TRANSACTIONS OF THE KOREA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

VOL. II

1902

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Kang-Wha (江華)

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If you examine the western coast-line of Korea on the map, following it upwards from its south-western extremity, you will find that for about two hundred and fifty miles it runs in a generally northerly direction between the meridians 126° and 127° E. of Greenwich. It then takes a sharp right-angle turn to the west, protruding far into the Yellow Sea, before it takes another northerly turn which carries it with a curve to the mouth of the Ya-lu River. It is in the north-east angle of the gulf formed by this sudden turn in the general direction of the coast-line that the island of Kang-wha lies, barring the mouth of the Kyŭng Kang (京江) or Han Kang (漢江), Seoul River or Han River, the higher reaches of which are so familiar to residents in Seoul and the neighbourhood. On the south and west Kang-wha is really exposed to the open sea, but for many miles in both directions the surface of the sea and the line of the horizon are so broken with numerous rocks and islands of varying size, as to create the impression rather of a land-locked gulf and actually to render approach by ship from the open sea a matter of considerable difficulty. On the north, Kang-wha is separated from the mainland by an estuary a mile or more in width, across which, in a due northerly direction, at a distance of some twenty odd miles, stand up in striking array the peaks of Song-ak San (松岳山), the guardian range of the ancient capital, Song-do (松都). On the east, a narrow strait, hardly more than a couple of hundred yards wide in its narrowest places, severs the island of Kang-wha from the mainland. It is through this strait, infested with rocks and rapids and with a tide rushing like a mill-race, that boats travelling from Chemulpo to Seoul must first find their way before reaching the mouth of the Han Kang proper, which debouches off the north-east angle of Kang-wha, and it is across this strait that the ferries ply, [page 2] connecting the island with the high roads leading to Seoul, which lies at a distance of some thirty-five miles (reckoned, however, by the Koreans as one hundred and twenty *li*) in a south-easterly direction.

To those of us who (for our sins) had to travel much in pre-railway days between Seoul and Chemulpo, the water-route through these picturesque narrows became very familiar ― the roaring whirlpool of Son-dol Mok (孫乭項) the halt at the ferry-towns of Kap-kot-chi (甲串) or Wol-kot (月串) to pick up Kang-wha passengers; and on the west the lofty hills and fertile plains of Kang-wha itself, hemmed in by a waterside girdle of quaint old forts and ramparts. The narrowness of these straits, coupled with the fact that for most of us Chemulpo was almost invariably the terminus of our journeys, misled many into believing that the straits themselves were but a continuation of the Han river and that the mouth of the river itself was to be looked for at Chemulpo. The Koreans, however, always refer to the water of these straits as “sea;” and indeed a glance at the map will show that at the mouth of the Han as it would be to speak of Dover being at the mouth of the Thames.

On the western, *i.e.*, the Kang-wha, side of this strait, the coast is defended by a line of old battlemented ramparts, some forty or fifty *li* in length, stretching from the south-east to the north-east corner of the island, and punctuated every mile or so with small round forts or towers. [\*Those which possessed a resident garrison and commanding officer are called chin (鎭), and of these there are twelve. The remaining fifty odd are known as ton-dae (墪臺) and were only garrisoned as need required.]

These forts, indeed, to the number of some sixty or seventy, are dotted all round the coast of the island, and not confined, like the continuous rampart, to the eastern shore, which dominates the strait. They appear to have been erected at different dates, but the greater number of them are not more ancient than the early part of the reign of King Suk-jong (肅宗大王), that is, the close of the seventeenth century. The old rampart, however, on the eastern shore can boast a much greater antiquity at least in its original inception, [page 3] than these detached forts. The earliest notice I have found of it is the record of its erection in the year 1253, when King Ko-jong (高宗王) of the Ko-ryŭ dynasty, flying from the face of O-go-dai Khan’s invading Mongols, removed his court and capital from Song-do to Kang-wha. It has suffered much in the course of its history, partly from the violence of invaders and partly from the ravages of time, and as it has been often patched and repaired during the last six and a half centuries, it is probable that little if any of the original structure remains. The rampart itself is constructed of heavy, uncemented stones and averages some fifteen or twenty feet in height, or rather less, while the battlements, which were added in 1742 under King Yŭng-jong (英宗大王), the “Grand Monarque” of the present dynasty, are built of brick-work, in professed imitation of the walls of Peking! The bricks are very large and very hard and well cemented together; and, seeing what the Koreans can do in this way, one is inclined to wonder that brick-work does not play a larger part in their architecture. Here and there in the long line of fortifications an old rusty cannon still remains to remind the inhabitants of Kang-wha’s past military importance, but nearly all the artillery has been removed, and forts, ramparts, guard-houses and barracks are all now deserted and rapidly falling into decay.

Two points in this narrow strait on the east of Kang-wha call for special remark before we leave this part of our subject; viz., Kwang-söng and Kap-kot-chi, being the points at which the two chief ferries carry passengers across the water *en route* from Kang-wha to Seoul, At Kwang-söng (廣城) where the water-course makes a sudden zig-zag turn between abrupt but not very lofty cliffs, near the southern entrance of the strait, are to be found, close to the ferry, the forts rendered famous by the American expedition of 1871; there also are the rapids and whirlpools known to the Koreans by the name of Son-dol Mok (孫乭項) or the Strait of Son-dol. A not very correct version of the story which has given rise to this name appeared in one of the earlier volumes of the *Korean Repository*, over the signature of Alexandis Poleax, but I believe the correct version to run as follows:― On the occasion of one of the Mongol invasions which harassed Korea some [page 4] six hundred years or more ago, the then king (history has not preserved his name), flying from his foes took boat on the eastern shore of Kang-wha, hoping to escape down these straits to the open sea and there take refuge in some more remote island. The boatman’s name was Son-dol. Misled by the land-locked appearance of the water, caused by the sudden zig-zig turn at this point in the narrows, and finding his boat whirling round and round in the grip of the eddy, the king jumped to the conclusion that the treachery of his boatman had led him into a *cul de sac* and hastily ordered Son-dol to be executed then and there. A few minutes more and the rushing ebb-tide had carried the boat through the “mok” or throat of the narrows into the open water near the southern end of the strait, and the king saw too late that he had judged his boatman over hastily. Sorry for his fault, the king is said to have ordered the body to be honourably buried in a grave on the head-land overhanging the strait, and instituted yearly sacrifices to be paid there to the manes of Son-dol. The grave is still pointed out and until recently there stood by it one of those shrine-shanties which are such common objects in Korea, with a picture of the deceased hero pasted on the wall as an object of worship. The shrine appears to have tumbled down in recent years, but rumour has it that year by year, on the twentieth day of the tenth moon, which is the anniversary of Son-dol’s death, a boisterous whirlwind blows though the “mok” which bears his name, and the passing boatman is fain to pour a libation and breathe a prayer to the restless spirit of the dead.

Kap-kot-chi, the other point of interest, is some six or eight miles further up, near the northern outlet of the strait, and two or three miles south of the actual mouth of the Seoul river proper. Here, at the point where the ferry crosses, a lofty hill, named Mun-su San (文殊山), rises to a height of some 1,200 feet from the water’s edge on the mainland, and comes so close to the answering cliffs of Kang-wha as to seem to threaten to block the strait altogether. This hill on the mainland, fortified in 1693 as an outwork to the defences of Kang-wha, with a rampart fifteen *li* in circumference, used to be reckoned for military purposes as belonging to the government of the island, and was doubtless chiefly intended to be a [page 5] defence to the Kap-kot-chi ferry, which lies at its foot and which has been the scene of many a stirring event in Korean history from the days of the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century down to the year 1866, when Kap-kot-chi became the head-quarters of the French expeditionary force, during the few days of its sojourn in Korean waters.

Situated thus at the mouth of the river leading to the present capital, and guarding that part of the sea-coast which lies nearest to the old capital of Song-do, it is not surprising that the island of Kang-wha should bulk largely in the estimation of Koreans, or that it should have played a prominent part in the history of the country during the past thousand years ― that is, since the establishment of the old Ko-ryŭ (高麗國) dynasty at Song-do in A.D. 936. Before that date the country’s centre of political gravity lay either further north, in the neighbourhood of P’yŭng-yang or further south in the province of Chŭl-la (全羅道) Kyŭng-sang (慶尙道), or Chung-jŭng (忠淸道). But for the last thousand years both its geographical position and its natural features have made Kang-wha at once the most suitable place of refuge for the royal family and the government in days of trouble, the most suitable place of exile for dethroned monarchs, inconvenient scions of royalty, and disgraced ministers, as well as the first outpost to be attacked and the most important to be defended, in case of invasion by sea. Twice in the thirteenth century was the capital shifted, under stress of foreign invasion, to our island fortress, and with the notable exceptions of the terrible Japanese invasion under Hideyoshi in 1592, and the China-Japan trouble of 1894-5, which barely touched it, Kang-wha has felt the full force of nearly every foreign expedition which has troubled the peace of the country during the past seven or eight centuries, notably those of the Mongols in the thirteenth, and of the Manchus in the seventeenth, centuries, of the French in 1866, and of the Americans in 1871. Moreover, more than one monarch of the present dynasty has visited Kang-wha for a longer or shorter period, and King Chŭl-jong (哲宗大王), the predecessor of his present majesty on the throne, was born in Kang-wha city in 1831, in a house which is still pointed out, and was (I believe) living in retirement there when called to the throne in 1849. Last, but not least, Kang-wha [page 6] island was the scene of the brush between the Koreans and the Japanese which led to the conclusion of the first treaty between Korea and Japan in 1876. The actual signature of that treaty, the first of the series which has thrown open Korea to the world, as well as the negotiations which preceded it, took place in Kang-wha city itself. [\*Kang-wha is pronounced Ko-kwa by the Japanese.]

The island thus famous in Korean history has been known in the course of ages by a variety of different names, the earliest being the strange one of Kap-pi-ko-ch’a (甲比古次), the first syllable of which is said by local antiquarians to be still preserved in the village name of Kap-kot-chi (甲串), some going as far as even to aver that this name would be more properly spelt Kap-ko-chi (甲古), an opinion in which I do not concur. [\*At least seven other of the forts which are dotted round the coast of Kang-wha have this word KOT as the final syllable of their name. It is a pure Korean word used to describe things strung together, like e.g. dried persimmons on a stick, and may be intended to denote the idea of series. It is represented in Chinese by the character (串), which is not, however, given its true sound. These names are therefore hybrids ― half Chinese, half Korean.]

However that may be, I think it is quite plain that such an unmeaning medley of characters as Kap-pi-ko-ch’a cannot have a really Chinese origin, but must represent an attempt to spell in Chinese characters some purely aboriginal name, such as we are familiar with in the Chinese rendering of Tartar names.

At some time under the Ko-gu-ryŭ (高句麗國) dynasty, which may roughly be said to have lasted over the first seven hundred years of the Christian era, the island was first raised to the dignity of a prefecture (郡) and its name was changed to Hyul-ku (穴口) or Cave-mouth, a name which is still preserved in the lofty hill to the south-west of the present city. Under the Sil-la (新羅國) dynasty it passed for a short time under the name of Hă-gu (海口) or Sea-mouth; but on being raised to the rank of a chin (鎭) or fortress, at the close of the eighth century A.D., recurred to its old title of Hyul-ku, which it retained apparently until the removal of the Ko-ryŭ capital hither in 1232. At this date it seems to have first received its modern name of Kang-wha (江華), Glory of the River, with the variations of Kang-do (江都), the River Capital, and [page 7] Sim-ju (深州), or Sim-do (深都), the Waterside Prefecture or Capital, all of which are occasionally still in use. Oddly enough, the natives at the present day always mispronounce the name, as though it was written Kwang-hă, or Sea of Light, a name which I cannot find it ever bore, though a notorious king (光海主) of this name in the present dynasty, who was dethroned in 1623, spent the closing years of his life in banishment here.

The old native maps of Korea, like the productions of the European map-makers of some three or four centuries ago, are remarkable for their picturesqueness rather than for their accuracy in detail. Prominent features, like the bigger hills, rivers and cities, and even the more important buildings, are painted in with a generous brush, without much sense of proportion and with little or no reference to mere questions of longitude and latitude. The resultant effect is a sort of a cross between a ground plan and a landscape in perspective. Smaller geographical details disappear altogether, and convenient blank spaces are scrawled over with a miscellany of legendary, historical and topographical information, which a mere Keith Johnson would regard as sadly out of place. Such a map of Kang-wha and environs, apparently about a hundred years old, now in my possession, amidst a variety of miscellaneous notes, gives the length of the island as seventy *li* from north to south and forty *li* from east to west and in the *Text-book of Korean Geography* (大韓地誌), published in recent years by the Education Department, I see it is reckoned a measuring about one hundred *li* by fifty. That the Korean *li* is a very elastic quantity, and judging from the naval charts published by the British Admiralty in 1884-5 as the result of the latest French and English surveys — though the southern and western shores of Kang-wha are not charted in these — I should say that its greatest length from north to south is not much more than twenty miles, its greatest width not more than ten or twelve. This would give the island of Kang-wha an area very much the same as that of the Isle of Wight in the South of England.

Immediately to the north-west lies the considerable island of Kyo-dong (喬洞島), which forms the seat of a separate magistracy and as such falls outside the limits of my subject; [page 8] but of the other islands to the south and west, several of which are fairly populous, twelve are reckoned as forming part of the territory of Kang-wha. The most important of these are Mo-eum To (煤音島), Por-eum To (乶音島), Shin-yŭm (信島), Sal-sŭm (失島), Chang-bong (長峯), Chu-mun To (注文島), and Tong-gŭm To (東檢島).

In its main geographical features, the island of Kang-wha may be not inaptly compared to a gridiron, being crossed from west to east by four striking and clearly defined parallel ranges of mountains, the highest peaks being in each case on the western side of the island and the ranges gradually sinking in height and ramifying into a number of lower ridges as they approach the eastern shore. The southernmost range, which is also the most considerable — the highest peaks running up, I suppose, to a height of two thousand feet or so — consists of the twin hills of Ma-ri San (摩尼山), and Kil-sang San (吉祥山); and it is on an outlying spur of this range, known as Chŭng-jok San (鼎足山), or Cauldron-foot Hill, from its supposed resemblance to a Korean *sot* or cauldron, lying with its feet in the air, that the famous fortified monastery of Chŭn-dŭng Sa is built. Next to this, in a northerly direction, is the range of Chin-gang San (鎭江山), one of whose eastern feet, thrust into the straits described above, causes the rapids of Son-dol Mok. [\*Just at the back of Son-dol Mok is a not very lofty but curiously conical peak known as Tae-mo San, which plays an important part in local geomancy.] Further north again the twin peaks of the Hyul-ku San (穴口山) and Ko-ryŭ San (高麗山) form but a single range, [\*A considerable protrusion is formed in the western coast-line of the island by a branch running westward out of this range, of which the highest peak is known as Mang San.] the eastern arms of which embrace the present city of Kang-wha, and run down to the straits at Kap-kot-chi, to meet the answering range of Mun-su San (文殊山), on the mainland. And northernmost of all comes the range containing the peaks of Pyŭl-ip San (別立山), from which was quarried the original altar-stone for the late queen’s tomb, and Pong-du San (鳳頭山), which is surmounted by a famous landmark in the shape of one of Tan-gun’s altars to heaven. Each of these ranges is divided from its neighbour by a broad and fertile valley running right across the island from east to west, and the bulk of the agriculture which forms the staple [page 9] industry of the greater part of the inhabitants is carried on in the broad floor of these valleys and of the “combes” that branch out of them. The villages and farmsteads in which the farming population dwell are for the most part grouped and dotted about in the little hollows at the foot of the hills along either side of the valleys; for, trying as the people find the heat in summer, the really serious business of life with a Korean is, I take it, to protect himself from the cold of winter. You will ordinarily find, therefore, both here and elsewhere, the dwellings of the country folk snugly tucked away in the little gullies or “combes” at the foot of the hills, where they stand the best chance of securing shelter from the dreaded *Haneui Faram* or north-west wind. And I venture to suggest that this arrangement (which, by the way gives the country districts a very deserted aspect when viewed from any distance) explains the common use of the word *tong* (洞)[\*According to Williams, this character was so used in China under the Ming dynasty; and in the French Corean Dictionary the two characters above mentioned are given as the equivalent of 동녘.] for a residential district in Korea, and supplies the true etymology of the common Korean word for a village or hamlet ― viz., the *tong-nă* (洞內), that which lies in the tong or gulley. No Korean would ever think of building his house on an unprotected ridge-top, if he could avoid it.

A good deal of the land at the mouths of these valleys, which is now devoted to agriculture, has been, during the last two hundred and fifty years, reclaimed from the sea, which used to wash in and out with every tide, by the building of heavy dykes (隄堰) and earthworks, a work of no little labour and of much more service to the state than the erection of the useless ramparts and fortifications which abound on every side. Ma-ri San is said to have been an island previous to the erection of the dykes which abut upon it. North, south, east and west of Kang-wha, there are nearly a dozen of these sea-dykes, some of which are of considerable length. In one case, on the east shore at Hoa Do (花島水門), the outlet left for the escape of the land-water is crossed by a lofty and massive bridge, built (in 1766) of huge blocks of squared granite, which is now, however, unhappily in a very ruinous state. The land thus reclaimed and saved for agriculture must amount in all [page 10] to hundreds of acres, which but for the erection of these dykes, would consist wholly of mud-flats, washed over by the salt water at every spring-tide.

Considerably north of the centre of the island and nearer the east than the west coast, stands the present walled city (*pu* 府 or *eup* 邑) of Kang-wha, a not very numerous or imposing collection of houses chiefly straw-thatched. Hugged by the eastern arms of Hyul-gu San and Ko-ryŭ San, the town is, however, in its small way a miniature edition of Seoul, with a beautifully wooded Nam San (known also as Hoa San, 花山, and Puk Ak, called also Song-ak San, 松岳山, in imitation of the Song-do hills) of its own, with a battlemented city-wall some fifteen *li* in circumference, four pavilioned city gates, a bell and bell-kiosk, and a number of other public buildings, chief among which stands the yamen (more commonly called here the yŭng-mun, (府尹). The city also boasts a small garrison, consisting of the Sim Tă (沈隊), or Kang-wha regiment, a force of 300 men, chiefly recruited from Kang-wha itself; while the market held here on the 2nd, 7th, 12th, 17th, 22nd and 27th of every moon draws country folk by the thousand from every corner of Kang-wha itself, as well as from the neighbouring islands and mainland.

But the catastrophic year 1894 (Kap-o-nyŭn 甲午年), which was fatal to so many of the old institutions of Korea, did much to diminish the ancient glory of Kang-wha.

For two hundred and sixty years previous to that date, Kang-wha had been reckoned, with Song-do, Kwang-ju (i.e. Nam Han), Su-won, and Ch’un-ch’un, as one of the O To (五都) or Five Citadels, on which the safety of Seoul depended. As such it was like them governed by a Yu-su (留守), who ranked as one of the highest officials in the kingdom, assisted by a lieutenant civil governor, known as the Kyŭng-yok (經歷) or P’an-gwan (判官), and a lieutenant military governor, known as the Chung-gun (中軍), with a staff of civil and military officials, which must have amounted to nearly a thousand persons in all, with a garrison of something like ten thousand troops, though it is not to be supposed that anything [page 11] like all this number remained constantly under arms, [\*Presumably the presence of so many officials and soldiers accounts for the disproportion between males and females in the census figures given on the old map referred to above. At that date (about eighty to a hundred years ago) the population was reckoned as slightly over 34,000, of whom nearly 19,000 were males and not much more than 15,000 females.] A good deal of this power and authority was owing to the fact that the Yu-su for the time being, for many years during the period named, held *ex officio* also the offices of Chin-mu Sa (鎭撫使) or Military Commandant and Sam-to T’ong-o Sa (三道統禦使) or Lord High Admiral of the three Provinces, which saddled him with a heavy military and naval command, including the coast defense of the three provinces of Ch’ung-ch’ŭng (忠淸道), Kyŭng-geui (京畿道), and Whang-hă (黃海道) To assist him in the fulfilment of these various duties, tribute grain to the amount of some 13,000 bags yearly was stored in the capacious government granaries in the city and elsewhere.

But the changes in modern warfare have largely robbed Kang-wha of its military importance. Enemies who want to strike at the heart of the country find an easier road to Seoul overland from Chemulpo, and it is realized that even Kang-wha, with all its natural advantages, would never, under existing circumstances, afford much safety as a place of refuge for the king and his government in times of danger. And so, since the general reconstitution of affairs in 1894-95, Kang-wha, deprived of these adventitious aids to its importance, has had to be content to take a lower place among the towns and cities of Korea. For a few months indeed, in 1895, it was governed like any common *kol* by a more Kun-su (郡守), but since 1896 the governor of Kang-wha has shared with the governors of the other more important places in the country the honourable title of Pu-yun (府尹), which indeed his predecessors had enjoyed in days of yore, until King In-cho (仁祖大王), raised them to the rank of Yu-su in 1628.

