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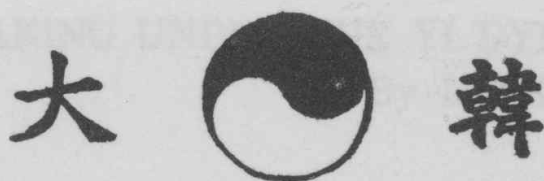
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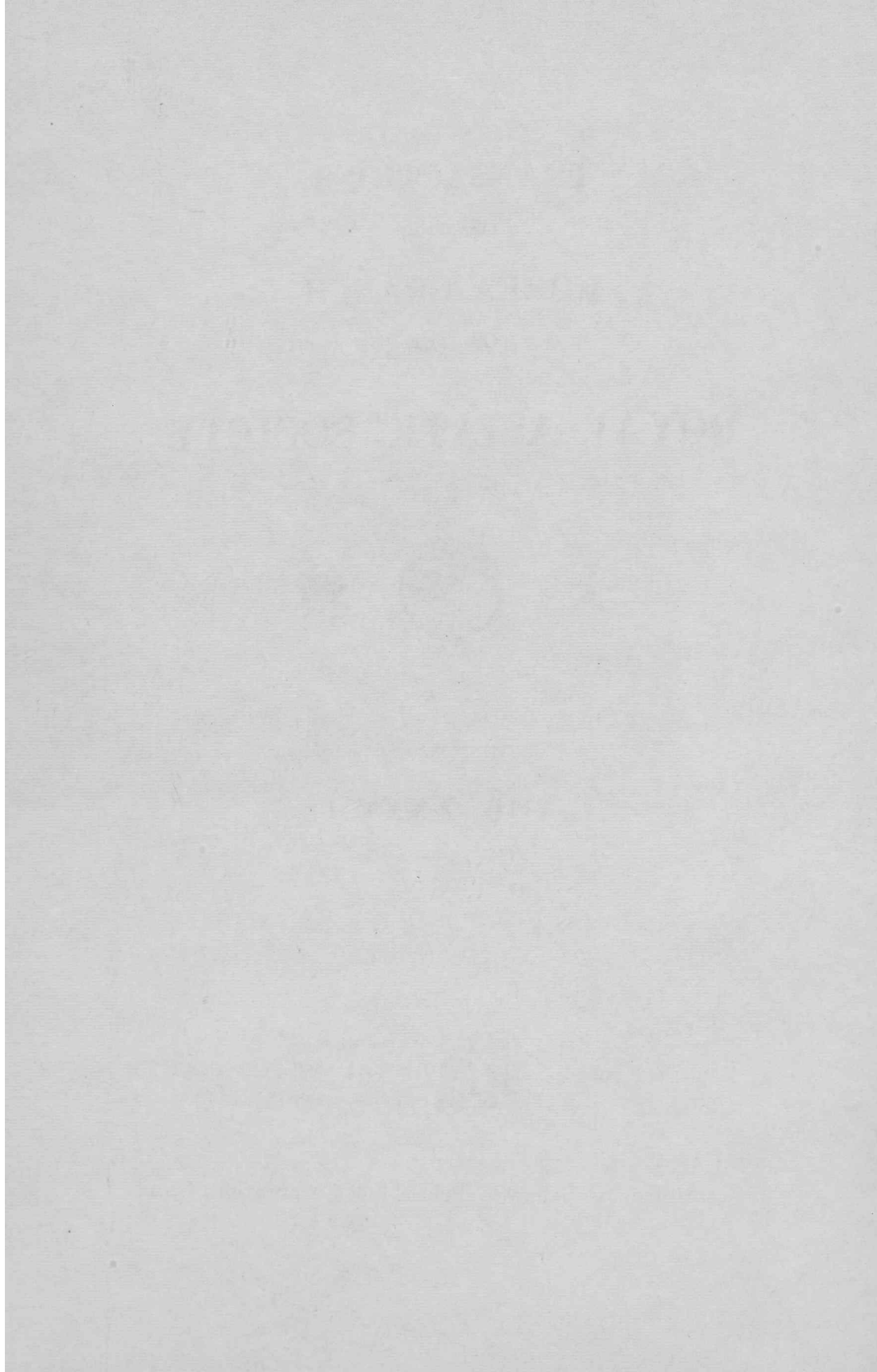
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A HISTORY OF THE CHŎNG DONG AREA AND  
THE EMBASSY RESIDENCE COMPOUND

**A History of the Chŏng Dong Area and  
the American Embassy Residence Compound**

by

**Gregory Henderson,**

**Cultural Attache,**

**American Embassy,**

**Seoul.**



## A HISTORY OF THE CHŎNGDONG AREA AND THE EMBASSY RESIDENCE COMPOUND

Even compared to capitals in other countries, the capitals of Korea have played a role specially prominent and specially apart in the life of the Korean land.

The first city to play this role within Korea—though in this case a colonial role—was the city of Lolang, now called P'yŏngyang, from 108 B.C.~A.D. 313 the capital of the Chinese Han colony in the northern part of the peninsula. Archeological remains clearly indicate that its position and development were not only greatly superior to any other place in Korea but were beyond any comparison with the surrounding countryside.<sup>1)</sup> Somewhat the same seems to have been true of the capital of P'yŏngyang which Koguryŏ erected on approximately the same site as Lolang, for Kongju and Puyŏ, the later capitals of Paekche and, above all, for Sŏrabŏl, the great capital which Silla erected at what is now Kyŏngju and which became in A.D. 668, following Silla's conquest of Koguryŏ and Paekche, the first capital of the united Korean peninsula. The Koryŏ capital at what is now Kaesŏng followed in the same centralized tradition and its mantle was inherited by Seoul when Yi Sŏng-ge, founder of the Yi Dynasty, built his capital here in 1394.

What gives Korean capitals their peculiar character in the life of the land? So broad a question invites a number of answers. Korea has been predominantly a rural, not an urban country; in its political traditions, it has been, on the whole, a determinedly centralized and united country. Though a peninsula, both its philosophy and its historical development before the twentieth century have traditionally given little encouragement to urbanism and the activities which lead to urban development: mercantilism, trade, commerce or industry. Its strong centralization and lack of great geographical size militated against development of large local political or cultural centers. Hence, of the larger cities of modern Korea, almost all are quite new—essentially creations of the last sixty years, like Pusan, Taejŏn, Inch'ŏn, Mokp'o, Masan and Kunsan and most of the large places of North Korea,



excepting old former capitals like Pyŏngyang and Kaesŏng and, to some extent, Uiju and Wŏnsan. Even older places like Taegu, Chŏnju, Ch'ŏngju, Ch'ungju, Wŏnju, Suwŏn, and Kwangju, while they have been well-known rural centers in Korea for hundreds of years, could hardly have been described as more than small towns before this century, not only by comparison with contemporary western cities but by comparison with such pre-twentieth century Oriental cities as Canton or Osaka as well. Thus, with the possible exception of Pyŏngyang, the capital of Pyŏng'an Province and the largest center of the northern provinces, Seoul was the only place in Korea which could be said throughout the Yi period to have maintained an urban character. This fact, in itself, set Seoul, as it did all preceding Korean capitals, apart from the rest of Korea and added to the prestige the city held as the center of government and undisputed arena of the nation's political, cultural and economic life. While it is easy to think of capitals like Paris, Vienna, Athens, Rome, Madrid, London, Cairo, Moscow and Tokyo which are the largest and most prominent cities of their countries, few countries of comparable size and population can boast a capital of such undivided supremacy in almost every walk of life and activity as the Koreans have in their Seoul. For Americans whose capital is smaller, newer and commercially and culturally less distinguished than several other American cities, an understanding of the position of Seoul in Korean hearts, Korean aspirations and Korean history requires an effort in understanding.

For over five centuries and a half, Seoul has been the spider in the web of Korean history. The names and reputations of most Koreans of distinction since the 14th century are closely associated with the city, most accomplishments and failures centered on it. Its districts and streets are woven deep into the social and political lore of the country, some families, like the Kims of Andong and the Chŏngs of Tongnae, living so long in certain districts in Seoul that they became known as the Ch'angdong Kims or the Hoedong Chŏngs from their names. Political parties took their names from the districts of Seoul in which supporters lived. Even class designations may have been taken from the districts of Seoul, one explanation for the Chung'in, literally "middle men", a

sort of middle class, being that they lived near the middle of the capital and between the north, south, east and west factions. Not only the city but each of its old streets and districts has its own history cut through the strata of five centuries.

Even before it became the Yi capital, Seoul was a fairly important place. It emerges early into semi-history when we are told by the *Samguk Sagi* that a son of the king of the large Kingdom of Koguryō in the northern part of the peninsula came south and founded, traditionally in 18 B.C. but probably a century or more later, a kingdom called Paekche, south of Koguryō and in the western part of the peninsula, and built his capital on the northern bank of the Han River, apparently in the Seoul area, calling it Hapuk Uirye-sōng or Uirye Fortress north of the river.<sup>2)</sup> Thirteen years later, after attack from the Chinese colonial capital of Naknang (Lolang), the king is said to have moved his capital across the river and for this we have more concrete evidence for, across the river from Kwangjang-ni, roughly opposite the present country club, we can still see the city walls of this capital running, grass and tree-covered, over the land on the southwestern side of the present Kwangjang-ni Bridge. Later Paekche kings built a Pukhansan fortress in the mountains northeast of Seoul, probably as more defensive for the region than the low-lying capital. Much later, expanded and rebuilt against the Mongols and again in the early Yi period, this fortress would seem to be the lineal ancestor of the Pukhansan fortress which still exists today. Competed for between a strengthening Koguryō and a declining Paekche, the Seoul area fell to Koguryō in A.D. 475 and Seoul became for seventy-seven years the southern capital of that kingdom, being also known at the time as South P'yōngyang, since P'yōngyang was Koguryō's chief capital. Thus was enacted in the fifth and sixth centuries a drama similar to that which befell Seoul from June to September of 1950. In A.D. 551, a Silla-Paekche alliance recaptured the Seoul area. This time, Silla as the more powerful partner under the great King Chinhūng annexed the region and made it the northwestern outpost of the realm. Chinhūng's conquest is marked by the first of Seoul's completely historical monuments, the famous monument atop a ridge of Pukhan-san looking down on the city from the north, erected in honor of his inspection

of the new boundaries of his realm. For 350 years, Silla retained the area and, from 758 on, called it by the still well-known name of Hanyang. With the unification of the peninsula in 668, however, the region lost much of its strategic importance and Seoul was not one of Silla's rural capitals. As Silla disintegrated after 901, the Seoul area fell into the core area of the new Koryŏ regime at Kaesŏng. Only 35 miles to the south, Seoul had some importance again as an emergency capital during invasions and was usually called Yangju. In 1010, King Hyŏnjong passed through Yangju when the Khitan drove him from Kaesŏng. In 1068, King Munjong built a palace in Seoul and, after 1096, King Sukjong built a new palace here. Thereafter, the Koryŏ kings often visited Yangju and called it Namkyŏng or Southern capital, considering it with P'yŏngyang and Kaesŏng one of the three major cities of Koryŏ. It was, however, a small place compared to the seat of government at Kaesŏng. In the last century of Koryŏ, Namkyŏng was again renamed Hanyangbu and in the uneasy last years of the dynasty in 1362 and again in 1390 the capital was twice temporarily moved here from Kaesŏng. There were two palaces already in Hanyangbu when the capital was moved, one at the site of the present Ch'anggyŏngwon Palace adjoining the Ch'angdŏk Palace, the other behind the Kyŏngbok Palace where Kyŏngmudae, residence of President Rhee, is now located. In addition there were temples, residences and pavilions, some of which were to remain into the new dynasty.

In 1392, Yi Sŏng-ge, a general of Koryŏ, rebelled against Koryŏ rule, overthrew it and set up a regime of his own, to be called the Yi (or Lee) Dynasty after his family. (President Rhee and Speaker Lee both trace descent from the third king of this dynasty, Taejong.) Desiring to be free from the allegiances and associations which nearly five hundred years of Koryŏ rule had given to Kaesŏng, he symbolized the newness of his regime by the choice of a new capital, to be founded and built by him and associated only with him and his dynasty's rule. For a while, Keryongsan, not far south of Taejŏn in Ch'ungch'ŏng Namdo, was considered but was discarded in favor of Hanyangbu. It was, indeed, an ideal site, central within the peninsula, on the main avenues of access to the south and north and with a good river route to the sea and the interior; with sufficiently large agricultural resources



contiguous; protected by steep hills and peaks which still had stands of timber for building the city; and, with fitting preparation, a site defensible against marauders like the Japanese *waegu* (*wakō*) or pirates, which, at that time were scourging the Korean coasts. Over half a millennium later, his choice has still well stood the test of time. He called his new city Hansōng, a name it was to keep until his dynasty ended more than five hundred years later in 1910.

Oriental capitals are not laid out haphazardly. Indeed, great as was the power of European kings and princelings several centuries ago in laying out their capitals, it is doubtful whether many could start with as clean a slate and such undivided power as Yi Sōng-ge disposed of in the arrangement of Hansōng. Hanyangbu had not been extremely populous and it had been largely destroyed only twenty years before by the *waegu*. All land and buildings were considered government property for the sovereign to dispose of pretty much as he would. His eye—or those of his geomancers—perceived the defensive possibilities of the amphitheatrical terrain ringed on almost all sides by mountains ridges or hills and the naturalness of the axis running from the sheer slope of Pugak-san (behind the present President's residence) down past the slope of Namsan toward the Han River. They saw it and bedded the capital snugly in this amphitheatre, facing south, toward whose influences the king must face, each palace backed by its own mountains—Pugak-san and Pukhan-san which, in the coming dynasty as in the past, were to protect the morality and fortune of the king's reign from the northeasterly-lying evil influences.

Unlike a Western city, the walled town ('cité') was not brought down to the Han River but was anchored well short of it along the defensible lower slope of Namsan. To the Koreans of that day the river was not so much a defense or a gate for communication and trade as a dangerous route of access for the Japanese pirates who then controlled the seas around Korea. Only two decades before, in 1373, these *waegu* had burned and plundered the Hanyangbu commandery, had slaughtered the inhabitants and ravaged the surrounding countryside, returning several times thereafter. In addition, water activities lacked prestige in the Korean social system and traders,

boatmen and fishermen belonged to the despised classes; it probably would not have occurred to the royal counselors to taint the prestigious precincts of the city itself with the pursuits of the waterways.

Internally, the city's main axis was East-West, connecting two of the principal gates—the West and East Gates—along the present Chongno. Around these axes, the city was divided into five districts—north, south, east, west and central—each one of which had its own social and, later, political flavor and, for a while, its own Confucian College. The choicest sites within the whole city were chosen by the King for the royal palace (the Kyōngbok Palace behind the capitol building), his family shrine (standing then as now opposite the Ch'angdök Palace), the sites for worship of spirits of earth and grain (Sajik-dan), other royal or aristocratic residences, government offices (many of them in front of the capital near where they, by and large, still are), the residences of his supporters and chief officials, and, finally, marketing districts and common residences. Government planning and control extended even to the markets, one block being reserved for textile markets, one for fish products, others for meats, leather, grains etc, the franchises for these businesses being bestowed by the government and continued at its pleasure. Business was not conducted by private initiative but by grace and favor. Private ownership of property as the West knows it was also unknown, temple, prince and pauper simply occupying land and buildings whose highest ownership was vested in the state and returning to the sovereign tax and loyalty.<sup>3)</sup> Government regulation likewise extended to the size of residences and, to some extent, to the materials to be used by the different classes in constructing their houses. The principal royal princes received lots some 312 chök square (the chök was a unit 21.5 cm. long), lesser princes lots 285 chök square, officials of the first two ranks lots of 220 chök, of the third and fourth ranks 180 chök, of the 5th and 6th ranks 161 chök, of the 7th rank and under including the sons and grandsons of yangban lots of 140 chök and the common people lots of 40 chök.<sup>4)</sup> Thus complete government domination over many matters which the West would hold to be private life, and a strict and formalized system of social distinctions, were assumptions on which planning of the city of Seoul was based.

The result, however, must have presented considerable harmony and order—far more than the present city possesses—and, though the tiny houses of the common folk in their narrow, twisting alleys must have contrasted considerably with the palaces of princes and the residences of nobles and officials, still the universal use of wood, the lack of great wealth in the country and a certain Confucian sense of asceticism and official propriety probably kept these gulfs narrower than those which divided stone palace from earthen hut in the European cities of the day.

The Chŏngdong area, located on rising ground half-way down the main axis of the city, was a site intrinsically choice, with favorable geomantic qualities, being backed by hills and having rising ground. Whetstones found in the area indicate that it was settled in the stone age, which in central Korea lasted from the third millenium B.C. until the third century B.C.<sup>5)</sup> From the beginning of the dynasty, a whole area on the left of Chŏngdong street was set aside for the reception and lodging of Chinese ambassadors and their retinues when they came on their periodic trips from Peking bearing the return gifts and messages of the Chinese Emperor to the Korean King whose tribute the Emperor was thus acknowledging. The name designating this district—"Whangwha-pang"—"The District of Imperial Benevolence"—was the original name of the whole area from the great and little West Gates to points as distant as the southwest corner of the Chongno-Taep'yŏng-no intersection; judging by maps of some 120 years ago, such designations lasted even into the last century. Chŏngnŭng and Chŏngdong became designations of a part of this district. Since the visit of the Imperial Ambassador was the high point of the social and ceremonial year and, during the Yi period, one of the few contacts Korea had with the world outside her own borders, one can imagine that the district must for centuries have been the scene of brilliant festivities, in some of which even the Korean King took part.

During the first five years of the dynasty, however, we hear little very specific of the area, although we know that already in Koryŏ times a Buddhist temple had been built there which still existed as the Yi Dynasty opened.<sup>6)</sup> The King T'aejo (as Yi Sŏng-ge known to



history during his six-year reign), who retained a healthy respect for Buddhism despite his Confucian counselors, was perhaps inspired by the presence of this temple to reserve the northern part of the Whangwha-pang area for a special purpose.

In order to comprehend what this special purpose was to be, it is necessary to understand the rather complicated family situation of the founding monarch. Yi Sŏng-ge had had a long and distinguished career as a general in the Koryŏ Dynasty and was already fifty-seven years old when he came to the throne. In early life he had married a woman who had borne him many sons who were already grown when he ascended the throne. These sons, particularly the fifth son, Pang'wŏn, who became T'aejong, had been of great assistance to him in overcoming opposition to his revolution against Koryŏ. T'aejo's first wife died before he became king and he had married a second wife whom he greatly esteemed and who also bore him two sons. T'aejo therefore had a built-in succession problem in a classic oriental form almost before he became king. T'aejo's second wife and queen pushed constantly to get her second son, Pangsŏk, the youngest of T'aejo's eight sons, designated by T'aejo as his successor, thus by-passing the six sons of the first wife. The supreme advisory council to the throne, perhaps motivated by a desire to have a younger and more pliant successor whom it could more easily control, finally backed the queen's choice. Pang'wŏn, however, ambitious and bitter, refused to give way and staged a coup d'état in 1398 in which he killed Chŏng Do-jŏn, one of his father's main advisors and counselor for the young crown prince; the prince himself left for a distant place and was killed on his way by one of Pang'wŏn's men. Meanwhile, in 1397, T'aejo's queen died. Saddened by her loss and by the gathering succession quarrels within his own house, T'aejo broke one of the most time-honored and sacred of Korea's taboos and decided to symbolize his devotion to his wife by burying her within the city walls. How powerful was the emotion which must have motivated this decision we can judge from the fact that the belief that death should not defile the capital had apparently long dominated Korea's capital cities; and that, even today, while a few people like the late Shin Ik-hi and the late Yi Ch'ŏng-ch'ŏn are buried within the modern city limits of greater Seoul, only one, the late

Bishop Trollope of the Anglican Church, long a prominent member of and lecturer in this Society, who lies buried under the altar of the cathedral he built next to the site of the queen's burying place in Chöngdong, is known to be buried within the city walls nor can, to this day, any burial take place therein.

The exact site within the Whangwha-pang area selected for the queen's original tomb is still unknown. Since tombs are almost always located on high ground, and we know that the district chosen was the northern part of Whangwha-pang, we can presume that the site was either the hill on which the British Embassy is now located, the hill on which the Russian Legation is located, or one of the high spots in between. We also know that such tombs were normally expected to face south, to be backed by a hill or mountain, and to have ridges from the hill coming down on both sides; there were also supposed to be streams meeting in front or, sometimes, a pond. A number of Koreans believe that the location was the British Legation hill. However, we have one added fact. Queen Kang was a devoted Buddhist. In building her tomb, T'aejo followed the custom of the preceding Koryö Dynasty and decided to have a temple for the comfort of her soul adjoining her tomb.<sup>7)</sup> He therefore located the tomb near the site of the Koryö temple which had stood here and enlarged, rebuilt and dedicated this temple, which was called Hüngch'ön-sa, for his wife. A famous Zen monk named Sang Ch'ong, disciple of the even greater national teacher Wönjüng Kuksa(圓證國師), also known as T'aego and Pou(太古, 普愚), one of the Koryö King Kongmin's chief priests, became abbot of this temple. In particular, T'aejo built a five story wooden hall, the greatest skyscraper of its day in Seoul, and brought a portion of a famous relic of the body of the Shaka from Tongdo-sa and placed it in this hall. Sutras and treasures were also placed therein. The temple hall dominated the city, as we can well imagine, since few buildings in Seoul until seventy years ago were over one story high. We know that this temple was on the eastern corner of the tomb area and there is fair evidence to believe that the temple may have covered at least the area from the present broadcasting station to the Kyönggi Girls High School. If this is so, the British Legation hill might have to be eliminated as the tomb site since the temple would then be north and northwest of that hill, and the arrow

of supposition as to the location would point either to the Russian Legation hill or, since the arrangements of its ridges would be more protective, even more probably to the hillock on which Embassy Residences 5 and 6 are now built. However, Hŭngch'ŏn-sa was a large temple and very likely filled a great area, perhaps from the Chosun Ilbo Offices through the present theatre district to the Kyŏnggi High School, so that it is not impossible that a tomb even on the British Legation Hill would have stood east of some important temple buildings. The evidence is in no case conclusive.

At any rate, the tomb was built in the area and, having been built, was named. Since all royal tombs have their own names (not taken from the name of the dead person), T'aejo called the tomb of his wife Chŏngnŭng or "Chaste Tomb", that is to say, 'tomb of a chaste lady', *chŏng* being the usual tombstone description of an admired woman. From this name, the immediate area became known as Chŏngnŭng-dong ("District of the Chaste Tomb"); in time, the "nŭng" was dropped and the district all around the old street running along the Tŏksu (Duksoo) Palace wall to the old West Gate became known as it is to this day as "Chŏng-dong" ("The Chaste District"). It should be remembered that 'Dong' does not mean street but fundamentally 'village', hence in a city 'district'; the normal street, in Korea as in China and Japan, was not separately named but took its name from the district through which it ran.

