its founding 17 members in 1900, the Korea Branch has increased to an impressive 1,689 members, this being the number registered in 1986 at the time of this report. The total figure includes 58 life members, 518 overseas members and 1,113 regular members residing in Korea. Membership includes not only those who participate in the activities of the branch in Seoul but also those who have joined the Taegu Chapter.

Meetings: During the year, 20 lecture meetings were held in Seoul and seven lecture meetings were held by the Taegu Chapter.

Tours: Full schedules of tours were carried out by the branch in both the spring and the fall of 1986, with participation in both Seoul and Taegu totalling more than 2,000.

Publications: The Korea Branch is justifiably proud of its accomplishments in producing and distributing works in English about Korea. Besides its annual *Transactions* Volume 60 for 1985, which was distributed free to members, *Korea and Christianity* by Spencer Palmer was reprinted in 1986 to meet continuing demands. The newest publication was *Discovering Seoul* by Donald N. Clark and James H. Grayson.

Finances: Monthly statements from the treasurer report (because of the continuing sale of its publications) the Korea Branch enjoys a state of financial health which allows it to continue to offer meetings, tours, and publications in order to meet its commitment to contribute to the “progress of knowledge” about Korea and her neighbors.

ACTIVITIES OF THE SEOUL BRANCH

<i>Date</i>	<i>Lectures 1985</i>	<i>Attendance</i>
January 8	Prospect for South-North Relations (Dr. Han, Seung, Ahn, Byung-joon, Dr. Park Tong-whan)	120
January 22	Yanbian Autonomous Region: A Journey to the Korean National Minority in China (Dr. Dirk Fundling)	80
February 12	Birds of Korea (Prof. Yoon, Moo-boo)	100
February 26	The Confucian Academy in Traditional Korea (Mr. Milan Hejtmanek)	110
March 12	Ensign George Clayton Foulk: Naval Attaché and Diplomat in Korea 1883-1887 (Mr. Donald M. Bishop)	100
March 26	Korean Ceramics: There's More Than What Meets the Eyes (Dr. Jon C. Covell)	150
April 9	Korea's Flowering Plants (Dr. Lee, Yong-no)	110
April 23	Wang Kon's Social Origins and the Koryo Dynastic Order (Prof. Hugh H. W. Kang)	90
May 14	Zen (Sŏn) Buddhism in Korea (Prof. Keel, Hee-Sung)	120
May 28	Excavation of the Kūmgŭl Cave (Dr. Sohn, Pooke (Pow-Key))	90
June 11	American Imperialism: Myth or Reality? (Dr. Donald S. Macdonald)	150
June 25	Comparative Aspects of British and Korean Economic Development (Dr. Ruth H. Grayson)	70
August 27	The Stele of King Kwang-Gae-To and the Ancient History of Korea and Japan (Mr. Lee, Jin-Hee)	95

September 10	Asian Light (Mr. Robert Kowalczyk)	120
September 24	New Developments in the Korea-U.S. Economic Relations (Prof. Jung, Ku-hyun)	70
October 8	Reflections on <i>Discovering Seoul</i> (Dr. James H. Grayson)	110
October 22	Naval Surgeon in Yi Korea: The 1884 Journal of George W. Woods, U.S. Navy (Dr. Robert Swartout)	95
November 12	The Lovely Ladies of T'ang: Images of Women in the History, Literature, and Art of the T'ang Dynasty (Mrs. Dorothy Middleton)	110
November 26	Why is Han'gŭl such a Scientific Alphabet? (Mr. Ross King)	120
December 10	Film: Trip to Paek-tu Mountain (Dr. Horace G. Underwood)	160

Tours 1985

February 1	Yongp'yŏng Ski Resort	24
February 15-17	Sŏraksan	50
March 2	Kut (Shaman ritual)	204
March 8	Chinaware Co., Studio Tour: Kim Ki-chang	28
March 9	Restaurant: Yongsoosan	27
March 15	Kiln Tour, Ich'ŏn	29
March 16	Soyosan, Kwangnŭng	38
March 22	Hyŏnch'ungsa, Onyang Folk Museum	28
March 23	Potpourri (markets, antique dealers, etc.)	43
March 29	Inch'ŏn to Suwŏn on the Narrow Gauge	86
March 30	Taedunsan	24
April 5-6	Ch'ŏllado	28
April 11-13	Cherry Blossom Tour: Chinae, Haeinsa	41
April 19	Ansŏng	39
April 20	North Han Valley	41
April 26	Wŏraksan National Park	17
April 25-27	Cheju-do	31
May 3-4	Magnolia Tour to Ch'ŏllip'o Beach	30

May 4-5	Magnolia Tour to Ch'öllip'o Beach	31
May 11	Soyosan, Kosök	30
May 16	City Temples on Buddha's Birthday	86
May 17	Söngmo Island	80
May 18	Yi Dynasty Seoul: Through Gates of Seoul	33
May 24	Sudöksa, Hongsöng, Haemi	41
June 6-8	Wando Island	28
June 14	Garden Party	250
June 15	Paekche: Puyö and Kongju	42
June 28-29	Koün-sa and Hahoe	27
July 4-6	Hongdo	21
July 12	Island Hopping off Inch'ön	33
August 23	Markets in Seoul	18
August 24	Shard Hunting	10
August 30-31	Ch'öllip'o	19
September 6	Silk Tour	41
September 7	Ch'öngp'yöng Boat	134
September 13	Shaman Shrines	23
September 12-14	Ch'ungmu and Hallyö Sudo	38
September 20	Namhansansöng Hiking	36
September 27	Kangwha Island	32
September 27-28	Odaesan	17
October 3	Emille Museum	72
October 9	Chölwön	37
October 11	King Sejong's Tomb	15
October 9-12	Ullüng-do	23
October 18	Inch'ön to Suwön on the Narrow Gauge	77
October 19	Kyeryong-san	22
October 25-26	Yöngwöl and Ch'ungju Area Tour	17
October 26	Yongmun-sa	29
November 1	University Museums: Seoul National, Ewha, Soongsil	21
November 2	Temple Dinner	33
November 8-9	Chirisan	38
November 15-16	Kumi Area	14
November 22	National Museum	23
November 22	Churches in Seoul	24
November 23	Kimjang	32
November 29-30	Bird Watching	20

December 6	Studio Tour: Lee Man-bong, Kim Man-hee, Chin Kyoung-sup	26
December 7	Magoksa	23
December 13	Potpourri Tour (markets, antique dealers, etc.)	25

ACTIVITIES OF THE TAEGU CHAPTER

Lectures 1986

- February 11 A Visit to the Taegu Chamber of Commerce and Industry
- March 11 Archaeological Discoveries in the Local Region
(Mr. Chong, Yong-hwa)
- April 15 Walking Tour of Old Taegu
(Mr. Donald Bishop)
- May 15 Agricultural Interactions between China
 and the West
(Ms. Francesca Bray)
- October 21 *Discovering Seoul: The Making of the Book*
(Dr. James H. Grayson)
- November 21 Yun Chi-ho and His Role in Korean History
(Mr. Robert H. C. Kim)
- December 10 Navy Surgeon George W. Woods and His
 Observations of Yi Dynasty Korea
(Dr. Robert Swartout)

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(as of December 30, 1986)

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