One office of importance the Pu-yun of Kang-hwa still retains ― to wit, that of guardian to the records of the present dynasty. These records are preserved in quintuplicate, the other four copies being stored in other places of security elsewhere in Korea. The Sa-ko (史庫), or Record House of Kang-wha, however, is not in Kang-wha city but in the grounds of [page 12] the monastery of Chun-deung Sa on Chun-ch’ok San, at the southern end of the island, whither the governor has to make periodical visits to see that the records are properly aired and otherwise cared for. [\*I have found frequent mention in the records of repairs to the Sa-ko or Record House but none of its original erection. In 1638 an edict was issued ordering the restoration of forty-seven volumes of records which had been lost (during the Ho-ran)]

Still, although the Pu-yun of Kang-wha still ranks high among the prefects of Korea, the yamen is sadly shorn of its former glory, the staff of secretaries, etc., being numbered by tens where it used to be numbered by hundreds, and the garrison troops by hundreds instead of thousands, while the empty and ruinous public buildings, for which there is no further use, present a sad picture of decay, which is apt to give a rather false impression. For Kang-wha, though deprived of these extrinsic and factitious aids to its importance, still remains the centre of government and commerce for an extensive and fertile district supporting a population of certainly not less than 30,000 souls.

One might have supposed that a town of the antiquity and historical importance of Kang-wha would have preserved many interesting monuments of the past. But monuments, in a land where the most usual material for architecture is timber rather than brick or stone, have a way of not lasting. Moreover, Kang-wha city has within the last two hundred and seventy years suffered from two terrible catastrophes, which made a pretty clean sweep of what there was in the place. Each of these will claim our attention later on. Here let is suffice to say that in the terrible Ho-ran (胡亂) or Manchu invasion of 1636-37, the city was practically razed to the ground by the invaders; and again in 1866, the French expedition, under Admiral Roze, burnt the greater part of the town to the ground, including the old palace, which has never been rebuilt, and most of the other public buildings, while anything of interest that was sufficiently portable naturally disappeared in the way of loot. [\*One would like to know what happened to the contents of the splendid library of Kang-wha, which Pere Dallet describes from the notes of Mgr. Ridel on page 579 of history. Were the books (e.g. the ancient history of Korea in sixty volumes) removed to the National Library of Paris? The Kyu-chang Oi-gak, a branch of the royal library in Seoul, was apparently established there in 1781.]

The city bell itself had a narrow escape, its captors only [page 13] finally abandoning it in the middle of the road, after carrying if half way to Kap-kot-chi, where their boats awaited them.

The city does not seem to have always occupied its present site. Indeed at one period, under the Ko-ryŭ dynasty, there appears to have been two *eup* (下陰縣 and 鎭江縣) or centres of government on the island, one at Ha-eum, about ten *li* to the north-west, [\*These were first set up by king Heu-joug of Ko-ryu in 1038 A.D.] and one on the southern slope of Chin-gang San, some thirty or forty *li* to the south of the present city. But when King Ko-jong, of the Ko-ryŭ dynasty, established his capital here in A.D. 1232, the city would seem to have occupied a site, which, at any rate, included that of the present town, though its extent was probably much greater and the walls did not run on the same lines as the present ones. North south, east and west of the existing city are numerous mounds and embankments, surrounded by sherds of broken tile and other tokens of the existence of houses; and these are doubtless relics of these earlier fortifications, the memory of which is also kept alive in village names, such as West Gate Village (四門洞), Great Gate Village (大門洞), Stone Rampart Village (石城洞) and the like, at distances of some ten or fifiteen *li* from the present town. But I have not myself been able to trace any consistent plan from these remains, nor does there seem to be any uniform and reliable tradition on the point among the inhabitants. The present city walls were only built in 1676 and 1710, to replace those destroyed by the Manchus in 1637, and they certainly do not follow the same line as those which preceded them. For instance, it is known that the old South Gate, at the time of the invasion, stood close by the present bell-kiosk, and to this day a ridge in the middle of the city just above this point is known as the Sŭng-maro (城嶺) or Rampart Ridge.

Of the public buildings which adorn, or adorned, the town, of course the most important were the royal palaces. That inhabited by the Ko-ryŭ kings covered a large space of ground on and around the small hill which lies between the present East and South Gates and which is known by the name of Chong-ja San (亭子山) or Kyŭn-ja San (見子山). There [page 14] is a record of a great fire here in A.D. 1246, which destroyed eight hundred houses, besides the palace buildings and a Buddhist temple known as Pŭp-wang Sa (法王寺). Whether this palace was rebuilt I do not know. That which, from time to time, in later years formed the residence of kings of the present dynasty was known as the Hăng-gung (行宮) and occupied a site on the slopes of the North Hill behind the present yamen. This was burnt down by the French troops in 1866, [\*This was probably the first acquaintance made by Koreans with petroleum. After the French had gone, those of the inhabitants (they were not many) who had not fled, recounted with awe how the Yang-ju had thrown water on the buildings and them set fire to them.] and there is nothing left to shew its site but the remains of terraces and foundations on the hill-side, with two stone tablets, set up in enclosures, to mark the position of two of the chief pavilions or halls, known respectively as the Man-yŭng Chŭn (萬寧殿) and the Chang-yŭng Chŭn (長寧殿). Besides the Pu-yun’s yamen with the handsome Kăk Sa (客舍), or Royal Tablet House, attached, and the numerous smaller yamens, many of which are being pulled down or falling into decay, there are now no public buildings of any importance in the town, except a large public granary of no great antiquity and now deserted, and an equally large and modern barrack, now occupied by the soldiers of the Kang-wha regiment, the bell-kiosk, the Confucian temple and one or two smaller temples and tablet houses. Among the temples, is the usual Sa-jik Tang (社稷堂) or Temple to the Spirits of the Earth and Grain and there are also three small temples to the God of War (關廟), the erection of which probably dates from the temporary revival of his cult twenty years ago. The tablet houses (碑閣) chiefly contain tablets (mostly of stone, but some of metal) commemorating the virtues of past governors. But the only one of real importance is that erected to the memory of the patriot known as the Sŭn-won Sŭn-săng (仙源先生), one of the victims of the Ho-ran of 1637, which stands immediately opposite the bell, and to which I shall have to refer again. But of the other buildings none need delay us except the bell-kiosk (鐘閣) and the Confucian temple. The bell which hangs in the former has an inscription in Chinese, much defaced, running round its waist, the most [page 15] legible part, which is twice repeated, stating that it was recast in the fiftieth year of the Emperor Kang-heui (康熙) (i.e. A.D. 1712) on Ch’ung-ch’ok San at the southern end of Kang-wha, and that the old bell, a much smaller one, was then broken up and thrown into the melting pot, with a large quantity of new metal, making the total weight of the present bell 6,520 keun　(斤), which I suppose we may reckon at something like 9,000 lbs. or nearly four tons avoirdupois. This was the bell which the French attempted to carry away. The Mun-myo (文廟) or Hyang-gyo (鄕校), Confucian Temple, which occupies a very retired position at the end of the valley inside the walls between the North and West Gates, consists of the usual Tă-sŭng Chŭn (大成殿), or shrines containing the tablets of Confucius and his chief disciples, with subsidiary shrines for canonized Korean scholars, to the right and left of the courtyard in front of the main temple, and the equally usual Myŭng-yun Tang (明倫堂) or Hall or Expounding the Social Relations, which is now in a very decrepit and neglected state. The Confucian temple, which, probably owing to its retired position, almost alone of the public buildings escaped destruction by the French in 1866, has occupied three or four different sites in the city at different times; and under stress of the Mongol invasion it is said that the tablets were once all removed for safety to a neighbouring island, a tradition which is supported by the fact that much of the glebe owned by the temple is situated in the island in question.

For purposes of administration, the island of Kang-wha is divided into seventeen *myŭn* (面) or parishes, of which the city counts as one, and these are subdivided into one hundred and sixteen hamlets or *tong-nă*, of which twelve are either inside or close outside the city walls and are included in the Pu-nă Myŭn (府內面) or city parish. The number of houses in the whole island is reckoned for taxation purposes roughly at 8,000, which, if we allow the moderate estimate of four souls to a house, will give a total population of over 30,000. And this figure I have other grounds also for believing to be substantially correct. With regard to the occupation and character of the people, an old verse, in some respects too severe and in others now obsolete, sums them up as follows:-

信安吏民弓耕

鬼土校物馬織

好重豪蚩是要

巫利競貿尙務

‘Ploughing and weaving for work; shooting with the bow and riding for [page 16] sport; the people are boorish and unpolished, the petty officials quarrelsome and overbearing; fond of staying at home and keen on a good bargain, they are great believers in spirits and devoted to wizards’. Of the greater part of the population, as I have already said, agriculture forms the staple industry. Of course, inside the city there is a considerable number of small merchants and shop-keepers, besides a small semi-literate class chiefly confined to a few families, which have for generations supplied candidates for the clerkships and inferior offices at the yamen, while in the waterside village not a few depend for their livelihood on their saltpans and on their boats, which seem, however, to be much more used for purposes of carriage than for fishing. And throughout the country districts, there is a fair sprinkling of literati, country gentlemen and retired officials, of whom one at least has built himself a magnificent house, though he has never yet occupied it. But the bulk of the country folk are farmers and I suppose it is still true that the farmer’s wives do a good deal in the way of weaving *mu-myŭng* (무명) or the coarse linen of the country. If, however, one leaves out of count one or two small pottery works for the production of the roughest kind of earthenware crocks, and one or two small smelting furnaces for the founding of common iron articles, like cauldrons, hoes, plough-shares and the like, Kang-wha can really be said to boast no special industries, outside its stone quarries and its mat-making. A great portion of the granite work used in the erection of public buildings, the adornment of graves, etc., in the neighbourhood of Seoul and elsewhere, comes from Kang-wha, and the inhabitants of one large village, Kon-teul (乾坪), on the west coast, are almost exclusively occupied in stonemason’s work, though the finer kinds of stone are not to be looked for in Kang-wha itself, but on the neighbouring island of Mă-eum To (煤音島), across a narrow strait on the west. The making of the ordinary reed mats, which are such common objects in Korean [page 17] houses, is not of course confined to Kang-wha, and is largely an ordinary winter occupation with the farming class. But the manufacture of the finer kind of reed mats, and the insertion of the coloured pattern, which is a distinguishing feature of the Kang-wha article, is a distinct industry. Some of you may have seen very fine and large specimens of these in the palace buildings in Seoul. But these large mats are specially made on looms constructed for the purpose to be sent up as gifts or tribute to His Majesty, and are not easily met with as objects of common purchase. A much finer and more durable and, to my mind, prettier though smaller, style of mat is made in the neighbouring island of Kyo-dong.

One industry, that of horse-breeding, for which Kang-wha was famous in the past, has entirely died out within the last two centuries, though it was kept up until within the last few years on the neighbouring islands of Chang-bong and Mă-eum To, under the superintendence of one of the petty military officials of Kang-wha. Now there is hardly a horse in the place, but the memory of the horse-corrals (馬場) which formerly existed there is still preserved in the names of some of the villages in the neighbourhood of Chin-gang San, e.g., Ma-jang Tong (馬場洞), Chang-du Tong (場頭洞) and Chang-ha Tong (場下洞). And there is more than one story in the old records told in illustration of the excellence of the Kang-wha breed, the fame of which spread over to China.

The eight fine steeds which graced the stables of T’ă-jo Tă-wang (太祖大王), the founder of the present dynasty, are said to have come from here; and we are told that when King Hyo-jong (孝宗大王), who had been carried captive to Manchuria after the Ho-ran of 1637, was released on the death of his father and allowed to return to Korea to take up the reins of government, the Emperor Sun-ch’i (順治) gave him from his own stables a horse bred in the Chin-gang corrals to carry him back home. But at the crossing of the Yalu, doubtless excited by the scent of his native air, the horse at one bound freed himself from his royal rider and attendants and was never seen again, “whereby you may learn,” says the historian with a gravity worthy of Herodotus, “that [page 18] the horse was surely of supernatural breed.” The same king had another favourite and more famous horse, named Pŭl-tă-ch’ong (伐大聽), in his royal stables, so famous, indeed, that his birthplace in marked in the old native maps. The story goes that this horse, when periodically turned out to grass in Kang-wha, was able to tell when he would be wanted for a royal procession, and used to trot off to Seoul on his own account! So fond was the king of his steed, that he is said to have threatened to slay the first man who brought him the news of Pŭl-tă-ch’ong’s death. The story goes that, on one of his return journeys to Kang-wha, the horse fell ill and died at Yang-ch’un (陽川) on the road. The magistrate of the district repaired to the palace and sought an interview with the king. “I regret, Sir,” said he, “to have to report that Pŭl-tă-ch’ong has been taken ill in Yang ch’ŭn and has eaten nothing for the last three days!” “Pŭl-tă-ch’ong is dead! Out with the truth,” thundered the monarch. “Quite true, Your Majesty,” replied the wily courtier; “but it was Your Majesty and not I who uttered the fatal words first.” All which of course is foolishness, but serves to emphasize the fact that Kang-wha did once possess a horse-breeding industry and a famous breed of horses.

To return to our geography. Outside the city of Kang-wha the most famous place in the island is the fortified Buddhist monastery of Chun-deung Sa (傳燈寺), distant some thirty *li* south. The grounds of the monastery are beautifully situated in a thickly-wooded, crater-like hollow, which occupies the crest of a hill known, as already stated, as Chung-jok San (鼎足山) or Cauldron-foot Hill, from its supposed resemblance to a Korean *sot* lying with its feet in the air. The grounds are surrounded by a battlemented stone rampart, similar to the city wall, with a circumference of five *li*, and within this is enclosed, besides the monastery and one or two smaller buildings, the Sa Ko or Record-house already mentioned. The tradition is that the rampart was built in pre-historic times by the three sons of Tan-gun (檀君), their sister aiding them by collecting the stones in her apron! Hence it is sometimes known by the alternative title of the Sam Nang San-sŭng (三郞山城) or the Fortress of the Three Youths. The monastery itself is known by the name [page 19] of Chan-deung Sa, The Temple of Transmission of the Lamp, not apparently with any reference to the mystic handing down of the lamp of truth, but with a more prosaic reference to a certain jade lamp of great value (now lost) presented to the temple by Queen Chong-wha (貞和), the consort of King Ch’ung-yol (忠烈王), who reigned over Ko-ryŭ at the close of the thirteenth century A.D. The date of the first foundation of a Buddhist temple here is unknown; but there are said to have been no less than three temples, which had perished one after another on the present site, before the present monastery was built in 1266. A few years later we are told that the same Queen Chong-wha sent the monk In-geui (印奇) to China for Buddhist books and that he brought back with him a copy of the Tă-jang Kyŭng (大藏經) or Tripitaka, which was preserved here. The monks of this monastery, as well as of two smaller ones in Kang-wha, were until recent years in receipt of government pay, and enjoyed, like the monks of Puk-han and elsewhere, a semi-military rank as Seung-gun (僧軍), being charged with the defence of the fortress. In recent years the monastery has become most famous as the scene of the reverse suffered by the French troops in 1866, which has been so graphically described by Pere Dallet in the pages of his admirable *Histoire de l’Eglise de Corée*. [\*Vol. ii. pp. 576-577.]

Besides Chun-deung Sa there are in Kang-wha nine other small Buddhist monasteries, or, to speak more correctly, seven in Kang-wha itself and two others which are reckoned as belonging to Kang-wha, though they stand just outside its limits ― one, called Mun-su Sa (文殊寺) or the Hill Fortress, on the mainland opposite Kap-kot-chi, and the other, known as Po-mun Sa (普門寺), on the neighbouring island of Mă-eum To. This last is celebrated for its wild rock scenery and for a naturally formed rock-temple or grotto in the side of the hill on which it stands. Of the others the only ones which are of any note are the three known respectively as the Temples of the White (白蓮寺), the Red (赤蓮寺), and the Blue Lotus (靑蓮寺) which stand on Ko-ryŭ San to the west of the city. These are said to owe their foundation to the fact that “once upon a time” a famous monk in far Thibet cast into the air five lotus blooms of five different colours, [page 20] with the prayer or the prophecy that where each fell should rise a temple to Buddha. Three at least are said to have been wafted as far as Kang-wha and to have fallen on Ko-ryŭ San and so led to the erection of these three temples. On the crest of the hills, too, are the marks of five old wells, of which it is said that each in days of yore was wont to produce a lotus of different colour. Moreover, the water of those wells was good and whosoever drank thereof became endowed with supernatural strength, which thing, when the Ho-in perceived, during the Ho-ran of 1637, they marched to the top of the hill and pouring in molten metal thereby effectually stopped both the flow of the water and the growth of the lotuses. Of these three monasteries, the Red Lotus Temple (commonly known as Chŭk-sok Sa (積石寺), which is the least accessible, is noted as having formed the retreat during the Ho-ran of King In-jo’s aunt, the Princess Chong-myŭng (貞明公主), whose portrait was long preserved there. This temple escaped destruction at that time but about a hundred years later was burnt to the ground and subsequently rebuilt.

There is a fine view of the western sea from the crest of the hill near the monastery and the sunsets seen from here rank among the ten “sights” of Kang-wha (沁州十景).

As Kang-wha played such a prominent part during the last hundred and fifty years of the priest-ridden dynasty of Ko-ryŭ, it is not surprising that Buddhism has left its mark here. Besides the monasteries and temples already mentioned, the memory of many others which have long since perished is still preserved in ancient records and of yet others in the names of villages and districts of the island. One of the seventeen *myŭn,* into which the island is divided, is known by the name Pul-eun or (佛思) “Mercies of Buddha,” while yet other two are known by the names Sŭ-sa (四寺) and Puk-sa (北寺), the Western and Northern Temples, though there are, I believe, no temples there now. Again another small village, between Kap-kot-chi and the city, is locally known by the curious name of Mŭk-chul (墨寺洞, now known as 萬壽洞) or Ink Temple. And at the foot of Pong du Sa, some five miles north, west of the city, is an old weather-beaten granite pagoda, standing some twenty feet high, and in the adjoining valley, a bas-relief of Buddha, some ten feet high, [page 21] carved on a rock protruding from the hill side and this in a spot where there is no record or tradition even of a monastery having ever existed Lastly, in Kang-wha, as is so frequently the case elsewhere in Korea, the names of the hills shew a Buddhist influence. Mun-su (文殊), which gives its name to the hill and temple opposite Kap-kot-chi, is the Chinese name of the famous Bodhisaton Mandjusri, and Ma-ri (摩尼) or Ma-ni, the name of the great hill in the south of the island, is none other than the Thibetan word for jewel, so familiar in the invocation, Om Ma-ni Pad-me ham!

Of the present influence of Buddhism in Kang-wha, there is nothing more to be said than of its influence elsewhere in Korea, and that influence may, I think, be fairly described as amounting to nil. One only wonders how and why in its decrepit state it continues to exist.

Before passing on to speak of a few of the chief historic events, which help to make our island famous, a word must be said as to one or two pre-historic monuments which Kang-wha boasts. Most ancient of all, I suppose, is the dolmen or cromlech, known to Koreans as the Ko-in Tol or Propped Stone. This stands in the open country about an hour’s walk to the north-west of the city, and is strangely similar to the cromlechs and dolmens which are such common objects in the Celtic parts of France and England, e.g., Brittany and Cornwall.

The top or roof stone here is a single block of irregular shape, measuring some three or four feet thick, twenty-one feet long and eighteen feet broad, supported at a height of about six feet from the ground by two long slabs of stone some fifteen feet in length, which form, as it were, the side walls of the house. The chamber thus formed is open at the ends and measures about three feet long and six feet high, and, roughly speaking, points W.S.W. and E.N.E. Scattered about in the neighbourhood are a few other apparently megalithic remains, and a smaller but perfect cromlech is also to be found not far from the roadside, about half way between the city and the Ko-in Tol, which is however, far larger and more remarkable than any of the others. As the origin and use of these and similar “Druidical” remains in the West, and the means by which they were erected, have been for [page 22] centuries moot points among European antiquaries, and as I have no views on the subject, I do not propose to detain you with any disquisition on these points. The natives, of course, have some childish and not very interesting fairy story to tell about the origin of the Ko-in Tol, [\*The story is to the effect that the devil’s grandmother (?) was walking across Kang-wha carrying the roof stone on her head and the side stones one under each arm. Finding the weight too much, she dropped the two from under her arms, and then stooping down, rested the roof stone on the top and left them there.] but it is not of a character calculated to throw much light on these questions. It would, however, be interesting to collect facts as to the number, location, size, shape, orientation, etc. of the various dolmens in Korea, and then compare them with what is known of similar curiosities in other lands.

The two other pre-historic monuments are the two great Altars to Heaven, erected one on the top of Ma-ri San in the south, and the other on the top of Pong-tu San (not far from the cromlech) in the north of Kang-wha. If I mistake not, the two altars, which must be about sixteen miles apart, are just visible the one from the other through a narrow gap in the intervening ranges of hills. The northern altar is slightly pyramidal in outline with a flat top, the whole built of uncemented stones and measuring (at a guess) some twenty feet high and twenty feet square at the base. Perched right on the top of a steep hill, it is a sufficiently remarkable object in the landscape.