The queen was not to rest long in peace within the city wall. Shortly after finishing her tomb and in the month following the murder of the crown prince, T'aejo 'retired' in 1398 to his native province of Hamgyŏng in northeastern Korea, leaving his throne to Pangkwa (Chŏngjong), the second son of his first wife, a man who was completely dominated by his younger brother, T'aejong, and gave his throne over to him after two short years of reign, in 1400. T'aejong had suffered much from his step-mother. To secure the throne against her intrigues he had had to cause internecine strife and murder within his own family which had tarnished his own good name and set his own father irreconcilably against him. Often he sent special emissaries to his father's place of retirement near Hamhŭng seeking a reconciliation. One after another, the retired T'aejo killed them as they came, an



expression of anger still made memorable by the term 'Hamhŭng Ch'asa'. T'aejong could not forswear revenge against his dead step-mother. In 1400 he became king. In 1408, his father died in retirement. Hardly had he died than, in the same year, T'aejong dismantled the queen's tomb, disinterred her body and moved it well outside the city walls to the present Chöngnŭng, a much simpler tomb beyond Tonam-dong west of Miari in the outskirts of modern Seoul where, for a long time, her grave is said to have been unrecognized and forgotten. A small section of modern Seoul now takes its name from this tomb. T'aejong ordered all the ceremonies and honors due a queen to cease. Further, he carried his revenge even to the stones of her tomb: these were ignominiously made the foundations of the Taegwang-kyo ("The Big Broad Bridge") which was being built at this time during the development of the capital. All else near this bridge in downtown Seoul has changed but the bridge remains to this day, not far from the Embassy, one block south of the Whashin Department store next to the Choheung Bank. At this point a stream called Ch'önggech'ön ("Clear Valley Stream"), now covered by the street running between and parallel to Chongno and Eulchi-ro two blocks behind the Embassy and the Information Center and, since December, 1958, covered for several hundred yards beyond it, flowed out under Namdaemun-ro. Passing by on the street, until December, 1958, one could see on the downstream side a stone balustrade surmounted at each end by a crouching chimaera. If one went down into the stream below the bridge, where the urchins of Seoul hunted by the light of flares for river fish, one could still see the whole framework of the bridge carried by the elaborately-carved stones of the first Yi queen's tomb. Covered or uncovered, the "Clear Valley Stream" has become a sewer, the children fishing in the darkness seemed to come out of *Les Miserables*, and the fetid waters, once clear from the hills, now wet the feet of the carved courtiers praying for the soul of the dead queen. It was a memorable retribution.<sup>9)</sup>

The temple had quite a different history. When the tomb was removed, we are specifically told in ancient documents that the temple remained as it was.<sup>10)</sup> In 1424, when the great monarch Sejong set up regulations governing religious sects in Korea, Hŭngch'öu-sa was, with



another temple called Hŭngbok-sa in what is now Nak-wŏn-dong behind Pagoda Park, made the center of Sŏn(Zen) Buddhism in Seŏul. Later in Sejong's reign, Hŭngbok-sa was itself removed so that Hŭngch'ŏn-sa alone became the chief center of Zen in Seoul, a position it continued to occupy throughout the 15th Century in the increasingly Confucian city. In 1462, King Sejo, a devout Buddhist, deeply conscience-stricken over his murder of his own nephew Tanjong to attain the throne, repaired and built many temples, notably Wŏngak-sa in Pagoda Park with its pagoda; with these repairs he had a great new bell made for Hŭngch'ŏn-sa in the seventh year of his reign. For more than thirty years the temple continued with this embellishment and with its high tower. In 1495, however, there came to the Korean throne one of the most notorious tyrants of Korean history, Yŏnsan-gun, a man dedicated to sybaritic personal habits, malice and impetuosity. In July, 1504, he ordered the temple razed and built in its place an extra office for the care of his royal horses and their accoutrements. The next monarch, Chungjong, after overthrowing Yŏnsan-gun, abolished this extravagance and built a public office here. Of the temple, only the five-story shari hall remained. But for this an even more interesting fate was in store. There were originally in the city five Confucian universities in the north, south, east, west and central districts of the city, erected to instruct in the official religion and philosophy of the dynasty and prepare students for the state examinations. The western one was itself in the Chŏngnŭng district, apparently just north of Hŭngch'ŏnsa, probably on former temple land behind the present Taep'yŏng-no theatre district. The main one was the central one, however, and we are told that on the night of March 28, 1510, the students of this central Confucian college, firmly convinced by their instructors that Buddhism was heresy, marched on the shari hall and enthusiastically set fire to it. The records note<sup>11)</sup> that the flames turned night into day and clouds of fire covered the sky; cinders rained down into dark and distant alleys all over the city. Thus in an apocalyptic chapter in the struggle between Buddhism and Confucianism, the last building of our temple vanished. The bell now alone remained and this, after many perigrinations through Seoul's palaces, finally came to the grounds of the Tŏksu (Duksoo) Palace where it hangs today, the only remaining reminder of this temple's

colorful history.

It is not so easy to trace the history of Chŏngdong in the centuries following its dramatic debut as the theatre of a royal family quarrel. Its favorable location seems, however, to have assured for it more or less continual residence by princely or aristocratic families. Since the large families of Korean kings usually assured the presence of numerous royal princes for whom residences befitting their rank had to be found, it seems not unlikely from what we know that the Chŏngdong area was informally set aside for the residences of some of these. It is said, for example, that Anp'yŏng Taegun, gifted third son of the fourth Yi monarch Sejong (the great sponsor of the Korean alphabet, Hangŭl), lived in the area around the middle of the 15th century. One of the noted calligraphers of his time and a devoted Buddhist, despite the anti-Buddhist tastes of most of his dynasty, his elegant hand-traced pages of Buddhist sutras done in gold on blue paper can still to be seen in various collections, including those of Yonsei University and the author.

Toward the end of the 15th century, Prince Wŏlsan, only brother of the 9th King, Sŏngjong, built a palace for himself where the Tŏksu Palace now stands. It was called the Myŏng'ye or Kyŏng'un Palace. The road between this Palace and the Embassy residence compound is a very recent one; old maps appear to confirm what we might presume from the importance of the palace that the Embassy compound was probably included within its grounds. At the end of the 16th century, this palace achieved much greater prominence. In 1592, the Japanese troops of Hideyoshi invaded Korea and, in the first days of 1593, Japanese troops took Seoul and, before giving it up, burned to the ground the many buildings of the Kyŏngbok Palace which had served since the first years of the dynasty as the seat of government and the royal residence, and also the Ch'angdŏk Palace, of which only the gate, the present Tonwha-mun, survived. The Kyŏngbok palace was not to be repaired until the last half of the nineteenth century. When King Sŏnjo, who had fled to Uiju on the Manchurian border, moved back to Seoul in 1593, he therefore took up residence in Prince Wŏlsan's old palace which had escaped destruction. He continued to live and conduct the government from there until his death in 1608, after which the next ruler, Kwanghae-gun,

rebuilt the Ch'angdök Place as residence and seat of government, moving there in 1611. Even thereafter, Sönjo's widow lived in the Myöng'ye Palace for some years, during which it was called the western palace (Sögun). Thus, for some years, Korea was ruled from Chöngdong. Even if it had not been included in the previous palace, it is certain that the expansion of the old residence which took place to hold the seat of government would have included the Embassy residence land. We can imagine, therefore, that the grounds of Compound 1 hummed with more activity from 1593 until 1608 than they had ever known before, or were to know again until, perhaps, recent years.

Early in the 17th Century, in the 8th year of Kwanghaegun (1616), the Dynastic Annals record that the King (apparently oblivious of the privations brought on the people by the destructive Hideyoshi invasion just passed) pulled down several thousand homes of commoners at the foot of Inwang-san, the handsome mountain west-northwest of the city, summoned a corvée army of Buddhist monks, then a convenient source of forced labor, and built three palaces. The westernmost of these palaces (none of which have lasted into the present day) was the Kyönggi, Kyöngdök or 'Mulberry' Palace which was located just north of the other side of the traffic circle at the old West Gate into which Shinmun-ro runs. This palace lasted into recent times, some of its stones being used today for the steps of the Seoul Boys High School. Its gate, the Hüngwha-mun, was removed by the Japanese in 1932 to form the entrance to the shrine erected in honor of Prince Itō Hirobumi and can still be seen where Changch'un-dong starts up the hill, not far from the entrance to the present Foreign Minister's residence. It is hoped that this colorful landmark will either be moved back to its original location or a reproduction of the original gate built by the West Gate circle, which, in the last decades, has lost all its ancient structures. Hence, at this time, the Embassy residence compound was located between two palaces, if it did not continue to be included in the grounds of one of them. It would thus have been fitting ground for aristocratic residence, though, even as in Seoul today, such residences may have been interspersed with humble dwellings. Much of the area seems to have continued to be considered "state" rather than "private" property.



While we can infer that the Chŏngdong area continued to be used for royal grounds or aristocratic residence from the 17th Century on, we hear comparatively little further about it until the last decades of the 19th Century, although some *yangban* families like the Yŏju Yi-ssi (c.f. Yi Ka-whan, teacher of Chŏng Tasan) are said to have lived here in the eighteenth century. Following the removal of the seat of government to the rebuilt Ch'angdŏk Palace in 1611, the Myŏng'ye Palace gradually declined and, in the 19th century, until its extensive rebuilding from 1897 on, consisted of only a few small buildings in a bad state of repair.<sup>12)</sup> The street, likewise, was very narrow-even more so than now. The palace wall along it was not yet built and in its place the 'alley' was lined with thatched huts and small Chinese stores. The gate to the palace was not in front on the avenue, but at the side on Chŏngdong, just beyond the Ministry of Justice. After 1897, when the palace was expanding, the palace grounds comprised part of the land on which the Seoul Court is now located and a bridge connecting this land with the present Tŏksu Palace grounds was built over Chŏngdong street, the foundations of which still can be traced. Where the Taihanmun, entrance to the present palace, now stands stood a French general store run first by the Rondon family, then by the Plaisants (Mme. Plaisant continued to live in Seoul until 1950.) Behind, along a narrower Chŏngdong street, the palace wall was not yet built (or rebuilt) and a string of thatched huts and stores lined the way like a miniature commercial UN: French, German, several Chinese, even one Russian.

The advent of western influence into Korea was to give the street a new and important role. Apparently sometime during the last two centuries while the Tŏksu Palace was in decline the land must have become partly separated from strictly royal (i.e. state) control and permission given for aristocrats close to the throne to live there. Gradually property rights subject, perhaps, in a general and undefined fashion, to the discretion of the throne, devolved on these *yangban* families. From the fact that the Embassy residence land was purchased from two members of the Min family who become especially prominent from the 1860s on following the marriage of a Min lady to King Kojong, we can infer that this change may have occurred during or following the 1860s, perhaps



about the time that the Kyōngbok Palace (near Compound 2) was being rebuilt under the regent Taewōn-gun, during which time there was little royal interest in the area. At any rate, however, photographs<sup>13)</sup> taken before the turn of the century show an area of fine old trees and sparse settlement, thus indicating that it had been for some time reserved for special and restricted use, in contrast to the neighboring land which was generally deforested and thickly inhabited. If one looks at Seoul even today from neighboring mountains one can still see that, with the palace compounds and fringe areas alone excepted, the Chōngdong area is still the greenest and least crowded of the areas of Seoul.

In 1884, a further change affected the district. Until about 1880, foreigners had been forbidden to reside within the city walls. Early foreign missions had been forced to build outside the gates, the Japanese Legation, for example, being then located between the present West Gate Methodist compound and the Independence arch (the Korean-style building said to have been used by them stood until recent years). With the increase of Western pressure and the number of foreign missions desiring contact with Korea, the King relaxed this rule and appears to have set aside the Chōngdong area for foreign missions. During the period of Korea's independence, most of the foreign missions were concentrated on or near Chōngdong: the United States (1884) and the British (1890), both in their present locations; the French, who later, about 1896, built an imposing legation next to the Ewha High School; the Belgian, located in the one-story brick house (later the music department of the Ewha Girls School) which still stands on Chōngdong just west of the entrance to the Russian Legation (the Belgians later moved to the pillared brick building behind the Dongwha Department Store); the German, in 1889, located on the hill where the Seoul District Court now stands, later built 300-400 yards to the other side of the West Gate circle; the Italian, located some time after 1901 near the 'small West Gate'; and the Russian, most impressively located on the main hill in the area from 1885 on. Thus, Chōngdong was for many years known as Legation Street. The exceptions were the Chinese, located then as now in Myōngdong, and the Japanese, who took advantage of the decline of the old Namin families to buy their land and locate their legation and many other buildings on the lower

slopes of Namsan in the vicinity of the Headquarters of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, west of Korea House. The exact reason why the King reserved Chŏngdong land for foreigners is not known; perhaps it lay partly in the fact that it had, more than most other land, been traditionally at the King's disposal; perhaps the noble families which now lived on part of it had suffered reverses and were willing to sell; not improbably, the King, eyeing with understandable apprehension the gathering clouds of international rivalries and internal strife, wished to have proximate diplomatic haven to which he could flee from the Tŏksu Palace in time of need.

At the time that the first American minister, General Lucius Foote, was negotiating the purchase of the legation properties in 1884, the first American missionaries had not yet arrived. Already in June, however, Mr. Robert S. MacClay, Superintendent of the Methodist Mission in Japan, asked the general to procure a piece of property for the Methodist Mission near the legation; in June, 1884, Mr. and Mrs. MacClay had come to Seoul on a reconnoitering expedition, staying with the general. On September 22, 1884, Horace N. Allen, Presbyterian medical missionary and later American Minister to Korea, arrived and, eschewing the general's somewhat chary hospitality, ate "dogmeat and rice" at a native inn. In the spring of the following year, Dr. H.G. Underwood and Dr. John W. Heron of the Presbyterian Mission and Mr. Henry G. Appenzeller of the Methodist Mission all landed in Korea. It was naturally to the new legation area and the north and south sides of Chŏngdong that they gravitated and started their work. Like the legation itself, much of this work has continued in the same place ever since, unbroken except during the years of World War II. In 1885, the Methodists were able to acquire large tracts of land on the south side of Chŏngdong, purchasing certain of these, as the legation had before them, from aristocratic Korean families whose villas had been located in this area. The Pai Chai property, for example, was purchased from a Mr. An Ki-yong, in whose converted Korean villa the Appenzeller family lived for many years and in which, on November 9, 1885, Alice Appenzeller, the first Western child to be born in Korea, saw the light of day. However, the area was not entirely aristocratic,

for a contemporary observer (M.F. Scranton) wrote in 1896, that the first purchase of property for the Ewha Girls School in October, 1885, consisted of "19 straw huts and an unsightly strip of unoccupied land".<sup>14)</sup> Construction of mission schools was soon begun. In 1886, the Ewha Primary School was built on Chöngdong, Queen Min giving it its name ('pear flower') probably from a Korean villa or pavilion which had been located (near the straw huts) on the spot.<sup>15)</sup> Pai Chai, also founded by the Methodists in 1885, opened on June 8, 1886, and received royal recognition, the King conferring on it the name Pai Chai Hak Tang or 'Hall for the Rearing of Useful Men.' President Rhee was an early student at this school. It continues still in Chöngdong. Following this, the Ewha Girls High School and the Chöngdong Methodist Church, the oldest church building still standing in Seoul, were built on the street. Still later, in 1911~12, Ewha College was founded here, moving to its new properties in Shinch'ön far outside the walls in March, 1935. Meanwhile, on the other side of Chöngdong, Dr. Underwood bought a Korean—style house on the site of the present Grey House, fitted it with some western fixtures, and started holding religious services here. This house so attracted the curiosity of the King that he insisted on purchasing it, occupying it on short notice in the spring of 1904 following the Töksu Palace fire.<sup>16)</sup> Later on, after the Japanese came, the Yi household was induced to part with this and other properties in the area, and the present Grey House was built for missionary residence. In the 1890s Dr. Underwood built a Presbyterian Church on the site of the present Pearson Bible Institute around the corner of Chöngdong on the north side of the Russian Orthodox Compound (the church building no longer exists). Near Grey House the 'Jolly House' was built, and advisors to the Korean government long lived here. As the missionaries became still better established, they built western brick residences in place of the converted Korean houses in which they had first settled. There was even a two-story brick semi-western style house just opposite the U.S. Legation grounds where the Chinese tailor who catered to the community once lived and had his shop. It still survives as a Methodist bible class building. Finally, though now gone, there was the famous gathering place and hotel for Westerners run by Mrs. Sontag, sister-in-law of the Russian Minister, Mr. Waeber, across the street from the extensive grounds of the Russian Legation. After its



removal, a Methodist Training School was built here and its place was taken in the early 1920s by the present Frey Hall built to house Ewha College. Also gone is the old Seoul Union, formerly the Ladies' Lawn Tennis Club, which, with clubhouse and several tennis courts, was long the center of social life of the whole community, business as well as missionary. Until the 1920s, the Union stood just opposite the Chŏngdong Church where the milk factory stands now; its lands included the present Embassy tennis court. Yet most of these old buildings and even others of early vintage still line this one short street. Here missionary work was concentrated and the foreign community clustered together in the strange land. Even today, there is no other street in Korea which so vividly recalls the atmosphere of early western building in the last decades of the 19th century.

The State Department officer coming to the Embassy of 1958 would scarcely recognize the conditions faced by earlier predecessors in Korea. The first American Minister not only faced a lack of habitation but an apparent absence of Departmental funds for buying or renting a residence or offices. The Foreign Service Officer of the age evidently operated more independently of Washington than is now possible. When the Department did not give sufficient funds for renting or purchasing a new residence, its new Minister apparently felt it necessary or more economical to purchase one himself. To add to his discomforts, there were, at the time, almost no Western-style residences in Seoul and no knowledge with which to build them. In facing the prospect of finding suitable quarters in the Seoul of 1883~84, Minister Lucius H. Foote might well have felt aggrieved.

As it happened, however, General Foote proved more than equal to the occasion. The handsome old Californian politician knew a pioneering chance when he saw one and not only found and lived in the legation property but dabbled in real estate generally. One house he originally bought at a low price for the Methodists he then sold to Presbyterian Horace N. Allen in 1884 when veteran Methodist MacClay offended him by overstaying a welcome in Seoul.<sup>17)</sup> In this way, he changed the course



of missionary history by getting the Presbyterians started opposite the Methodists in ChŒngdong. The legation property, too, he managed to turn to good account, not only for the U.S. Government, but for himself; one writer observes that it "was to pay the general handsomely years after he had given up diplomacy."<sup>18)</sup>

The land which the general found behind the TŒksu Palace, well-located and generous-sized, must have looked quite differently from now. The plot did not at that time extend beyond where the present driveway enters the compound; *below and on the TŒksu Palace side were small Korean huts, presumably belonging originally to servants of the proprietors, the Min family.* The present main guest house bedroom wing had an extension which covered the small hillock in front of it; pierced by a roofed gate, it ran over to the building that is now the servants' quarters so that a courtyard was formed in front of the present guest house front steps.<sup>19)</sup>

The street from which the compound is now entered did not then exist nor did the palace wall in its present location, nor, of course, the stone Yi Household Museum building on the palace side of the wall. A small path some feet to the east of the present street later connected the *British Legation with ChŒngdong but went no farther.* A gate east of the present Embassy compound entrance closed this path. Later still—and certainly from 1901~1906 when Mr. H.W. Davison worked there—a one-story, Korean-roofed structure housing the Head Office of Customs jutted into the land where the entrance to the Embassy compound now is and extended eastward to the Ogung-kŒl gate. The compound was then entered by a gate somewhat west of the present entrance to the Embassy tennis court. Just north of the Head Customs Office, running north-south along the compound wall, was a two-story grey brick building used as a *customs warehouse.* *In the upper story of this warehouse was a printing office which issued customs forms; the English-language newspaper "Seoul Press" was also printed there.* Still further north, at about the north-eastern corner of the Embassy compound, stood the residence of the Chief Commissioner of Customs, Sir John McLeavy Brown. This residence was taken down about 1904 when a guest house for the Emperor's Court was

erected at this spot; it was shoddily built, however, and was rarely if ever used for this purpose. In 1906, the Customs offices were moved to a building just inside the Little West Gate. When the stonework for the Granite Building in the Töksu Palace (now the National Museum) was completed in 1910, the southern part of Ogung-köl was moved farther west to its present location and later was carried north along the entire east wall of the Embassy compound at a much lower level than the previous pathway at the north end. It was later still that it was carried beyond toward Chongno. In the beginning, this area a little to the north opposite the Kyōnggi Girls High School, had been a sort of informal red-light district. Unlike Japan, and unlike Korea under Japan, there was no licensed prostitution under the Yi monarchy: there were, nevertheless, areas which served the same function. Ironically enough, the Salvation Army Headquarters now stands on part of this property.

Inside the compound, the present main Embassy guest house was from 1884 until 1948 either the American Legation or the Consulate-General. Across from this entrance by the present gate to the courthouse, Dr. Philip Jaisohn published his famous newspaper, *The Independent*. In back, one of the older and historically more significant features of the compound is the gate at the crest of the hill behind the Ambassador's residence. This gate gave on a path running from the Russian Legation property to the rear walls of the Töksu Palace. This path had been built as a private road by Augustine Heard, then American Minister to Korea, in the summer of 1892 and had been enclosed by a wall and gates on the east and west. The path assumed undue importance because of the political events of the day, since it was a natural egress from the Töksu Palace to the foreign missions. Following the murder of Queen Min at Japanese instigation in the Kyōngbok Palace in 1895, the King lived in constant fear. For sometime, he had three foreigners, Mssrs. Appenzeller, Underwood and Bunker, 'on duty' living in the palace against any contingency and would eat only food received in a locked chest from an American missionary living nearby. Early in 1896, he and the Crown Prince smuggled themselves in women's sedan chairs out of the Kyōngbok Palace and into the Russian Legation, where they lived for about a year. (The King and some of his advisors

felt, not without some reason at the time, that Russia was the only great Western power which could be counted on to be anti-Japanese.) In a document of September, 1897,<sup>20)</sup> the Emperor Kwangmu (the King became an Emperor in this year as a result of Korean independence from China after the Sino-Japanese War) gave the right of way on this path to the American Legation saying that 'my subjects, bearing my messages, shall be allowed to pass this way on showing a ticket or permit by my order.' On February 1, 1898, however, American Minister Allen penned a note to the bottom of the record of this permission saying that "the acceptance of this proposition was withdrawn by the Department of State".<sup>21)</sup> In this as in other matters, the Department kept a wary watch on Allen—who was close to the Emperor, deeply interested in Korea and far more likely to embroil the United States in Korea's complicated rivalries than the Department wished the United States to become.

During his sojourn from 1896~7 in the Russian Legation, the King decided to move his permanent residence from the Kyōngbok to the Tōksu Palace, then known as Kyōng'un-kung.<sup>22)</sup> His motive for this decision was probably his desire to be as close as possible to the foreign legations which he considered his main witnesses and chief potential refuge against Japanese plots. In his move in 1898, the Emperor not only rebuilt but greatly expanded the palace grounds. On the other side of this ridge gate, where Embassy residences are now located and below which the Kyōnggi Girls High School now is, were modest Korean houses which also occupied the other side of the street around, behind and below the Salvation Army Headquarters. The Emperor bought out these smaller properties, tore them down, built Korean-style buildings in many of which the palace women were lodged, and included these premises in the palace. All this property was enclosed by a wall and the Emperor placed a gate at the point where Ogung-kōl broadens just before it debouches into Chongno, thus closing the road to all public traffic. Later, these palace buildings fell into disrepair and, after the Japanese came, the Yi Household was induced to part with all this property, mostly to various Japanese interests. Where the flowers of the Court once dwelt currently live the American Embassy Counselor, Public Affairs Officer, Chief of the Economic Section and



## Press Attache.

Just to the west of the Embassy stands another interesting building, the Seoul Club. This building still belongs to the Yi Household and was apparently built by the King as a palace library, originally named the Chungmyŏng-(jŏn) ('Hall of Heavy Radiance'). To this building, the Emperor moved in April, 1904, following a large fire in the Tŏksu Palace. During the following months, when Japan was steadily winning the Russo-Japanese War and, with it, undisputed hegemony in Korea, the Emperor was glad to be "quite surrounded by American property". "Each day His Majesty walked on United States legation property (a path behind his library); and the timid ruler did his best to create the general impression that he was under Allen's care. American marines contributed to the illusion by standing guard at the legation and before the missionary houses, giving the "unfortunate" appearance of furnishing protection to the emperor.<sup>23)</sup> Here, on November 18th 1905, at 1:00 a.m. Prince Itō forced the signing of the Japanese Protectorate Treaty over Korea. Here again, on July 24, 1907, Prime Minister Yi Wan-yong had audience with the old Emperor, whose abdication the Japanese were forcing, and with the new Emperor, and received their 'assent' (they then had to accept Japanese 'advice') to the signing of an Agreement giving still further sweeping domestic powers to the Japanese.<sup>24)</sup> Legation officials could and did, on such occasions, look over the wall to see what was going on. Willard Straight, American Vice-Consul in Seoul, says of the 1905 signing of the Protectorate Treaty:<sup>25)</sup> "At half past one(a.m.), I went out for a stroll around the compound. There was a rattling of rickshaws and I went below and, looking over the wall, saw that the Japanese were going away. Hasegawa's carriage had already gone ...It seemed impossible, as I stood there in the moonlight behind the hedge, that the fate of a nation had been sealed within fifty yards of where I stood, that an independent Empire of 12,000,000 people had subjected themselves to bullying and exploitation without a struggle. Yet the Ministers had signed."

The background of the legation land itself which Lucius Foote found and of the buildings upon it also had an interesting history. Rumor has it that the main building



—now the Ambassador's residence—originally belonged to the palace itself and had housed one or more of the royal concubines. At the time, however, house and land belonged to members of the Min clan of Yōhŭng, long a yangban family but one which had become especially prominent after the 1860s with the marriage of one of its members to the reigning King, Kojong. It was a time-honored tradition all over the Far East that the family of the queen exercised unusual power, privilege and wealth. Strangely, of all the dozens of members of this numerous family who are well-known to society and history, this particular property belonged to two unusually obscure Mins.<sup>26)</sup> Of the elder one, Min Ke-ho, we know at least something. He was the son of Min Ch'i-san who had been a Home Minister years before and was descended from a long line of distinguished Mins. Min Ke-ho himself had been a Hallim; that is to say, he had, formerly, passed the official examinations, was thus eligible for appointment, had a certain official status and even a small emolument, but was not appointed to any official duties. The deed of sale states that he was a "former Hallim"—i.e., he was, apparently, no longer eligible for appointment. Of the other Min owning a house here, Min Yōng-gyo, we know virtually nothing although records concerning him are reportedly being compiled by the Min family. From his given name, we know that he was of the generation younger than Min Ke-ho; whether a son or a nephew is uncertain. The Min family records have so far contained no mention of descendants of either of these men, no older Mins now living remember hearing of them, nor is there record of whether their houses were built by them, bought or inherited. At any rate, on August 14, 1884, Embassy documents<sup>27)</sup> record that a building of 125 kan and an empty lot of 300 kan (presumably the old legation and its office building, now the Ambassador's larger guest house), was sold to Minister Pokt'ük' (the closest that suitable Chinese ideographs could come to the name 'Foote') for 10,000 ryang by Min Ke-ho. (One kan is six feet square today but was formerly irregular and closer to eight feet square.) On the same date, a lot of 150 kan and a tiled house of 140 kan was sold to Foote by Min Yōng-gyo. Presumably this latter was the present Embassy residence. Due in part to the fiscal policies of the regent Taiwōn-kun who had flooded the country with discarded Chinese cash and

a spurious Korean coinage, there was great monetary confusion at the time and two kinds of ryang, one worth far more than the other, and neither with a constant value so that it is not easy to calculate the exact value of 10,000 ryang;<sup>28)</sup> it is apparent that it must have been under \$2,000. Foote paid for it with his own funds. Four year later, a more formal deed was issued at the Seoul City Office and the land was recorded as sold 'forever' on January 26 in the 'Year of Our Lord' (sic), 1888.<sup>29)</sup> Even before this confirming deed, however, on September 22, 1887, Lucius H. Foote of San Francisco, (he had already resigned and returned to the United States late in 1885), sold to the U.S. Government for \$4,400 the land "known as U.S. legation property and all buildings and improvements thereon."<sup>30)</sup>

The property thus sold was not the entire land of the present residence in Compound 1. An Embassy document of September 10, 1884,<sup>31)</sup> records that a Kim Kamjok (Kamjok is a minor position title) sold the legation nine kan of thatched and six kan of tiled houses and 20 kan of land, all for 140 ryang. In view of the small size it seems likely that this was one small house, partly thatched and partly tiled. Another Embassy document tells that, in June, 1890, or the 16th Year of Kuang Hsü (the document dates the year in accordance with the reign of the contemporary Chinese Emperor since Korea was then still a tribute state), Kim Yŏng-bo, 'land-owner', sold a vegetable garden of four p'an to the American Legation for 3,500 ryang. As evidence of his ownership of this land and his deed, Mr. Kim produced the oldest and most interesting document still in the possession of the American Embassy. It is a single sheet of handmade white paper written swiftly and informally in Chinese ink which reveals that on the 20th of September, 1881, Min sold the vegetable garden to his slave Kim. The word 'slave' is not used but it is implicit; for at the end of the document stands, in eloquent simplicity, the appellation 'Sangjŏn Min' ('Master Min'). The yangban not only used an appellation which clearly implied his mastership over the other man, but was too dignified to use either his own or the slave's personal name on a document recording a transaction with his household slave. 'You paid the regular price for that vegetable land so I am selling it to you,' he says, using Korean condescending terms. Not even the price is mentioned.

Yet we can feel in this interesting vignette from Korea's social history some stirrings of change. The slave did, after all, as he could not have earlier, come to own the land of his master. Some years later, he could sell it at a profit. Though we cannot locate his descendants today, somehow we feel that they were on the way up. While of the descendants of his once noble owners no record has yet come to light.

At any rate, the property was bought and in it, in 1884, America's Legation in Korea started operations in the property of Mr. Foote. Though the Pai Chai School, at which President Rhee was an early student, started across the street only shortly thereafter, the legation property must have been about the first in the area, or in Korea, for that matter, to have been sold to Western—or at least to American—owners. It was also one of the very few properties at that time or since which was sold to Westerners but retained its essentially Korean character; all other legation and missionary properties in this and most other areas were rebuilt afresh as Western structures. Finally, this residence has been in the possession of the United States Government a longer time than any other ambassador's residence owned by the United States anywhere in the world. While in earlier years not always well repaired nor overly large (the Department had to inform six foot tall Minister Allen that he should not wear his hat in the house) and often the despair of its occupants,<sup>32)</sup> it has generally served the Department well. At least one former Consul General who lived here chose his house of retirement in the United States because of the resemblance of its living room to that of this residence. Above all, Korean visitors feel at home here. Well they should: from Queen's grave and Buddhist temple ground through palace precinct, noble villa and the vegetable garden of a slave, the residence and its grounds cut a deep swath through the history of Seoul and of Korea.

#### FOOTNOTES

- 1) Umehara Sueji and Fujita Ryōsaku, *Chōsen Kobunka Sōkan*, Nara and Kyoto, 1948, Vol II, "Lolang", p. 15. The illustrations and their explanations both in this volume and in Vol. III, 1958, also on Lolang, exemplify the contrast in number and quality between the objects discovered in the Lolang capital area and those discovered elsewhere in the peninsula.



- 2) The material for this brief survey comes generally from *Hyangt'o Seoul*, published by the Seoul City Compilation Committee, Kim Yŏng-sang, Editor, Seoul, 1957, Vol. 1, pp. 11 and following. Thanks are also due Mr. Kim for generously answering many questions.
- 3) For interpretation, here, I am grateful to Professor Yi Pyeang Do, Seoul National University.
- 4) *Keijo-Fu-shi (History of Seoul City)*, City Government of Seoul, 1934, Vol 1. p.146. The chŏk is a modern equivalent of the ancient measurement used.
- 5) Kim Wŏn-yong, "Sŏkki Sidae ūi Seoul", in *Hyangt'o Seoul*, pp. 34~49.
- 6) *Seoul Saryŏ Ch'ongsŏ Tongguk Yŏji Pigo*, Seoul City Compilation Committee Publication No. 1, Seoul, 1955, p. 72; a famous Yi dynasty geographical work, here republished, describing Seoul, devotes a paragraph to Hŭngch'ŏn-sa and its predecessor temple from which all following information on the temple comes.
- 7) Ibid.
- 8) Keijo Fu-shi, Vol I, p. 222 states that the tomb was in the neighborhood of the broadcasting station and the Girls High School.
- 9) We understand that there were plans to remove this bridge and reconstruct it in the grounds of the Ch'angdŏk Palace but that these plans are still uncertain.
- 10) *Seoul Saryo Ch'ongso* p. 72.
- 11) Ibid.
- 12) For this and the following information, I am indebted to the late Dr. Hugh Cynn (Shin Hŭng-wu), who grew up in this region in this period.
- 13) E.g. *Keijo Fu-shi*, Vol. II, p.310.
- 14) Rosetta Sherwood Hall(ed.) *The Life of Rev. William James Hall, M.D.*, New York, 1897, pp. 228~30, who also gives a picture of "Ewa Hak Tang" and notes, appreciatively, that "barren sands have become a grassy lawn and the stony lane and foul gutters have been hidden away under green terraces."
- 15) Mr. Shin Bong-jo, Principal, Ewha High School, states that it is certain that Queen Min bestowed the name on the school, but whether it was from the name of the villa or from the spotless character attributed to the pear blossom and, by analogy, to the character of girls in many Chinese poems, is uncertain. Perhaps it was a little of both.
- 16) Fred Harvey Harrington, *God, Mammon and the Japanese*, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1944, pp. 110~111 gives a fuller version, with a different motive: "In 1903 His Majesty's eye fell on the Underwood establishment. The timid monarch was in search of a safe palace site; he could not have failed to note that the land...was surrounded on three sides by the protected American legation. Underwood...rejected the Emperor's offer. Thereupon His Majesty called on Allen and asked the minister to order Underwood to sell. Allen refused, on the ground that he had no power to coerce Americans...Having thus defended principle...the diplomat managed to persuade his missionary friend to yield." However, having purchased the property, the king delayed moving while Dr. Underwood looked for new quarters. This delay was brought abruptly to an end by the great Tŏksu palace fire early in 1904.
- 17) L. George Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea 1832~1910*,

Pyeng Yang, 1929, pp. 89~90, gives insight into both the general and his real estate dealings: "The property which Allen acquired for his mission was originally occupied by a man who was murdered during the mutiny of 1882. This had been left unoccupied, for it was believed to be haunted." (cited from *The Foreign Missionary*, Vol 42, No. 8, January, 1886, p. 324.) (Although not noted, it is highly probable that the house was a tempting bargain because of its uncomfortable spiritual situation; later, after the suicide of Min Yŏng Whan following the signing of the Protectorate Treaty of 1905, the French Legation was tempted by a similar lowness of price to buy Min's villa at the West Gate, where the present French Embassy is still located.) To continue with the citation: "When Maclay visited Seoul in June, 1884, he and his wife occupied the house and expressed to the American Minister the desire to purchase it for his mission...Dr. Allen made the following entry in his diary in regard to this purchase, recording the Minister's conversation with him: "I will frankly tell you the fact in this case. Last summer an old man, Dr. Maclay of Japan, thrust himself upon us and so pestered me that I finally agreed to get this property for him to start a mission upon."

- 18) Harrington p. 11.
- 19) For almost all of the following paragraph, I am indebted to Mr. Henry William Davidson, father of Mrs. Horace Underwood, and long-time resident of the Chŏngdong area during much of this period. He supervised the construction of the present National Museum building, then the Granite Palace of the Yi Emperors in the Tŏksu Palace grounds.
- 20) Original document in possession of the American Embassy, Seoul.
- 21) A further informal paper attached to the above.
- 22) For information in this paragraph, I am again indebted to Dr. Hugh Cynn.
- 23) Harrington op. cit. pp. 320~21.
- 24) *Keijo Fu-shi* Vol. II, pp. 21~22.
- 25) Herbert Croly *Willard Straight*, The MacMillan Co. N.Y. 1925, p. 182 here quotes Straight's diary for November 18, 1905.
- 26) In obtaining this information, I have consulted members of the Min family and am indebted to Mr. Yŏ Un-hong for further consultations. Further records which may throw more light on Min Yŏng-gyo are said to be in process of collection and editing by the Min family office.
- 27) Deeds of sale in possession of the Embassy.
- 28) The ryang in question seems to have been the Chinese liang, then used widely in Korea. Native Korean ryang was not issued until 1898 and 1899 (H.W. Davidson). The later ryang was worth about 10 cents. Perhaps the price paid by Foote would have been closer to \$1,000 than \$2,000 if it was, as Harrington put it (note 16 above) "to pay the general handsomely" when he sold this plus the 3,500 ryang property for \$4,400 in 1887.
- 29) Deed of sale in possession of the Embassy.
- 30) Ibid.
- 31) Ibid.
- 32) Harrington p. 258 even says of the residence; "Uncomfortable and unpretentious, it inevitably suggested to the Koreans that the United States could with impunity be ignored." The residence has, it might be noted, been extensively enlarged and repaired since.

## The names of Seoul or settlements near its

site: Hapuk Uirye-sǒng 河北慰禮城

Hanyang 漢 陽

Yangju 楊 州

Namkyǒng 南 京

Hanyangbu 漢 陽 府

Hansǒng 漢 城

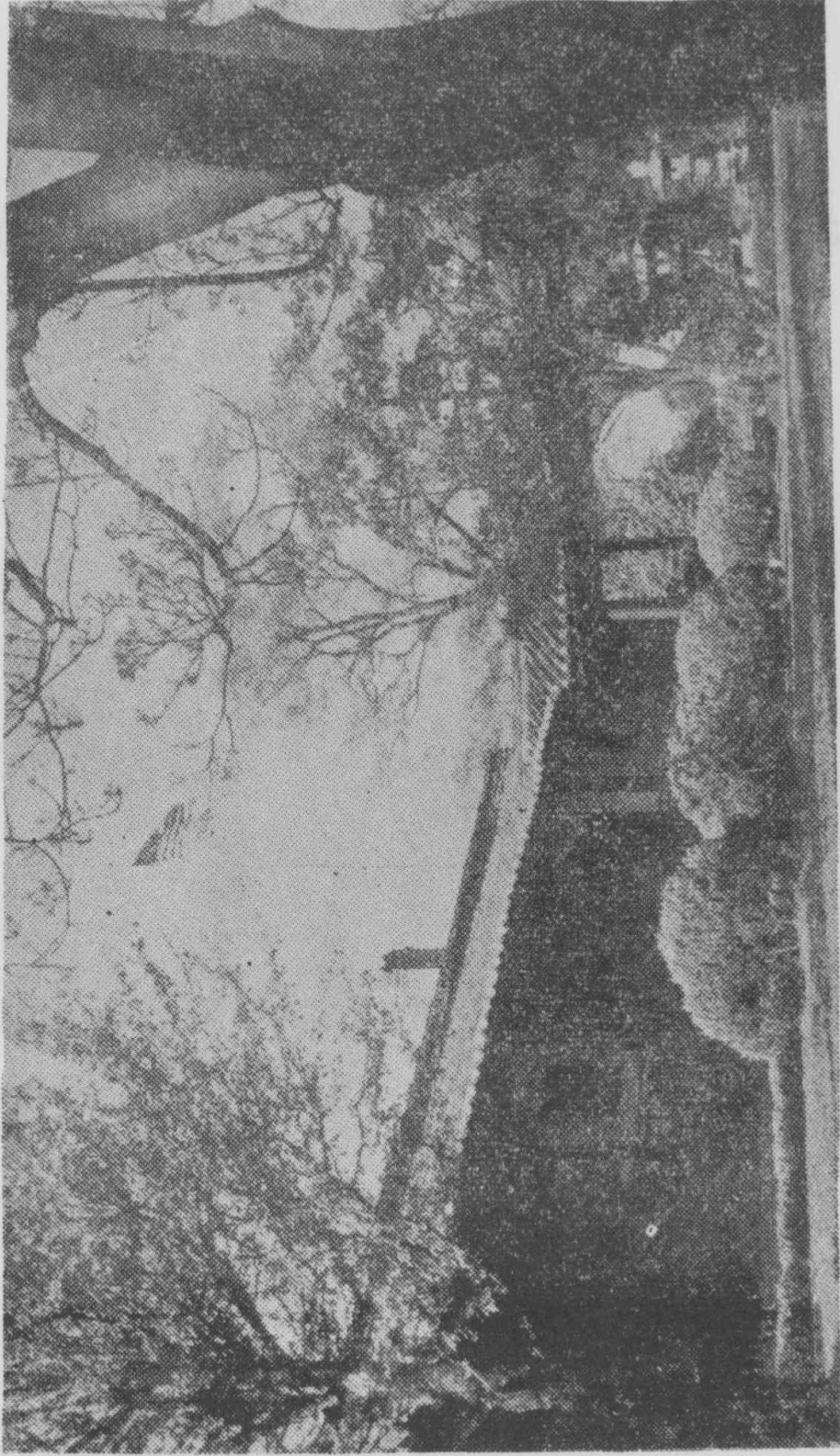
Kyǒngsǒng 京 城

Seoul 서 울





Rear View of American Embassy Residence



The American Embassy Residence, Chongdong, Seoul, 1884— Present.





PREPARE

**Census-taking under the Yi Dynasty**

By

**Lee Kwang-rin (李光麟)**

**Yonsei University**



## PREFACE

In a self-sufficient agricultural economy, such as existed in Korea during the Yi Dynasty, a complete census is essential to the government in order to tap the most important sources of revenue. The government during the Yi Dynasty, therefore, placed special emphasis on taking censuses. Every three years the government made tabulations of the population and kept the records in a census office. In most cases the military draft and labor mobilization were based upon the census.

However, most commoners, being burdened with large taxes and corvées, were scarcely able to feed their families. When official pressure became too great, they actually dared to evade taxes and corvées by taking refuge with overlords. As a result, the census was not taken in good order, so that, even though a census were taken, only half or less of the actual population was included.

In order to solve this problem the government was forced to enact a number of new regulations. The Hop'ae System (號牌法, Identity Tag System) and the Ogat'ong System (五家統法, Five Households System) were devised in order to reinforce the effectiveness of the census taking.

In this paper I shall briefly examine the fundamental system of census taking and then the subsidiary systems, the Hop'ae System and the Ogat'ong System.



## I. THE SYSTEM OF CENSUS-TAKING

The laws of both the Silla (新羅) and Koryŏ (高麗) kingdoms were mainly administered according to the imported T'ang Code.<sup>1)</sup>

On the subject of the census the T'ang Code states:

"Every three years the government shall take a census. It shall begin in January and be finished by March. <sup>2)</sup>

"The Chi Chang (計帳, The Census Report) was made every year, and the register once every three years. These were sent to the prefecture and then to the province and finally to the census office"<sup>3)</sup>

These articles show that during the T'ang Dynasty of China a regular register of the census was made once every three years while a report was made every year.

According to the *Koryŏsa*,

"A census of the nobles was made every three years without fail. Once it was made, one copy of the register was kept by the government office and one copy by each noble family.

"Each year in the ordinary prefectures and sub-prefectures the officials made records of the population and sent them to the census office."<sup>5)</sup>

One scholar, basing his opinion on these quotations from the *Koryŏsa*, has asserted that the census for the noble class was made once every three years while the common and lower classes were registered yearly, thus emphasizing an apparent discrimination against these two classes.<sup>6)</sup> Since the Koryŏ laws, however, followed closely laws of the T'ang we need not assume strong emphasis on class discrimination. Rather, it should be assumed that a regular census was held every three years throughout the country, and every year in the local districts the

officials made records of the population in order to obtain accurate information, regardless of the class.

This system was carried on throughout the Yi Dynasty. In the reign of King Yönsan-gun (燕山君 1495~1505 A.D.), some officials presented a memorial to the King, stating that the census should be enacted every six or nine years in order to simplify official business. But the King did not allow this to be done.<sup>7)</sup> In effect, from the first to the last days of the Yi Dynasty, the census was taken every three years.

Let us now examine the rules governing the census. Each householder was required to report on his family in detail.<sup>8)</sup> Thereupon, each village headman collected the householders' reports and sent them on to the official of the *gun* 郡, county. On receiving the reports from village headmen, the officials established a temporary census office in their *gun* and made a copy of the report on good paper.<sup>9)</sup> Afterwards, they compiled "the official register (戶口正單)." The contents of the official register were as follows:<sup>10)</sup>

"Each housholder must write his address, official post, age, clan, and the names of his four consanguinal ancestors; if he has a wife, he must also write her name, her age, her clan and the names of her four consanguinal ancestors.

"Each member of the royal family must indicate his rank, the names of his four consanguinal ancestors and the name of the royal personage to whom he is married.

"The ordinary citizen is required to indicate his name, the name of his wife, and the names of the four consanguinal ancestors both from his family and hers. The common man who does not know exactly the names of his four ancestors is excused from giving full information.

"Persons living with a householder are required to give their ages. (In the case of a son-in-law, he is required to give his clan name as well.)"

“Slaves and artisans living with a householder are required to indicate their ages.”

When we examine this register, we can easily see the points of discrimination between the upper and lower classes. The upper class registration required them to show their official ranks and they were required to carry around an identification certificate. This certificate made it difficult to evade military service and taxes.

In the capital, two copies of the register were made. One was kept in the census office and the other in the city hall. In the local districts three copies were made, one being kept in the census office of the *gun*.<sup>11)</sup>

The registers of the entire country were delivered to the official historian to record in the official annals.<sup>12)</sup> Provincial governors who did not send in the registers within the legal period were liable to cross-examination. Officials of prefectures and *gun* were liable to dismissal from their posts.<sup>13)</sup>

However, the system of census taking was not as effectively practised as it should have been. There were many violators of the law. At first the people floated to and fro without registration in order to evade taxes and services. Nevertheless the King took sterner action by promulgating the following edict:

“The registered population is decreasing day by day due to the increasing population of unregistered wanderers who do not possess a fixed estate of their own. Therefore, after the completion of official registration, there should be no wandering household for any reason. If any householder violates the law, he will be punished with one hundred strokes of a heavy rod, and the remainder of his family will be punished likewise. If the village headman should fail to report it immediately to his superior authority, he will be subjected to seventy strokes of a heavy rod. If the county superintendent should fail to persuade the family to return to its original address, and should receive them in his region, or if he should fail to trace the reason why the family



left its own region, he will receive sixty strokes of a heavy rod and lose his office."<sup>14)</sup>

Although the government tried its best to keep its floating population settled by devices, the confusion and turmoil of the times always impeded its progress. Checking stations had to be established on the provincial borders in order to prevent the ever-rising number of violators.<sup>15)</sup> Almost every year the government had to take stricter and stricter action.