The other and more famous of the two altars is similarly perched on the top of Ma-ri San and is known as the Ch’an-sŭng Tan (參星壇) or Star-reaching Altar. The construction of both, and the use of them as altars for sacrificing to heaven, are ascribed to Tan-gun (檀君), the mythical hero with whom Korean history is said to begin, and who is supposed to have lived about 2331 B.C.

And now we come to history. You would not thank me, I am sure, nor does it seem worth while, merely to recount in the order of their occurrence all the various events, many of them trivial, which find a place in the records of Kang-wha — how in this year, the king held an examination in Kang-wha for the scholars of the island, and in the next year such and such a prince or minster was banished to Kang-wha, and in [page 23] another year the governor added five feet to the rampart or put a new roof on the yamen, etc. When history is so told, one is apt to feel that one cannot see the wood for the trees. I propose, therefore, rather to select the two or three most salient events or groups of events and to treat them with such fullness as I may, leaving the rest to take care of themselves — only premising in a general way that, when you read in Korean history of the banishment of any prominent person, you may take for granted, if you think the fact of any interest or importance, that the place of exile is rather more likely to have been Kang-wha than not.

The prominent events which I propose thus to treat, as illustrating the history of Kang-wha, are (a) the Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century and (b) the Manchu invasion of the seventeenth century, with a closing reference to the French and American expeditions of our own day.

The Mongol invasion of Korea in the thirteenth century was but an incident in the frightful Tartar eruption which at that period shook the whole of the then known world to its base. A single remark will illustrate this. The very same movement which in 1233 sent the King of Ko-ryŭ cowering behind the ramparts of Kang-wha, in 1238 upset the domestic economy of the housewives of peaceful England, six thousand miles away, by dislocating the fisheries of the North Sea and sending up the price of herrings to two shillings a hundred. [\*Matthew Paris, quoted by Gibbon, “Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.” chap. lxiv. (footnote).]

We in the West think a good deal of our Alexanders, our Caesars, our Napoleons, but, as Voltaire (quoted by Gibbon, Decline and Fall, as above) has remarked, “our European battles are petty skirmishes, if compared to the numbers that have fought and fallen on the fields of Asia,” and compared also, I would add, with the distances covered and the area affected by the conquerors. Temachin, the father of these Mangols (蒙古), only felt himself powerful enough to assume the imperial title of Genghis Khan (成吉思), after subduing the seething mass of Tartar tribes in North-east Asia in 1206; yet before his death in 1227 he had established his power right across the centre [page 24] of Asia from the Yalu and the Yellow Rivers to the Caspian Sea. Ogodai Khan (窩閼台), the son of Genghis, a few years later subdued Korea, extinguished the Keum or Chin (金國) dynasty, which till that date had ruled Northern China, added Siberia to his father’s Asiatic conquests, and was only turned back when he had reached the confines of Austria and Germany, in the very heart of Europe, by a league of the sovereigns of Christendom under the Emperor Frederick II.

Kubla Khan (怱必烈), the grandson of Genghis, upset the Sung dynasty (宋國) (Song Nara, as we call it in Korea) in South China, and so became sovereign of all the Chinese empire, establishing himself as the first emperor of the Yuan (元國) (or as we call it, Wŭn dynasty) reduced the neighbouring countries of Tonkin, Cochin-China, Pegu, Bengal and Thibet to tribute and obedience and sent his fleets scurrying in all directions over the China Seas. And within less than a hundred years of Kubla’s death, Tamerlane or Timur, another scion of the same Mongol family, had conquered the teeming empire of Hindustan and set up at Delhi that dynasty of Great Moguls (or Mongols) which only expired within our own memory. The island empire of Japan, alone of the countries of the East, succeeded in keeping the Mongol hordes at bay, and the Mamelukes, meeting them on the confines of Egypt and Syria, headed them off the continent of Africa. Constantinople, the still Christian capital of Eastern Europe, escaped as it were by a miracle, and the united strength of the monarchs of Christendom checked their advance in the centre of Europe. But with these exceptions, the whole of the then known world, from the shores of the Sea of Japan to the banks of the River Danube, and from the Arctic Ocean to Cape Comorin, was made to feel the weight of the Mongol’s hand, even in places where the conquering hordes did not succeed in permanently establishing their dominion. [\*See Gibbon, “Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.” chap. lxv, from which most of the facts in this paragraph and the preceding chapters are taken.]

Turn we now to Korea, whose inhabitants had long been familiar with the phenomenon of a constant ferment among the Tartar tribes to the north of the Yalu River and the Long White Mountain. When the ferment became more than [page 25] usually active, detached portions of these Orangk’ă [\*The Korean vernacular word for a savage or barbarian. Is it in any way related to the strangely similar name of a tribe (Ulianghai) marked in most old maps on the borders of Mongolia, Turkestan and Siberia? If so, does it throw any light on the origin of the Korean people?] not infrequently overflowed the borders into Korea itself. One of these tribes had succeeded in establishing itself since 1115 as the imperial power in North China, under the name of the Keum or Chin dynasty. And the kings of Ko-ryŭ had therefore to tender a divided allegiance to the ruling powers in China ― a sentimental allegiance to the Song Nara or Sung dynasty, whose capital was at Hong-chow and whose authority did not stretch north of the Yellow River, and an allegiance of more practical import to their nearer neighbours, the Keum Nara, whose capital was at Kai Fung. With these latter they were on terms of friendship and intimacy, envoys frequently passing between the two countries, while with the Kitans (契丹), another Tartar tribe which had already been forced to yield the supremacy to the Keum Kingdom and which was ere long to share in its fall before the rising Mongol power, the relations of the Koreans were almost uniformly inimical. The unhappy kingdom of Ko-ryŭ itself was not in a position to offer much resistance to pressure from without. The Wang (王) dynasty had been on the throne at Song-do since 936 A.D., but the central control over the more distant parts of the kingdom seems to have been very loose; and even at the centre the power of government was frittered away in constant faction-fights between the civil, military and ecclesiastical (Buddhist) officials, whose relations to one another present a sort of caricature of that union of church, lords and commons, as the “Three Estates of the Realm” under the crown, which is such a familiar feature in the English constitution,

The only person who seemed to count for nothing or next to nothing was the king. Probably Korea owes it to the founder of the present dynasty, as France owed it to Louis Onze, and England to the Wars of the Roses, that the power of the feudal nobles has been largely broken and the unity of the country made proportionately more practicable. Certainly in the thirteenth century the power of the nobles in Korea seems to have been immense. Like the daimios in Japan, [page 26] they lived in their own fortified castles, maintained their own troops and generally did pretty much as they pleased. As a rule one among their number succeeded for a time in monopolizing the greater part of the political power and ruling as “Major of the Palace” or “Tycoon,” until his assassination placed the reins in some one else’s hands. During the period of which we are treating now, for more than sixty years (1196-1258), the power thus remained for four generations in the house of Ch’oé. Ch’oé Chung-heui (崔忠獻), the first of the family to usurp authority, practically ruled the kingdom from 1196 to his death in 1218, and was directly responsible for the deposition and banishment of two, and the succession of four, out of the five monarchs who “flourished” in his lifetime.

The first ripple which heralded the coming Mongol storm appeared in the reign of King Heui-jong (熙宗), 1204-1211. In the last year of his reign, a Korean envoy on his way to the court of Keum was captured and slain in what is now Manchuria by Mongol soldiers. The same year witnessed a conspiracy in Song-do, in which the king took a hand and which had for its object the removal of the all powerful Ch’oé Chung-heui. He was, however, quite equal to the occasion, and seizing all the conspirators, including the king, banished them to various places of exile, where they would be likely to do less mischief than in the capital. The wretched king was first sent to Kang-wha and then shifted about from one island to another, at the whim of Ch’oé Chung-heui and his son Ch’oé U (催璃), until after twenty-six years of exile he ended his miserable existence in 1237 and was buried in Kang-wha, where the site of his tomb is still shown some 20 *li* south of the city.

In the place of the exiled king, Ch’oé Chung-heui set upon the throne an old man of sixty, the son of a previous King Myŭng-jong (明宗), who had also been deposed by Ch’oé some fourteen years earlier.

The new king, Kang-jong (康宗), who had spent these fourteen years in exile in Kang-wha and who thus found himself unexpectedly restored to the throne of his fathers, only reigned two years, and the crown then devolved upon his young son, King Ko-jong (高宗), 1214-1260, whose reign was [page 27] to be the longest and perhaps the most troublous in the annals of Ko-ryŭ, as it was certainly the reign the most intimately connected with the island of Kang-wha.

Ko-jong had hardly ascended the throne when his country was overrun by hordes of Kitans, [\*I cannot but distrust the numbers. Some 50,000 odd are said to have surrendered at Kang-dong in 1218, and this after two or three years of roving warfare up and down Korea.] who had been pushed over the border by the growing restlessness of the Mongols, and who between the years 1216 and 1218 ravaged the country far and wide as far south as Chŭn-ch’ŭn (春川). Won-ju (原州), and Ch’ung-ju (忠州). In 1218 these Kitans withdrew to the north of Korea and shut themselves up in the citadel of Kang-dong (江東), some thirty miles east of P’yŭng-yang. A large force of Mongols and other Tartars had now entered Korea under a general named Hap-jin (哈眞), in pursuit of the Kitans, who were promptly beleaguered in Kang-dong. The Mongol general made friendly advances to the Korean government which were warily accepted, and ultimately a body of Korean troops joined the Mongols in the siege of Kang-dong. When the Kitans finally surrendered, their chief leaders were executed, but the remainder of the prisoners were scattered as colonists over the surface of Korea. The Mongols then retired with every expression of friendship and esteem for their Korean allies — expression which may or may not have been sincere at the time, but which, in the light of after events, the Koreans may be pardoned for regarding as somewhat hollow. Some three years later (1221) Mongol envoys arrived in Korea for the purpose of inspecting the resources of the country. [\*We know from other sources that Genghis Khan was away from China at this time, engaged in the subjugation of Bokhara, Samarcand, etc., in Western Asia. It is an interesting proof of the reliability of the Korean annals that these envoys are described as coming from the brother and wife of the khan.] Their manner was rough and overbearing and gave great offence to the Koreans, but it seems to have been really an accident that these Mongol envoys fell among thieves and were murdered to their way back to Mongolia in 1225. This, however, was the beginning of woes for the Koreans. Genghis Khan had died in 1225 and was succeeded by Ogodai Khan, his son, in 1229. One of the first acts of his reign was in 1231 to despatch a body of troops into Korea under a general named Sal-yé-t’ap (撤禮塔), to exact [page 28] satisfaction for the murder of the envoys six years before. The feature of this war was the obstinate and successful defence by the Koreans of a fortress named Ku-ju (龜州), now (龜城), not far from Eui-ju; but in spite of all, before long the Mongols arrived before the walls of Song-do, and in the hasty preparations made to put the place in a state of defence, it was observed that all the serviceable troops were engaged in guarding Ch’oé’s castle, while the protection of the city walls was left to the old and feeble and even to the women. The unhappy king now opened negotiations with the Mongol general, who agreed to retire on the payment of a heavy indemnity; and accordingly in the spring of 1232 they withdrew from Korea, though the withdrawal was followed by the despatch of seventy Mongol officials, to act as “political residents” in the capital and elsewhere. No sooner, however, had the Mongol troops disappeared than Ch’oé U, son of Ch’oé Chung-heui and now “Mayor of the Palace,” bullied the king into removing his court and capital to Kang-wha, on the ground of its greater security in the event of a fresh Mongol invasion. There was great opposition to the proposal, and white the king wavered, Cho’oé U cut the matter short by starting thither himself. As he probably took with him all the treasure and most of the troops, and as for years past the very government offices had been quartered under his roof, there was nothing for it but for the king and court to follow. The move from Song-do to Kang-wha took place during the rainy season, and the native historian has drawn a graphic picture, almost worthy of Carlyle, of the miseries endured by the royal cortege, slipping about on the miry and flooded roads under the incessant downpour of the summer rains. Even the bones of the king’s ancestors were taken up and re-interred in Kang-wha, and though they were removed again some forty years later, what is probably the place of their temporary sojourn (盖骨洞) is still pointed out about ten *li* south of the present city.

Between the years 1233 and 1237 the Kang-wha ramparts were built and in 1234 the palace was taken in hand.

This removal of the court and capital to the “islands of the sea” supplied the Mongols with a fresh grievance, and Sal-yé-t’ap was again despatched with a Mongol force to bring the king to his senses. This expedition is said to gave been withdrawn [page 29] in 1233 in consequence of the death of the commander (who had been acting with great brutality) by a chance shot from the bow of a monk in the town of Yong-in (龍仁). But the Kang-wha annals declare that the withdrawal was largely due to the successful representations on the subject made to the Mongol khan by Yi Kyu-bo (李奎報), a scholar and official of Kang-wha, whose memory is still revered and the site of whose house and grave are still pointed out. But though they may have retired for the time, the persistent refusal of the king to leave Kang-wha and return to Song-do during the remainder of his long reign of forty-five years was a constant source of annoyance to the Mongol court. Message after message was sent to the old king — and received by him with a show of obedience — ordering his instant return to the mainland. And Mongol troops were constantly on Korean soil, sometimes on the plea of hunting otters, and sometimes to back up the imperial demands for the king’s return to Song-do. They seem, however, never to have landed on Kang-wha itself, though we read of the king on one occasion crossing the water to hold a conference with the Mongol envoys at what is now P’ung-dok (豐德), and on another of the Mongol troops climbing Mun-su San, opposite Kap-kot-chi, and looking down thence across the straits into the city. At last, in 1259, the old king died, full of years if not honour, having two years previously been set free from the tyranny of the Ch’oé family by the murder of the great-grandson of the original Ch’oé Chung-heui. The king was buried about five *li* outside the west gate of the city, where the site of his tomb is still shown, near the Blue Lotus Temple, in the district of Kuk-jong (國淨).

At the time of Ko-jong’s death his eldest son, the crown prince, was in residence at the Mongol court and the government of Korea temporarily devolved on Ko-jong’s grandson, under whom steps were immediately taken for the return of the court to Song-do. This removal, however, did not take place for full another ten years (in 1270). And during this period Kang-wha remained the capital of Korea, a position it thus held for nearly forty years.

Kubla Khan, known to the Koreans as Hol-p’il-yŭli (忽必烈), was just on the point of succeeding his brother Man-gu [page 30] on the Mongol throne, when the news arrived of Ko-jong’s death. The crown prince, who was now to succeed to the throne of Ko-ryŭ and who is known to us as Wŭn-jong (元宗), had a very flattering and gratifying interview with Kubla and was honourably despatched to his native land, and from henceforth the relations of the two countries seem to have been friendly. The Mongol “political residents” were recalled and only re-established ten years later at the king’s request. In 1263 Kubla assisted in putting down a rebellion headed by a noble named Im, who had confined the king to the palace and invested himself and his friends with sovereign power. In 1270 King Won-jong went to the Mongol court to ask for the reappointment of “political residents” and to beg for a daughter of Kubla’s as a wife for his son. Both favours were granted, and a Mongol princess, who boasted of the extraordinary name of Hol-do-ro-kuŭl-mi-sil (忽都魯擖米寶), became the wife of the crown prince, who ultimately succeeded to the throne of Korea as King Chong-gŭ (貞忠烈) in 1275. In her favour apparently the prince’s original wife (none other than the Queen Chong-wha (貞和) who helped to found the temple of Chun-teung Sa) was degraded to the second rank, and the presence of these two ladies at court was the source of more than one palace intrigue. In 1270, the capital was at length removed to Song-do from Kang-wha, and in 1274, the year in which the Koreans joined in Kubla’s disastrous expedition to Japan, King Won-jong died, [\*King Won-jong was not buried at Kang-wha like his two predecessors; but besides their tomb Kang-wha also boasts the tombs of two queens, the consorts respectively of Ko-jong and Won-jong, the 坤陵 and 嘉陵.] and was succeeded by his son Ch’ung-yŭl, who was, however, at the time resident at the Mongol court and did not return to Korea with his Mongol consort till some months later.

With the accession of Ch’ung-yŭl, and the removal of the capital to Song-do, the main stream of Korean history flows away from Kang-wha again, though for a short period (1290-92) Kang-wha became the capital for a second time, shortly before the death of Kubla Khan. This was in consequence of the invasion of the Hap-tan (哈丹) Tartars, who were fugitive rebels from the rule of Kubla, and who were shortly suppressed by the aid of Mongol troops. The court then [page 31] returned to Song-do, which remained the capital for another century, until the foundation of the present dynasty in 1391-92.

And now let us take a jump of three hundred and fifty years, from the close of the thirteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century — from the invasion of the Mongols to that of the Manchus, whose descendants have occupied the throne of China for now nearly three hundred years.

Ever since the rise of Nurhachu (1559-1626) “the real founder” of the Manchu power and of the present dynasty (called by the Koreans Ch’ŭng Nara) in China, the Manchu power had gradually extended itself from its first home in the neighbourhood of Moukden, and the power of the Mings (called by the Koreans Myŭng Nara) had proportionately failed, until in 1635 Nurhachu’s son Ch’ŭng-jung (天聦) thought himself justified in assuming the title of Emperor of China. The Koreans clung to the cause of the falling Mings with a tenacity like that of the Jacobites in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. [\*To the present day a Chinese, as representing the Manchu power is usually a Ho-in (胡人) to a Korean: and for many years, indeed almost until recently, when they thought they could do so with impunity, the Koreans by a polite fiction dated documents, etc., by the regnal year of Sung-jong, the last of the Mings.]

This not unnaturally brought on them the anger and vengeance of the rising power, and in 1636-7 they were made to feel it. In the fifth year of King In-jo (仁祖大王), (1628), there had already been a preliminary invasion of the Manchus, during which the king had taken refuge in Kang-wha. But at a conference held in the Chin-hă Ru (鎭海樓), or Gate Tower (still standing) at Kap-kot-chi, between the Manchu envoys and the ministers of the king, the Manchus were prevailed on to withdraw their forces by promises of submission on the part of the Koreans. It was their disregard of the undertakings then given which brought on them the terrible humiliation and sufferings of the Pyŭng-ja Ho-ran (丙子胡亂) (1636-7), which with the In-jin Oai-ran (壬辰倭亂) (1592), remains one of the two great landmarks in the history of the present dynasty. I take up the story at the point at which it begins to affect Kang-wha — my chief authority being the great tablet to the Sŭn-won Sŭn-săng, which stands opposite the bell tower in Kang-wha city. [page 32]

Alarmed by the Manchu advance the king had already sent the ancestral tablets of the royal family to Kang-wha, together with the crown princess and her son [\*I suppose that this is the meaning of the expression 元孫.] and two other of his own sons, of whom one was afterwards to succeed him as King Hyo-jong (孝宗). He himself (and presumably the crown prince) was on the point of following them — indeed the royal cortége had left the palace and gone as far as the South Gate of Seoul — when the appearance of the Manchu advance guard in the neighbourhood of the Peking Pass necessitated a sudden change of plans, and the king directed his course to Nam-han San-sŭng (南漢山城) where he remained shut up until the conclusion of peace and the withdrawal of the invaders. The Manchus, masters of Seoul, promptly invested Nam Han and detached a large portion of their forces to Kang-wha. The defence of Kang-wha, which now contained, besides the royal party, hundreds of other and less distinguished refugees, had been entrusted by the king to two high officials, named respectively Kim Kyŭng-jeung (金慶徵) and Yi Min-gu (李敏求), in conjunction with the then Yu-su, whose surname was Chang (張紳). And what followed affords a signal instance of the poltroonery and selfishness sometimes found in high official circles, in Korea as well as elsewhere, and of the latent patriotism and courage sometimes called out in quarters where it is least looked for. The high officials above mentioned, confident in the strength of Kang-wha’s natural defences and in the fact that the approach by ferry was made more difficult, as it is to this day, by the vast masses of floating ice — for it was now mid-winter — took practically no measures to secure the safety of their charge. They wasted their time in dissipation and pleasure-seeking, and met with contumely and abuse any suggestions made to them as to the desirability of doing something to resist possible invaders. The result was as might have been expected. In a few days the Manchu forces appeared at the Kap-kot-chi ferry, and meeting with but feeble resistance at this point — which might and should have been strongly defended — they marched almost without opposition straight into the city, where they secured the person of the crown princess and, having subsequently [page 33] captured the young princes, marched back with their captives to Nam Han, after having practically destroyed Kang-wha city and put hundreds of the refugees and residents to the sword. The young princes are said to have escaped through the North Gate and only to have been captured at Pu-gun Tari (扶君橋), between five and ten *li* to the north-west. The memory of this event is kept alive by two things — first, the name of the *tong-nă* and bridge, which signifies “Seize Prince,” and, secondly, by a curious mark, known as the P’i-pal, or Bloody Footmark, on the stone which forms the bridge. This mark is of course really a perfectly natural mark in the stone, but it certainly has a most singular resemblance to a blood-red footmark on the white stone and is believed by Koreans to mark the spot on which one of the princes stood when he felt his Manchu captor’s hand on his shoulder.