On the other hand, even though the people were registered in the census, they committed crimes like the following:<sup>16)</sup>

- (1) Misreporting of households (漏戶)
- (2) Misreporting of adult members (漏丁)
- (3) Avoidance of registration (漏籍)
- (4) False reporting of ages (增減年歲)
- (5) Reporting of nonexistent households (虛戶)
- (6) Forgery of registration (冒錄)

The last item was the one causing the most social disorder and administrative confusion, for a great number of the common people voluntarily placed themselves under the protection of the rich and the powerful in order to avoid their obligations of military service and corvée.<sup>17)</sup>

The rapid development of large-scale farming in the Yi Dynasty demanded a large number of slaves. Some of the landowners did not hesitate to take away the slaves of other landowners, or illegally employ the common people, changing their control. In this way, some kept several hundred or more slaves on their plantations.<sup>18)</sup> Unfortunately the officials as well as the people compiled dishonest registers. The village headman, representing the common people, would attempt to report a falsely reduced number of village men, at the same time bribing the officials in charge of the census, all of which resulted in a low potential corvée.<sup>19)</sup> In order to check such malpractice, whenever the census was taken the government sent supervisors to the local districts. The government particularly recommended nobles as inspectors.<sup>20)</sup>

However, even in the halcyon days of the Yi Dynasty, according to the national census statistics of the time of Sejong (世宗) (1419~1450 A.D.), the registered population was scarcely one-tenth of the actual population of the time.<sup>21)</sup>

Thus, the government had to use subsidiary systems to obtain a full census report.

## II. DEVELOPMENT OF THE SUBSIDIARY SYSTEMS

### a. The Hop'ae System

The government officials found that the regular census taking was never entirely successful and was likely to continue to fail. They wanted, however, to record the population at any cost. At last a system was instituted which required each adult male to carry with him a small piece of wood. The tag was given by the government after registration had been accomplished. This was called the Hop'ae System and was first enforced in September of the thirteenth year of King T'aejong (太宗) (1413). Such a system was used during five different periods of the Yi Dynasty.<sup>22)</sup> The regulations of the first enactment were:<sup>23)</sup>

#### (1) *Style:*

Length: 3 ch'on 7 pun (三寸七分) (4.4 inches)  
 Width: 1 ch'on 3 pun (一寸三分) (1.5 inches)  
 Thickness: 2 pun (二分) (0.2 inches)  
 Shape: upper part round, lower part square.

For officials above the second grade the tag is made of ivory.

For officials above the fourth grade the tag is made of deer horn.

For officials above the fifth grade the tag is made of yellow poplar.

For officials above the seventh grade the tag is made of birch.

Upper grade officials are allowed to use materials

of lower grade tags but the lower grade officials are not permitted to use those of upper grade tags.

For common people and the lower class the tag can be made of any kind of wood.

In the capital the procedure is conducted by the Han sŏng Bu (漢城府, Seoul City Hall). In the provinces, it is conducted by the local officials. The tag is made and presented to the office by the owner himself and then the officials brand the government seal on it. Those who can not make the tags by themselves are ordered to present pieces of wood with which the tags can be made and the tags are then made by public artisans.

(2) Inscriptions on the Tags:

On the tags of officials of the second grade and above, only the official rank is written, regardless of whether the official is serving or retired.

On the tags of serving officials of the third grade, the official rank is written.

On the tags of retired officials of the third grade, and on those of the lower officials, the name, address and title of their post, are written.

On the tags of common people the same items as above are required. In addition the complexion is to be stated.

On the tags of military servicemen, the company to which they are attached and height of the serviceman are to be written.

On the tags of slaves, working place, age, address, complexion, and height are to be recorded.

All the tags are branded with an iron seal except those of high ranking officials.

(3) Provisions:

On the first day of October the government will proclaim an order and admonish the people to follow the regulations. On the eleventh day of the month making and distributing the tags will begin. By the



朝  
督  
書

號牌事目

先行號牌事已為

啓下矣應行事目磨鍊後錄為白字錄單

自造牌等項規式別錄以

啓略便舉行為白去乎依此使內白乎矣此

是重大舉措且係新立科條移文議政府

兩司署經後印出

頒布中外舉行何如

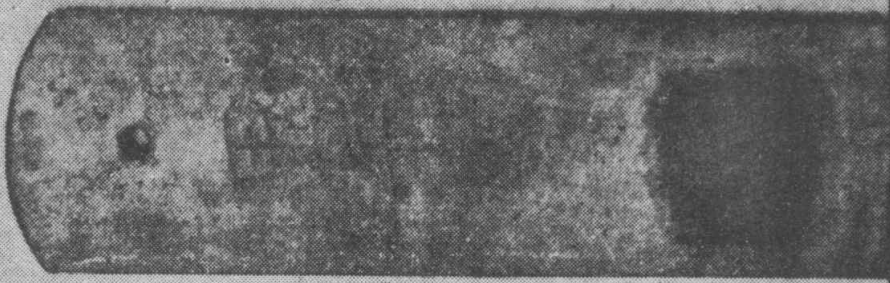
後



The first page of the Hop'ae Regulations in the Fourth Enactment preserved in the Central Library, Seoul National University

生巳巳鑄載方  
仕人申丙

Ivory Tag—Front



Wooden Tag—Back



Deer-horn Tag—Back



first day of December the distribution of tags will be completed.

If any one has no tag, he shall be punished with a heavy penalty.

After the period of distribution, one is to report any person found with no tag to the government. The offender shall be punished in accordance with the provisions of the law.

Any one that lends or borrows a tag shall be punished with a penalty mitigated by two degrees.

For wandering persons the above punishment shall be mitigated by one degree.

For village headmen and local officials who do not investigate and send these wanderers back home the penalty shall be mitigated by two degrees. For frontier guards and ferrymen who let persons without tags pass, the above punishment shall be mitigated by two degrees.

Whosoever loses his tag and does not report the fact to the office shall be punished with the light rod for disobedience.

Persons who are above seventy and under ten years of age do not fall within the purview of the enforcement.

At first the system was fully carried out. Many people obtained their hop'ae for fear they would offend the authorities.<sup>24)</sup> But soon the government found that people were abusing the system, and new detailed regulations were made. However, again the system proved to be a failure, the result of many cases of misuse.

The first problem was that many people forged the hop'ae with false statements of age, and social caste, in order to avoid heavy corvées and long military service. Even though a forger was subject to the death penalty,<sup>25)</sup> forgery continued. At this period of the enforcement of the system jails throughout the country were full of



violators of the Hop'ae System.<sup>26)</sup>

The second problem was that many commoners became private slaves (私賤). The advantage of being private slaves under the protection of the nobles was the exemption from regular levies, corvées and military service. During the Yi Dynasty, private slaves were required to register as members of the household of their masters.<sup>27)</sup> In December of the accession year of King Yejong (睿宗) (1468), Kim Chil (金磧), a government official, stated the following:<sup>28)</sup>

“Since the Hop'ae System was enforced, the government has required commoners to show a certificate of the census which gives proof of their common status. If the certificate were genuine, the government gave them their identity tag. However, when the government pressed the commoners and public slaves, who had escaped the census, to show their certificates, a number of these people hastened to become private slaves under the safeguard of the overlords. Therefore, it can be said of this period that the Hop'ae System was the very system which increased slaves in overlords' houses.”

He went on to say,

“In our country the Hop'ae System was enforced in order to gain control over the commoners. On the contrary, the official number of commoners has gradually decreased, while the nobles have acquired more slaves.”

The above shows how the Hop'ae System created a problem. Again and again the government proclaimed laws to prevent such illegalities. For example, the government gave notice that anyone who violated the law, regardless of the distinction of his status, should be exiled to the border and anyone who reported the offenders to the government should be given rewards.<sup>28)</sup> But the officials themselves made false reports and gave the commoners shelter in their houses.<sup>30)</sup> Even the top officials who supervised the entire system contributed to the offence by allowing commoners to become private slaves.<sup>31)</sup> According to a petition filed by an official, Chu Kye-jōng Sim-wōn (朱溪正深源) in April of the ninth year of King Sōngjong (成

宗)(1478) we read:<sup>32)</sup>

“At present, eighty or ninety per cent of the population are private slaves, and only ten to twenty per cent are ordinary citizens.”

The system itself, therefore, was quite ineffective.

The third problem was as follows: In the twelfth year of King Sejo (世祖) (1467) Yi Si-ae (李施愛), who protected hundreds of commoners in his house, led the people of Hamgyōng Province in a rebellion against the government. At that time, the policy of the government was to restore the commoners to their former status, freeing them from the custody of the nobles and overlords.<sup>33)</sup>

The system was enforced only when an emergency called for it. Anyone who registered in the census and acquired a tag was called into service. People, therefore, wished to escape their burden and turned their backs on the government. Thus, the enemy was able to occupy the country without difficulty. The Hop'ae System was one of the significant causes of the disorders of that time.<sup>34)</sup>

#### b. The Ogat'ong System

This system required that every five households, regardless of social caste, organize one administrative unit and make every household in the unit responsible for matters of census taking, of corvée, of taxation and of criminality. It has been considered as a local self-governing machinery, but in fact the system was controlled by the Seoul government to make centralization of administration effective through mutual responsibility. It did not originate in the Yi Dynasty, but was adapted from the Chinese system. In China the system had been carried out under the names of Li-chia (里甲制) and Pao-chia (保甲制) from earlier times. Japan also had borrowed this system from China and practised it strictly as the Gonin-kumi System (五人組制度) in the Edo period (江戸時代). The Yi Dynasty in its early decades, following the example of China's Li-chia System (里甲制), instituted the Inbo

Chǒngjang System (隣保正長法). This system let every three to ten individual households organize one administrative unit and elect a trustworthy and capable man among the unit members, made him Chǒngjang (正長) and commissioned him to look after all the problems occurring in his unit, ranging from the responsibility of reporting to his superior office newcomers into his unit and those who left for other places, to the dutiful notice of births and deaths.<sup>35)</sup> Soon after, this system came to be called the Ogat'ong System.

According to the *Kyōngguk Taejōn* (經國大典, the legal code of the Yi Dynasty), which was completed during the reign of Sōngjong (成宗) (1470~1494), we find:<sup>36)</sup>

“Both in the capital and in the districts, every five households make a unit and elect a unit head (統主), and in the district every five units are placed under a village headman (里長) who is the highest administrative official in the village.”

Unfortunately the enforcement of this law was not successful in the early period of the Yi Dynasty. After the Hideyoshi invasions (1592~1598) and the Ch'ing invasions of 1627 and 1636, however, this system was enforced strongly in order to prevent commoners from evading government taxation and corvée in the disorderly situation of the times.

This system was seriously discussed during the reign of King Hyojong (孝宗) (1650~1659)<sup>37)</sup> and from the first year of King Sukjong (肅宗) (1675), it came into force as law. The executive power of the system was given to the Pibyōnsa (備邊司, Department of National Border Defence) and was drafted as a series of laws amounting to twenty-one articles for the purpose of successful enforcement of the system.<sup>38)</sup> Here is a selection of some of the typical articles contained in the laws:

“Every five households, regardless of the size of the individual households or the financial differences between them, should form one unit (統) and the head of the unit should administer the public affairs of the unit.”



"A small village (小里) will be comprised of five to ten units; a middle village (中里) eleven to twenty units; and a large (大里) village twenty-one to thirty units. Each village should choose a headman who will be the responsible public servant of his village."

"At the end of every year, every head of a unit shall compile a report of births and deaths and submit it to the office of the village, and the head of the village to the district office, and the head of the district to the county office, and the head of the county to the provincial governor. But in the case of strangers coming into any unit, on the contrary, they should be reported immediately to the related offices. In the case of false reporting of ages, or incorrect descriptions of the titles of obligatory services to the government found in annual reports, the persons responsible for the false and incorrect reports shall be punished according to the laws."

"When a male citizen reaches sixteen years of age he should submit a personal family report to the village headman describing his address, occupation, name, and age on a thick paper prepared by the government for the purpose. After the approval of the headman, the paper should secure a seal of approval from the government. Without having this certificate, no person shall be allowed to enter public office, nor will he receive any government protection whatsoever—e.g. the right to appeal to the courts. Public and private slaves should write down the names of their employers. Anyone who does not possess a certificate should apply, in writing, for a new registration form to the responsible office. Any person who does not possess a certificate at all will be accused as a deliberate evader of the law."

"If a member of any unit should intentionally neglect to report on strangers coming into his unit or should report falsely, all households of the unit will be accused as joint violators of the law. Moreover, the head of the unit will be severely questioned. If the head of a village, after receiving such a report from one of his units, should fail to refer the fact

to his superior office, he will be accused as a violator according to the regulations."

"No person will be admitted to any new community without obtaining an official approval from the office of the district in which he wishes to reside. An immigrant who does not follow the required procedure will not escape the penalties of confinement or of questioning according to the laws. A person who receives any stranger from outside his own district without passing through the legal procedures required will also be guilty."

It seems that the system provided sufficient regulations for the conducting of a census. At that time the political factionalism intensified and much confusion was brought to the government. According to the Left Councillor (左議政) Cho Hyönmyōng's (趙顯命) memorial to the king, in 1749 we find that the Ogat'ong System remained nominal only, not being enforced.<sup>39)</sup> Therefore it was not as successful nor effective as had been expected.

While this system failed it is remarkable that such civil cooperative units as the the Hyangyak (鄉約, a type of cooperative) and Kye (契, a mutual loan system) were quite popular among the commoners throughout the Yi Dynasty. The main reason for the difference is that the Ogat'ong System did not serve to protect the benefits of the commoners.

## CONCLUSION

We have given a brief survey of the census taking systems of the Yi Dynasty. By experimenting with various kinds of supplementary regulations, the government did not spare any efforts to make the system fully effective. However, such efforts were in vain. Even though successful census taking records could produce the favorable result of rapid promotion for the local administrative officials, the result of the enforcement of the system was always less than expected. The failure of the system was not due solely to the unwillingness of the people to cooperate but rather due to the confusion and inconsistency of the social, political, and economic structures of the time.

However, the military service system gradually changed. From the early seventeenth century persons were exempted from military service by paying cotton fabrics to the government.<sup>40)</sup> Instead of conscription, the government hired soldiers. Therefore, the census register and the hop'ae were regarded merely as certificates showing the different social castes and as a result, from that time on, census taking was more or less regularly carried out.<sup>41)</sup>

## FOOTNOTES

1. cf. Chŏn Pong-dŏk 田鳳德, *Sillaüi Yullyŏnggo* 新羅의 律令考 (A Study of Silla Law), *Universites Seoulensis Collectio Theseon*, Humanitas, Scientia Socialis 서울大學校論文集 人文社會科學, Vol. 4, Seoul 1956, 10 pp. 311~358  
and  
Hanamura Miki 花村美樹, *Korai Ritsu* 高麗律 (The Koryŏ Penal Codes), *Chosen Shakai Hoseisi Kenkyu* 朝鮮社會法制史研究, compiled by Keijo Teikoku Daigaku Hogakkai 京城帝國大學法學會, Seoul 1937, pp. 3-127.
2. T'ang-Ling Shih-i 唐令拾遺, Bk. 9 (戶令).
3. T'ang-Liu-tien 唐六典, Bk. 3 (戶部員 外郎條).
4. *Koryŏ-sa* 高麗史 (History of the Koryŏ Dynasty), Vol. 1, Bk. 79, p. 2a. (Citation from ed. Yonsei University Press, Seoul 1956) (卷七十九 食貨志二 戶口條).
5. *Ibid.* p. 3b.
6. Paek Nam-un 白南雲, *Chosŏn Ponggŏn Sahoe Kyŏngjesa* 朝鮮封建社會經濟史 (Economic History of the Korean Feudalistic Society), Tokyo, 1937, p. 298.
7. *Yŏnsan-gun Ilgi* 燕山君日記, Bk. 29, p. 19b (卷二十九 燕山君四年五月 庚申條).



8. *Sejong Sillok* 世宗實錄, Bk. 40, 16a (卷四十 世宗十年五月 癸丑條).
  9. cf. *Mongmin Simsŏ* 牧民心書, (The Rules for the Conduct of Local Officials Written by Chŏng Tasan 丁茶山 (1762~1818), Bk. 6 (戶典 戶籍考).
  10. *Kyŏngguk Taejŏn* (經國大典, The Legal Code of the Yi Dynasty), compiled in 1485 Bk. 3 (禮典戶口式條)
  11. *Ibid.* Bk. 2. (戶典戶籍條).
  12. *Soktaejŏn* (續大典, The Supplementary Legal Code of the Yi Dynasty), compiled in 1747, Bk. 2 (戶典戶籍條).
  13. *Ibid.*
  14. *T'aejo Sillok* 太祖實錄, Bk. 4, 13b (卷四 太祖二年十一月條).
  15. *Sejong Sillok* 世宗實錄, Bk. 74, 13a. (卷七十四 世宗十八年八月庚)
  16. *Soktaejŏn* 續大典, Bk. 2 (卷二 戶典戶籍條). In each item listed, the penal regulations are also provided in detail.
  17. *Sŏngjong Sillok* 成宗實錄, Bk. 240, 13a. (卷二四〇 成宗二十一年五月丙寅條). In regard to such a social phase, see Suto Yoshiyuki, 周膝吉之 "Raimatsu-Sensho ni okeru No-So ni tsuite 麗末鮮初に於ける農莊に就いて". (On the Manor from the Last Days of Koryŏ to the Early Days of the Yi Dynasty), *Seikyu Kakso* 青丘學叢, No. 17, Seoul 1934.
  18. *Sŏngjong Sillok* 成宗實錄, Bk. 40, 9a (卷四十 成宗五年三月庚戌條).
  19. Referring to *Mongmin Simsŏ* 牧民心書, Bk.6 (卷六 戶典 戶籍條), we find an interesting quotation, that is, the officials of the personnel section in the subprefectures were considered by all as in the most profitable position, but whenever the census was taken the officials in charge of the census were second to none.
  20. *Soktaejŏn* 續大典, Bk. 2. (卷二 戶典 戶籍條).
  21. *Sejong Sillok*, Bk. 148, 5a (卷一四八 地理志 京畿條) 本朝人口之法不明錄于籍者 僅十之一二…….
  22. cf. Lee, Kwang-rin 李光麟, "Hop'aeŏgo—Kŭ Silsi Pyŏnjŏnŭl Chungsimuro 號牌考—그 實施變遷을 中心으로". (A Study of the Hop'ae System from the Viewpoint of Enforcements and Changes), *Paek Nak-chun Paksa Hwanyŏk Kinyŏm Kukhak Nonch'ŏng* 白樂濬博士還曆記念 國學論叢, Seoul 1955, pp. 551~612.
- The five times the Hop'ae System were enacted are:
- |     |           |
|-----|-----------|
| 1st | 1413~1416 |
| 2nd | 1460~1469 |
| 3rd | 1610~1612 |
| 4th | 1625~1627 |
| 5th | 1675~1910 |
23. *Taejong Sillok* 太宗實錄, Bk. 26, 20b. (卷三十六 太宗十三年九月 丁丑條).
  24. *Ibid.* 47a. (太宗十三年十二月 丙午條).
  25. *Pojŏ-jip* 浦渚集, written by Cho Ik 趙翼 (1575~1655) Bk. 14. (啓辭).
  26. *Taejong Sillok* 太宗實錄, Bk. 31, 35a. (卷三十一 太宗十六年五月 癸卯條).
  27. *Sejo Sillok* 世祖實錄, Bk. 36, 21b. (卷三十六 世祖十一年七月 壬戌條).
  28. *Yejong Sillok* 睿宗實錄, Bk. 2, 44b. (卷二 睿宗即位年十二月 丙申條).
  29. *Sejo Sillok* 世祖實錄, Bk. 37, 22b. (卷三十七 世祖十一年十一月 癸丑條).
  30. *Ibid.*
  31. *Sŏngjong Sillok* 成宗實錄, Bk. 76, 3b. (卷七十六 成宗八年二月 丁丑條). Herein it is recorded that when Yi Sŏkhyŏng 李石亨, who was once mayor of the capital, was in charge of the Hop'ae regulations throughout the country, he drew many commoners as his own private slaves.

32. *Sōngjong Sillok* 成宗實錄, Bk. 98, 9b. (卷九十八 成宗九年四月 己亥條).
33. According to *Sejo Sillok* 世祖實錄, Bk. 43, 34a. (卷四十三 世祖十三年 八月 乙巳條). we read: Yi Si-ae 李施愛 lived in Kilchu 吉州 for generations. His clan settled firmly in many districts in Hamgyōng Province. Thus he became a landlord by drawing a considerable number of commoners and occupying many acres of land. When he was forced to free the commoners from slavery by government policy, he at last led the people of Hamgyōng Province in a rebellion against the government.
34. In the supplementary volume, No. XII of the *Yōnyōsil Ki-sul* 燃藜室記述 ed. Yi Kūng-ik 李肯翊 (1736~1806), we notice that when the Manchu tribes invaded our country, in the year Chōngmyo 丁卯(1622), all the people thought the hop'ae system invited the enemy. The citizens of Pyōngyang (平壤) threw their tags towards the city wall and ran away.
35. *Taejong Sillok*, Bk. 15, 1b. (卷十五 太宗八年正月 辛亥條).
36. *Ibid.*, Bk. 2. (戶典戶籍條)
37. *Chūngbo Munhōn Pigo* 增補文獻備考 (The Revised Encyclopedia) Vol. 2; Bk. 161. p. 14a (卷百六十一 戶口考 孝宗己丑備局啓中) (Citation from *Tongguk Munhwasa Edition*, Seoul, 1957). According to a petition filed by Chōng T'ae-hwa 鄭泰和, chief councilor 領議政, we read: Though it was a long while after the Ogat'ong System had been established the system was not in practice because of poor harvest... Upon receipt of the petition, the king ordered enforcement of the system from the coming year.
38. *Sukjong Sillok* 肅宗實錄 Bk. 4, 48b. (肅宗元年九月 辛亥條).
39. *Chūngbo Munhōn Pigo*, Vol. 2, Bk. 161. p. 22a.
40. cf. Asafu Takekame 麻生武龜, "Chosen Zaiseisi 朝鮮財政史." (History of Finance in the Chosōn Period), in *Chosen-shi Koza Bun-Rui-shi*, 朝鮮史講座 分類史. Seoul, Chapter 2, The Household Tax, pp. 113~152.
41. *Richo Jidai no Zaisei* 李朝時代の財政 (Finance in the Yi Dynasty) ed. 朝鮮總督府 *Chosen Sotokufu* (Government General) Seoul, 1936, pp. 197~200 and pp. 247~265.
41. The records of population can be found in *Wangjo Sillok* 王朝實錄 (The Dynasty Annals) and *Chūngbo Munhōn Pigo* 增補文獻備考. For the oldest census register now remaining, reference can be made to the study by Professor Shigata Hiroshi 四方博 who observed and discussed the matter from the social and economic standpoint. "Richo Jinko ni kan suru Ichi Kenkyu 李朝人口に關する一研究" (A Study of the Population in the Yi Dynasty). *Chosen Shakai Hoseishi Kenkyu* 朝鮮社會法制史研究, compiled by Keijo Teikoku Daigaku Hogakkai 京城帝國大學法學會, Seoul, 1937, pp. 259~368.