Meanwhile, Kim, Yi and Chang, the three officials who were responsible for the defence of Kang-wha, had slipped away by boat at the first approach of danger and left the place and its occupants to shift for themselves — a piece of disgraceful cowardice for which, as they richly deserved, they were rewarded with the death penalty after cessation of hostilities. But the black picture of their cowardice is relieved by numberless stories of real heroism, the memory of which is kept alive by three remarkable monuments in Kang-wha and by the periodical offering of state sacrifices to the loyal men and women who then perished. The greatest and most important of these is offered on the spot inside the present West Gate (麥峴祭壇), where most of the victims suffered, every sixty years, when the cycle brings round the year Chung-ch’uk (丁丑), being that in which the disaster took place.

The three monuments are (a) the handsome tablet to the Sŭn-won Sŭn-săng, opposite the bell, which luckily escaped the conflagration of 1866; (b) the weather-beaten tablets, erected to the memory of the “Three Faithful Soldiers” (三忠壇), on the hill behind Kap-kot-chi, where these heroes, with a mere handful of men, offered what resistance they could to the advancing Manchus; and (c) the handsome temple, known as the Ch’ung-yŭl Sa (忠烈祠), erected on the site of the Sŭn-won Sŭn-săng’s house by the grateful King In-jo, in 1642, *i.e.* some six years after the event. Here are preserved the [page 34] tablets of twelve of those whose conduct in this disaster was most worthy of remembrance — that of the Sŭn-won Sŭn-săng in the middle, with those of his eleven fellows, including the “three faithful soldiers,” ranged on his right and left; and here sacrifices are offered in their memory by a grateful government in the spring and autumn of every year.

The Sŭn-won Sŭn-săng, to whom we have thus referred so often by his posthumous title of honour, was a *nyang-ban* of the name of Kim Sang-yong (金尙容), who, as far back as 1590, had risen to high rank in the government and distinguished himself by the uprightness of his conduct and the faithful discharge of his duties under more than one monarch. In early youth he had lived in Kang-wha in a house outside the city, the site of which is now occupied by the Ch’ung-yŭl Sa. At the period of Ho-ran or Manchu invasion, being now an old man and having long retired from office, he had settled again in Kang-wha, apparently occupying a house close to the present bell-kiosk. He had been foremost among those who urged the officials — Kim, Yi and Chang — to put Kang-wha in a proper state of defence; and when the news of the king being besieged in Nam Han reached Kang-wha, he had urged the despatch of a “forlorn hope” to attempt a rescue. He met, however, with nothing but insolence and abuse. But though his family urged him now to save his life by taking boat and escaping to some remote island, he steadily refused to “steal his life,” (儒生) by deserting his country in the hour of danger. On the fatal day when Kim, Yi and Chang fled, leaving the road to the city open and unprotected, and the Ho-in were seen approaching the city wall, Kim Sang-yong, bidding farewell to his family, mounted the pavilion over the South Gate, where a great quantity of gunpowder had been stored, and making signals to the by-standers to move out of harm’s way, placed a match to the powder and perished in the frightful explosion which followed. His little thirteen-year old grandson had followed him up to the pavilion, and when the old man bade a servant take him to a place of safety the little fellow clung to the old man’s side and begged to be allowed to die with him, a request re-echoed by the slave in his own behalf and gratified in both cases, for both were killed in the explosion, as were two or [page 35] three other brave men, who voluntarily faced death rather than dishonour. The “three faithful soldiers,” who, with Kim Sang-yong and others, are honoured in the Ch’ung-yŭl Sa and to whose special honour the tablets before mentioned were erected on the hill behind Kap-kot-chi, where they died, bore the surnames of Whang, Ku and Kang (黃善身, 具元一, 姜興葉) respectively. Of these the former held the high rank of Chung-gun, or Military Lieutenant-governor of Kang-wha, while the other two were men of much lower rank, being no more than Ch’ŭn-ch’ong (千摠) or captains of companies. Whang had done this best to persuade his chief, the Yu-su, to take effective steps to stop the enemy’s advance. He was, however, laughed at for his pains, and was finally given a handful of feeble troops and told to go and face the enemy with *them*. Seeing the day was lost, he called Kang to his side, and they two sallying forth beneath the Chin-hă Ru, still standing on the water’s edge at Kap-kot-chi, fought till their arms refused to draw the bow any more, by which time they had sent several score of Ho-in to their account. Worn out at last, they were taken captive, fighting to the bitter end, and slain. Meanwhile Ku-wŭn-il, who had been striving to get the Yu-su Chang to take some active steps, now that Kim and Yi had fled, finding his urgent entreaties unheeded, passed from entreaty to bitter rebuke, and finally, bursting into tears, turned and prostrated himself four times towards the distant Nam Han where his sovereign lay besieged, and then jumped into the river, sword in hand, and was drowned.

Such are some of the tales of patriotism and courage which help to relieve the black impression left by the action or inaction of those whose duty it was to have spared no exertion and to refuse no risk. And the Kang-wha annals record the actions of scores of others, men and women, bond and free, who deserved well of the republic on that black day.

Did time and space allow I should like to ask you to take one more leap with me, this time from the middle of the seventeenth century to the middle of the nineteenth and to listen to the story of the French and American expeditions against Korea, which made Kang-wha again the scene of bloodshed in 1866 and 1871. But the first of these stories is [page 36] so admirably told in the pages of Pere Dallet’s book, [\**Histoire de l’Eglise de Coree*, Vol. II, pp. 572-586.] whence it is transferred almost bodily, with some curious mistranslations, to the pages of Griffis *Corea, the Hermit Nation*, [\**Corea, the Hermit Nation*, pp. 377-387. I would suggest that the French “une arche-surmontee d’une toiture en pagoda” can hardly be rendered “surmounted by a tortoise! and a pagada!”] that there seems the less need to recount it here. And the other is so fully treated by Mr. Griffis himself in the book above mentioned, which is easily accessible to all, that I propose to refer you to his pages for that also. [\*Griffis’ *Corea, the Hermit Nation*, pp. 403-419.]

To the information which he there gives, I will only add that two tablets now stand on the headland above Son-dol Mok, erected (as it is stated on the inscription) by the people, great and small, of Kang-wha, in grateful memory of those who fell fighting, as they deem it, for their country, under the guns of the American squadron in 1871. A small chapel for offering sacrifice to the manes of the deceased soldiers, which was erected apparently at the same time, seems now wholly neglected and is rapidly falling into ruin,

The tablet gives a list of all those slain on the Korean side, amounting in all to four officers of varying rank and forty-nine of the rank and file. The discrepancy between this and the two hundred and forty-three mentioned by Griffis is so great that one feels it requires some explanation.

I believe that the grounds of the monastery at Chun-deung Sa contains a similar tablet in memory of the French expedition of 1866. In 1876, five years after the American expedition, the Japanese treaty with Korea, which led the way to the opening of the country to foreign intercourse, was signed, as I have already told you, in Kang-wha, which from that date to this has not been disturbed by war’s horrid alarms. Let us hope that the island, whose name is thus intertwined with some of the most stirring events in past Korean history, will not fail to secure its full share in the enjoyment of this era of peace, prosperity and good government to which we all are looking forward as we stand on the threshold of the twentieth century after Christ.

[page 37]

The Spirit Worship of the Koreans.

By Rev. Geo. Heber Jones, M.A. [George Heber Jones]

Introductory to our subject an interesting question presents itself which we may profitably pause to consider and attempt to answer. The question is, Do the Koreans possess a religion? While students in Korea seem now to have reached a basis of agreement, in former years it was much debated―a strong difference of opinion prevailing, some holding to the negative and some to the affirmative. Those who held to the negative side of the question meant, however, to declare, not that the Korean people were devoid of all idea of religion, but that the old systems had fallen into decay and lost their hold on the people, so that to all practical purposes they were nonexistent, This question is an interesting one even to-day to students of Korean conditions, but it seems to me that the definition of terms must play a large part in the final solution.

What is meant by the expression “possess a religion,” as a phase of national life? Some would reduce the answer to the smallest possible content and claim that to “possess a religion” implies nothing more than that the religion has become a phase of national life and that a large number of the people accept its tenets and observe its rites. If this be a sufficient definition, then Korea “possesses” three religions, viz., Confucianism, Buddhism and Shamanism. This was the position of those who took the affirmative―that Korea has a religion. Others, however, held that this was far too low a concept of “possessing a religion,” and would be satisfied with nothing less than the definition of Principal Caird: “Religion is the surrender of the finite will to the infinite, the abnegation of all desire, inclination and ambition that pertains to me as this private individual, the giving up of every aim or activity that points only to my exclusive pleasure and interest, and the absolute identification of my will with the will [page 38] of God.” Thus speaks the Christian scholar; and in the peculiarly Christian sense of this view none of the above mentioned religions can be said to have a religious hold on the Korean people. And this is the contention of those who held that Korea was without a religion.

The question we are therefore seeking an answer to resolves itself into one concerning the development of the religious sense of the Korean people, and on this there is small ground for controversy. Any one acquainted with the Korean people will know that they have a religious sense, though it may be on a low plane of exercise.

1. They possess a sense of dependence on that which is above and superior to themselves. They look out of themselves in time of need. It may be only into the great blue firmament above, but it is a look of expectation and hope.

2. They firmly believe that the human and the divine find a plane of intercommunication and relation.

3. We find everywhere among them an earnest striving of the soul after freedom from annoyance and pain.

And over against these three subjective conditions stand the various religious systems held by the Korean people, with their solutions of the problems and questions of human destiny. The missionary, blinded somewhat by strong personal views of the superiority of the faith he propagates, and the anthropologist with a keen desire to sink to the lowest depths the level from which the man of to-day was evolved, may affirm of a people that they are without a religion, but the facts always prove the contrary. “A religious system is a normal and essential factor in every evolving society,” and as such it is not wanting in Korea.

We have mentioned three forms of religious belief as prevailing in Korea to-day. What is their relative status? They may be said to exist as a community of religious belief, and no one of them is the religion of the Korean people to the exclusion of the others. The worship of the dead, as formulated by the Confucian school, is the religion of the imperial house and as such is the state religion, for in Korea the reigning house is always the State. As such, Confucianism is recognised and protected by law, and the expenses in connection [page 39] with the state and provincial worship of the Confucian sages is a charge on the public revenue. Then every prefect is also compelled to maintain worship at the shrines of the local spirits and the *pom-neum*, or tithes of rice for the Confucian worship, also include rice for the official worship of these Shamanite gods. The Buddhist hierarchy has also a semi-official status. A Buddhist monastery on Kang-wha is utilized by the government as the depository for the duplicate archives of the dynasty and the monks constitute an official guard of them. Subsidies are also granted other Buddhist monasteries from imperial funds and in all Buddhist temples there will be found on the altars tablets to the reigning emperor, empress and prince imperial.

Of these three systems Spirit Worship is the most ancient, its introduction among the Korean people being lost in the gloom of prehistoric times. The next in order of time was the cult of the dead to which Confucius afterwards gave his name, and which was probably brought to Korea by Keui-ja B.C. 1122. Buddhism did not come till fourteen hundred years later (A.D. 372). These three systems have existed side by side, or rather have overlapped and interpenetrated each other, until to-day they are held in the mind of the average Korean as a confused jumble. Confucianism has been able to maintain itself freer from adulteration than the other two, but Buddhism has not hesitated to appropriate Confucian ethics on the one hand and on the other to ally itself with Shamanism. Shamanism has absorbed from the other two cults nearly everything of a supernaturalistic character they possess, following no law of consistency or selection. Thus, while theoretically the Korean recognizes the separate character of the three cults of Confucianism, Buddhism and Shamanism, practically they lie in his mind as a confused, undigested mass of teaching and belief, hopelessly intermixed and chaotic. He believes in all three. He personally takes his own eduction from Confucius; he sends his wife to Buddha to pray for offspring, and in the ills of life he willingly pays toll to Shamanite Mu-dang and Pan-su. The average Korean is thus a follower of all three systems, in the hope that by their united help he may reach a happy destiny. [page 40]

The subject which I have selected for discussion is the Shamanite or Spirit Worship of the Koreans. By this is meant a belief in the existence of innumerable spiritual intelligences ranging in character from the mischievous and prankish Tok-gabi or goblin to the high and mighty Tă Chang gun, Lord of the Spirit World; in the immanence of these beings and in their control of the forces of the natural world and of the destinies of man; in the obligation and subjection of man to these spirits and in the necessity of ceremonies and offerings in propitiation of them; a belief that these beings have the power to take possession of a man either for the purpose of afflicting him or of using him for their own purposes; that they perform many supernatural things among men, and that they possess a knowledge of the future and can be induced to reveal it and to aid or hinder man in his enterprises; that they hallow to themselves whisks of straw, earthen pots, garments, heaps of stones, trees, rocks and springs, and that many of the objects thus sanctified become genuine fetiches, endowed with the supernatural attributes of the being they represent, this being specially true in the case of portraits sacred to demons.

While this definition is not complete in all details it fairly outlines the creed of the Korean Shaman. Concerning the character of these spirits, it is claimed that many of them are good and can be induced to exercise a beneficent influence over the life of man, but many are malevolent and no one of them but possesses the power to afflict man on the merest caprice, and does so. In this respect they correspond to the old Greek idea of a “daimōn,” and the word demonolatry is possibly a good name for the system.

This belief in demons, ghosts and goblins is not confined to Korea but is universal, and in Asia it is a large feature in the religious belief of the masses. It constitutes a vast undergrowth in the religious world through which the student must force his way with axe and torch. It differs from the ethnic cults of religion in that it is prehistoric, documentless and without system, and it lacks all articulation which would permit the religious anatomist to dissect and classify it. In development it is as rank as a tropical forest, [page 41] dark as the burrow of a rat, as boneless as a fog, and as formless as chaos. If we attempt to trace its origin historically we get lost. In China, the ideographs for spirit, ghost and goblin are as ancient as those for heaven and God. In Korea, Tan-gun, the first character in the native histories — if he ever existed — was probably a shaman. And in Japan we are told that history takes its rise in the spiritualistic legends of Kami-no-michi.

THE SHAMAN PANTHEON.

The Korean name for this great systemless spirit worship is Shi-do (神道) or Spirit Way. It is sometimes confused by the Koreans with Sŭn-do (仙道) or Taoism, but this is a mistake on their part, and while the fame of Lao-tse is known among them they do not appear to have adopted his cult.

The first article in the creed of the Shaman spirit worshipper is a belief in the existence of innumerable spiritual intelligences which control the fortunes of men. Most of these spiritual beings are represented to the eye by some material object or fetich, thus making fetichism an important feature of Korean Shamanism. The fetich, whatever it may be, is regarded as clothed with a certain sanctity and to it the Korean pays his worship. Spirit and fetich become so identified in the mind of the devotee that it is hard to determine which has the greater ascendancy, but it is certain that the fetiches, however decayed and filthy they may become from age, are still very sacred and the Korean dreads to show them violence. This shows itself in the prohibition to visit them sometimes imposed on converts to Christianity by non-believing relatives, because the convert’s presence before the fetiches so annoyed and angered them that they would bring disaster on the household.

It is a large task to undertake to catalogue the spirits in the Korean pantheon. When we remember that in Japan Sintoism claims eight million gods and in India Hinduism thirty-three millions, we can easily believe that the number is beyond native computation. It is difficult to describe them, because they are unhistorical; we can learn little that is coherent and consistant. They also elude classification, [page 42] for they know neither species nor genus. We can but take up a few of the more commonly known ones for consideration. These are selected at hap-hazard, but they are representative of the entire class and will indicate the facts of the whole.

1. The O-bang Chang-gun (五方將軍). If you should visit the home of one of the blind soothsayer priests of this system in Korea you would find there a shrine or altar hung with red silk, and containing a banner or tablet inscribed with the collective names of the spirits of the O-bang Chang-gun or the God-Generals of the Five Quarters of the Sky. According to the blind shamans these spirits rule the visible firmament and are the chief deities of the Korean pantheon. To them the shaman pays his best devotions with prayers, bellringing and incense, and upon them he depends for aid in all his work. Their names and jurisdiction as given to me by a shaman are as follows:-

(a) The Ch’ŭng-che Chang-gun (靑帝將軍), or Green God-General, ruling the eastern sky.

(b) Chŭk-che Chang-gun (赤帝將軍), or Red God-General, ruling the southern sky.

(c) The Păk-che Chang-gun (百帝將軍), or White God-General, ruling the western sky.

(d) The Heuk-che Chang-gun (黑帝將軍), or Black God-General, ruling the northern sky.

(e) The Whang-che Chang-gun (黃帝將軍), or Yellow God-General, ruling the middle sky.

These five gods are in many places regarded as the tutelary gods of small villages and you will often find a group of posts, rudely carved to represent human beings, at the entrance and exit of a village, which stand for these Chang-gun. With the group will also be found a pole surmounted by a wooden duck, which seems to be the sign of the generals. These Chang-gun are supposed to protect those who are their favourites, and their fetich is a very common one in Korea. Thus they stand on a road leading in and out of a village or at the entrance to a valley in which a hamlet may be located, to warn away any evil-minded spiritual wanderers from entering and molesting the inhabitants. And each year a sacrifice of rice dough and fruits is offered to them as a propitiation. [page 43]

2. The Sin-jang (神將). Below the five great generals are their lieutenants who obey their behests and wait in a special manner upon the shamans. These spirits are known as the Sin-jang or Spirit-Generals. They number eighty thousand, and each is at the head of a spiritual host. This will enable us to understand how easy it would be for Sintoism to have eight million gods and Hinduism thirty-three millions. By the use of his magic formulas any blind shaman can call to his aid one or more of these spirit-generals, with their hosts of followers, and secure their aid in exorcism or divination. To them the Koreans also privately erect shrines which will contain a daub of a painting representing the spirit-general, divinity being indicated, as is the case with most pagan art, by monstrosity.

3. The San Sin-yŭng (山神靈), or San Sin (山神). Korea is a mountainous land and the Koreans are mountaineers. To understand either the one or the other this fact must be given due weight. Brought up amidst these huge piled-up masses of rock and earth, taught from earliest childhood to scale their heights, spending his days in their ever-changing lights and shadows, which seem to give new forms to the mountains themselves, the Korean, in his poetry and prose alike, betrays the influence the mountains have had upon him. There is always an air of mystery about mountains, and this mystery has penetrated the Korean’s innermost soul. He loves them; he does not understand them; he fears them. Through their mighty bowels flows a pulsing flood of vital life that breeds men of desperate valour, so he says the ancients erected their ponderous dolmens and cromlechs to cut off the flow of the life-pulse and allow men instead of warriors to be born. But of all the mysteries of his mountains, that which pleases and at the same time terrifies him most, is the San Sin or Mountain Spirit. The mountain spirit dwells somewhere up on the slope towards the summit and is the real proprietor of the soil. And when the simple country folk go to gather wood on the rugged sides of the mountain they half feel like intruders and a fear and a dread comes over them lest he punish them for theft. Then when the wood gatherers assemble at mid-day for their meal, the first spoonful or rice is cast out on the mountain side to the San Sin. They dread to [page 44] offend him; and when the sickle slips and the foot or hand is cut, or a sudden fall and a broken limb results, they wonder what offence they have committed against the San Sin.

In passing through Korea the shrines to these San Sin will often meet the eye. They are only miserable shanties at the best, built beside some gushing stream or beneath some umbrageous tree or over some moss-covered rock. In the latter case, the rock serves as an altar and the shrine is regarded as especially fortunate. Here the spirit is represented by a picture, usually showing him to be an old man clad in official robes of high rank and sitting on a tiger. Most of the San Sin are represented as males, and in this case the temple will contain portraits of the members of his harem and altars to them. But sometimes the San Sin is a goddess, and then the picture will be of a woman with men attendants. At one shrine in South Korea I found that a Japanese kakemono, with the picture of a beautiful Japanese type, had been hung in the shrine and was worshipped as the goddess by the mountaineers.

The San Sin is the special deity of the hunters of deer and wild ginseng, and is held in high honour by them. To him they present their vows and offerings and trust him for success in their expeditions.

The tiger is held to be the special servant and messenger of the San Sin and this adds to the terror in which he is held. Sometimes, when a man-eater begins his depredations in a neighbourhood, the people will conclude that the San-sin is angry with them and has sent the tiger to afflict them. Then they hasten to the nearest shrine to appease the spirit’s wrath with offerings. This demon is generally the special god of hermits, who pass their lives in his service. And very frequently a Korean will retire into some mountain fastness and spend one hundred days in prayer, fasting and bathing, trusting to secure an interview with a San Sin and his advice or aid in some personal enterprise. People who do this are ever afterwards held in peculiar sanctity by their neighbours.

This spirit is very often seen in visions by Koreans during a dream. He always appears as he is pictured in the portrait at the shrine or as a tiger. Both these visions are omens of good luck and the Korean is delighted to have one. Many [page 45] are the curious stories they tell of their encounters with these San Sin and of what followed. The Koreans are great dreamers. I might say dreaming is a national pastime with them. But among their dreams some of the most curious are concerning these San Sin.