THE AMERICAN ROLE IN THE OPENING  
OF KOREA TO THE WEST

**The American Role  
in the Opening of Korea to the West**

By

**Donald S. Macdonald**

All opinions in the paper are, of course, those of the writer and are purely personal in character.

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Introduction

Only in relatively recent years has Korea's strategic importance in the Far East been generally perceived in the West. Occupying a peninsula of only 220,000 square miles, the country lies at the crossroads of transport among the three giants of East Asia—China, Japan, and Russia. Struggles among these powers for their respective Korean and continental spheres of influence began in 1905. That the Koreans have preserved their national unity as long as such a peninsula is a tribute to the people and to





## THE AMERICAN ROLE IN THE OPENING OF KOREA TO THE WEST

### PREFATORY NOTE

It is the purpose of this brief paper to examine the American role in the opening of Korea to intercourse with the Occidental world; to outline the major elements of early American policy toward the country; and to mention some aspects of American cultural and commercial impact. The period covered—aside from an introductory historical section—is that from the mid-nineteenth century to the Sino-Japanese War.

Because of the shortage of time, reliance has had to be almost wholly on secondary sources, which however are believed to be adequate for a survey of this type. Particularly useful was Dr. Harold J. Noble's thesis on early Korean-American relations, obtained from the University of California through the courtesy of Widener Library.

All opinions in the paper not otherwise labelled are those of the writer, and are purely personal in character.

Grateful acknowledgement is made to Professor Doo Soo Suh, of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, who read the manuscript and offered most useful suggestions.

#### 1. Introduction

Only in relatively recent years has Korea's strategic importance in the Far East been generally perceived in the West. Occupying a peninsula of only 85,000 square miles, the country lies at the crossroads of conflict among the three giants of East Asia—China, Japan, and Russia. Struggles among these powers had left their imprint on Korean soil centuries before the "police action" of 1950. That the Koreans have preserved their cultural unity so long in such a location is a tribute to the people and to

their nationalism, and to the pre-Communist benevolence of China—the more so because during portions of this period, and particularly in the nineteenth century, the Korean government was weak, corrupt, and rent with factional strife.<sup>1)</sup>

For many centuries Korea enjoyed the status of a tributary “border-protecting” state in the Chinese imperial system, with virtually complete autonomy. She received during this time a heavy overlay of Chinese culture, and her relations with the Celestial Empire were governed rather by an extrapolated system of Confucian familial relations than by formal treaties.<sup>2)</sup> Western misunderstanding of this relationship was a major factor in events surrounding the opening of Korea to the West.

## 2. The Beginnings of Western Contact

Aside from the brief presence of a Spanish Jesuit priest in Korea during the Japanese invasion of the late sixteenth century,<sup>3)</sup> Western contacts with Korea began with occasional ship-wrecks of trading vessels.<sup>4)</sup> Following the entry of Catholicism through returning tribute missions, French priests began to come into the Hermit Kingdom — illegally and clandestinely— in the early nineteenth century. Although shipwrecked sailors seem to have been fairly well treated—in contrast to the Japanese situation— Korea resembled Japan in maintaining a policy of isolation from the West; and when the activities of the priests reached official attention, persecutions and forcible suppression of the religion, with considerable attendant brutality, resulted in 1839 and again in 1866.<sup>5)</sup> In 1871, the then Regent of Korea recorded this policy of anti-foreignism on a stone tablet:

“The barbarians from beyond the seas have vio-

1) Hulbert, *History of Korea*, II: 192, 224, 246, and *passim*.

2) Nelson, *Korea and the Old Orders*, P. 86 ff.

3) Gregory de Cespedes, who came briefly to Korea at the invitation of the Japanese Commander in 1594, but who seems to have had little or no contact with the Koreans. Cf. Griffis, *Corea, the Hermit Nation*, P. 121 ff.

4) One of the shipwrecks was that of the Dutch ship *Sparrowhawk* in 1653, whose supercargo, Hendrik Hamel, published an account of his adventures. Griffis, *op. cit.*, P. 169.

5) Hulbert, *op. cit.*, PP. 196, 205.



lated our borders and invaded our land. If we do not fight we must make treaties with them. Those who favor making a treaty sell their country. Let this be a warning to ten thousand generations.<sup>1)</sup>”

The killing of French missionary priests in 1866 provoked the first significant attempt by a Western power at official contact with the Korean government.<sup>2)</sup> The French despatched a punitive expedition, which however abandoned its mission when it found itself too weak, and thus deceived the Koreans into feeling themselves stronger than the West.<sup>3)</sup>

### 3. Early United States Contacts with Korea

The very lack of specific information about Korea no doubt gave added color to fantastic stories of treasure and mystery;<sup>4)</sup> perhaps such stories reinforced the impetus of growing maritime commerce in Korean waters, en route to North China, in leading to such early gestures as Zedoc Pratt's introduction into Congress of a resolution calling for a commercial arrangement with Korea, as Japan.<sup>5)</sup> The stories about Korea also inspired several expeditions of Western adventurers in Shanghai. Two of these involved Americans. The vessel *Surprise* was wrecked on the Korean west coast in 1866, and the survivors were kindly treated and returned through China.<sup>6)</sup> Later that year the schooner *General Sherman*, owned and commanded by Americans and apparently bent on plunder as well as trade, went aground in the Taedong River en route to the ancient capital of Pyongyang. In an altercation with Korean bystanders, her crew opened fire; the ship was then burned and the entire crew brutally killed.<sup>7)</sup> The following year a German adventurer named Oppert, in partnership with an American ex-consular employee

1) *Korean Repository*,

2) A Russian gunboat made attempts to open trade in 1866; and a French expedition in 1847, attempting to find out what had happened to French missionaries in 1839, ran aground on the Korean west coast. Hulbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 197, 205.

3) Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 115 ff.

4) McKenzie, *The Tragedy of Korea*, p. 6.

5) Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient*, p. 142.

6) Hulbert, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

7) *Ibid.*, p. 208.

named Jenkins, undertook another plunder expedition; to conceal the real purpose, Jenkins made false representations to George Seward, consul general at Shanghai, about Korean willingness to enter into trade relations with the West. The expedition, with a ship of German registry, was unsuccessful.<sup>1)</sup>

The *General Sherman* debacle led to the despatch of Commander Robert W. Shufeldt in the U.S.S. *Wachusett* to make an investigation. (Admiral Bell, Commander of the Asiatic Squadron, wanted to send a punitive expedition, but was overruled by Washington.) Shufeldt anchored near Haeju, Korea (mistaking it for the inlet of the Taedong River, further north) in January, 1867; after unsuccessfully attempting to communicate with the Korean king, he contented himself with gathering information from natives in the area—which corroborated earlier reports—and returned to China.<sup>2)</sup> A second attempt at investigation the following year received a reply by a court official to Shufeldt's earlier letter to the king, describing the *General Sherman* incident (apparently with some justice) in terms favorable to the Koreans.<sup>3)</sup>

#### 4. The Opening of Korea

These events—among which Jenkins' false reports to Seward seem to have been important—led to the decision by Washington to undertake negotiations with the Koreans for a treaty. Since Korea was recognized to have some sort of relation with China, the American Minister to China, P.F. Low, was named to head the negotiations.<sup>4)</sup> Presumably with Perry's example in mind, he was accompanied by the Commander of the Asiatic Squadron, Admiral Rodgers, and arrived at the mouth of the Han River aboard the flagship *Colorado*, escorted by four other steamships, on May 3, 1871. Initial contacts were made looking toward commencement of negotiations; but while the expedition was awaiting the results, a surveying party up the Han River was fired on. Minister Low demanded an apology. A letter from the Korean king indicated that he had no wish for a treaty, but no apology was received.

1) Griffis, *op. cit.*, p. 396 ff.

2) Paullin, *Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers*, pp. 284~5!

3) *Ibid.*

4) Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff

Admiral Rodgers therefore carried out a retaliatory expedition, capturing or destroying five forts and inflicting 350 casualties (against 13 suffered, including the death of Lieutenant McKay).<sup>1)</sup> The retaliation had no effect in terms of facilitating negotiations, and the Minister and his expedition departed on July 3, concluding that further negotiation "either by diplomacy or the cannon" would be fruitless.<sup>2)</sup>

Aside from the Korean anti-foreign policy, the unfortunate impression left by plunder expeditions, and the Korean illusions of strength based on the unsuccessful French and American expeditions, still another handicap was faced by United States representatives in their attempts to open relations with Korea. This was the misunderstanding of the nature of the relationship between Korea and China. The Koreans had forwarded through Peking their reply to French demands regarding the massacre of French priests in 1839; the reply moreover affirmed Korean subordination to China.<sup>3)</sup> Yet China never affirmed her position in terms the West could understand as suzerainty; in fact, her attitude was interpreted as amounting to a renunciation of sovereignty, and Korea was therefore thought of as a sovereign nation,<sup>4)</sup> although some species of connection between the two Oriental countries was recognized.<sup>5)</sup>

After the American failure, it fell to Japan to attempt an opening of the country. Japan was uniquely qualified. She understood the Confucian tradition, had contacts with Korea both peaceful and hostile for centuries, and had herself been on the receiving end of the opening process. Using as pretext a minor shooting incident off the coast in 1875, she despatched a Perry-type military expedition with 800 men to Korea. Simultaneously she sent an emissary to China, who paved the way through negotiations with Li Hung-chang, the viceroy having charge of Korean affairs. The

1) Paullin, *op. cit.*, pp. 287~91.

2) Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 316. Foster terms this expedition "the most serious blunder of American diplomacy in the Orient."

3) Paullin, *op. cit.*, p. 286; Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

4) The French Chargé at Peking stated in a note to the Chinese Foreign Office in 1866 that "The Chinese Government has declared to me many times that it has no power or authority over Korea." Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

5) *Ibid.*, p. 122.



resulting Treaty of Kanghwa, signed February 26, 1876, opened three Korean ports to Japanese trade, and contained both expressed and implicit assertions of Korean sovereignty.<sup>1)</sup>

The Japanese success had two consequences. The Chinese realized that their ancient relation with Korea was in danger, and therefore took a more active interest in Korean affairs, simultaneously encouraging Korea to enter into relations with the West, as an offset to Japanese influence.<sup>2)</sup> At the same time, American interest was rekindled. Commander (later Admiral) Shufeldt, a man of broad experience outside the Navy, including a diplomatic assignment, seems to have had a part in promoting the renewal of negotiations.<sup>3)</sup> In 1878 he sailed by a circuitous route for the Far East on board the U.S.S. *Ticonderoga*, with orders for this purpose among others. At the same time the Department of State directed overtures through the Minister at Tokyo for Japanese facilitation of contact with Korea, which proved useless despite at least superficial Japanese cooperation.<sup>4)</sup> Shufeldt, however, established direct contact with the Chinese viceroy, Li Hung-chang, through the Chinese consul general at Nagasaki. A personal meeting between Li and Shufeldt ensued, as a result of which the viceroy agreed to use his influence with Korea.<sup>5)</sup> After a return to the United States, Shufeldt was assigned nominally as naval attaché in Peking; he then renewed his contacts with Li, which culminated after considerable waiting in the negotiation of a treaty at Tientsin in 1882, with Li representing both Chinese and Korean governments. After dispute over whether the treaty should affirm Korea's dependent status (rejected by Shufeldt) a compromise was worked out by which the King of Korea would affirm his dependence in a letter to the President of the United States; the treaty itself regarded Korea as a sovereign nation. The treaty was signed on May 22, 1882, in the Korean town of Chemulp'o,

1) *Ibid.*, p. 129 ff.; Hulbert, *op. cit.*, II: 220. Hulbert points out that the anti-foreign regent was deposed in 1873 in favor of a more liberal regime, which helps to account for Japanese success where the United States had failed.

2) Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 136 ff.

3) Paullin, *op. cit.*, pp. 293, 302.

4) Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

5) Paullin, *op. cit.*, p. 293 ff.

by Shufeldt and two Korean officials, with two Chinese officials observing the ceremony; the text, as signed, was virtually identical with that agreed upon at Peking. Although a Korean representative had been in the background at Tientsin, the Koreans had relatively little to do with the negotiations.<sup>1)</sup>

The Shufeldt treaty, ratified the following year (1883), in general paralleled Western treaties with China except for omission of a guarantee of religious freedom. It admitted the United States to the same three ports opened to the Japanese in 1876; provided for interchange of diplomatic and consular representatives; contained the usual provisions of commercial treaties, including shipwreck clauses; forbade opium trade; granted reciprocal rights of residence; and gave extraterritorial jurisdiction to American consuls, though provision was made for termination of this right in the event Korean standards of justice were reformed to meet American standards.<sup>2)</sup> A clause which later became disproportionately important was that

“.....if other powers deal unjustly or oppressively with either government, the other will exert their good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement, thus showing their friendly feelings.”

This was interpreted by the Koreans as paralleling a Confucian relationship, and led to false hopes of American assistance in the later struggle against immolation by the Japanese.<sup>3)</sup>

This treaty, together with that of Perry in Japan, have been termed “the most notable successes of the American navy in the peaceful field of diplomacy.”<sup>4)</sup> The Korean American treaty served as a model for subsequent treaties between other Western powers and Korea, although some of the later ones — especially the French — provided broader rights which called for application of the Ameri-

1) *Ibid.*, p. 302 ff.

2) Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 320. Text of treaty in McKenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 276 ff.

3) McKenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 130.

4) Paullin, *op. cit.*, p. 328. For biographic data on Shufeldt, see *ibid.*, p. 293, note 10.

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can "most-favored-nation" clause.<sup>1)</sup>

## 5. United States Activity in Korea, 1882~1895

a. *The Korean situation.* The initial Korean position toward the West, as stated already, was one of entire opposition. The King of Korea, in his reply to Minister Low's overtures in 1871, indicated an awareness of forthcoming conflict, cultural as well as political:

"Our respective dispositions are mutually dissimilar; our guiding principles are not alike....."

If you are going to want us to give away land and people, then let me ask how can 3000 li of river, hill, city, and country be lightly thrown away? If you will desire us to agree to negotiate and carry out friendly relations, then let me ask how can 4000 years' ceremonies, music, literature, all things, be without sufficient reason broken up and cast away?.....<sup>2)</sup>"

After the signing of the Shufeldt treaty, the king of Korea issued a rescript indicative of the subsequent shift in attitude (presumably influenced by Japanese and Chinese contacts) to the possibility of adopting the technology of the West while abjuring its culture.<sup>3)</sup>

Facing the new impact, the Korean government was divided into two principal factions: one supporting the Regent, and one supporting the Min family, led (until her death in 1890) by the strong-minded Queen. When the anti-foreign Regent was in power, the Mins were progressive and reformist; but upon accession to power themselves they became conservative, and young progressives turned to the Regent (or he to them). Japan tended at first to be the ideal of the progressives; China stood for conservative influence. Thus the rivalries of the two countries became bound up with both ideals and practical politics in Korea.<sup>4)</sup> The situation was complicated by extreme political corrup-

1) Noble, *Korea and the United States before 1895*, passim.

2) Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 123 ff., quoting *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1871, p. 74 ff.

3) Noble, *op. cit.*, p. 10 ff.

4) *Ibid*, and Nelson, *op. cit.*, passim



tion and near-anarchy, which, although present before the beginnings of Western contact, had been intensified by the interplay of foreign interests.<sup>1)</sup> The need for reform was cited by the Japanese in 1894 as a principal reason for Nipponese intervention,<sup>2)</sup> and later as a reason for annexation.

b. *American diplomacy.* The United States was prompt to recognize Korea, once the Shufeldt treaty had been signed —so much so as to incur quasi-official British criticism.<sup>3)</sup> The first American Minister, General Foote, took up residence in the then primitive capital in June, 1883, together with his wife<sup>4)</sup> (which fact attests to no little courage on the part of both). In his first audience with the king, Foote delivered a letter from President Arthur stating a policy of disinterest in Chinese-Korean relationships except as they might injure American interests, and regarding Korea as an independent state.<sup>5)</sup>

The King apparently “found his previous opinions of American policy and the desirability of diplomatic relations with the United States amply justified” through his contacts with the American Minister, and seems to have worked quietly to encourage the formation of a pro-American group based on tangible commercial interests.<sup>5)</sup> Recognizing the United States as impartial counselor and friend,<sup>7)</sup> the king early formed the habit of calling upon Foote and his successors for advice in matters large and small with almost embarrassing frequency. He asked a later American chargé —Navy Lieutenant Foulk— to become his personal adviser.<sup>8)</sup>

During the entire period before the Sino-Japanese War, the United States was alone in fully recognizing the Korean sovereignty expressed in the Western treaties. Other Western powers concurrently accredited their representat

1) Hulbert, *op. cit.*, II; 265.

2) Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 209, citing *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1894, Appendix I; 25~6.

3) Noble, *op. cit.* pp. 117~18.

4) *Ibid.*, p. 122.

5) *Ibid.*, p. 121 ff.

6) *Ibid.*, p. 126.

7) Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

8) Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

tives at Peking to the Korean court, and stationed lesser officials in Seoul, carrying on diplomatic relations affecting Korea through their Chinese legations.<sup>1)</sup> Notwithstanding this recognition, "as repeated despatches show, American policy was one of neutrality between China and Japan";<sup>2)</sup> indeed, one of entire non-involvement in the play of interests in Korea:

".....it is clearly the interest of the United States to hold aloof from all (the international involvements) and do nothing nor be drawn into anything which could look like taking sides with any of the contestants, or entering the lists of intrigue for our own benefit.<sup>3)</sup>"

In view of the fact that from 1885 to 1894 China was endeavoring to implement and extend her supremacy over Korea, having sent an able Chinese Resident and two foreigners there for that purpose,<sup>4)</sup> the American policies of recognition and non-involvement were bound to conflict, as they did in at least two instances: the withdrawal of the very able Lieutenant George C. Foulk, largely at Chinese instance, when Yuan Shi-Kai, the Chinese Resident, felt that Foulk had too much personal influence at court; and the establishment of an independent Korean legation in Washington. In both cases, in varying degree, the counsels of non-involvement prevailed, and the Chinese power was on the whole enhanced.<sup>5)</sup>

Other aspects of United States policy included support of missionary activity and some measure of assistance to American trade. Support of missionaries was a topic of

1) *Ibid.*, p. 181. The United States reduced the rank of its representative in Seoul from Minister Plenipotentiary to Minister Resident, and Foote resigned in protest; but this act apparently was never communicated to the Korean government, and was perhaps explainable in internal administrative terms. Cf. Noble, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

2) Noble, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

3) *Ibid.*, p. 211, quoting State Department despatch, Bayard to Foulk, no. 63, August 19, 1885.

4) Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

5) *Ibid.*, pp. 183, 185 ff.; Noble, *op. cit.*, p. 394 ff. Both sources also refer to Chinese influence on the American minister at Peking to have the United States follow the other Western powers in the system of dual accreditation described above.

the first minister's instructions,<sup>1)</sup> and continued strong, even before an ex-medical missionary, Dr. Horace M. Allen, became secretary of the American legation in 1890 and Minister in 1897.<sup>2)</sup> Allen's work in particular is credited by his biographer as contributing to Korea's status as "banner mission field of all the world."<sup>3)</sup> With respect to trade, President Arthur stated in a message to Congress that Korea "needs the implements and products which the United States are ready to supply";<sup>4)</sup> and although Department of State instructions prohibited the seeking of American trade advantages or monopolies, nevertheless American diplomatic representatives gave much aid to businessmen —apparently including concessionnaires.<sup>5)</sup> These activities, at least in the earlier period, seem however to have been much less aggressive than those of other Western representatives.<sup>6)</sup>

c. *Missionary activity.* Although a Rev. Thomas seems to have visited a Korean port before 1866 and was aboard the ill-fated General Sherman,<sup>7)</sup> significant missionary activity began after the Shufeldt treaty and the Korean mission to the United States in 1883 (see below). First to enter, on his own initiative and nominally not as a missionary, was Dr. Horace Allen in 1884.<sup>8)</sup> Others soon followed. Despite Korean laws against proselytization, mission work rapidly grew, and except when it exceeded reasonable bounds was tacitly permitted.<sup>9)</sup> The missions were spectacularly successful, and were always dominated by Americans in the Protestant field. By 1914, the Presbyterians alone claimed 145 paid native pastors, 2247 groups and churches, and over 124,000 adherents.<sup>10)</sup> George Kennan, in reporting on his visit to Korea in 1905, "declared that missionary schools, Christian education, educa-

1) Harrington, *God, Mammon, and the Japanese*, p. 10.

2) *Ibid.*, pp. 93 ff., 98.

3) *Ibid.*, p. 121.

4) *Ibid.*, p. 126.

5) *Ibid.*, p. 128; Noble, *op.cit.*, *passim*.

6) Noble, *op.cit.*, p. 364.

7) Griffis, *op.cit.*, p. 391.

8) Harrington, *op.cit.*, p. 7 ff. Allen's medical skill in saving the life of Prince Min, wounded in the *emeute* of 1884, was an important contribution to missionary progress in Korea.

9) Noble, *op.cit.*, p. 314 ff.; Harrington, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

10) Brown, *The Mastery of the Far East*, pp. 523 and *passim*.



tion, and foreign travel have transformed some of [the aristocracy] into intelligent, trust-worthy, and patriotic men",<sup>1)</sup> and the writer through his own contacts and experience has come to have a high regard for the moral influence of Christian work in a country whose only previous moral doctrine was native animism and the somewhat imperfectly transmitted Chinese Confucianism and Buddhism. Although there was much rivalry among missionaries;<sup>2)</sup> although Dr. Allen considered some of them lazy and incompetent;<sup>3)</sup> although some were more zealous than tactful;<sup>3)</sup> and although missionary involvement in Korean politics was an early diplomatic problem,<sup>5)</sup> yet on balance the mission work has been (and continues to be) of great value to Korea and to Korean-American relations.

d. *Education and technical assistance.* The first official American move toward cultural relations in Korea was Minister Foote's suggestion to the king in 1883 for a Korean mission of amity and friendship to the United States, which suggestion was implemented that year and left a deep impression on all who participated in it.<sup>6)</sup> The following year, Chargé Foulk suggested the establishment of a school for young Koreans in Western language and science; as a result, the Royal English School opened its doors in 1886 with three American teachers selected by the United States Commissioner of Education.<sup>7)</sup> Subsequent work in the educational and cultural field seems largely to have been done by the missionaries, who speedily founded orphanages and schools in considerable numbers. The most noted among missionary institutions are probably Paejae Academy, founded in 1885; the Ehwa Girls' School, founded in 1890; and Chosun Christian College, established in 1915.<sup>8)</sup>

One of the members of the Korean mission of

1) *Ibid.*, p. 533.

2) Harrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 75, 88; Underwood, *Underwood of Korea*, p. 278.

3) Harrington, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

4) *Ibid.*, p. 78. Horace Underwood, one of the first missionaries and a strong personality, went so far as to carry his converts across the Yaju River into Manchuria, so as to comply with a prohibition against conversions on Korean soil (*Dictionary of American Biography*, p. 113).

5) Harrington, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

6) Noble, *op. cit.*, p. 126 ff.

7) Hulbert, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

8) Lee Mang Chi, *Chosun Yuksa* (*Educational History of Korea*).