One of the best examples of a San Sin shrine is to be found in the mountain fortress at the back of the city of Yon-an. Here I found a well-built building with the portraits of many worthies who had perished at various times in behalf of the city, especially in its historic defence against the Japanese invaders of 1572. In front of the principal shrine was a group of spears and tridents and in the floor a stone with a round hole. When it was desired to know whether an offering was accepted or not a spear was inserted in the hole in the stone, point up, and if the spear stood upright it was regarded as propitious. It is needless to say that a little dexterous twist of the spear would always ensure it remaining erect if the shaman so wished.

Much more might be said about these Mountain Spirits. They are the mountain gods of a mountaineer people, and a whole paper might be taken up with the cult, the traditions and stories which pass current among the people, the methods of invocation and exorcism, but enough has been given to indicate the large place these San Sin fill in the Shaman pantheon.

4. The Sun-ang Dang (城隍堂). This is the name of those heaps of stones, or cairns, which attract the attention of all visitors to Korea. The name is spelt in several ways. As pronounced by the people it is Sun-an Dang, but it should be written as it is given by Mr. Gale in his dictionary, viz. Sŭng-whang Dang. An analysis of this name gives us a hint of the meaning of the altar. It is Sŭng (城), “wall, fortress, or city;” whang (隍), “site or locality;” dang (堂), “temple, shrine or altar.” This would then give us as a translation of the name Shrine or Temple of the Site of the Fortress or City.

The altar or shrine consists of a heap of stones piled up beneath some tree or clump of bushes. The stones are all of small size and are put in place by votaries and passers-by. On the branches of the trees will be found scraps of paper, [page 46] rags, cast-off garments, coins, locks of hair, sometimes the effigies of human beings, or utensils used for the offerings. These dangs are always found beside the road, sometimes down in the plain or at the entrance to a village, but more often in the top of a defile where the road takes its plunge over the crest of a ridge from one valley into another. Very often a small shanty is built alongside the cairn which will contain a daub of a picture, ordinarily of some animal, but often of the San Sin of the mountain. And sometimes these shrines become quite pretentious, being built of good timber with tiled roof and a keeper dwelling in a house beside it, while about it will stretch a grove of old trees. Here in the hot summer days the Koreans will come with wine and song and dance, to enjoy the grateful shade, drink of the cool springs close by, and bow at the shrine. This cult of the Sun-ang is specially strong in the Whang-hai province, though as already indicated it is much in evidence everywhere throughout Korea.

The dang is not sacred to any one spirit but seems to belong to all the local gods, and is a place where the people may meet and propitiate them. They are the most important factors in the work of the Korean shamans, but as this part of Korean life is peculiarly superstitious no rational, coherent explanation of them can be obtained from the Koreans. Here in the trees or among the stones the local gods are supposed to reside. The tree at the shrine becomes sacred to them and is called the “Demon Tree.” Here the protecting or tutelary spirit of the valley or defile holds court assisted by the mountain spirits, a few hob-goblins, with some “unclean devils” or sa-geui and such “tramp imps” or “deun-sin” as have been permitted to rest there. Here their reign terrorizes or delights the simple farmers about, sending weal or woe as they see fit.

The worship at the dang generally consists of an offering of food by the person seeking a favour, with prostrations and prayers. The common sight is a woman placing a few small bowls of rice on the stones and then rubbing her hands together and lifting them to her face, and while she bows or prostrates herself she whispers her petition. You listen. She murmurs “Oh! Shrine of the Fortress! Listen I beg. [page 47] Our house child is sick, and he will die. Hear us, Give life.” And so on until she musters courage to gather up the offerings and take them back to the house. This is a very common sight and thousands of Koreans are sent every year to perform this at these shrines. The first fifteen days of each new year are fortunate for petitions for a year of prosperity and freedom from sickness and the dangs are specially popular at that time.

Travellers also address their petitions to the Sun-ang as they pass. Many a time I have seen a Korean add a stone to the heap under a tree and at the same time spit in front of the altar. This expectoration-feature is a peculiar one in connection with the observances at the dang, and the only explanation I have heard is that it is an observance in connection with the superstitions about snakes. The Koreans stand in dread of offending a snake. They will rarely kill one, for they believe that if they do so the spirit in the snake will follow them through life and work their final and irretrievable ruin. So travellers, when they reach a dang, expectorate at it in order to give any snake-spirit that may be there something to occupy him until they are able to pass on out of view. This dread of a supposed spirit in a snake and the fear of its wrath is curious. May it not be a faint adumbration of the story which tells us that in the infancy of the human race the arch-foe of man, finding the serpent more subtle than the other beasts of the field, entered his body and in that disguise deceived our first parents―this fear of the visible agent being rather a tribute of terror to the one who once used the snake for his purposes?

Of the rags, strips of paper and various objects which catch the eye at the dang there is generally a large variety. These are part of the symbolism of Shamanism and belong to the same category as the fetiches which play so important a part in the system. They are symbolic of the desires of the petitioners at the shrine. The following will give you an idea of their significance. A man goes to a mu-dang or female shaman to have his fortune told and learns that the will surely die that year. He naturally feels frightened and demands how he can ward off this calamity. He is told to make an offering in sacrifice at the Sun-ang Dang and to [page 48] hang upon the tree beside it the collar of his coat. This becomes a symbol of himself and possibly there is a dim idea of substitution in it. The thread and the longer strips of rags are generally placed there in behalf of children and indicate a petition for long life. The coins are a sign of a prayer for money. The coloured rags I am told usually indicate the prayers of a bride, for the Koreans have a notion that when a bride leaves her father’s house to go to her future home the household gods all try to go with her. This would mean the speedy destruction of her father’s household; so at the first dang on the way she pauses, petitions them to come no further, and ties a strip of silk or cloth from her wedding outfit on the tree, to which they may fasten themselves and hold it in her place. Sometimes there will be other offerings such as salt, cotton, silk and kindred objects. These may have been offered by merchants dealing in these commodities.

5. The To-ji-ji-sin (土地之神). These are the Earth Spirits and form an order by themselves. They differ from the Mountain Spirits or San Sin in that while the latter represent and brood over the mountains as such and are enshrouded in the awe which a Korean feels for the mountains, the Earth Spirits are simply the dwellers in that particular spot on the mountain which the Korean wishes to use. These occupy a prominent part in the funeral rites of the Koreans. They are supposed to be the occupants of the grave site and must be propitiated before the corpse can be laid to rest. This is done by a sacrificial offering resembling that to the dead and is presided over by two persons, a Ché-gwan (祭官) or “Sacrificer” and a Ch’uk-gwan (神官) or “Intoner,” who intones the ritual. It will thus be seen that these “Spirits of the Soil” have really been adopted into the Confucian worship of the dead from Shamanism.

6. The Chön-sin (尊神). In most hamlets and inhabited valleys will be found a shrine called the Chön-dang or Honourable Temple. This is the home of the Chön-sin or Tutelary Spirit of the village or group of hamlets in the valley. In the vicinity of Seoul his shrine will contain a portrait representing him in human form, always enshrined with great reverence and ceremony. I have seen shrines to the [page 49] Chön-sin in the country, however, where he was represented by a fetich consisting of a straw booth erected over a pair of sandals, the whole standing under a “demon tree.” He is in a special sense the community’s god as a community, and the entire community is taxed by the local elders for the support of the sacrifices and worship. It is at this point Christians come into collision with their pagan neighbours. The latter are firm believers in the power of the Chön-sin over their welfare as a community and make a contribution to the worship at the shrine obligatory on all. To this the conscience of the Christians will not permit them to consent, hence they are treated as foes alike of gods and men. It is the old story of the conflicts in the Roman Empire. I would say, however, that in recent years non-Christian Koreans have become very concessive in this matter to their believing neighbours and that time will remove all friction. The periodical sacrifice at this temple is a very elaborate affair.

7. The Tok-gabi (魍魎). These are the goblins and bogies of Korea. They are among the most universally known, feared and detested inhabitants of the spirit-world. The superstitions about them make them out to be a composite of the western ghost, Jack-o’-lantern, elf, brownie and gnome, but probably the best rendering of the Korean name and idea is that of goblin. They may be either spiritual in their origin or they may have sprung from a human original. In the later case they are sprung from a human original. In the later case they are supposed to be the souls of men who have met a violent death. I investigated the case of a girl in Chemulpo whom the Koreans said was demoniacally possessed and who claimed in her more lucid moments to be afflicted with goblins. The mu-dang shamans undertook to exorcise her and to their incantations she confessed that three goblins had her, one being the soul of a woman who had been burned to death, the second that of a woman who had been drowned and the third that of a man who had died by execution. This of course explains only a part ot Korean goblindom, but to the Korean there is nothing inconsistent in the fancy that a man thus ending his life becomes a goblin. Thus it is that execution grounds, battle-fields, the scenes of murder and fatal disaster, are thought to be haunted by them. In this particular they are a counterpart of the western ghost. They [page 50] always go in troops, however, and are impish in appearance and behaviour. They are always represented as dwarfs and, like the fairies of old, can assume different shapes in which to deceive men. They frequent secluded glades and the banks of streams, and may be met under bridges and in caves. Empty houses will always be occupied by them and once they get in it is hard to get them out. The buildings that formerly stood in the old Mulberry Palace enclosure here in Seoul were reputed to be thus haunted, and frightful stories are still current among the people as to the scenes that occurred there every night. They sometimes take a fancy to a house or a village, and then life becomes unbearable for the unfortunate inhabitants. I often pass a nook in the hills of Kang-wha where once stood a small hamlet embowered in persimmon trees, but the goblins got after the people and so terrorized them every night that they finally arose, tore down their houses and moved to another place. A Christian once described an experience he claimed to have had with the goblins and, as it is typical of the goblin pranks Koreans describe, I give it. One night he was asleep with his family, when suddenly they were all awakened in terror by the sound of a terrible crash and roar as if a mighty wind had struck the house. Every window and door seemed to be straining and tearing out of its place; bowls and dishes were dashing about, and bedlam seemed let loose. They thought a storm had come upon them, and they fled outside only to find it beautiful and starry, not a breath of air stirring or a sound to be heard. Then they knew what it meant, and committing themselves to God they returned in fear and anxiety to the house again. All seemed quiet and they thought the goblins were gone, when, just as they were about to fall asleep again, the terrible crash was heard once more and riot reigned. This time the Christian stood his ground and instead of fleeing he and his family knelt and prayed to God, when the riot ceased as suddenly as it began and they had peace from then on.

I doubt not but that this Christian had some sort of experience that night, though whether purely subjective or not I do not know, and the exact facts are impossible to obtain. No Korean story ever loses in the telling, and this is especially so of the Tok-gabi stories. But the account above given [page 51] is thoroughly typical, and I venture to affirm that half of the Koreans living in the country to-day would claim to have had some sort of an experience like that. The goblin is up to all sorts of mischievous pranks. The good house-wife goes to bed at night with the rice-kettle cleaned and the lid on properly. The next morning she finds the lid in the bottom of the kettle, and how it got there only the goblins can explain, for no human ingenuity could jam an eight-inch iron lid through a six-inch opening into an iron pot.

Once when destroying the fetiches belong to a convert I found one of a goblin. I do not think it is common for the Koreans to keep a goblin fetich, but this family had one. It consisted of a small straw booth mounted on poles and contained a horse-hair hat, like that worn by chair coolies, and a surplice such as is worn by yamen runners. These fetiches were rotten with age, yet the insane fancy of Shamanism had led this family to worship them and make offerings and prostrations to them for years.

About the Tok-gabi centres much of the folk-lore of the people. It may be said to divide with the rabbit and the frog the honours in the folk-lore world. As a feature of Korean Shamanism it is of prime importance and has its own superstitions and ritual of exorcism. A very common belief in connection with the Tok-gabi is that the phosphorescent lights seen about the marshes are the Tok-gabi on the move and the people are invincible in this faith.

8. The Sa-geui (邪鬼) or Deun-sin (浮鬼). Among the many classes of demons which hound the Koreans through life the Deun-sin or Tramp Spirit is about the worst. They are also known as Sa-geui or Unclean Demons, and the notion concerning then is that they are the criminals of the Shamanic spirit-world and, having been cast out from their original estate, are doomed to wander up and down through the earth with no resting place. The Koreans picture them as the beggars of the spirit-world, hopelessly ruined and lost and actuated in all they do by a diabolical hatred of gods and men. Our translators of the Bible have chosen a very fit word in this “sa-geui” as a rendition for the Scriptural term “unclean spirit.” An incident will show the prevailing superstition about them. Years ago during a visit to the distant city of [page 52] Weui-ju at the mouth of the Yalu, I was summoned one night to the house of a woman who had met with an accident. It had been raining and the night was very dark. I had not gone very far along the main street of the city when I noticed a light in the distance in the middle of the road. On arriving at it I saw a strange sight ― one I shall never forget. A woman had spread some straw and a mat over the mud in the middle of the road, set up a screen and placed a table loaded with food, fruit and nuts upon it, and by it two lighted candles. She stood at the end of the mat, engaged in bowing and prostrating herself, while out on the night air through the darkness, rang the wail of her voice in prayer. I asked my Korean companion the meaning of it, and he told me that the Koreans believe that the Deun-sin frequent the air over the middle of the road and that they are compelled by the other inhabitants of the spirit-world to wander up and down until some faulty action on the part of a human being gives them a foothold in his house. This opportunity they eagerly seize, and taking possession of the man, all sorts of afflictions and trouble befall him. “In that woman’s house,” continued he, “there is sickness. She has been told by the mu-dang (female shaman) to propitiate the Deun-sin, so she is there in the middle of the road, under that part of the sky where they are, making her offering and gifts to them.”

The Deun-sin is popularly regarded as the spirit or god of indigestion and persons suffering from a bad attack of this disease will often seek relief by propitiating it.

In their treatment of these unclean spiritual tramps the mu-dang, or female shamans, always propitiate and bribe them to depart; while the pansu, or blind male shamans, exorcise and capture them with the aid of the Chang-gun and Sin-jang or Spirit-Generals, and either set them adrift over the middle of the road or bottle them up and bury them in disgrace under the middle of the road.

9. The Yong (龍) or Yong-sin. The dragon is very well known among the Koreans and is called a Yong. It is a water monster and has its dwelling-place in deep pools and in wells, ponds and lakes and along the river banks. This superstition concerning the dragon is probably as old as the present dominant race in Korea, and was brought by them from [page 53] their ancestral home, which may have been somewhere in south-west Asia. It is one of the most ancient of man’s childhood myths, and the fact that it is the common property of the various races on earth is testimony to the unity of mankind. We who come from the west with our superior civilization are almost as familiar with this monster as the people of the east, and though we no longer credit it, yet there was a time when it held a place in the popular beliefs of the white man. With the Aryan it has stood forth as a foe or enemy, or, possibly more accurately, as the symbol of disorder and destruction. The legends of Greece give it a place. Among the seven mighty labours of Hercules the slaying of the dragon was one. Other heroes, as Apollos and Perseus, were also dragon-slayers. The Teutons also made out their god Thor to be a slayer of dragons, and even in the legends of medieval Christianity the dragon has been adopted as a symbol and we have St. George and St. Silvester as dragon-slayers. In this latter case, Christian art has used its license of symbolism and the dragon is used simply as a symbol of paganism or sin, and under the picture of the saint slaying the dragon is set forth the conflict and triumph of Christianity over paganism and sin,

Before the days of Christianity the dragon was a matter of belief among our ancestors and the Saxons and Angles who invaded Britain bore it as a device on their shields and banners. Among the Celts it was the symbol of sovereignty, and Tennyson has shown a true historic sense in giving it a prominent place in the “Coming of Arthur.” In this connection I cannot resist the temptation to quote that scene which describes how the two magicians, Bleys and Merlin, went to get the babe and the vision which accompanied him. The poet tells us how they

‘Descending thro’ the dismal night ― a night

In which the bounds of heaven and earth were lost ―

Beheld, so high upon the dreary deeps

It seem’d in heaven, a ship, the shape thereof

A dragon wing’d, and all from stem to stern

Bright with a shining people on the decks,

And gone as soon as seen. And then the two

Dropt to the cove, and watch’d the great sea fall,

[page 54]

Wave after wave, each mightier than the last,

Till last, a ninth one, gathering half the deep

And full of voices, slowly rose and plunged

Roaring, and all the wave was in a flame;

And down the wave and in the flame was borne

A naked babe, and rode to Merlin’s feet,

Who stooped and caught the babe, and cried “The King!”

Here we have in this picture the sea, the storm, the dragon-shaped boat, the flame and roaring, all attendant upon a royal babe destined to become a warrior, king and sage. It is but a poet’s fancy, and yet it is a curious coincidence that in a land like Korea which holds to the dragon cult a native writer would have dealt with a like event in an almost identical manner. This fancy Tennyson maintains, making the dragons “the golden dragon of Britain,” the emblem of Arthur’s kingship. And among the Koreans he is the emblem of royalty. He is the imperial beast and in the legendary origin of some of the dynasties he appears as a progenitor of the royal line,

In the present-day mythological lore of the Korean shamans the dragons are regarded as actual living beasts and earth, air, and sea as inhabited by them. A practical illustration of this superstition may be found in many of the cities, and sections of the country. Here in Seoul, if you go out by the North-East Gate, you will find a place where the road goes over a ridge of land and is paved with flat stones, the reason being that this ridge is really a dragon’s backbone and that the scuffling of the people’s feet over the monster’s back pained and angered him so that he had to be encased in stone. Like the tok-gabi (goblin), the dragon is the favourite theme of the story-tellers, and he is one of the stock features in most Korean novels. He generally appears as the herald of the birth of some marvellous child and all Koreans to-day regard a dream or a vision of a dragon as an omen of the very best import. I think that most Koreans believe in his actual existence and one in every ten Koreans you meet anywhere in the land would probably declare that at some time in his life he had seen a dragon.

The bulwarks of this fancy are the shamans. They foster the belief in the dragon and make him an important part of their teachings. They have a special ceremonial for propitiation [page 55] known as the Yong-sin Kut (龍神), Dragon Service, and this is often performed in times of drought. For the dragon when angry shuts up the sky and withholds the rain. Sometimes death by drowning is attributed to the anger of the Yong and then a private kut will be held by the relatives of the dead to appease the monster. Thus this monster, part fish, part reptile, part bird and part beast, inspires the Korean with fear and reverence. His is a favourite name for Korean children and to him they are often sold. In selling children to the Yong the parents will take the child to the well, or a river’s bank and there, with offering and worship, dedicate him to the dragon. From that time on the child, whether boy or girl, will be known as some kind of a dragon. The large number of “dragon” children among the Koreans indicates how popular is his worship.

This finishes our review of the spirits who may be found at the various shrines throughout Korea. We have selected only a few of the more common ones and besides those we have mentioned there are multitudes of others believed in and worshipped throughout the country. The task of describing them would be an endless one.

But Shamanism comes much closer to the Korean than these shrines about his towns and hamlets and along his roads. It enters his home and surrounds him there with its fancies so that day and night he is ever in the presence of the emblems of this spirit dominion. It is true we find no “god-shelves” in the house, but the gods are there just the same, and if you enter the house you will find that for a small mud hut the average Korean house has an over-supply of supernatural occupants. These household gods are a part of every Korean house, as much of the aristocratic gentleman’s abode as of the lowborn coolie’s hut. While there may be no “god-shelf” in a Korean house yet no Korean (unless he were a Christian) would think of purchasing a house without first enquiring of the owner the names and character of the “gods” of the house. For when a Korean moves from one house to another he does not take his gods with him but passes from the dominion of the gods of the house he has left to that of the gods of the house to which he removes. This of course affects the price of Christian houses in the rural districts, for they are not as [page 56] desirable for papan purchasers as those in which the house gods have not been disturbed. A pagan having found out the gods or demons of the house he has purchased will be careful to make offerings to them all, but if for some unknown cause one of his family falls sick he will seek the former owner and find out again the gods of the place and compare it with his list so as to be sure he has not omitted one in his offerings. Among these household lares of the Koreans the chief one is

10. The Söng-ju (成造). The Söng-ju is the ruler of the Korean’s house, the spiritual major-domo of the entire establishment. His fetich is enshrined on the frame of the house as soon as the beams are set up and from that day he is lord of all who dwell within and their weal or woe is subject to his whim. His fetich consists of blank sheets of paper and a small bag of rice, which are hung from the ridge-beam of the principal room ― generally the living-room of the house. This fetich is charged with protecting the family from all misfortune and especially from affliction at the hands of the demons. The Söng-ju is set up at the time of the erection of the house after the following manner. After the site is graded and the framework of the house erected, a pause is made in the construction until a lucky day can be found for enshrining the spirit. Sheets of ordinary paper and a bag of rice containing as many spoonfuls of rice as the owner is years old are fastened to the ridge and prayer and worship offered. The construction of the house then continues until completed, when another lucky day is selected and a mu-dang shaman is called to preside. A Kut (賽神) or Grand Ceremony is held by her. A large sacrifice of food is prepared and an elaborate ritual gone through with until the mudang has worked herself up to the proper pitch of frenzy. She then seizes a wand, called the Söng-ju wand, which enables her to seek the Söng-ju, he having arrived by this time. When found he perches on the wand and drags her back to the fetich, into which she introduces him by violently shaking the stick and beating round about the fetich. He is supposed now to feed on the feast for a time, after which the food is passed out to the assembled guests who dispose of the material substance of the feast, the Söng-ju contenting himself with the spiritual essence of it. The Söng-ju thus becomes the chief protector [page 57] of the house and every inmate lives in constant anxiety of offending him. The children are carefully taught not to tread on the threshold, for that is treading on his neck; and when a meal is eaten in the inner room all parties are careful so to place their tables that they will not be eating facing the fetich. This would anger him and cause him to afflict some member of the household.

The Söng-ju is worshipped each spring and autumn in common with other household gods, the spring sacrifice being a petition for a year of prosperity, and the autumn one being in the nature of a Thanksgiving or Harvest Home Festival.

11. The T’ö-ju (土主). Ranking next to the Sung-ju in importance is the T’ö-ju or Lord of the Site. This demon represents a phase in that great system of Earth Spirits of which the San Sin, and T’ö-ji-ji-sin are parts. The Koreans themselves can give no coherent explanation of the spirit or his fetich, any more than that it is the custom to have one. The fetich consists of a bundle of straw set up like a booth on three sticks. It varies in height from one to three or four feet. Ordinarily this is all, but sometimes they combine with it the Öp-ju or God of Luck, who is represented by a rice pot with some grain in it, so that the two spirits conjoined make one fetich and are worshipped together. The fetich of the T’ö-ju is not set up immediately after the erection of the house, but on the occasion of celebrating the first great spirit fete afterward. It is then set up in a clean spot back of the house.

12. Öp-ju (業主). This is the symbol of one of the cardinal features of Shamanism, namely luck. As far as my study has gone I cannot avoid the conclusion that the idea of blessing or grace, that is, the kindly favour of the deity bestowed out of pure love and kindness on his children, is not known. Shamanism does not rise to this high level, but remains down on the lower level of luck and ill-luck as the chief good or evil flowing from their deities. It is true that the Koreans have an expression called the O Pok ― Five Blessings, viz. longevity, children, rank, wealth, and a peaceful death, but that is a purely Confucian idea. Shamanism concerns itself with luck and ill-luck. When all things go well, then the spirits are bestowing luck on the family; when things go badly, luck has been withdrawn and ill-luck takes its place. [page 58]

The Öp-ju stands for this luck, fate or fortune of the family. Sometimes there will be a house or shanty built for him, known as the op-jip, or sometimes he will be confined to the fetich of the T’ö-ju as above indicated. Ordinarily he has a fetich of his own consisting of a straw booth like that of the T’ö-ju, but containing an earthen jar or pot with rice, grain or beans in it, and sometimes a small stone. This fetich is worshipped regularly, spring and autumn, and at other times as luck may seem to demand.

One very interesting feature of this Öp-ju is the idea of the mascot, which is clearly held by the Koreans. The mascot in Korea is a person or animal attached to the Öp-ju, and through him to the family, and is thought to bring good luck. There are a number of these mascots, as the Öp-ku-rŭngi or luck serpent; the öp-dă-a-ji or luck pig; the öp-jok-jă-bi or luck weasel; the in-öp or luck-child. As a general thing this luck mascot is not an actual tangible thing of flesh and bones, but an immaterial fancy or form that haunts the house-holder’s dreams, visiting him in his sleep with its promises of better things. Sometimes, however, in the case of a snake or a weasel, it may become the actual beast itself, and the presence of a snake at a Korean house is not at all an occasion for alarm but rather of rejoicing and gladness. This question of sacred animals, however, comes up properly under the animistic worship of Shamanism.

13. The Kŭl-ip (乞粒). If you look sharply about the entrance of a Korean house you will generally find hanging in a dark corner, a bundle consisting of an old cast-off sandal or two, some money on a string, a coolie’s hat, an old head of a fish, etc. This is the fetich of the Kŭl-ip or Messenger of the Gods of the House. He has charge of the outside fortunes of the family and runs errands for the spirits. The hat is part of his costume; the shoes are for his journey, and the money and the money-string is for his travelling funds.

14. The Mun-hö-ji-sin (門戶之神). This spirit guards the entrance to the house and is a sort of a spiritual gateman. His fetich consists of the hat and surplice of a yamen runner and hangs in the gate or entrance.

15. The Yök-sin (疫神). This is the dreaded Ma-ma or Small-pox God. It is the belief of the Koreans that small-pox [page 59] is a species of demoniacal possession. In fact, a close study of their medical theories will reveal the fact that they regard all disease as either demoniacal possession or else due to demoniacal influence. And in this lies the great power of the shamans. They are the real doctors of the land as far as practical purposes go, and, though they do not deal in medicine, they are popularly regarded as far more powerful agents in effecting a cure than the druggist or doctor. A well-informed native literatus said to me that it is safe to estimate that of all the money spent on sick folk in Korea seventy of eighty per cent goes to the shamans.

The Ma-ma spirit is generally represented in the room of a sick person by a clean mat upon which stands a small table carrying a bowl of fresh, pure water. This remains during the period of the sickness and is not removed until the disease leaves the patient. If at any time the disease becomes dangerous the parents or relatives of the sick person will appear before this table and take several mouthfuls of water, uttering a prayer between each mouthful for the recovery of the patient. The same ceremony may be observed at a well or a spring. The person afflicted with a yök-sin is supposed to be peculiarly susceptible to the pains and hardships of persons who come near him. Thus it is said that if chair-coolies come inside the compound of a house where a person has the small-pox, the patient will immediately complain of a pain over the shoulders, although he may not know that there are any chair-coolies near him.

16. The Chu-ong (除俑), Human Effigy. Each New Year the Koreans manufacture out of straw effigies which they use to carry away the bad luck of the house. You will find them all over the country thrown out in the fields or along the roads. Often you will find a piece of money tied to them. This is the bribe given to the effigy to carry away the ill-fortune. The effigy is also used at other times in connection with sickness, being clad in the garment of the sick person and bribed to carry away the disease.

17. The Sam Sin (三神). God of Nativity. This is a popular spirit in most Korean households and is represented by a fetich consisting of a gourd and a small bag of rice. It is supposed to preside over conception and birth and to [page 60] determine the posterity of each household. It is also supposed to determine sex, and mitigate or increase the pains of childbirth. When a child is born into a Korean home the house is immediately shut up to all visitors for a period varying from three to twenty-one days. This is in honour of the Sam Sin and to exclude from his sight all defiled persons such as mourners. Generally a straw rope is stretched across the door to bar entrance. If this rope is decorated with red peppers it indicates that the new-born child is a boy; if decorated with pine-tree sprigs, that it is a girl.

These few notes will give some idea of the character of the spirit-gods of Korean shamanism. They are a motley crew, a dismal company. What must be the condition of mind and heart which continues under their dominion and in their service? But this is the religion of the Korean home and these gods are found in every house, not Christian, in Korea. The Korean is born under their influence or even may think himself to be their offspring or incarnation. He is consecrated to them in childhood, grows up amid them and they remain in unbroken touch with him from the moment he sees life until the clods cover him in his last long sleep in the grave. They occupy every quarter of heaven and every foot of earth. They lie in wait for him along the wayside, in the trees, on the rocks, in the mountains, valleys and streams. They keep him under a constant espionage day and night. Once I was compelled to travel through the night. It was cold and dark and my coolies pushed on awed and silent. About two o’clock in the morning a distant cock’s crow rang out clear and distinct, when the men all drew a sigh of relief and murmured their gratitude. On inquiry for the reason of this they told me that evil demons cannot travel after cockcrow, so they felt safe then. It certainly must be a most uncomfortable condition of mind in which he passes his days, for they are all about him, they dance in front of him, follow behind him, fly over his head and cry out against him from the earth. He has no refuge from them even in his own house, for there they are plastered into or pinned on the walls or tied to the beams. Their fetiches confront him in the entrance, and there is a whole row of them back of the house. Their ubiquity is an ugly travesty of the omnipresence of God.

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VOL. II-Part II.

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LONDON : KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & CO., LTD.

PARIS ; ERNEST LEROUX.

LEIPSIC: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ.

NEW YORK : GEO. STECHERT.

1902.

[page 1]

**HAN-YANG (SEOUL).**

BY REV. J. S. GALE, B. A.

This paper has been prepared, not with the object of making out a guide-book to the present capital, but for the purpose of giving a history of the city, in as far as it is possible to gather it from the records at hand, also to furnish a picture of it in the past and to leave you to compare it with the present city.

KOREAN WORKS REFERRED TO:

輿地勝覽 Yo-ji Seung-nam : (Y. J.) A geographical work on Korea prepared at command of King Sung-jong [成宗] by No Sa-sin [盧思愼] and Su Ku-juug [徐居正] in 1478.

東國通鑑 Tong-guk Tong-gam : (T. G.) A history of Korea from 2300 B. C. to the fall of Ko-ryu 1392, written by Su ku-jung a minister of King Sung-jong in 1485.

三國史 Sam-guk-sa : (S. G.) A history of the three Kingdoms, Silla (57 B. C.-936 A.D.), Ko gu-ryo (37 B. C.-668 A.D.) and Pak-che (18 B. C.-660 A.D.) written by Kim Pu-sik [金富軾] (ambassador to China) about 1125.

燃藜記述 Yul-Yu Keui-sul: (Y. Y.) A history of noted men and affairs covering a period from 1392 to 1720.

國朝實鑑 Kuk-jo Po-gam : (K. J.) A history of the present dynasty, begun by Sin Suk-chu [申叔舟] and Kwun Nam-i[權掔] ministers of King Se-jo[世祖] (1455-1468)

擇里誌 Tak-ni-ji : (T. N.) A book on geomancy.

Under the year Ke-myo, or 18 B. C., I find the first mention of Han Mountain (Seoul). Two boys, one called Pi-ryu [沸流] and the other On-jo [溫祚], sons of the king of Ko-gu-ryu [高句麗] and grandsons of the king of Pu-yu [扶餘], in fear of their older half-brother, escaped south in search of a place to set up a kingdom. On their journey they discovered these mountains of Sam-gak [三角山]，or Three Horns, that we site to the north, and that still bene- [page 2] ficently guard the city of Han-yang [漢陽] (Seoul), and make it of all capitals the most propitious. They climbed the peak of Pa-eun-ta (2600 ft.) a most difficult feat, which I believe a Western lady tourist succeeded in accomplishing not long ago, and from there looked out over the country. Pi-ryu decided to switch off toward (In-ch’un) Mi-ch’u-hol [彌鄒忽], while On-jo pushed south to Wi-ye [慰禮] (Chik-san). On a hilltop to the south-east of Chemulpo, you may still see the remains of the mountain walls built by Pi-ryu 18 B. C. But it was an unhappy choice, for the land was marshy and the water brackish, and history says that Pi-ryu died of remoise over the choice he had made. Probably if he could have seen the very comfortable and prosperous city that was to occupy that unpropitious ground 1900 years later, it might have given him confidence in his choice and helped him over his attack, but Pi-ryu died. (S. G. 23;1 T. G. 1;10).

At first On-jo’s kingdom was called Sip-che [十濟], Ten Tribes, but Pi-ryu’s people, on the death of their leader, went south, and with their arrival the ten tribes were increased to one hundred, so that the land became Pak-che [百濟]. (S. G- 23;1 T. G. 1;10).

After spending twelve years in Chik-san (Wi-ye), On- jo, the wanderer from Ko-gu-ryu, came north once more to the point where he had spied out the land and on Puk-Han [北漢] he built his city. In the Buddhist temple that now occupies the centre of the fortress there is to be seen this inscription, “Here On-jo set up his capital.” At that time his Kingdom stretched from Kong-ju (公州) to the mouth of the Tatong [浿江] (P’a-gang) taking in all of the present pro- pince of Whang-ha eastward along the Kok-san river and south through Ch’un-ch’un [春川]. In the year 4 B. C. On-jo built his palace. (T. G. 1;15).

Puk-Han seems not to have been occupied for any great length of time; at any rate we hear nothing more of it till 371 A.D., when king Keun Ch’o-go [近肖古] moved his capital from Nam-Han [南漢] to Han-Sung [漢城] or modern Seoul, (T. G. 4;4 S. G. 24;8) and for 105 years it remained the capital of Pak-che. Here Buddhism first made its entrance in 384 though it had already been in Ko-gu-ryu for twelve years. (T. G. 4;5). [page 3]

In 475 A.D. the king of Ko-gu-ryo, with desire to annex a part at least of Pak-che, cast about to find occasion for a quarrel. A bonze by the name of To-rim [道琳] served his purpose. “Though I am but dust and ashes,” said he, “and have no gifts or graces whatever, still my desire is to do something for my country. Will your gracious majesty please send me?” The king, glad of the opportunity, sent To-rim as a spy. He arrived at Han-sung. “I am flying for life from Ko-gu-ryu,” said he, and the king and his courtiers with that peculiar Oriental simplicity that we still see in the East, believed and took him in. Ka-ro [盖鹵王] of Pak-che was a great lover of chess and patok. To-rim had known this in the first place and had fitted it into his plans. “I used to play patok myself,” said he, and the king called him to try a hand. He proved first of all players, his like had never been known before in the kingdom of Pak che, so the king made much of him, and expressed his sorrow at their meeting so late in life. To-rim one day in the presence of his majesty said, “I am a foreigner, and yet I have been treated by your majesty as an honored guest. My desire now is to render a service and to speak something in your hearing.” “Speak on,” says the king. “The kingdom of the great monarch is guarded on all sides by mountains and streams, just as heaven made it; the various states about can have no chance to spy and can only offer their allegiance; yet, with all this grace and these natural gifts, your walls are crumb- ling, the palace is falling to ruins, the bones of former kings are bleaching in the sun, and the huts of the people are toppling into the streams. Such conditions are not to be called praiseworthy.” “Right you are,” said Ka-ro, and with that he called together the people of his kingdom, and they joined heart and hand to steam earth and build walls, to hew stones and pile up palaces, to hammer out from the mountains towers and gates, and build them strong and beautiful. Great rocks were hauled from Mu-ni-ha and made into sarcophaguses for the bones of royal ancestors. Fortifications were built from the east to Sung mountain on the north. In this gigantic effort the storehouses were emptied one and all and To-rim the bonze, on a certain night ran away. He appeared once more in Ko-gu-ryo. The king received him, made [page 4]plans for attack, and a few days later, it was rumored in Pak-che that the armies of Ko gu-ryu were coming. King Ka-ro said to his son, “I realize that I am indeed a man without understanding. I listened to the talk of the rascal To-rim and hither have we come, the people worn out, and no soldiers to fight for us. I shall stand by my gods however (Sa-jik) [社稷] and die, but with you it is different, escape for your life.” Mun-ju escaped south with a few followers, while Han-sung was left to the mercy of 30,000 soldiers. The king locked the gates and made no attempt to fight. They attacked all four sides and in seven days the capital of Pak-che fell. South City was set on fire, and all were in danger so that many surrendered. The king, thus hard pressed, with a few horsemen made his way out and fled for his life. One of the generals of Ko gu-ryu called Kul-lu with soldiers followed; the king ridden down, dismounted and begged for life, but it was in vain. Disgraced and spat upon he was carried off to A-cha-sung [阿且城] and there beheaded. (S. G. 25;10 T. G. 4;29).

Han-yang remained a part of Pak-che still, though Mun-ju fixed his capital at Kong-ju one hundred miles to the south.

In 500 A. D. a frightful famine occurred in the region of Han-sung so that people became cannibals and fed on each other. Two thousand survivors fled north to Ko-gu-ryu. (S. G. 26;7).

In 603 A.D. 8th moon Ko-gu-ryu sent General Ko-sung to attack Puk-han San-sung (Seoul). The king of Silla hearing this took 10,000 picked troops, crossed the Han, marched into the city, and made such a noise with drums and horns that Ko-sung was scared most to death and made his escape. (S. G. 2o;2 T. G. 5;35).

In the 5th moon of 661 A.D. Ko-gu-ryu and Malgal [靺鞨] attacked Silla, and made an attempt to take Puk-han San- sung but failed. They had mortars and battering ranis to beat down the walls. The general of Silla, Tong Ta-ch’un, made thorn balls out of metal and scattered them about, so that horses and men were unable to move. He took from An-yang-sa wood and materials to repair the broken walls, and made fences and sand-bags to form a rampart. He placed sharpshooters with bows and arrows to guard every opening. There were 2800 persons in all, locked up in the city; these [page 5] Tong urged on to fight against their much stronger foe. After twenty days, when supplies were exhausted and strength gone, he, Tong, prayed to heaven with a sincere mind. On a sudden a meteorite fell into the camp of Ko-gu-ryu, rain and thunder followed, and the earth shook, so that the enemy was overcome by fear and ran away. The king of Silla promoted Tong and made him great for having saved Han-yang. (S. G. 22;6. T. G. 8:3).

In 670 when Korea had fallen before the Tang Kingdom China, a man named Keum Mo-jan, attempted to restore the fallen Kingdom of Ko-gu-ryu. With a few followers he reached the Ta-dong river, arrested and executed the offi- cials of the Tang kindom, and the priests that had been sent China. He pushed on to Sa-ya Island [史冶島]. There he met An-seung [安勝] and he brought him to Han-sung and set him up as king. (T. G. 9;3).

In 758 A.D. Silla changed the name of Han-san-chu [漢山州] to Han-chu [漢州] (Y. J. 3;1 T G. 10;15); again changing it to Han-yang Kun [漢陽郡]. (Y. J. 3;1)

In 705 A.D. a man by the name of Pum-mun [梵文] with a band of robbers from Ko-dal mountains attempted to set up a kingdom with Han-sung as capital. He made an attack 011 the place but failed and finally was arrested and beheaded. (Y. J. 3:42).

When Ko-gu-ryu and Pak-che fell before the Tangs of China, Silla with its capital at Kyong-ju [慶州] had little to do with Han-yang, so far away. For 300 years there is nothing to record.

In 1096 Kim Wi-je [金謂殫] memorialized the throne asking that the King set up his palace in the south capital. His memorial read :

“The prophet To-sun-i [道詵] said, “In the land of Koryu [高麗] there are three capitals; the middle one, Song-마 [松嶽] (Song-do); the south one, Mok-myuk [木覔山 “(Seoul); the west one, P’yung-yang [平壞]. Let your ma- “jesty stay in the middle capital from the 11th to the 2nd “moon; in the south capital from the 3rd to the 6th moon; and in the west capital from the 7th to the roth, and thus “make all the 36 districts happy in their allegiance. The prophet also said, “In 160 years or so from the founding [page 6] of the dynasty there will he a capital at Mok-myuk Motu”tain (Nam-san). The time has come; there is already the “middle, and the west capitals, but no south. I trust that “at the foot of Sam-gak and north of Mok-myuk you will “plant your city,” and the geomancer Mun-sang seconded “his proposition.” (T. G. I8;2O Y. T. 3:2).

Five years later (1101) three officials were sent to examine into the possibility of a site, the land, the streams, the geomantic formation of the hills. Many gods were propitiated and the work begun. After surveying about Yong-san on the river and elsewhere with no success, the mystic geomantic influence brought them in between Puk-Han and South Mountain, and :hey marked out the limits of the city, on the east Ta-bong, on the south Sa-ri, on the west Keui-bong and on the north Myun-ak. (Y. T. 3;2 T. G. 18;26).

In the 8th moon of 1104 the King visited Nam-Kyung [南京](Seoul), to see how the work was progressing, and he found them busy building pavilions and laying out gardens, and parks. (T. G. 19:5).

We are told that in 1110 King Ye-jong paid a visit to Sam-gak and Seung-ka monastery. He also came into the city and remained three months. He held a tournament of horsemanship and then prepared, outside the south gate, a great feast for the old people and the orphans, for the sick and invalided. (T. G. 19:36).

In 1117 king Ye-jong paid a visit to the South Capital (Seoul) at which time there were groups of Ki-tan Tartars living near the city. On hearing that the king was coming they moved out to meet him, dancing according to the custom of their people. His majesty stopped the procession, took note of it and passed on.