1883 developed an interest in American agricultural methods, and received quantities of seeds from the United States Department of Agriculture. With government subsidy, he established an experimental farm, raised crops for seed, and imported American livestock. The experiment ended for all practical purposes with the death of its sponsor in 1886.<sup>1)</sup>

The Korean king in 1883 asked for American military instructors. For several years the request went unsatisfied for lack of Congressional action; finally three men with military experience, selected by General Sheridan, and a fourth recruited from Japan, engaged themselves to the Korean government in 1888. Two of the four were worthless. One of the others, General Dye, remained in Korean service until 1899.<sup>2)</sup>

Indirect or unofficial American aid —aside from unofficial advice by American diplomatic officers and the influence of the missionaries— included the staffing of a Korean government hospital with two missionary doctors in 1885;<sup>3)</sup> the retention of ex-consul general Charles LeGendre as adviser to the Korean government in 1889, partially to offset European commercial pressures;<sup>4)</sup> the presence for several years of two Americans assigned by the Chinese viceroy— H.F. Merrill as head of the customs service, and Judge O.N. Denny as legal adviser;<sup>5)</sup> and an unsuccessful attempt by an American to set up glass and match factories upon the invitation of a German in Korean government service.<sup>6)</sup>

e. *Commerce.* American entry into the Korean market was slow, and to a considerable degree indirect, since many American goods entered the country through Japanese and Chinese middlemen.<sup>7)</sup> Thus, in 1888, Americans were not very active in the new foreign settlement at Chemulp'o<sup>8)</sup> because of their small numbers. The first direct

1) Noble, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

4) *Ibid.*, p. 431 ff. and *passim*.

3) Harrington, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

4) Noble, *op. cit.*, pp. 358, 361 ff.

5) Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 178 ff.

6) Noble, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

7) *Korean Review*, VI: 23; Noble, *op. cit.*, pp. 352, 361

8) Noble, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

American trading enterprise in Korea was the American Trading Company of Yokohama, represented by W. D. Townsend; it supplied munitions, furniture, mining equipment, and railroad stock; contributed capital to the first railroad and the American mines; and received a timber-cutting concession from the Korean Government.<sup>1)</sup> Townsend later set up in business for his own account.<sup>2)</sup> Thomas A. Edison asked and obtained opportunity to install electric lights in the royal palace.<sup>3)</sup> Townsend established the first steam-driven rice cleaning plant in Korea, which monopolized the business in the Chemulp'o district.<sup>4)</sup> Negotiations by two American firms began in 1889 for construction of the first railroad; the franchise was granted in 1896, but Japanese interests took it over before construction was completed.<sup>5)</sup> Other —and later— American enterprise included the Seoul street-car and electric light systems begun in 1898,<sup>6)</sup> gold mining in the North, and other smaller ventures.<sup>7)</sup> In total imports from the United States were valued at about \$400,000, of which kerosene accounted for \$232,385; the rest was chiefly made up of machinery, flour, provisions, household goods and personal articles. Imports from England, chiefly cotton goods, amounted to five times as much as the American total. Japanese trade was far greater.<sup>8)</sup>

### Summary and Conclusions

The United States, ably represented by its naval diplomats, might be considered indirectly responsible for the opening of Korea to Japan in 1876 through the example set in the opening of Japan herself, 22 years earlier, even though the first American overture in Korea in 1871 was unsuccessful. The United States subsequently negotiated the first Western treaty with Korea in 1882, which was on the whole the antithesis of imperialism, and in so doing set the example for later negotiations with other powers. The

1) *Ibid.*, p. 356.

2) *Ibid.*, p. 360.

3) *Ibid.*

4) *Ibid.*

5) *Ibid.*, p. 369; *Korean Repository*, V: 117, 1898; Herrington, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

6) *Korean Repository*, V: 357, 1898.

7) *Korea Review*, VI: 24~5, 1906.

8) *Korean Repository*, V: 305, 306, 1898. The facts suggest that a good part of the American imports was to supply American missionary households.



consistent American support of Korean sovereignty was perhaps a factor in maintaining Korean independence in the face of increasing Chinese pressure, until the Japanese altered the power balance in 1895. American abstention from official intervention in internal politics, and abjuration of unjust advantage, gave Korea a faith in her intentions and a high regard for her counsels which undoubtedly deepened the impression made by Western ideas, ideals, and religious endeavor. The high prestige so earned by the United States in Korea, and the "good offices" clause of the treaty, made all the more difficult the unhappy situation following the Russo-Japanese War when international considerations forced the United States to acquiesce in Japanese assertions of increasing hegemony. Even despite this fact, the United States still had a reservoir of good will—much of it traceable to the history of the '80's and '90's—which greatly facilitated the American post-World-War-II role in Korea as military governor and tutor in self-government.

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## SOME NOTES ON KORYŎ MILITARY UNITS

by

**William E. Henthorn**

**The Korean Research Center**

### 1. General

According to the Koryŏsa (高麗史) the Koryŏ military system was, in general, inherited after the Tang (唐) (618-907) military system.<sup>1)</sup> The founder of the Koryŏ dynasty, T'ae-jo (太祖), established in the first month of his first reign year (AD 918), the six 'defences' (六防) P'ung (平), I-wa (瓦), and U-wi (烏尾), Sin-bo-wi (新州), Ch'ung-wan (忠萬), K'ang-wi (康威), and Nam-mu-wi (南牧). In the 5th year of Mok-pyo (穆考) (AD 1017) a system of officials was established by the six 'defences'. Later two provinces (道), the Ung-yang (營陽) and the Yang-do (襄道) were established over the six 'defences'.

The need for exercising caution in dealing with the Koryŏ military system as outlined in the Koryŏsa has already been noted by Mr. Lee K'han-k (李基幹) who points out that the resemblance of the Koryŏ military system to that of the Tang is doubtful and that the records are vague on many matters, such as the relationship between the regional military units and the national army.<sup>2)</sup> Mr. Lee was, however, that he believes the two provinces were the King's bodyguards rather than being units over the six 'defences', while the heart of the national army was the six 'defences'.

The relationship of the regional and national military units and the degree to which the Koryŏ military system





## SOME NOTES ON KORYŎ MILITARY UNITS

In those periods when the control of the military becomes the criterion for the achievement of political aims, the study of the military is a prerequisite to an understanding of events—political, economic and social—of the time. It is with this in mind that these notes are offered. I have dealt briefly with a consideration of the appearance of (1) 'house armies' (家兵) and (2) 'elite units' (別抄), during the period roughly from the third quarter of the 12th century to the third quarter of the 13th century.

### 1. General

According to the Koryŏ-sa (高麗史)<sup>1)</sup> the Koryŏ military system was, in general, modelled after the T'ang (唐) Fu-wei (府衛) military system.<sup>2)</sup> The founder of the Koryŏ dynasty, T'ae-jo (太祖)<sup>3)</sup>, established in the first moon of his 2nd reign year (AD 919), the 'six defenses' (六衛),<sup>4)</sup> ie, Jwa and U-wi (左右衛), Sin-ho-wi (神虎衛), Hŭng-wi-wi (興威衛), Kŭm-o-wi (金吾衛), and Kam-mun-wi (監門衛). In the 5th year of Mokjong (穆宗)<sup>5)</sup> (AD 1002) a system of officials was established for the 'six defenses'. Later two 'armies' (軍), the Ŭng-yang (鷹揚)<sup>6)</sup> and the Yong-ho (龍虎)<sup>7)</sup> were established over the 'six defenses.'<sup>8)</sup>

The need for exercising caution in dealing with the Koryŏ military system as outlined in the Koryŏ-sa has already been voiced by Mr Lee Ki-baek (李基白)<sup>9)</sup> who points out that the resemblance of the Koryŏ military system to that of the T'ang is doubtful and that the records are vague on many matters, such as the relationship between the regional military units and the national army.<sup>10)</sup> Mr Lee says however that he believes the two 'armies' were the King's bodyguards rather than being units over the six 'defenses,' while the heart of the national army was the 'six defenses'.

The relationship of the regional and national military units, and the degree to which the Koryŏ military system

was modelled after that of the T'ang, are however, beyond the scope of this paper. Whatever may have been the original structure of the Koryŏ military system set up by T'ae-jo, by the 25th year of Munjong (文宗)(AD 1071)<sup>12</sup> the national army was in a state of disorganization,<sup>13</sup> due to (a) the exemption of the sons of the wealthy and the powerful from conscription, (b) the conscripts were inadequately fed and clothed and, (c) there were, consequently, many deserters.<sup>14</sup>

Thus, when this weakened army met the invading Eastern Jurêd (東女眞) in the 9th year of the reign of Sukjong (肅宗) (AD 1104),<sup>15</sup> the need for a reorganization became prerequisite to national survival. The need for cavalry units to match the mounted Eastern Jurêd was especially urgent and in a memorial Yun Kwan (尹瓘) outlined the cause of Koryŏ's defeats succinctly: 'The enemy rode; we walked'<sup>16</sup> In an effort to strengthen the national army Yun Kwan organized the Pyŏl-mu-pan (別武班), later his main instrument in defeating the Jurêd during the reign of Yejong (睿宗)<sup>17</sup>; and then, he organized a cavalry unit, the Sin-ki-kun (神騎軍)<sup>18</sup> of all those who had horses, while those men without horses were organized into the following units: (神步)<sup>19</sup>, (跳盪)<sup>20</sup>, (梗弓)<sup>21</sup>, (精弩)<sup>22</sup>, and (發火)<sup>23</sup>. Buddhist monks (僧) were selected to act as an 'army to exorcise demons' (降魔軍)<sup>24</sup>. Yun Kwan's reorganization of the national army was, however, done in the time of crisis and, except for the cavalry unit Sin-ki-kun, his efforts did not long remain intact. The Sin-ki-kun appears to have survived as a unit, for a unit with the designation Sin-ki was used against the Khitan (契丹) of Liaotung (遼東) in the 3rd year of Kojong (高宗)(AD 1216)<sup>26</sup> and, as pointed out by Mr Kim Sang-gi (金庠基)<sup>27</sup> they probably remained intact as a unit due to the continued necessity of countering mounted invaders.

## 2. The Rise of 'House Armies'

In the latter quarter of the 12th century the dissipations of Ŭijong (毅宗)<sup>28</sup> had enabled the civil officials and the eunuchs to assume much of the actual authority of the state. In their efforts to assume complete control they endeavored to make the military as weak as possible; however, their own power was short-lived, for the provincially-based military strongmen raised their own 'house



armies', easily plucked control of the state from the civil officials and eunuchs, and began to compete among themselves.

This emergence of military strongmen may be said to have begun with the rebellion of Chŏng Chung-pu (鄭仲夫) during the reign of Ŭijong. The rebellion of Chŏng Chung-pu was quelled when Chŏng was killed by General Kyŏng Tae-sŭng (慶大升) in the 9th year of Myŏngjong (明宗) (AD 1179)<sup>29)</sup>. Following this victory, General Kyŏng selected 110 brave warriors and set up a unit he called the To-pang (都房), a private army for his own protection.<sup>30)</sup>

Shortly thereafter, in the 13th year of Myŏngjong (AD 1182), General Kyŏng died, and this cleared the way for the rise of 'house armies', as the provincially-based military strongmen began to gather men, initially for defense, then expanding them into effective striking units. Initially this began by using 'house pages' (門客家僮). The 'house pages' of the clans of military strongmen, like Li Ŭi-min (李義旼), Ch'oe Ch'ung-Hŏn (崔冲獻) and Pak Po-jae (朴晋材) were increased and came to be used as 'house armies'.<sup>31)</sup>

The 'house army' of Ch'oe Ch'ung-Hŏn, the military strongman who overcame all opposition to establish himself and his clan as the ruling power behind the throne,<sup>32)</sup> increased to the point where it numbered some 3,000 men and was as strong as the national army.<sup>33)</sup> The status to which the government army had sunk was shown in the Khitan incursions during the 1st moon of the 3rd year of Kojong (AD 1216) when the government troops were said to be old and feeble while those of the 'house armies' of Ch'oe Ch'ung-Hŏn and his son Ch'oe U (崔璃) were recorded as being the most valiant.<sup>34)</sup> In the 11th moon of the same year when Ch'oe Ch'ung-Hŏn inspected his 'house army', it is said that it stretched 23 li (理)<sup>35)</sup> while the 'house army' of his son, Ch'oe U, was also considerable.

In naming his 'house army' Ch'oe used the same designation General Kyŏng Tae-sŭng had used, ie, To-pang.<sup>37)</sup> The To-pang was divided into 6 units, and, as they did guard duty at the Ch'oe house, they were called Yuk-pŏn To-pang (六番都房). In addition to guard duty, they also served as an escort unit for Ch'oe when he left

the house.<sup>38)</sup> It was on the strength of this 'house army' that Ch'oe rose to power.

The effects produced by the rise of these 'house armies', as well as the factors which contributed to their rise, are numerous; however, some primary features can be pointed out. First, the civil officials and eunuchs had strengthened themselves to the point of usurpation of the political power which became the basis for the retention and expansion of their economic objectives.<sup>39)</sup> In addition they attempted to shear the military of their power at a time when the northern borders were being continuously overrun; a time when the military was vitally needed.

The reaction of the military, with the consequent beginnings of military revolts and the build-up of private house armies led, finally, to the attempt by Wŏnjong and the civil officials around him to escape from the power of the military —later, under the shield of the Mongols, he succeeded—a primary factor in the final submission of the Koryŏ court to Mongol rule.

### 3. The Appearance of 'Elite Units'

#### a. 'Elite units' centered about the capital.

The struggles of the military strongmen and the recurring invasion of the Jurched and the Khitan had reduced the land to chaos, and it is not surprising to find rebellions breaking out and brigandry flourishing. In an effort to re-establish order, Ch'oe U, who had assumed power upon the death of his father, organized the Ya-pyŏl-ch'o (夜別抄), an 'elite unit' of men selected for their bravery, which patrolled the capital and its vicinity at night to prevent brigandry, and to quell disturbances.<sup>40)</sup>

The selection of men of proven courage had been used by Ch'oe Ch'ung-Hŏn and by his son, Ch'oe U, in the formation of their 'house armies' prior to the formation of the Ya-pyŏl-ch'o. It should be noted that the Ya-pyŏl-ch'o was part of the national army, rather than merely Ch'oe U's private army. However, since Ch'oe U controlled the government, the distinction does not become important until the elimination of the Ch'oe clan from power in AD 1258.

However, the function of the Ya-pyŏl-ch'o was not limited to suppressing brigandry. They were also used as the advance units of the national army to suppress the slave rebellion which occurred in Song-to (松都) in 1232,<sup>41)</sup> the year following the 1st Mongol invasion, just after the capital was transferred to Kanghwa Island (江華島).<sup>42)</sup>

Following the transfer of the national capital to Kanghwa Island, the Ya-pyŏl-ch'o were used as the core of the island's defense, and they were frequently sent to the Mongol-occupied mainland as raiding parties.<sup>43)</sup> An additional function was the protection of the King. An increase in the numbers of the Ya-pyŏl-ch'o led to its division into two units,<sup>44)</sup> the 'left and right' and to this was added a cavalry unit, the Sin-ŭi-kun (神義軍).<sup>45)</sup> The resulting unit was termed the Sam-pyŏl-ch'o (三別抄).<sup>46)</sup>

The Sam-pyŏl-ch'o functioned similarly to the Ya-pyŏl-ch'o, and like the Ya-pyŏl-ch'o before them, they were undoubtedly the most powerful military unit in Koryŏ. Control of these units meant *de facto* control of the country; they were especially active in various *coups d'état* which began in the 45th year of Kojong (AD 1258).<sup>47)</sup>

Later, in the 11th year of Wŏnjong (AD 1270)<sup>48)</sup> they refused the King's order to return to the old capital (Songto) from Kanghwa Island, which would have meant submission to the Mongols and the subsequent loss of their own power. They then revolted and their strength was such that they formed their own government, the 'Maritime Kingdom' (海上王國) and for four years held various islands of the south —at their zenith they held 30 islands— in open defiance of the combined Koryŏ-Mongol forces.<sup>49)</sup>

#### b. Regional 'Elite Units'

In addition to the 'elite units' centered about the national capital, regional 'elite units' began to appear in number<sup>50)</sup> following the Mongol invasion in the 18th year of Kojong (AD 1231). In the 8th moon of the 18th year of Kojong, Mongol forces under General Ch'ŏl-lye-tap (撒禮塔) swept across the Yalu River at Ham-sin Garrison (咸新鎮),<sup>51)</sup> came south to capture Ch'ŏl-ju (鐵州)<sup>52)</sup> and then went to Ku-ju (龜州)<sup>53)</sup> where a 20-odd day battle ensued. At this time General Kim Kyŏng-son (金慶孫) led 12 men



who volunteered to fight to the death against the Mongols to Ku-ju.<sup>54</sup>) It is here in the battle at Ku-ju that regional 'elite units' began to become prominent.

The 'elite units' from the 'forts' (城) in the vicinity met at Ku-ju to fight the Mongols. From this time many 'elite units' appear, commonly identified geographically by the region of their origin, eg, Wi T'ae-ju Pyol-ch'o (渭泰州別抄), ie, the 'elite units' of Wi-ju and T'ae-ju.<sup>55</sup>)

These regional 'elite units' seem to have been organized at the local, (州縣), level, and appear to have been used mainly for defense, for in addition to attacking the Mongol forces in their own vicinity in surprise raids,<sup>56</sup>) in the 9th moon of the 36th year of Kojong (AD 1249), during the period the capital was on Kanghwa Island, Kyöngsang-do (慶尙道) and Cholla-do (全羅道) each sent pyöl-ch'o to do duty at the capital.

The question of whether these regional 'elite units' were a permanent part of the regional military units, or whether they were organized locally as needed, is unclear.<sup>57</sup>) There is little doubt, however, that they were the primary unit of regional defense during the period of the Mongol invasions. With the exception of their use against the Sam pyöl-ch'o during the period of its revolt, the regional 'elite units' seem to disappear from the scene following Koryŏ's submission to the Mongols in 1270.

During a period when the Mongol cavalry was riding the countryside, brigandry was flourishing, rebellions and uprisings occurring, and Japanese pirates (Wako (倭寇)) pillaging the coastal areas, the regional 'elite units' seem to have kept the slight measure of order seen in the provinces at this time.

## NOTES.

1. Koryŏ-sa (高麗史), 'The History of Koryŏ', hereafter abbreviated KS. All references to the KS are to the Tōkyō, 1909 edition.
2. cf KS 83.671
3. The reign of Wang Kōn (王建), canonized T'ae-Jo (太祖) is commonly said to begin in 918, the year his dynasty was recognized by the Silla King.
4. cf KS. 81.637
5. The reign of Wang Sōng (王誦), the 7th monarch, canonized Mokjong

- (穆宗), was 998~1009.
6. Ung-yang (鷹揚) Lit: 'Hawks on the wing'.
  7. Yong-ho (龍虎) Lit: 'Dragons and tigers'.
  8. cf. KS 81.637
  9. Lee Ki-baek, (李基白, 高麗 初期 兵制에 관한 後代諸說의 檢討) ('On the Military Institutions of the Early Koryeo Period'), 亞細亞研究 1(1958)2. p 129-150('Journal of Asiatic Studies'); English resume pp 151~4.
  10. Lee Ki-baek, op cit, p 134~5. Perhaps 'commands' would be a better rendering for (軍) than 'armies' here, however, since their function is beyond the scope of this short paper I have loosely rendered 'armies'.
  11. Lee Ki-baek, op cit, p 132.
  12. The reign of Wang Hŭi (王徽), the 11th monarch, canonized Munjong (文宗), was 1047~1082.
  13. cf. KS 81.639
  14. Kim Sang-gi 金庠基, Tong-pang Mun-hwa Kyo-lyu-sa Non-go, 東方文化交流史論攷, Seoul, 1954, 2 ed; also cf. KS 81.639.
  15. The reign of Wang Ong 王顥, the 15th monarch, canonized Sukjong 肅宗 was 1096~1105.
  16. cf. Bio. of Yun Kwan, KS 96.112; also cf KS 81.640.
  17. The reign of Wang U (王俱), the 16th monarch, canonized Yejong (睿宗), was 1106~1122.
  18. 神騎軍 Lit: 'Divine cavalry'.
  19. 神步(軍) Lit: 'Divine infantry'
  20. 跳盪 were 'troops used to throw the enemy into confusion'. Mathews' Chinese-English' Dictionary, Cambridge 1957, No. 6287. 12.
  21. 梗弓(軍) I would render '(a unit whose) bows ward off calamity', rather than 'bows of (the wood of) a thorny tree', ie, I believe that the stress is on the function of the unit.
  22. 精弩(軍) Lit: '(a unit) skilled with crossbows.
  23. 發火(軍) Lit: 'to burst into flames', ie, it was probably a unit which used flaming arrows or spears.
  24. cf Bio of Yun Kwan, KS 96.112.
  25. Lee Ki-baek, op cit, pp 131~2, points out that the compilers of the Koryŏ-sa pyŏng-ji pyŏng-je (高麗史 兵志·兵制) list Yun Kwan's reorganization as a permanent and central feature of the national army, yet the names of the units involved do not appear in the records at later dates.
  26. The reign of Wang Ch'ŏl (王澈), the 23rd monarch, canonized Kojong (高宗), was 1214~1259.
  27. Kim Sang-gi, op cit, p 97.
  28. The reign of Wang Hyŏn (王覲), the 18th monarch, canonized Ŭijong (毅宗), was 1147~1170.
  29. The reign of Wang Hŭn (王昕), the 19th monarch, canonized Myŏngjong (明宗), was 1171~1197.
  30. Kim Sang-gi, op cit, p 99; also cf Bio. of Li Ŭi-min (李義旼), KS 128.618
  31. ibid
  32. The Ch'oe clan ruled as the real power behind the throne for four generations until Ch'oe Ch'ung-Hŏn's great-grandson was killed in the 45th year of Kojong (AD 1258).
  33. cf. Bio. of Ch'oe Ch'ung-Hŏn KS 129.628.
  34. cf. Bio of Cho Ch'ung (趙冲), KS 103.204.
  35. Li (里) "360 paces, or about 1890 feet in English measure". Mathews'

- Chinese-English Dictionary, Cambridge, 1957, No. 3857.
36. cf. Bio. of Ch'oe Ch'ung-Hŏn KS 129.630.
  37. Ch'oe evidently copied the term from General Kyŏng Cf. Kim Sang-gi, op cit; also cf. Dr Ikeuchi Hiroshi (池内宏 '高麗の三別抄について'), 史學雜誌 37.(1926)9, Tōkyō, pp 809~848.
  38. The size and number of the units of the Ch'oe clan's 'house army' increased with time. The 6-pŏn (六番) for example increased to 36-pŏn, and a cavalry unit, the Ma-pyŏl-ch'o (馬別抄) was also organized.
  39. Cf. Li U-chŏl (李愚喆), '高麗時代の'宦官에 對하여' ('A Consideration on the Eunuch in the Koryeo Dynasty') 史學研究 1 (1958). Seoul, pp 18~45.
  40. I am uncertain of the time of the establishment of the Ya-pyŏl-ch'o. The first reference to the Ya-pyŏl-ch'o appears when their commander, Kim Se-ch'ung (金世冲) opposed the transfer of the capital from Songdo (松都) to Kanghwa (江華島) Island in the 6th moon of the 19th year of Kojong (AD 1232). Since Ch'oe U, their organizer, assumed power in the 6th year of Kojong (AD 1219), their establishment falls somewhere in this period. Cf KS 81.
  41. cf. Bio of Li Cha-sŏng (李子晟), KS 103.
  42. The capital was transferred from Songdo to Kanghwa Island in the 6th moon of the 18th year of Kojong at the insistence of Ch'oe U. The capital remained at Kang-do (江都) on Kanghwa Island, until it was ordered transferred back to Songdo in June 1270, as a result of a conference between Wŏnjong and the Mongol Governor Tu-lyŏn-ka (頭輦哥).
  43. The Ya-pyŏl-ch'o appears to have operated in the nature of a raiding party, ie, a small group, using surprise attacks, often by night, with limited objectives. Cf. Ikeuchi Hiroshi, op cit, and Kim Sang-gi, op cit.
  44. Kim Sang-gi believes the Ya-pyŏl-ch'o was divided in the 39th year of Kojong. Kim Sang-gi, op cit, p 106.
  45. Kim Sang-gi believes that the Sin-ŭi-kun was organized in either the 40th year of Kojong at the time of the Mongol invasion under Ya-Kul (也窟) or in the following year during the Mongol invasion under Ch'a-la-tae (車羅大). Kim Sang-gi, op cit, p 105.
  46. I am uncertain of the time of the organization of the Sam-pyŏl-ch'o. The three units which the KS records as comprising the Sam-pyŏl-ch'o, viz, left and right Ya-pyŏl-ch'o and the Sin-ŭi-kun, appear in action together in the 3rd moon of the 45th year of Kojong. Yet the term Sam-pyŏl-ch'o is not used until the 1st year of Wŏnjong. Dr Ikeuchi Hiroshi and Mr Kim Sang-gi both prefer the earlier period as the time of the establishment of the Sam-pyŏl-ch'o on the ground that the units involved are seen in action together.
- It should be noted that the organization of the Sam-pyŏl-ch'o as contained in (李齊賢 櫟翁稗說) is given as the Ma-pyŏl-ch'o (馬別抄), the Ya-pyŏl-ch'o and the Sin-ŭi-kun. Dr Ikeuchi and Mr Kim Sang-gi, op cit, in discrediting this, point out that (1) the author was born 78 years after the abolishing of the Sam-pyŏl-ch'o and, (2) that the Ma-pyŏl-ch'o was part of the house army of Ch'oe U.
47. *Coups d'etat* in which either the Ya-pyŏl-ch'o or the Sam-pyŏl-ch'o were involved:
    - 1) Kojong's 45th year (AD 1258); Kim Jun (金俊) and Yu Kyŏng (柳璣) kill (崔瑄) (the great-grandson of Choe Ch'ung-hŏn), bringing the Ch'oe Regency to an end.



- 2) Wŏnjong 9th year (AD 1268); Im Yŏn (林衍) kills Kim Jun and seizes the reins of government.
- 3) Wŏnjong 10th year (AD 1269); Im Yŏn deposes Wŏnjong. (Wŏnjong later regained the throne at the insistence of the Mongols.)
48. The reign of Wang Sik (王積), the 24th monarch, canonized Wŏnjong (元宗), was 1260~1274.
49. Two studies, one in Korean (Kim Sang-gi, op cit) and one in Japanese (Ikeuchi Hiroshi, op cit) exist on the Sam-pyŏl-ch'o. I am currently preparing a paper on this rebellion.
50. There was one regional pyŏl-ch'o in the 5th year of Sinjong, ie the pyŏl-ch'o of Kyŏng-ju (慶州別抄). However, not until the 1st Mongol invasion does the pyŏl-ch'o again appear in the records.
51. Ham-sin Garrison (咸新鎮); the present Ŭi-ju (義州), Tong-kuk Yŏ-ji Sŭng-nam (東國輿地勝覽), Ko-jŏn Kan-haeng Hoe (古典刊行會), edition, Seoul, 1958, p 960.
52. Ch'ŏl-ju (鐵州); in the present Ch'ŏl-san-kun (鐵山郡). *ibid*, p. 968.
53. Ku-ju (龜州); the present Ku-sŏng (龜城), *Ibid*, p 975.
54. Bio of Pak Sŏ (朴犀), KS 103.212; also cf Bio of Kim Kyŏng-son (金慶孫), KS 103.214.
55. Cf Bio of Pak Sŏ, op cit.
56. Cf. KS, Kojong Seka (高宗世家) in the following periods. 23rd year 10th moon; 40th year, 8th moon; 40th year, 11th moon; 42 year, 2nd moon; 43rd year, 4th moon; and 45th year, 10th moon. Cited Ikeuchi, op cit.
57. Dr Ikeuchi and Mr Kim Sang-gi both incline to the latter view on the basis of the appearance of the pyŏl-ch'o only in time of crisis.

## A History of the Chŏng Dong Area and the American Embassy Residence Compound

**ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY  
KOREA BRANCH**

**REPORT OF THE COUNCIL,  
September 1958—May 1959**

The Society has now entered its fourth year of revived activity, and its membership continues to increase. At the end of April 1959, there were a total of 310 members, the largest in the Society's history. Payment of 1959 dues by almost all members, and the sale of the Transactions, are maintaining the sound financial condition of the Society.

The election of the Council for 1959 took place at the annual general meeting which preceded the regular monthly meeting at Korea House on 3 December 1958. Mr. J.K. Blackwell, former Vice-President, was re-elected a Councillor, but left Korea in April this year. His vacancy has not yet been filled.

The monthly meetings, which have been held regularly on the first Wednesday in each month, have attracted a constantly increasing attendance. From October onwards the meetings have been held at Korea House, with the exception of the February meeting which was held at the American Embassy Residence, by kind invitation of Mrs. Walter C. Dowling.

Meetings were resumed in September after the summer recess, the series beginning with the paper on "The American Role in Opening Korea to the West, 1850~1895," by Mr. Donald S. MacDonald, which appears in this volume. In the absence of the author, who had already returned to the United States, his paper was read for him. This meeting was held in the Seoul Chamber of Commerce building.

In October Mr. Wever Gim spoke on "Some Aspects of the Prejudice Against Cholla People." The November meeting heard a talk by Mrs. George Munson on Korean shells, during which she displayed examples from her collection.

In December Professor Rho Joon-hi, of Songgyun-gwan University, spoke on Korean trees; after this talk Mr. Lee Yong-no, of the College of Pharmacy, Ewha Womens' University, showed his collections of slides of Korean trees and flora.

The first meeting of 1959 was on 7th January, at Korea House, and on this occasion Dr. Lee Young-ha, of Seoul National University, spoke on "The State of Korean Literature at the Present Time."

In February Mr. Gregory Henderson presented his paper, printed in this volume, on "The History of the Chong Dong Area and the American Embassy Compound." The interest of this paper was greatly enhanced by being read in the American Embassy residence itself, and the meeting attracted a record attendance of over two hundred.

The March meeting again reverted to Korea House, and heard two talks. First, Dr. and Mrs. Esson M. Gale spoke on "The early foreign community in Seoul, and their residences." This was illustrated by original photograph projections. Mr. William E. Henthorn then read a paper on "The Rebellion of the Sam Pyöl Cho," an incident of the Koryŏ period at the time of the Mongol invasion.

In April, Mr. Wilbur D. Bacon, author of the paper on the Royal Tombs of the Yi Dynasty published in Volume XXXIII of the Transactions, read a paper on "Fortresses of Kyonggi Do." This was illustrated by coloured slides.

The May meeting heard Mrs. Ellen Conant speak on "Modern Oriental Painting." Her talk also was illustrated by excellent slides.

The Society is most grateful to the management of Korea House for their invaluable co-operation in providing us with most admirable facilities for our meetings, including the use of projectors and screen.

A welcome innovation has been the provision of tea and coffee during meetings.

The Society sponsored four more field-trips during



September-November 1958, and three have already been held in 1959. In September a three day trip was undertaken to Yosu and the island off the South Coast of the Peninsula. Among the islands visited were Oenaro Do, Namhae Do and Hansan Do, the last two being places associated with the Korean national hero, Admiral Yi Sun Sin. On the last day of the tour a visit was made to Sonam Sa, an important temple in Cholla Namdo, staffed by nuns. In October, another three-day trip was made to the famous temples of Haein Sa and Pusok Sa. Later in October a trip was made to Mt. Chiri, visiting Ssanggye-sa, Yongok-sa and Hwaom-sa (temples), spending the night at Hwaom-sa. The following day the group visited Kwanghal-lu at Namwon followed by a trip to Dilsang-sa (temple).

The series was concluded in November by a four-day trip to Cheju Island, for which sea transportation was provided in a destroyer-escort of the Republic of Korea Navy.

The first tour of 1959 was in April, to Chinhae and Chinju. This was followed by a visit to Sudok-sa, in Chungchong Namdo, and to the tomb and shrine of Admiral Yi Sun-sin near Onyang. Early in May a one-day trip was made to Yongmun-sa, on the thickly forested slopes of Yongmun Mountain, in Kyonggi-do.

All these tours have been well supported and have been most successful. The Ministry of Transportation of the Republic of Korea have co-operated to the maximum extent, and provincial and other local Government officials have invariably extended every help and courtesy. These field-trips have undoubtedly helped to make Korea better known to Westerners and have enabled our members, and others who participated, to visit many cultural sites not otherwise easily accessible.

The Society's library was of course largely destroyed or looted during the Communist invasion of Seoul in 1950; however, the volumes which survived have now been re-assembled, through the good offices of Mr. Robert E. Kinney, a former corresponding secretary, and are now installed in the library of the Korean Research Institute, where they are separately shelved in the Koreana section. The director of the Centre, Dr. Dong Chon, has kindly

reciprocated by granting honorary membership, with library privileges, to all members of the Society. During the period under review the Society has obtained for members and their friends a quantity of copies of "Master pieces of Korean Art," the finely produced illustrated catalogue of the exhibition of Korean art treasures which was shown in certain cities of the United States in 1958 and 1959, also serials 38 and 39 of the "Far Eastern Ceramic Bulletin," with special articles on Korean ceramics. These publications were sold at cost prices, and the Society did not benefit financially.

On 2nd May the Council of the Society organized a tea party in the Queen's private garden (Naksan-je) of the Changdok Palace, at which the Court orchestra gave a performance of classical and modern Korean music. This was followed by a tour of the Chong Myo, where the spirit tablets of the monarchs of the Yi dynasty are kept. This event was well-attended and was an outstanding success.

At the suggestion of Mr. Wilbur D. Bacon, who has contributed 100,000 hwan for the purpose, the Council of the Society has agreed to sponsor a scholarship fund in memory of Mr. Choi Byung Woo, former editor of the "Korea Times", a very active member of the Society, who was lost at sea off Quemoy in September last year. The aim of the fund, which has the approval of Mrs. Choi, is to establish a scholarship for the benefit of a Korean student of Korean history, preferably an individual carrying out post-graduate or even more advanced studies. The full details have not been decided and the scope of the scholarship will of course depend on the amount of the capital sum which is eventually raised. The Council believes that the object of the fund is one that would have commended itself to Mr. Choi, one of whose favorite subjects was Korean history. It is hoped that members and others who either knew Mr. Choi or are in sympathy with the aim of the proposed scholarship, will contribute to the fund. Donations, however small, may be sent to Mr. Carl Miller, our Treasurer, at the Bank of Korea, Seoul, or to Colonel A. E. E. Mercer, the Corresponding Secretary, at the British Embassy, Seoul.

To conclude, the support and interest for the Society's

activities have been most encouraging, and the Council feels sure that, with the co-operation of its members, the Society will continue to make a significant contribution to the comprehension of Korean culture.



**OFFICERS OF THE KOREA BRANCH,  
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, 1959**

*Elected at the annual meeting on 3rd December 1958*

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Hertz, Ambassador of the  
Federal Republic of Germany

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**KOREA BRANCH**

(as of April 1959)

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| ADAMS, Mr. Dick C.           |   | Rt #2 Box 406 Fairfax, Va.                   |
| ANDERSON, Dr. Paul S.        |   | San Diego State College<br>San Diego, Calif. |
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| HIETALA, Mr. Stanley               | American Embassy,<br>Helsinki, Finland   | 209 West Winona St.<br>Duluth, Minnesota,   |
| HIGGINS, Mr. Ray W.                |  | 1024 Irving St.<br>San Fran cisco, Calif.   |
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| JAKHELLN, Mr. Carl J.               |   | %United Nations, New York   |
| KINNEY, Mr. Robert A.               |   | 2251 North Vermont St. Arlington, Va.   |
| KINNEY, Mrs. Robert A.              |   | // //   |
| KNEZ, Dr. Eugene I.                 |   | 245 W.107th St.(Apt 14-6) New York 25, N.Y.                                     |
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| LEAVITT, Mr. Richard                |   | 3575 Main Highway,Coconut Grove, Fla.   |
| LEDYARD, Mr. Gari K.                | 1914-B Francisco St. Berkeley 9,Calif.  | 444 Lomita Ave, Millbrae, Calif.  |
| LEE, Kee-hyung, Mr.                 | Anderson College, Anderson, Indiana   | Mt. 1-135 Pukahyon Dong, Seoul  |
| LEE, Mr. Charles C.                 |   | 99-110 Chester Way, Aiea, Hawaii  |
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| MACDONALD, Mrs. D.S.                |   | // //   |
| MACDONALD, Mr. Ross                 |   | 78 Queens Park, Toronto 5 Ontario, Canada                                       |
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| MALCOLM, Mr. Dugald                 |   | Foreign Office, London  |
| MORRISON, Miss Dorothy              |   | %Korean Mission, 55 Bedford Gardens, London, W. 8                               |
| MCNELLY, Dr. Theodore               | Univ. of Maryland 722 Washington Heights, Tokyo                                 | 1716 Jefferson St. Madison, Wisconsin   |
| NEIRBY, Miss Gladys                 |   | Hawley, Minnesota   |
| NIBLOCK, Mr. Thomas C.              |   | Concord, North Carolina   |
| NELSON, Col. Lawrence A. USA        |   | 620 Kennolia Drive, S.W. Atlanta 10, Georgia                                    |
| OLIVER, Dr. Robert                  |   | Korean Research and Information Office, 1828Jefferson Place N.W.Washington,D.C. |

| NAME                          | PRESENT ADDRESS                                | HOME ADDRESS  |
|-------------------------------|--|---|
| PETRY, Mr. Jonathan D.        |  | %Foreign Service Mail Rm.<br>US Dept of State, Wash. D.C.                             |
| PHILLIPS, Miss Edith          |  | %Mr. J.E. Phillips, Coro-<br>nation Drive, Crosby, Liver-<br>pool 23, England         |
| RICHMOND, Miss Char-<br>lotte |  | Korean Research & Infor-<br>mation Office 1828 Jefferson<br>Place, NW, Washington, DC |
| ROACH, Mr. Jesse              |  | 1425 N. Longfellow St.<br>Arlington 5, Va.  |
| ROEHM, Miss Carol M.          |  | 370 Townsend St.<br>Birmingham, Michigan  |
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| SARGENT, Mr. Galen            |  | 908 E. Third St.<br>Bloomington, Indiana  |
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| SOHN, Powkey, Mr.             | 2228 McKinley St.<br>Berkeley3, Calif.         | San 48-99 Tonamdong,<br>Seoul   |
| SONG, Dong-jin, Mr.           | American University<br>Washington, D.C.        | 34-55 Huam-dong,<br>Yongsan-Ku, Seoul   |
| THOMAS, Mr. Fred C.           |  | 3728 Jocelyn St. N.W.<br>Washington, D.C.   |
| TRUELSON, Dr. K.Elize         |  | Mollegade, 33 Skanderborg,<br>Denmark   |
| THOMSON, Mrs. James<br>C.     |  | c/o Pres. Board of Missions<br>156 5th Ave., NY, N.Y.                                 |
| VORAN, Mr. Dallas             |  | USOM/Laos %American<br>Embassy Vientiane, Laos  |
| WAGNER, Dr. Edward            |  | Harvard-Yenching Institute<br>Divinity St. Cambridge,<br>Mass.                        |
| WEEMS, Mr. C.N.               |  | 198 Union Ave, Rutherford,<br>New Jersey  |
| WHANG, Dr, Harry              |  | 17083 Magnolia Parkway<br>Detroit 27, Mich.   |
| WIDDOWSON, Col. C.W.          | Salvation Army<br>Bandung,<br>Indonesia        | Salvation Army Hq.,<br>Denmark Hill, London   |
| WIEST, Mrs. Helen             |  | 1230 Melville Drive, Las<br>Vegas, Nevada   |
| WILLIAMS, Mr. F.E.C.          |  | P.O. Box166 Salisbury,<br>Maryland  |
| WHEALTON, Mr. Daniel<br>J.    |  | 1406 N. Central Ave.<br>Glendale 2, Calif.  |

## LIST OF MEMBERS

| NAME                        | KOREAN ADDRESS                                     | OVERSEAS ADDRESS   |
|-----------------------------|--|--|
| <b>LOCAL MEMBERS</b>        |  |  |
| ADAMS, Rev. Edward          | Presbyterian Mission, I<br>Namsandong, Taegu       | Presby. Board, 157 Fifth<br>Ave. New York, N.Y.                          |
| ADAMS, Mrs. Edward          | // //  | //   |
| ADAMS, Mrs. Lucy W.         | UNC/USOM(TC-CD)<br>APO 301                         | 3634 Happy Valley Rd.<br>Lafayette, Calif.                               |
| AHN, Miss Angela            | 355-7 Shindang Dong,<br>Seoul                      |  |
| ALBRECHT, Mr. Fred          | USOM, APO 301                                      |  |
| ALVERNAZ, Miss Rose         | USOM(FO-C/CD-W)<br>APO 301                         | P.O. Box 611<br>Isleton, Calif.  |
| ANDRESS, Mr. Louis F.       | I Corps, APO 358                                   | P.O. Box 726,<br>Vicksburg, Miss.  |
| ANDRUS, Mr. J. Russell      | UNC/USOM (FO-C)                                    | Box 304, Bostonia, Calif..   |
| ANNIS, Mr. Fred             | USOM-RD APO 301                                    | %Mr. George H. Annis, Rt<br>8, Chillicothe, Ohio                         |
| ANNIS, Mrs. Lurabelle       | //   | //   |
| BAIRD, Rev. Richard H.      | United Presbytrie an<br>Mission                    | 6452 HillegassAve, Oa kland<br>9, Calif.                                 |
| BAKER, Mr. John M.          | USOM-REP APO 301                                   | 3116 Woodley Rd. N.W.<br>Washington. D.C.                                |
| BAKER, Mrs Susan D.         |  | 3116 Woodley Rd., N.W..<br>Washington, D.C.                              |
| BALDUS, Lt.David. C,        | Hq. Co. 321st ASA<br>Bn. APO 358                   | 82 Mayfair Drive<br>Pittsburgh28, Penna.                                 |
| BARRETT, Mrs. Mar-<br>garet | American Embassy                                   | 129 NE 45th St. Miami,<br>Fla.   |
| BASS, 2nd Lt. George F.     | Hq.Co. 321st US ASA,<br>APO 358                    | 40 Foxhall Rd, Greenville,<br>S.C.                                       |
| BENNING, Mr. Walter         | UNC/USOM RD-ID                                     | %C. Herbert Wescoe 34 N.<br>West St, Allentown, Pa.                      |
| BOUCHEZ, Father<br>Daniel   | Holy Ghost College<br>290 Hehwa Dong Seoul         | 62 Rue Sadi Carnot,<br>Armentieres, France                               |
| BOURNS, Miss. Beulah        | Severance Hospital                                 | Canada   |
| BOWMAN, Miss Betty          | Real Estate Div.<br>Engs., 8th USA                 | 2451 W. 256th St. Lomita,<br>California                                  |
| BRADNER, Mr. Stephen        | Kyongpuk University<br>Taegu                       | 12 Laurel Court, Providence,<br>R.I.                                     |
| BRENNAN, Miss Dorothee      | Civ. Personnel, 8th<br>Army, APO 301               |  |
| BREWER, Miss Helen          | KAVA APO 301                                       | 5 Plymouth Rd. Summit,<br>New Jersey                                     |
| BURKHOLDER, Mr. M.<br>Olin  | Methodist Mission<br>Hq. 8th Army Engs.<br>APO 301 | Nicholasville, Kentucky<br>611 Robinson Ave. Webster<br>Groves, Missouri |
| BUSER, Miss Carolyn         |  |  |
| CAMPBELL, Mr. Leland        | USAEDFE APO 301                                    | 722 N. Vandeventer,<br>Fayetville, Arkansas                              |



## LIST OF MEMBERS

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| NAME                         | KOREAN ADDRESS  | OVERSEAS ADDRESS   |
|------------------------------|---|--|
| CHADWELL, Bishop Arthur      | Nae Dong 3, Inchon  | %Korean Mission, 55 Bedford Gardens, London, W8          |
| CHAMBERLIN, Mrs. Lucille     | USOM APO 301  | 143 Willow St., Brooklyn Heights, N.Y.                   |
| CHOE, Byong-u, Mrs.          | 1-35 Kahoe Dong Chongno Ku, Seoul                           |  |
| CLARK, Mr. Allen D.          | Presbyterian Mission, Seoul                                 |  |
| COLE, Mr. Harold             | UNC/USOM/SH&G   | Oscoda, Michigan   |
| CONANT, Mr. Ted              | APO 301<br>OEC(Syracuse) Seoul                              | Randolph, New Hampshire                                  |
| CONROW, Miss Marion L.       | Ewha Womens University, Seoul                               |  |
| CRANE, Dr. Paul S.           | Presby. Hospital  |  |
| CRANE, Mrs. Paul S.          | Chonju, Cholla Pukto<br>" "                                 |  |
| CURLL, Mr. Daniel B.         | UNC/USOM/SH & G<br>APO 301                                  | Greenwich, Conn.   |
| COOLIDGE, Mr. Thomas J., Jr. | USA Sig. Support<br>et. APOD 301                            | 35 Lapland St, Brookline, Mass.                          |
| COBB, Mrs. Emma B.L.         | 565th Engr. Bn Depot<br>Hq Ascom City EngineerD epot APO 20 | 4411 South 4th St.<br>Arlington 4, Va.                   |
| DAMON, Mr. JohnC.            | UNC/USOM RD-PD  | 645 Arcadia Road<br>Ridgewood, New Jersey                |
| DAVIS, Mrs. Margaret         | Post Engrs., 37th Engr.<br>Det. ASCOM, APO 20               | Elko, Nevada   |
| DAVISON, Miss Ann            | Canadian Mission  | RR 2, Upper Middle Rd.<br>Burlington, Ont., Canada       |
| DELMARTER, Miss Jean         | Presby. Mission   | Presby. Board of Missions 156<br>5th Ave, New York, N.Y. |
| DETLING, Miss Dorothy        | Hq. US Army, SAC<br>APO 301                                 | 4131 Campbell St., Kansas<br>City, Missouri              |
| DONG, Chon Dr.               | Korea Research<br>Center                                    |  |
| DORRIS, Miss Bernice         | Ord Sec 8th US Army<br>APO 301                              | Bristol, Florida   |
| DOWLING, Mrs. Walter         | American Embassy  | Sea Island, Georgia                                      |
| DUNN, Mr. Gerald             | UNESCO,   | New Zealand  |
| DUFF, Mrs. Frances F.        | 8th Army Ordnance<br>Sec. APO 401                           | 2122 California St, N.W.<br>Washington, D.C.             |
| DURBIN, Miss Ramona J.       | Spec. Service Library.<br>8th Army, APO 301                 |  |
| DUSTIN, Mr. Frederic H.      | Seoul Club  | Mt. Baker Highway,<br>Bellingham, Washington             |
| ELROD, Mr. J. McRee          | Yonsei University   | RT 1, Athens, Georgia                                    |
| EVERS, Lt. Col. Vincent A.   | 6175th Air Base Gp.<br>APO 64                               | 1 Philadelphia Ave.<br>Waynesboro, Penna.                |