The King remained in Yun-heung Palace held audience and prepared a banquet. He had really come to meet Yi Cha-hyun, a learned and famous man, who had taken an oath to never set foot in Song-do again. Because of the sacredness of this oath the king had come all the way to Seoul to meet and talk with him. The scholar appeared and the king asked him many questions, among others, “How shall a man govern his nature?” “By ridding himself of desire,” was the answer. (T. G. 20;22). [page 7]

1131. King In-jong built a palace Nim-wun Kung in Pyeng-yang and also eight temples to eight different spirits, among which was one temple to the spirit of Mok-myuk Mountain (Nam-san) called Pi-p’a-si-pul [毗婆尸佛] marking the fact that Buddhism was a ruling factor in this city at that time. (T. G. 22:16)

1167. King Hui-jong made a tour to Sin-ka monastery on Sam-gak mountain and later prepared a banquet in Yun- heung Palace. (T. G. 25:5)

1175. There was at this time a noted governor of Seoul Yu Eung-kyu [庾應圭] who took no bribes. His wife, we are told, fell ill and one of the writers brought a chicken and offered it as a mark of respect and anxiety 011 her behalf. She replied, “When my husband has never taken aught from the people why should I sully his name by accepting of your present?” The ajun left ashamed. The name of this famous governor of Seoul was known even in the Middle Kingdom. (T. G. 26;22)

1227. A famous robber lived in Seoul named In-gulli [仁傑] chief of bandits, who terrorized the country for miles about. He was a fearless rider and a famous hand with the sword. Officers were sent from Song-do to catch him. On a certain day he was seen entering the city of Seoul and news of this was carried to the governor, who sent- soldiers to capture him. Whom should they meet but the man himself, with the question, “Where is In-gulli.” “He is over yonder in such and such a place,” said he, and with that the horsemen turned. With a leap he was upon the pony of the rear rider, whom lie lifted from his saddle and by a twist broke his neck and so escaped. Later he was captured at I-ch’un, and when taken out to execution he said, “I’m only sorry for one thing, and that is, that I do not die in battle, having broken the neck of the general and smashed his flagstaffs.” (T. G. 31;15).

1234. A Buddhist priest prophesied that if the king made his palace in Seoul, the dynasty would last 800 years longer, and so to accomplish this desired end they brought the royal robes up from Long-do and placed them here in the palace. (T. G. 32;3).

1235. The picture of Wang-gun [王建] the founder of [page 8] the Koryu dynasty was brought to Seoul and placed in the Ancestral Hall. (T. G. 32;3)

1236. A band of Mongols [蒙古] made their first ap-pearance in the city. (T. G. 32;5)

1257. A company of Mongol raiders made their way past Song-do up to Seoul robbing and plundering. Instead of op-posing them the government attempted to propitiate and win them over as they would so many ak-kwi or evil spirits. The name of the leader was Po’pa-ta [甫波大]. He said it was his intention to remain in Koryo till he received orders from his general Cha-la-ta to retire [車羅大]. They made Seoul their headquarters. (T. G. 33;9).

1285. King Ch’ung-yal [忠烈] and his Mongol queen paid a visit to Seoul (Nam-gyung). (T. G. 38;31).

1315. King Ch’ung-sun [忠宣], also married to a Mongol, paid a visit to Seoul. They pitched their tents at Yong san. There we are told the queen gave birth to a son and died.

1360. There seems to have been a desire at this time in the mind of the king to change his capital to Seoul (Nam- kyung). He sent an officer, by name Yi-An, to fix up the palace and repair the wall; but the people objected to this and so the king decided to let the matter rest in the decision of the fortune-tellers. They held a seance in the Ancestral Temple, and luck turned out contrary, so the building was stopped. (T. G. 47:10).

But again in 1388 the walls of Han-yang were repaired and the streets put in order. At this time Han-yang was the name given it instead of Nam-kyung (South Capital); it was not such a city as we behold to-day, nor did the walls enclose so great an area. It was but a little town standing on the site of the present Han-yang Kol, that part of the city which includes the pagoda.

At this point Yi Tan [李旦] a general of the army begins to loom up on the horizon. He was asked to lead troops into Laotung, but refused to obey the command. Gradually a separation is noticeable between king and subject, and four years later Yi Tan becomes ruler of chosun.

Before this, however, in the year 1390, certain ministers presented a petition to king Kong-yang, asking that he re- [page 9] move the capital at once to Han-yang and give the ground virtue of Song-do a rest. The king referred the matter to Pak Eui-chung, asking what he thought. “I have never heard,” was the reply, “that former kings received any special benefit from following the words of such a prophet as To-sun.” “But yet,” said the king, “when the principle of Enm [陰] and Yang [陽] is involved we much regard it, even though it cost the people an effort.” He then sent Pak to repair the palace and rebuild the walls of Han-yang. Some warned the king not to go, others asked when there had been no national disaster why such a step should be taken. The king however removed his capital to Han-yang, but in the year following he returned to Song-do. (T. G. 55:22).

In 1394 Han-yang becomes the capital of the peninsula, the name of the kingdom being once more the old name given by Tan-gun and Keui-ja—Cho-sun [朝鮮].

We notice that the city, like the peninsula, has worn several names. At one time called Nam P’yung-yang [南平壞](South P’yung-yang), at another called Puk Han-san [北漢山] (North Fortress Mountain), at another Yang-ju [楊州] the name of the present county to the east, at another Kwang-neung [廣陵] (the Tomb of Kwang), at another time Nam-kyung [南京] (South Capital), again Han-yang-kun [漢陽郡] and as at the present time, Han-Yang [漢陽]. (Y. J. 3;2).

We come now to the founding of the city as the capital, and first of all our attention is called to the geomantic condition that governs the site, and that makes it superior to all other points on which to build the palace : Five hundred li north of Seoul there is a little town called Eoi-yang where the main road runs west over a bridge, and strikes northward through the spurs of the mountain range, following the course of a rapid stream, often skirting the giddy edge of a precipice, or climbing rocks that threaten to effectually bar the way. For 50 li or 17 miles the road gradually ascends, until you at last stand on Ch’ul-yung [鐵嶺] the Iron Pass. Thirty miles to the northeast is the sea of Japan, beneath, the valley of the ancient kingdom of Ok-chu [沃沮] or Ham- kyung. But what has the Iron Pass to do with Seoul? In answer I quote from the Tak-ni-ji : “The vein of influence from the Iron Pass of An-p’yun runs 500 li and more to Chan [page 10] Mountain in Yang-ju, then south in the direction of Kan [良] (the 4th diagram) rising suddenly into To Mountain and Man jong peaks then north in the direction of Kon [坤] (the 2nd diagram), breaking off and again rising in Sam-gak and Pak-ean and then pushing south to Man-kyuug-ta and Pak- ak-san.” Geomancers say that the planet Jupiter (Mok-sung) [木星] which shines in the heavens is the guardian star of the palace enclosure. To the east, south, and north, are great rivers that meet the tides from the sea; here all the waters circle about in union and make it the point at which the spiritual essences of the kingdom combine. The prophet To-sun, of the dynasty of Koryu, said, “Those who are to be kings after the Wang’s [王] are the Yi’s [李] (Plums) who will build their capital at Han-yang.” In 1100 king Suk-jon had an officer sent specially to examine the land to the south of Pak-ak, and what should he find but plum trees growing luxuriantly. He cut them down and extracted the roots in order to effectually prevent the Plum family from fulfilling prophecy. He buried a sword in the earth to cut off the influence of this mountain spirit. The wise men of the time advised the king to act differently. Their opinion was that he should plant many plum trees, call the place ‘‘South Capital” (Nam-kyung 南京), and put the Yi’s in charge, while he visited it once a yean But all interpretations of the prophet failed as far as the Wang’s were concerned; they disappeared and the Yi’s came forth. (T. N.) (Y. Y. 1;45).

At first king T’a-jo examined Ke-ryong-san [雞龍山] in Ch’ung ch’ung and set workmen to build, but in a dream a spirit came to him and said, “This is to be the capital of the Chung’s [鄭] not of the Yi’s; leave at once, delay not,” and so he left off and came to Han-yang [Y. Y. 1;45].

There are three names that figure in the founding of the city of Han-yang to which we call attention, one was the bonze Mu-hak [無學], another the Confucian scholar Chung To-jun [鄭道傅] and the third Cho-jun, [趙浚] the governor of P’yung-yang.

Mu-hak had been Yi Tan’s father-confessor in his younger days. He had lived in Suk-wang-sa near Wonsan, a priest much renowned for his wisdom. When the great question now confronted T’a-jo of choosing a city for his capital he [page 11]naturally thought of Mu-hak, but the priest was nowhere to be found. He called three principal governors, men who ought to know the country, and sent them in search of Mu-hak. They heard that there was a 1이lely priest living in Kok-san, in a thatched hut, in a mountain defile, and so thither they bent their way. Their seals hanging at their belts grew heavy and they hung them together, three of them on a pine tree, and with straw shoes and staff in hand climbed slowly, step by step. They inquired of a priest before a little hut why he had decided to live in such a lonely place. His reply was, “Because of the Three Seal Mountain yonder.” The governors inquired as to why it was called the Three Seal Mountain. “Because,” said the priest, “there are three governors to come this way, who will find their seals heavy to carry, and will hang them together on a pine at the foot, hence the name.” Delighted they took him by the hand and said, “Are you not Mu-hak?” Thus they returned to king T’a-jo who received him with joy and at once asked concerning the site on which to build his capital (Y. Y. 1;46).

Mu-hak began his survey measuring from the peaks of Sam-gak southeast until he had reached the little village of Wang-sip-ni, outside the Su-gu-mun. The village people still mark the site of the city as he proposed to place it. It is said that the discovery of a hidden tablet [妖僧無學枉尋到此] proved to him that he had come east too far. The Tak-ni-ji reads: “We are told that he then measured southwest from the peak of Pa-eun-ta and came out at Pi-pong which is outside of the northwest gate. He there found a tablet marked ‘Mu-hak missed his way and came here.” [無學誤尋到此]. This was said to have been a stone set up by To-sun. On this second failure, Mu-hak bore directly south from Man-kyung-da, along the vein and came out beneath Puk-ak, where the mountain influence divides and spreads over the plain. There he decided upon the site of the city, the very spot where the plum trees used to grow. The limits of the city wall were not yet determined when one night we are told a heavy fall of snow, which drifted up in piles on the outside, leaving the ground bare on the inner slopes of the hills, marked the limits of the city. Along this line of drifted snow, which crept over Nam-san, and back to the top of Puk-ak, the wall finally was built. (T. N 28). [page 12]

The building of the wall began in the 1st moon of 1396, 119,000 laborers were summoned from the north and west provinces, Whang-ha, P’yung-an and Ham-kyung, and kept at work for two months; later on 79,o00 were ordered from the south provinces, and the whole was finished in the 9th moon of that year, the entire length being 9975 paces, (Po 步) and the height 42ft (Chuk 尺) 2 inches. The engineer who had charge of the building was the famous governor of P’yung-an mentioned before, called Cho Chun. The wall was repaired in 1421 by king Se-jong. There have been no fierce battles fought over it so that all the repairs needed have been from the slow wear of time. At the beginning of the present reign the regent patched with square faced stone many parts that had fallen down. (Y. Y. 1;46).

When it came to the building of the palaces of course the mountain influences were specially taken into consideration; also the course of the streams. All the drainage is through two exits south of the East Gate and in order that the palace might be stationed at the head waters of these, ground along the north and west was first considered. In the selection of the palace site two famous Koreans came into conflict; one was Mu-hak the Buddhist and the other was Chung To-jun the Confucianist. Probably their methods of arriving at a con-clusion were not the same, at any fate they did not agree. Mu-hak desired the palace to abut on In-wang-san [仁王山], which is west of the city; Chung To-jun voted for the present site, which is at foot of Puk-ak, or as it is generally called North Mountain. Mu-hak prophesied all sorts of evil, much of which was supposed to come to pass in the miseries of the Japan, or Im-jin war, but he failed and the palace was out-lined as it now stands. (Y. Y. 1;46).

In 1394 and 1395, before the building of the city wall, the Ta-myo, or Tablet House of the Kings, and the Kyung- bok Palace were built.

The T’a-myo, or Chong-myo, built in 1394, is enclosed in a beautiful, wooded park north of the main street, and less than half way from the great bell to the East Gate. It has no Hyun-pan, or inscription, over the entrance, like the palace, but it is a much more sacred enclosure, for in it are the ancestral tablets of the kings. It was originally built [page 13] seven kan long, with three steps leading up, two kan houses to east and west, and three kan houses on each side of the court. In the west temple are the royal ancestral tablets and in the east temple tablets of worthy officers of state. The great tablet house is in Chong-myo, the most sacred spot in the city, higher than the Imperial Altar (the new Temple of Heaven), [皇壇] or the Sa-jik (the old Temple of the Earth) [社稷壇]. I have seen people passing the Chong-myo in the electric cars, take off their glasses and rise as they crossed the opening of the street that leads to the main entrance. In front we have a side parallel street called Pi-ma-pyung-mun [避馬屛門] meaning escape for a horse so as not to ride by the sacred enclosure. We shall have occasion to mention the Chong-myo later on. (Y J. 1;35)

Among the various palaces of the city, the one that is chief in importance and was first built is what foreigners speak of as the “Summer Palace,” where the late queen met her fate. The Korean name is Kyung-pok-kung [景福宮] which name was given by Chung To-jun and borrowed from Book Seventeen of the Chinese Canon of Poetry. The walls are said to be 1813 paces in length, and the height of the enclosure 21 ft 2 inches, having four gates, all named by Chung To-jun. The most fatuous gate in the city is the Kwang-wha-mun with its three entrances. There was a bell cast in the 12th year of his majesty’s reign 10th moon and 7th day. Pyon Ke-ryang wrote an inscription for it. It was hung in the gate and was used to designate hours of audience. Inside of the enclosure, behind the third entrance gate, is the Keun-jung-chun, or Audience Hall, the most famous building in Korea. It well repays a visit for here either in this building, or in buildings wearing the same name and standing on the same site, the greatest state ceremonials of Korea have been celebrated. The pavilion and the lotus pond were prepared at the same time but required repairing in 1404. (Y. J. 1;15-17).

The sea monsters, or Ha-t’a [獬豸], that stand in front of the Kwang-wha gate, were evidently set up by the founder of the dynasty. At any rate they were there in 1487 for they are mentioned by the Chinese ambassador who was here at that time (Y. J. 1;6.) They are sea creatures, or water [page 14] spouters, and were so placed to guard the palace against the fire influences of Kwan-ak Mountain [冠岳山] 30 li distant.

What is called the East Palace, or Tong-kwan Ta-kwul, was built in two parts behind the Chong-myo; the first part to the west, put lip while T’a-jo was living, was named Ch’ang-tuk-kung [昌德宮] and the second part, on the east side, was built by Sung-jong, in the 3rd moon of 1484, the name being given it by the famous scholar Su Ko-jung (Y. J. 1;50), who wrote the Tong-guk T’ong-gam. They are said to have been united and made one palace by Suk-jong [肅宗], who reigned from 1674 to 1720. The third palace to be occupied by royalty, is the one where His Majesty now resides, the Kyong-un kung [慶運宮], or Myung-nye-kung [明禮宮] which was originally the residence of Prince Wul-san [月山大君], grandson of King Se-jo [世祖]. The last palace site to be selected is what was originally called the Kyung-tuk-kung [慶德宮] later the Kyung-heui-kung [慶熙宮] and known to foreigners as the “Mulberry Palace.”

In 1398 ChCmg To-jun [鄭道傅] selected the site for the Sa-jik, [社稷] or Earth Altar. It is at the rear of the Mulberry Palace to the north west and at the foot of In-wang Mountain, surrounded by pines, that form a beautiful grove. Formerly it was open to the public, but lately I see that soldiers are placed at the entrance to bar the way. There are two altars, to east and west, six feet or so apart, and each about 24 feet square, the one to the east is for the God of the Earth, and the one to the west for the God of Harvest. In the one to the east, a stone tablet a foot or so in height stands at the south side midway of the altar. The Sa-jik is a very sacred enclosure, and is regarded by Koreans with great reverence. (Y. J. 1;34).

A famous building begun in 1398 is the Sung kyun-kwan [成均館] or Temple of Confucius. It is in the north east quarter of the city, behind the East Palace, and to the left of the roadway leading to the Little East Gate. The building then erected was burned down in 1400, and the enclosure remained vacant till 1405 when T’ajong, who had made Song-do his capital for five years, came back and began the work anew. The building was finished in 1407. There is the central hall and the verandahs to east and west, C0n- [page 15] fucius’ tablet occupies the central seat and his disciples are ranged on each side, there being 113 tablets to Chinese disciples and 16 to Koreans. (Y. J. 2;1o)

The Big Bell which hangs in the pavilion in the centre of the city was cast by T’a-jo in 1396 and hung where it remains today. Se-jo repaired the building some fifty years later. It was burned down and again restored in the reign of the present emperor. The Bell’s name is “In-jung,” “director of men.” In ancient days when its note rang out for bed time, there was no going abroad in the streets till the voice sounded the reveille. “In-jung Si-e” means in ordinary speech the ‘‘bell’s hours” the time of quiet in the ancient city. The story of the child thrown into the molten metal when the bell was cast, is so well known that it needs no repetition here. The bell in size is about 8ft by 10, a monster that has swung on its beam for five hundred years. (Y. J, 3; 16).

Another monument of special interest is the Marble Pagoda, that stands within the limits of the old town of Han-yang. The exact date of its arrival is hard to fix, but evidence points to its having been brought from Peking in the early part of the fourteenth century. King Chung-sun of Koryu was married to a Mongol, whose name was “Queen of the Treasure Pagoda” (T. G. 42;5). She came to Korea in 1310, or sixteen years after the death of Kublai Khan. Whether this name associates her with the Marble Pagoda or not is a question. In the Yu-ji Seung-nam we read “There is on Pu-so mountain, in Pung-tuk, a monastery called Kyung-jun. Before it stands a pagoda of thirteen stories, carved with various figures in a marvelous way elsewhere unequalled. Tradition says it was built by T’al-t’al (脫脫) minister of the Wun’s [元] (Y.J. 13;3). The Ta-han Chi-ji adds “two pagodas were built, one in Han-yang and the other in Pung-tuk.” From this we conclude that the one in Seoul was set up at about the same time or before the one in Pung-tuk which would make the date fall within the first half of the fourteenth century. T’al-ta’l came to Korea as envoy of King Sung-jong in the tenth moon of 1303 (T. G. 41;13). He was a noted Mongol and evidence points to his having designed the Marble Pagoda. The monument is a masterpiece of its kind and is certainly in keeping with the great Mongol conquerors. [page 16] The hands that fashioned its form are the hands that carried conquest to the ends of the earth and shook all existing empires.

To the south of the Pagoda stands a tablet stone on the turtle’s back. The inscription has been worn away but the name remains, “Tablet of Wun-gak Sa.” It was erected by Kim Su-on a courtier of King Se-jo (Y. J. 3;36) who was expelled from the Confucian Temple on account of his sympathy with Buddhism. As Se-jo did not come to the throne till 1455, and as Wun-gak monastery was not so named till the tenth year of his reign or 1464 (Y. J. 3;86) the Tablet, bearing the name of the monastery as it does, could not have been erected till a later date. We therefore date the pagoda from the first half of the fourteenth century, and the tablet from the latter half of the fifteenth.

The walls of the city were built, the gates named, the palaces put in place through the engineering skill and energy of these four great men, T’a-jo, Muhak, Chung To-jun and Cho Chun, but greatness does not necessarily bring happiness nor does power insure safety. There were born to T’a-jo nine or ten sons, and there was war between them. The fifth, as marked in the record book, who afterwards became T’a-jong, was a fierce tyrant. He killed two of his brothers, and so defiled the precincts of the palace that his father in disgust and despair went to live in Ham-heung. From 1398 to 1407 he remained in exile. He had carried away the royal seal but had put his son Chong-jong on the throne in his place. Chong- jong’s queen, who feared T’a-jong, induced her husband to abdicate in favor of his younger brother, and so there were for ten years three kings in Korea at the same time, T’a-jo called Ta-sang-wang, the great chief king, Chong-jung, the chief king and the real king T’a-jong. Two other brothers Pang-gan (芳幹) and Pang-suk (芳碩)raised an insurrection and made an attack upon the palace. Two battles were fought in the city, the first at Ch’o-jun Kol, which is on the south side of the main street almost opposite to the Chong-myo entrance, and the second or great battle was fought at Ta-jun Kol near the Picture Hall, Yung Heui-jun (永禧殿), Chin-goka. These two districts, First Fight Town, and Great Battle Town, perpetuate the memory of T’a-jo’s turbulent [page 17] sons. In this insurrection the great man Chung To-jun was in some way involved. Chung had been an officer under Sin-u of the last dynasty, but had completely won the heart and confidence of T’a-jo, so that letters passed between them as fast friends. He had fixed upon the Sa-jik, had found a site for the palace and given it a name, had named the gates of the city as we see them to-day. He was the author too of the laws and ceremonies that then governed the state, as well as being a successful writer of lighter ditties. At a feast, we are told, T’a-jo repeated a song written by Chung To-jun and then asked the author of he would not dance to it. To the delight of the company. Chung To-jun arose and tipped them off a Korean highland-fling. Such was the man whom T’a-jong, then a stripling of thirty years, had arrested on the charge of high treason. “I will serve your majesty, if you will but give me an opportunity” said the old minister. “You were a traitor to Song-do and you are a traitor here. Off with his head,” was T’a-jong’s reply. They beheaded him and his son and destroyed his family. His magnificent home was seized upon and became the Sabok or government stables. At the rear of the Treasury Department you will see a large gate with three characters on the Hyunpan, Ta-pok-sa. This was originally the home of Chung To-jun. (Y. Y. 1:50).