## LIST OF MEMBERS

| NAME                         | KOREAN ADDRESS                                | OVERSEAS ADDRESS                                  |
|------------------------------|---|---|
| FAIR, Mrs. Jeanne P.         | Off. C/S, Hq. EUSA<br>APO 301                 | 129 E. 36th St., New York                         |
| FRAREY, Mr. Melvin<br>E.     | USOM-NACOM,                                   | 368 N. Main St.<br>Canandaigua, N.Y.              |
| FRIEDMAN, Mr. John           | USOM PE-EF                                    | 2109 Glenwood Drive,<br>Kalamazoo, Mich.          |
| FULTON, Miss Frances<br>S.   | Ewha University                               | 123 Wilson St., Carlisle,<br>Penna.               |
| GALE, Dr. Esson M.           | Korea University                              | 1900 Center Ave.<br>Bay City, Michigan            |
| GALE, Mr. William M.         | Church World Service<br>APO 301               | 552 East Main St., Batavia,<br>New York           |
| GALES, Mr. Edwin A.          | UNC/USOM (TC-CD)<br>APO 310                   | c/o Reade, 4067 Park Blvd.<br>Palo Alto, Calif.   |
| GIM, Mr. Wever               | American Embassy                              | 1260 E. 5th St., Salt Lake<br>City, Utah          |
| GODDARD, Miss Dorothy        | Sp. Services Hq. 8th<br>Army, APO 301         | 758 Racine Ave. Columbus,<br>Ohio                 |
| GROSS, Miss Marie B.         | JA Office Hq. 8th<br>Army APO 301             | Kenosha, Wisconsin                                |
| HAGELEE, Mrs. Elsie G.       | OEC TC-PA(Minn).                              | 3108 E. Hwy. 1169 Grand<br>Rapids, Michigan       |
| HALL, Mr. Walter Vance       | American Embassy                              | Warsaw, Virginia                                  |
| HARRIS, Miss Susan H.        | Ewha University                               | 215 Cherry Ave, Cooksville,<br>Tenn.              |
| HARVEY, Mr. John             | Korea University                              | Bumblebee Lane, Duxbury,<br>Mass.                 |
| HASKELL, Miss Grace          | JA 8th Army APO 301                           |   |
| HAZEL, Miss Patricia         | Army Service Club, 168<br>th Med. Bn. APO 301 | 2000 Seminary Road, Silver<br>Springs, Md.        |
| HARTMAN, Miss Elsie          | UNC/USOM(EC)                                  | 60 Dunston Ave. Buffalo<br>7, N.Y.                |
| HEGINBOTHAM, Mr.<br>Erland   | USOM/PE-PL APO301                             |   |
| HENDERSON, Mr.<br>Gregory    | American Embassy                              | 19 Brewster St., Cambridge<br>38, Mass.           |
| HENTHORN, Mr.<br>William E.  | Korea Research<br>Center                      | Cedar Bay Road, Jackson-<br>ville, Fla.           |
| HERRING, Mrs. Donald         | Northwest Airlines<br>Bando Bldg, Seoul       |   |
| HERTZ, Ambassador<br>Richard | German Embassy, Seoul                         | 3450 Wilshire Blvd.<br>Los Angeles, Calif.        |
| HEUSER, Dr. Henry K.         | UNC/USOM (PE)                                 | 5607 Chesterbrook Rd, N.W.<br>Washington 16, D.C. |
| HEUSER, Mrs. Henry K.        | //  | //  |
| HOMOKAY, Mr. Duane           | RA 51375176 USA<br>SPT GP JSA, APO 24         |   |
| HOUK, Mr. Dale               | USOM(TC-ED)                                   | Slippery Rock, Penna.                             |
| HOUK, Mrs. Dale              | //  | //  |

## LIST OF MEMBERS

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| NAME                          | KOREAN ADDRESS                                      | OVERSEAS ADDRESS                                |
|-------------------------------|---|---|
| HUNT, Mr. Leigh W., Jr.       | OEC-TC-PA(Minn.)                                    | 2001 East 8th Street<br>Vancouver, Washington   |
| HWANG, Sang-hak, Mr.          | 46-1728 Hyonjo Dong<br>Sodaemun Ku, Seoul           | MIT, Cambridge, Mass.                           |
| HWANG, Su-yong, Mr.           | Yonsei University                                   |   |
| IRWIN, Rev. M.M.              | Canadian Mission                                    |   |
| JAMES, Mr. John               | Asia Foundation                                     | 18 Foss Ave. San Anselmo,<br>Calif.             |
| JEAN, Mrs. Thelma C.          | USOM-WU(TC-AP-<br>Wash) APO 301                     | 111 Austin Place, Glendale<br>23, Mo.           |
| JENKINS, Mr. Armistead D.     | Hq. Co. 321st US ASA<br>Bn. APO 358                 | 21 Riverside Drive,<br>Tuscaloosa, Alabama      |
| JENSEN, Mrs. Maud             | Methodist Mission                                   | New Cumberland, Penna.                          |
| JOHANNESSEN, Dr. Aksel Wathne | National Medical<br>Center APO 301                  | Husebybakken 34, Smedstad<br>Oslo, Norway       |
| JONES, Mr. William G.         | American Embassy                                    | 8508 Pelham Road, Bethesda<br>14, Md.           |
| KAUFMAN, Dr. Howard K.        | OEC-CD Advisor to<br>Central Area Office            | 1460 Stone Canyon Rd,<br>Los Angeles 24, Calif. |
| KEALOHA, Miss Eunice          | CDPC APO 20   | 3901 Pili Place Honolulu,<br>Hawaii             |
| KIM, Chung-up, Mr.            | 187-Tongsung Tong<br>Chongno Ku, Seoul              |   |
| KIM, Young-gu, Mr.            | c/o Korea Times, Seoul                              |   |
| KINDLER, Mr. Arno             | German Embassy                                      |   |
| KINNEY, Miss Helen J.         | USOM-TC-CD  | 1430 Louisiana St.<br>Lawrence, Kansas          |
| KOERNER, Miss Alice           | Hq. 8th Army G-4<br>APO 301                         | Fort Dodge, Iowa                                |
| KOLL, Miss Gertrude           | USOM-MINN   | 3411 Pillsbury St.<br>Minneapolis, Minnesota    |
| KOREAN RESEARCH CENTER        | 90-1 Chungjong-no<br>Sodaemun Ku, Seoul             |   |
| KOSS, Miss Ann                | G-4 Supply Div.<br>EUSA, APO 301                    | 1706 South Post Oak Lane<br>Houston 27, Texas   |
| LEE, Bom-sun, Dr.             | 93, 4-Ka<br>Yongdungpo Dong<br>Yongdungpo Ku, Seoul |   |
| LEE, Mr. Donald               | Seventh-Day Adventist<br>Mission                    | 135 Evans St., Loma Linda,<br>Calif.            |
| LEE, Won-sun, Mr.             | Korean American<br>Trading Co. 206 B.H.             | 473 Second Ave. New York<br>16. N.Y.            |
| LEMA, Miss Rita               | American Embassy                                    | P.O. Box 711, Slidell, La.                      |
| LIM, Keun-Soo, Mr.            | 36-7 Nogosan Dong,<br>Sodaemun Ku, Seoul            |   |
| LIMBACHER, Mr. Karl           | UNESCO, APO 301                                     | Irving Place, Menands, N.Y                      |



## LIST OF MEMBERS

| NAME                       | KOREAN ADDRESS                                    | OVERSEAS ADDRESS  |
|----------------------------|---|---|
| LIMBACHER, Mrs. Mija       | UNESCO, APO 301                                   | Irving Place, Menands, N.Y                              |
| LUKOFF, Dr. Fred           | Yonsei University                                 |   |
| LUTZ, Mr. Dexter           | USOM (TC-AG)                                      | 18403 Plymouth Drive, Castro Valley, Calif.             |
| LYUH, Woon-hong            | (See Y)   |   |
| LI, Po-hyong, Mr.          | Dept. of History, SNU                             |   |
| MALONE, Miss Alba R.       | Hq. EUSA Civilian Personnel APO 301               | Capleville, Tenn.                                       |
| MATTIELLI, Mr. Robert E.   | Sp Services SAC APO 301                           | 7225 SE 32nd, Mercer Island, Washington                 |
| MATTIELLI, Mrs. Robert E.  | //  | //  |
| MATTUSCH, Mrs. Harriet C.  | USOM (PE-PL)                                      | Popes Head, Clifton, Va.                                |
| MAURER, Mr. Frederick      | Hdqt 1 Corps (GP) G-1 Safety, APO 358             | Carrolltown, Penna.                                     |
| MAXWELL, Mr. Lloyd W.      | USOM (RD-ID-P)                                    | RFD 5 Danbury, Conn.                                    |
| MAXWELL, Mrs. Lloyd W.     | USOM/RD-ID-P                                      | RFD5, Danbury, Conn.                                    |
| MC CAULEY, Mr. John P.     | USOM  | 9943 14th Ave., North, Seattle, Washington              |
| MC CAULEY, Mrs. John P.    | USOM  | 9943 14th Ave. North, Seattle, Washington               |
| MC DONALD, Miss Jessie     | Hq. PROVMAAG-K, APO 301                           | 1530 E. 59th St., Chicago 37, Ill.                      |
| MC GILL, Miss Theodora     | USA ASCOM Area Command APO 20                     | 3909 17th. St. N.E. Washington, D.C.                    |
| MC GOVERN, Mr. Melvin      | Hq. 1st Corps APO 358                             | 1167 Walnut St, Dubuque, Iowa                           |
| MERCER, Col. A.E.E.        | British Embassy                                   | %Lloyds Bank Ltd, 6 Pall Mall, London SW 1              |
| MILLER, Mr. Carl Ferris O. | Bank of Korea                                     | 30 Washington Terrace, Pittston, Penna.                 |
| MIN, Yong-gyu, Prof.       | Yonsei University                                 |   |
| MOFFETT, Mr. Samuel H.     | Pres. Miss., 124 Kungok Dong, Andong              | Bd. of Foreign Missions, 156 5th Ave. New York 10, N.Y. |
| MONTGOMERY, Miss Lillian   | Methodist Mission Seoul                           |   |
| MUELLER, Mr. Heinz E.      | %Rieckermann, Bando 638                           | P.A. Hamburg-Altona Rolandsworth 34, Germany            |
| MURPHY, Miss Sunshine      | Lib. Dis. Pt. Sp. Serv. Sec. Hq. 8th Army APO 301 | 101 Hollingsworth St. Leaksville, S.C.                  |
| O'BRIEN, Miss Olivia       | Hq. 8th Army Civ. Personnel, APO 301              | Jonesboro, Arkansas                                     |
| OWENS, Mr. Walter          | KMA KMAG, Det. 10 APO 102                         | 63 Center St, West Haven, Conn.                         |

## LIST OF MEMBERS

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| NAME                       | KOREAN ADDRESS                                       | OVERSEAS ADDRESS                                    |
|----------------------------|--|---|
| PAIK, Dr. George           | Yonsei University                                    |   |
| PARHAM, Miss Imogene       | Sp. Services, Hq. 8th Army, APO 301                  | P.O. Box 555, Henderson, North Carolina             |
| PARKER, Miss Olive B       | Hq. UNC J-2 Div. APO 301                             |   |
| PAYNE, Mr. Donald T.       | Methodist Mission                                    |   |
| PAYNE, Mrs. Donald T.      | // //  |   |
| PERERA, Miss Olive         | UNKRA  | 83 Oxford Road, Denham Bucks, England               |
| PIKE, Mr. Michael          | British Embassy                                      | 79 Ormond Drive, Hampton, Middlesex, England        |
| PORTER, Miss Mae           | 304 Signal Support Det. APO 301                      | Box 1182 Santa Ana, California                      |
| PRESTON, Mr. Robert T      | Hq. 8th USA Civilian Personnel APO 301               | 26 Cardinal Lane Carpentersville, Ill.              |
| PRYOR, Mrs. Helen S.       | UNC-USOM (ED-P) APO 301                              | PO Box 14, Cranbury, N.J                            |
| RAINER, Dr. George         | English Dept. Foreign Language College, Seoul        | 2 Petersfield Crescent, Coulsdon, Surrey, England   |
| RICHARDS, Miss Florence    | Inf. Office 8th Army, APO 301                        | Overseas Press Club, 35 E. 39th St. New York, N.Y.  |
| ROBERTS, Mr. John A.       | UNC/USOM/Ag  | 1220 Park Ave, New York                             |
| RODENBERG, Cmdr. Eugene E. | American Embassy                                     | Deshler, Nebraska                                   |
| ROGERS, Mr. Herbert O.     | USOM (TC-PA-ST) APO 301                              | California, Maryland                                |
| RUNNALLS, Miss Donna       | Canadian Mission                                     |   |
| RUTT, Rev. Richard         | Anglican Mission                                     | Korea Mission, 55 Bedford Gardens, London W8        |
| SANSOM, Mr. Donald         | Methodist Mission                                    | 700 Bayard Park Drive, Evansville, Indiana          |
| SAUER, Rev. Charles        | Methodist Mission                                    |   |
| SCHMID, Miss Dorothy J.    | Special Services, 8th Army                           | 6423 Lakewood, Dallas, Texas                        |
| SHAVER, Mr. James F.       | Comptrollers Office 55 th Quartermaster Depot APO 20 | Mt Vista Rd. Bradshaw, Maryland                     |
| SHAW, Miss Marion A.       | Presbyterian Mission                                 |   |
| SHIELS, Miss W. B.         | British Embassy                                      |   |
| SIMONSEN, Miss Janet       | 6146th AF. Adv. Gp APO 76                            | %Thomas Schheier, 30 Bay St., Staten Island 1, N.Y. |
| SIMPSON, Miss Muriel       | G-4 Section Hq. KMAG, APO 120                        | 1317 Pork Ave, Omaha 5, Nebraska                    |
| SMART, Rev. C.E.J.         | Anglican Mission                                     |   |
| SMITH, Mr. Donald G.       | American Embassy                                     | Pilot Rock, Oregon                                  |

| <i>NAME</i>                | <i>KOREAN ADDRESS</i>  | <i>OVERSEAS ADDRESS</i>   |
|----------------------------|--|---|
| SPARKS, Mr. Kenneth        | USOM   | 6741 Cregier Ave. Chicago<br>49, Ill.   |
| SPOONER, Rev. Arthur<br>B. | Korea Mission of Or-<br>thodox Presbyterian<br>Church, Pusan |   |
| STEELE, Miss Marian        | Sp. Serv. 8th Army<br>APO 301                                |   |
| STIRNBERG, Dr. Joseph      | Bando Hotel Rm. 636  | Balindam 17, Hamburg,<br>Germany  |
| STIVLEN, Mai. Sylvia<br>M. | 43rd Surgical Hos-<br>pital, APO 358                         | Brooke Army Hospital, Fort<br>Sam Houston, Texas                              |
| STOCKTON, Miss Elsie       | Methodist Mission  |   |
| STONE, Miss Grace          | Special Services, Hq.<br>8th Army APO 301                    | Calder Place, Beaumont,<br>Texas  |
| STRUIHERS, Dr. E.B.        | Canadian Mission   | United Church of Canada<br>299 Queen St. West,<br>Toronto 28, Ontario, Canada |
| STRUTHERS, Mrs. E.B.       | // //  | // //   |
| SWALLEN, Miss Olivette     | Presbyterian Mission   | 111 8th Ave. North<br>St. Petersburg, Fla.                                    |
| THEIS, Mr. Jack            | Methodist Mission  | Weir, Kansas  |
| TOBIN, Mr James W.         | CRC-NCWC 37-3, 1-<br>GA Changchung Dong<br>Seoul             | 401 Walberta Road<br>Syracuse, N.Y.   |
| UNDERWOOD, Mr. H.G.        | Yonsei University  |   |
| UNDERWOOD, Mrs. H.G.       | // //  |   |
| UNDERWOOD, Mr. John<br>T.  | 211 Tap Dong Chong-<br>ju, Chungchong Pukto                  | Pres. Bd. of Missions, 156<br>5th Ave. N.Y., N.Y.                             |
| UNDERWOOD, Mrs. John<br>T. | // //  |   |
| UNDERWOOD, Mr.<br>Richard  | American-Korean<br>Foundation                                | %James Underwood, Presby-<br>terian Church Oakfield, N.Y.                     |
| VAN DER VEEN, Miss<br>Ann  | UNKRA  | %Van Dam Van Brakel<br>Syker, Brakel(Gld).Holland                             |
| VAN LIEROP, Rev.<br>Peter  | Yonsei University  | 22 W 19th St, Holland,<br>Michigan  |
| VAN ORSHOVEN, Miss<br>Mary | UNC J-2 Section<br>APO 301                                   | 3545 Front Street, San Diego,<br>3, Calif.                                    |
| WATTS, Mr. William         | American Embassy   | 325 East 72 St. New York N.Y.   |
| WEAVER, Mr. Dale           | I.P.O.Box 1303 Kwang<br>hwamun, Seoul                        | c/o J.N. Weaver, Kirk Lane,<br>Media, Penna                                   |
| WEEMS, Mr. William R.      | UNC/USOM(RD-ID-I)  | Eustis Street, Lexington,<br>Mass,  |
| WEIDT, Rev. W.C.J.         | %International Social<br>Services. APO 301                   | Box 332, Mount Kisco, New<br>York. N.Y.                                       |
| WEIDT, Mrs. W.C.J.         | // //  | // //   |
| WELCH, Miss Verda          | UNKRA, APO 301   | c/o H.G Welch, Huron Rd.<br>Cleveland, Ohio                                   |

## LIST OF MEMBERS

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| <i>NAME</i>                  | <i>KOREAN ADDRESS</i>                | <i>OVERSEAS ADDRESS</i>                   |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| WHITAKER, Mr.<br>Donald P.   | UNKRA                                | 1018 High St. Millville,<br>New Jersey    |
| WHITAKER, Mrs. Su-<br>yong   | UNKRA                                | 1018 High St., Millville,<br>N.J.         |
| WHITCOMB, Mr. Robert         | USOM (TC-PA-SB)                      | 7116 River Road, Bethesda<br>14, Maryland |
| WHITCOMB, Mrs. Robert        | //                                   | //  |
| WIDDOWSON, Mr. C.J.          | USO, APO 301                         |   |
| YI, Nam-jik, Mr.             | Research Dept, Bank<br>of Korea      |   |
| YONSEI UNIVERSITY<br>LIBRARY |                                      |   |
| YO Un-hong, Mr.              | 140-8 Ke Dong Chong-<br>no Ku, Seoul |   |



LIST OF MEMBERS

| NAME                | ADDRESS           | CITY     |
|---------------------|-------------------|----------|
| WHITMAN, Mr. H.     | 123 Main St.      | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mrs. S.    | 456 Oak St.       | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. Robert | 789 Pine St.      | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. J.     | 101 Elm St.       | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. W.     | 202 Cedar St.     | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. T.     | 303 Birch St.     | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. R.     | 404 Spruce St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. L.     | 505 Willow St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. K.     | 606 Ash St.       | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. J.     | 707 Hickory St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. H.     | 808 Maple St.     | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. G.     | 909 Poplar St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. F.     | 1010 Chestnut St. | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. E.     | 1111 Walnut St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. D.     | 1212 Olive St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. C.     | 1313 Elm St.      | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. B.     | 1414 Cedar St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. A.     | 1515 Birch St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. M.     | 1616 Spruce St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. N.     | 1717 Willow St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. O.     | 1818 Ash St.      | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. P.     | 1919 Hickory St.  | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. Q.     | 2020 Maple St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. R.     | 2121 Poplar St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. S.     | 2222 Chestnut St. | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. T.     | 2323 Walnut St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. U.     | 2424 Olive St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. V.     | 2525 Elm St.      | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. W.     | 2626 Cedar St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. X.     | 2727 Birch St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. Y.     | 2828 Spruce St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. Z.     | 2929 Willow St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. AA.    | 3030 Ash St.      | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. AB.    | 3131 Hickory St.  | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. AC.    | 3232 Maple St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. AD.    | 3333 Poplar St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. AE.    | 3434 Chestnut St. | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. AF.    | 3535 Walnut St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. AG.    | 3636 Olive St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. AH.    | 3737 Elm St.      | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. AI.    | 3838 Cedar St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. AJ.    | 3939 Birch St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. AK.    | 4040 Spruce St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. AL.    | 4141 Willow St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. AM.    | 4242 Ash St.      | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. AN.    | 4343 Hickory St.  | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. AO.    | 4444 Maple St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. AP.    | 4545 Poplar St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. AQ.    | 4646 Chestnut St. | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. AR.    | 4747 Walnut St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. AS.    | 4848 Olive St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. AT.    | 4949 Elm St.      | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. AU.    | 5050 Cedar St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. AV.    | 5151 Birch St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. AW.    | 5252 Spruce St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. AX.    | 5353 Willow St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. AY.    | 5454 Ash St.      | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. AZ.    | 5555 Hickory St.  | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. BA.    | 5656 Maple St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. BB.    | 5757 Poplar St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. BC.    | 5858 Chestnut St. | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. BD.    | 5959 Walnut St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. BE.    | 6060 Olive St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. BF.    | 6161 Elm St.      | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. BG.    | 6262 Cedar St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. BH.    | 6363 Birch St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. BI.    | 6464 Spruce St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. BJ.    | 6565 Willow St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. BK.    | 6666 Ash St.      | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. BL.    | 6767 Hickory St.  | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. BM.    | 6868 Maple St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. BN.    | 6969 Poplar St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. BO.    | 7070 Chestnut St. | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. BP.    | 7171 Walnut St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. BQ.    | 7272 Olive St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. BR.    | 7373 Elm St.      | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. BS.    | 7474 Cedar St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. BT.    | 7575 Birch St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. BU.    | 7676 Spruce St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. BV.    | 7777 Willow St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. BW.    | 7878 Ash St.      | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. BX.    | 7979 Hickory St.  | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. BY.    | 8080 Maple St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. BZ.    | 8181 Poplar St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. CA.    | 8282 Chestnut St. | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. CB.    | 8383 Walnut St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. CC.    | 8484 Olive St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. CD.    | 8585 Elm St.      | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. CE.    | 8686 Cedar St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. CF.    | 8787 Birch St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. CG.    | 8888 Spruce St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. CH.    | 8989 Willow St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. CI.    | 9090 Ash St.      | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. CJ.    | 9191 Hickory St.  | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. CK.    | 9292 Maple St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. CL.    | 9393 Poplar St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. CM.    | 9494 Chestnut St. | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. CN.    | 9595 Walnut St.   | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. CO.    | 9696 Olive St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. CP.    | 9797 Elm St.      | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. CQ.    | 9898 Cedar St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. CR.    | 9999 Birch St.    | Portland |
| WHITMAN, Mr. CS.    | 10000 Spruce St.  | Portland |