T’a-jong sent many messengers asking his father to return : some of these T’a-jo, according to the fierce methods of the day, had beheaded, others were disgraced. At last whom should T’a-jong send but the old priest Mu-hak. “How is it you dare to come on a message from the rebel?” asked T’a-jo, but the old bonze smoothed him down and at last, by soft words, persuaded him to return.

T’a-jong went out to meet his father and erected a tent across the road in his honor. It was his desire to offer a cup of drink with his own hands, but the ministers warned him to beware of going near one so fierce as this Great Chief King, so the glass of sul was passed by the hand of a eunuch, and T’a-jong looked on at a distance. The old king laughed “Ha! ha! you rascal,” drew the royal seal from his sleeve, threw it at Ta-jong and shouted, “Take it then, since it is what you want.” He also drew from his sleeve an iron baton with which he had intended to mete out vengeance on the head of [page 18] his sort had he approached near enough. Such were the unhappy domestic days in which the city was built.

Muhak disappears from the scene and Cho Jun [趙浚], who built the wall, becomes one of T’a-jong’s favorites. His son Ta-rim is married to the king’s second daughter, and lias built for his residence Nam-pyul Kung [南別宮] that used to stand on the site of the Imperial Altar. Ta-rim turned out a failure as son-in-law of the king, and to this day the nation ascribes to him the origin of the baneful custom of “squeeze,” which has played so prominent a part in the history of Korea. At that time inspectors were appointed to make note of officials found guilty of extortion, and a black mark was lined across the entrance gate. Ta-rim was such a notorious “squeezer” that his gate gradually took on black as its color all the way from the lintel to the ground, and Ku-meun Mun or Black Gate was the name it wore for four hundred years, till it was removed a year or so ago to make way for the Imperial Altar and the Wun-go-tan or Altar to Heaven.

Another point of interest associated with the days of T’a-jo, that we must not fail to notice, is Chung-dong, or the present Foreign Settlemeut, Legation Town, which takes its name from the Tomb of Queen Kang that was located on the site of the British Legation. Queen Kang was of poor pareut- age, but once when Yi Tan, afterwards T’a-jo, was riding through the district of Kok-san he passed a young woman by a spring of water. He stopped and asked her for a drink. She lifted the calabash, but first, before passing it to the stranger, scattered over it a handful of willow leaves. T’a-jo took it and said, “Why the leaves when it is water I want?” “But you have been riding hard and are heated,” said the maiden, “the willow leaves will keep you from drinking too fast.” He marked her a wise woman and later made her Queen Kang. She died in the 8th moon 1396 and in the 1st moon of 1397 she was buried 011 the north side of Whang-wha ward, the present British Legation compound. Three years after the sacrifice they removed her tablet to In-an Hall, in the “Summer Palace,” and three years later placed her portrait in the Ancestral Temple. In 1409 the Tomb was considered unpropitious and so was removed and placed in Yang-ju east of the wall. For a time her spirit had been worshipped, and [page 19] her tomb guarded, but the question of a good Confucianist like T’a-jo having two wives came up, and Queen Kang was ruled out, her tomb forgotten, and for two hundred years the grave that gave the name to the Foreign quarter of Seoul was un-known. It remained for Yul-gok Sun-sang, one of the great scholars of Korea, to call the attention of the nation to the neglect, that they had been guilty of, in giving up the worship of Queen Kang’s spirit. No one knew the place of the forgotten tomb. The wise and great were ordered out to assist in the search, but with no success. At last in the writings of Pyon Ke-ryang [卞季良] they found it recorded that, Chung-neung [貞陵] was situated northeast of the wall, and, thus directed, they discovered it outside of the Little East Gate.

Song Si-yul [宋時烈] says that T’a-jo’s heart was so wrapped up in the dead queen, buried in front of his palace, that he never ate without first bearing the temple bells; “but now in this year (1668,) the site is given over to ruin, scarcely recognizable, the walls and stone guards are fallen, and only the ruins of the tablet house are left.”

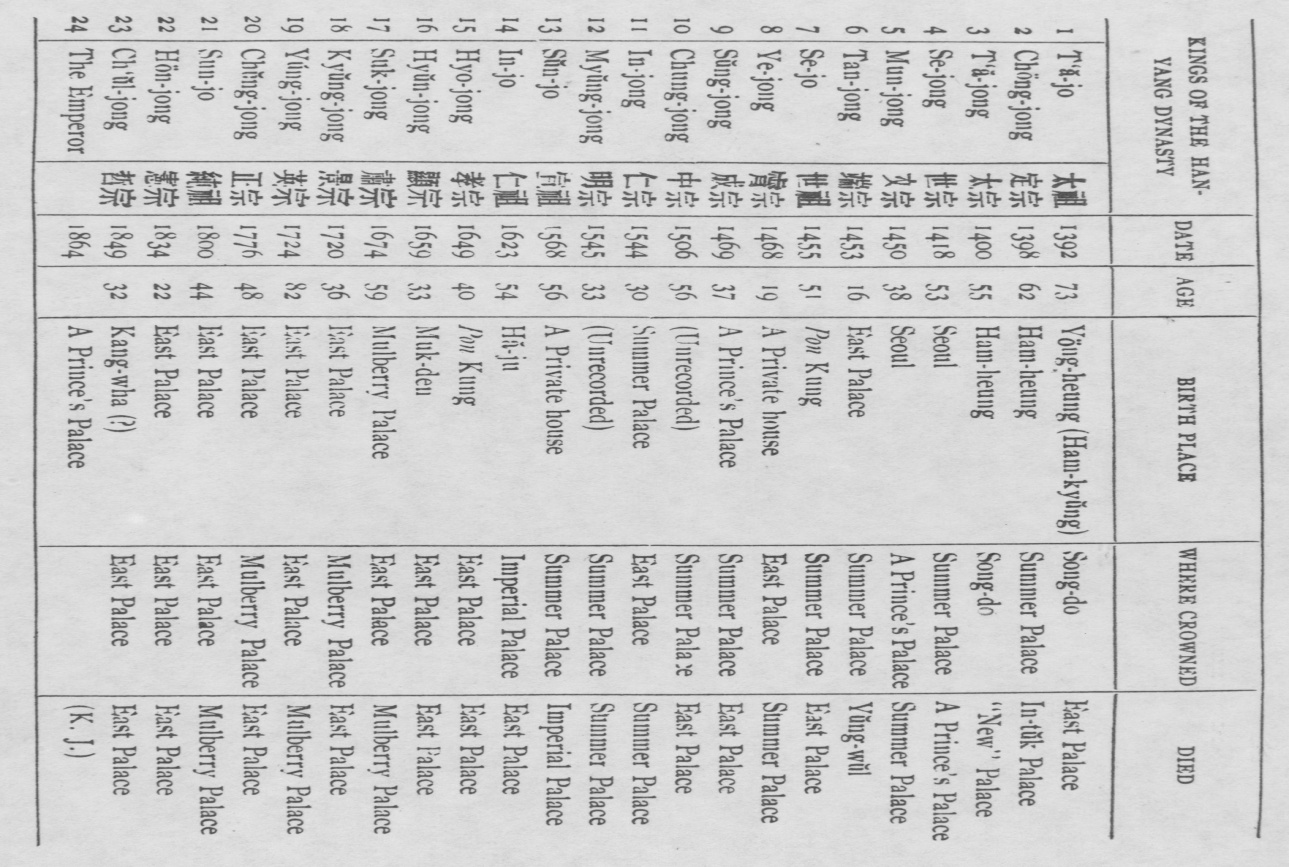
In the 9th m00n of 1669, the temple house was rebuilt and the guards set up. On the day of sacrifice a great rain fell so that the people said the rain had come to wash away the wrongs that had been done Queen Kang. To-day Queen Kang’s tomb (Chung-neung) is one of the attractive points outside of the city (Y. Y. 1;54).

T’a-jo made himself secure by connecting the capitals with the outermost limits of the country by means of fire- signal, from the top of Nam-san. Nam-san connected with A-cha Peak [峨嵯山] in Yang-ju [楊州] and so sent on news to Ham-kyung and Kang-wun; also signals were sent by way of Ch’un-ch’un Peak, [穿川峴] Nam-han, to Kyong-sang; a third line over Lone Tree Mountain [母岳] carried news by way of land to Whang-ha and P’yung-an. Light-house peak, south west of Mo-ha-kwan, sent the message over sea to a peak in Whang-ha. The fifth line was south by way of Ka-wha Mountain [開花山] to Ch’ung-ch’ung and Chulla (Y. J. 3:16).

In 1429 King Se-jong [世宗], who was one of the great kings of this dynasty, built Mo-ha-kwan and the gate [迎恩門] that used to stand on this side of ‘‘Independence Arch” where the pillars still remain. It was here that the Chinese [page 20] envoy used to wait, till the king came out to meet him. There were at that time three guest houses called Kwan [館] inside of the wall; the Ta-p’yung Kwan [大平館] which stood on the left just as you entered the South Gate. This was the entertainment hall for the envoys of the Ming [明] dynasty; the Tong-p’yung Kwan [東平館] stood southeast of the Su-pyo [水標橋] or Water Mark Bridge; and here the Japanese representatives were entertained. The Puk-p’yung Kwan [北平館], in the east part of the city, was for the entertainment of Ya-in [野人] or Barbarians (Y. J. 3;15,21).

Two hundred years after the founding of the city, in 1592, the victorious Japanese army marched in through the South Gate, and burned the palaces Kyong-pok, Ch’ang-tuk and Ch’ang-kyung (K. J. 31:3). The general and his staff made their headquarters at first in the Ancestral House of the kings, Chong Myo. Koreans say that so many fierce and uncanny spirits attacked them, that the general burned the Tablet House (K. J. 31 ;8) and moved with his staff to Nam- pyul-kung, the palace built for the wilful son of Cho Jun. It was forever after a violently haunted house, a sort of chamber of horrors, was this Nam-pyul-kung. A tower had been built beside it called Myung-sul-lu [明雪樓]. the three characters meaning “Mings,” “wash away,” “tower,” a memorial expressive of Korea’s sorrow at the fall of the Mings. When the embassy from the Ch’ungs, or present Manchu dynasty, first came, the government took good care not to honor them by entertaining them in the Ta-pyung-kwan, where the Ming ambassadors had been feted, but put them up in the haunted Nam-pyul-kung, where the Myung-sul Tower was. “What on earth is this?” asked the ambassador and his party. “Myung- sul-lu! Is this some sort of memorial to the hated Mings?” “By no means,” said the Korean government, “it has no reference to the Mings at all. It means simply “Bright-snow Tower.” “How poetical!” said the envoy, and goblins and inscriptions troubled him no more.

In the winter of 1593，when king Sun-jo [宣祖] returned from his flight north he found the palaces burnt, the Tablet House dust and ashes and the official city a ruin. For want of a better place he made the home of Prince Wul-san his palace and called it the Kyung-eun-kung. It stood on the



[page 21] site of the present Imperial Palace in Chung Dong and there the king lived some fifteen years. His son Kwang-ha-ju who was degraded and removed from his place in the Ancestral Hall built the Mulberry Palace calling it the Kyung-tuk-kung, and the Kyung-in-kung. The Kyung-in-kung was destroyed in the next reign and apparently to get free from all association with Kwang-ha-ju the name Kwang-tuk was changed to that of Kyung-heui, that being the present name of the Mulberry Palace.

As so much of the life of the capital centres about the person of the king I give a list of the different kings and mark the palaces that they were crowned and died in, also the ages, in order to show how propitious the influences of the mountain proved. I drop from the list of kings the two disgraced monarchs Yun-san-kun and Kwang-ha-ju.

The average age of the kings is only about 44. As to whether this in any way reflects upon the guardianship of the hills we have no record, but thus it is and thus has the royal residence been shuttled about through the city. This table shows that there was no permanent occupation of the “Summer Palace” from the time of the Japanese invasion till the rebuilding of it by the regent in 1865. Many of the old inhabitants still remember when it was but a heap of ruins, like the “Mulberry” palace. This latter, too, passes out of sight as a royal residence in 1864. The reason the “Mulberry” palace was given up is that certain geomantic “tiger” influences connected with it were said to have caused great disaster throughout the country from tigers and so the place, at a general call from the people, was vacated. The Regent, we are told, used much of the stones and timber for the repairing of the Kyung-pok-kung, till Queen Cho called his attention to the fact that Suk-chong had been born in the “Mulberry” Palace, and that it ought to stand; thus it was left as we see it today.

The city and palaces were again shaken up in 1636 by the Manchu invasion, but no mention is made of it in the Kuk-cho Po-gam or other histories, lest it should offend the great empire of China, to which Korea was at that time paying tribute.

Before leaving the palaces I would call your attention to the beautifully located Kyung-mo-kung [景慕宮] erected by [page 22] Chung-jong [正宗] about 1776, in memory of his father, who is called Twi-ji Ta-wang, or “Coffin King,” though he never occupied the throne. Yung-jong had been greatly offended by the behaviour of his sou, Coffin King, and at last, unable to endure his presence longer, had him nailed up in a coffin and smothered. Coffin King’s little son (afterwards Chang-jong,) stood by, saw it all, and the terrible memory of it followed him through life. When he became king in 1776 he built the Kyung-mo-kung, in memory of his father, and placed his portrait there. This palace stands south of the Confucian Temple and east of the East Palace. Gates open just across the way. The name of the gate is Wul-gun-mun [月權門] or gate monthly audience, still recording the fact that Chung-jong went month by month to see his father’s portraits At the place of crossing, the way is paved with stone in order to save from injury the Dragon’s back which crops out at that point. The box in which Coffin King was smothered is said to have been until recently in the court of the house occupied by the late Mr. Hutchinson north of the canal, and east of “Water Mark’’ bridge. Two years ago the picture of Coffin King was taken to Su-wun for burial and the Kyung-mo-kung was transformed into Korea’s War Temple. The Yung-heui-jun [永禧殿], Hall of War Kings, near the Japanese Settlement, was discovered to be rendered unpropitious by the presence of so many foreigners, and on this account the six partraits of T’a-jo, Se-jo, Sung-jong, Suk-jong, Hon-jong and Yung-jong were removed t6 six rooms in the palace of Coffin King, There is also a Sil or room being prepared for the protrait of his present Imperial Majesty, seeing that his lot has been cast in turbulent times.

At the beginning of the third century, there were three noted Chinese who, by a covenant became brothers, the oldest Yu Hyun-tuk[劉玄德] the second Kwan-u [關羽] and the third Chang-pi] 張飛]. They were born in low station; Kwan-u, who afterwards became the God of War for so much of the Far East, was originally a bean-curd pedlar. There is a saying current among illiterate as well as educated Koreans that preserves these three names in Korean history; translated it runs, “The spirit of Yu Hyun-tuk became king Sun-jong of the Mings, the spirit of Chang-pi became king Sun-jo of[page 23] Chosun and that is why Kwan-u came to aid in the Imjin war.” When Korea first asked aid of the Mings king Sun-jong refused it, but in a dream Kwan-u came to him and said, “The spirit of my dead brother is your majesty, my younger brother Chang-pi lives in the person of Sun-jo king of Korea; will you not aid him?” About that time the form of Kwan-u and Ins spirit soldiers appeared suddenly in mid-air outside of the South Gate, where the temple erected in his honor now stands. He moved across the city and disappeared outside of the .East Gate, where his other temple is (Tong-myo). These temples are well worth a visit, and are frequented by all classes in the city. Koreans say however that neither a Yu [呂] nor a Ma [馬] dare enter, as they are the surnames of those who had to do with the killing of Kwan-u the God of War. There is another temple to his honor, called the Puk-myo, inside of the wall, east of the Confucian Temple. Shrines erected to his memory are scattered throughout the city, one of these adjoining the pavilion of the Great Bell. Not only did Korea build these out of gratitude for deliverance in the Im-jin war, but she also erected an altar at the East Palace enclosure called the Ta-po-tan, where sacrifice was offered to three Emperors of the Mings.

**POINTS OF INTEREST IN SEOUL**.

(LETTERS AND FIGURES REFER TO MAP.)

PALACES (Kung)

Kyung-bok-kung 景福宮 “Summer Palace.” C. D. 3. 4.

Ch’ang-tuk kung 昌德宮 The west portion of the “East” Palace, F. 3.

Ch’an-kyung-kung 昌慶宮 The east portion of the “East” Palace. F. 3.

Kyung-tuk-kung 慶德宮 The “Mulberry” Palace. B. 5.

Kyung-heui-kung 慶熙宮 A later name of the “Mulberry” Palace. B. 5.

Kyung-un-kung 慶運宮 The “Imperial” Palace. C. 6.

Myung-ye-kung 明禮宮 A name sometimes given the “Imperial” Palace. C. 6. [page 24]

Yuk-sang-kung 毓祥宮 C. 2. The palace occupied by the mother of King Yung-jong (1724-1776).

Su-jin-kung 壽進宮. D. 5. The palace of the late dowager-queen Cho, who chose Chul-jong, and the reigning emperor, as her adopted sons.

Chu-kyung-kung 儲慶宮. D. 7. The palace of the mother of Wun-jong the father of King In-jo who reigned from 1623 to 1649.

Pon-kung 本宮 (The name refers in general to any palace where a king is born.) G. 4. This old tree and the shrine underneath it are regarded as sacred because king Hyo-jong was born here. He reigned from 1649 to 1659.

Sun-heui-kung 宣禧宮. C. 3. This palace was erected for the mother of Coffin King wife of king Yung-jong who reigned from 1724 to 1776.

Kyung-u-kung (Ka-sun-kung) 景祐宮. C. 3. Erected by king Chung-jong for one of his wives, a daughter of Pak Chong-kyung.

Sun-wha-kung 順和宮. E. 5. Erected for a wife of king Hun-jong, a daughter Kim Cha-chung.

Un-hyun-kung 雲峴宮 E. 4. The old home of the Regent the father of the Emperor where the Emperor’s older brother now lives.

Chang-eui-kung 彰義宮. C. 4.

Nam-pyul-kung 南別宮 D. 7. Built first for son-in-law of king T’a-jong, afterwards used as a guest house for the Cheung envoys. On its site now stands the Imperial Altar 皇壇.

Kyung-mo-kung 景慕宮 G. 3. Built by Chung-jong (1776-1800) in memory of his father “Coffin King.”

OTHER POINTS OF INTEREST

Chang-Ch’ung Tan 獎忠壇. Altar to the brave and loyal. (G. 8.) This was erected only recently. It is said that Arlington Heights outside of Washington city gave the first promoters of it the idea of setting aside some such place in commemoration of the brave as America had done, It is toward the foot of Nam-san inside of the Su-gu-mun to the south. [page 25]

P’il-un-ta 弼雲臺. This is a rock pavilion at the foot of Inwang-san (B. 3.) from which you look east over the Summer Palace and across the city.

Chil-sung-jung 七星亭. The pavilion of the Seven Stars near P’il-un-ta(B. 3.) This was erected by the regent, father of the Emperor, and characters in his own handwriting are over the doorway.

Kong-wun-ji 公園地. This is the enclosure that now includes the Pagoda and Tablet (E. 5.)

Kuk-sa-tang 國師堂. This is a temple in honor of Mu-hak the teacher of Tajo and it stands on the top of Nam-san.

Chil-sung-gak 七星閣. This temple to the Seven Stars stands high up on In-wang-san and is one of the few active remains of Buddhism in the city. There are no priests in connection with it, only laymen. The road leading up to it starts from the Kyung-u-kung.

Whang-hak-jung 黃鶴亭. “Pavilion of the Yellow Crane” is a place for archery inside of the Mulberry Palace.

In spite of the fact that one might be glad to get away as far as possible from Chinese influence in Korea, you keep running upon it at nearly every turn. Whether it be the naming of palaces, or gates, or wards of the city, not only are Chinese characters used but Chinese philosophy enters as well. The five primordial elements, metal, wood, water, fire, earth govern in all such matters. The east falls under wood 木, the west under metal 金，the north under water 水, the south under fire 火, the middle point, which is also leckoned, under earth 土. Attached to each of these is one of the virtues, in-eui-ye-ji 仁, 義, 禮, 智 Mercy, Loyalty, Ceremony, Wisdom. Mercy belongs to the east, and so we find it in the name of the great East Gate of the city. Loyalty or Righteousness is associated with the west, hence this is the leading character in the names of the three west gates, Ceremony is associated with the south and so appears in the name of the South Gate.

Heung-in chi mun (The East Gate) 興仁之門 H. 5. “The gate that uplifts Mercy.”

Ton-eai-mun (The “New” Gate) 敦義門 B. 5. “The gate of Firm Loyalty.” This gate which formerly stood west [page 26] of the “Mulberry” palace was moved to its present site by Yi Ch’um 李瞻 an officer of the reprobate king Kang-ha-ju. It was at this time that the Mulberry Palace was first built. Naturally a roadway running past the rear would be unpropitious which alone could account for its removal.

So-eui-mun (The Little West Gate) 昭義門 B. 6. “The gate that shows the Right.” This may account for the fact that in ancient times criminals were led out of this gate to be beheaded. Dead bodies are taken out through it too, the reason being that the primal element of death, Keum, 金 is associated with the west.

Ch’ang-eui-mun (The Northwest Gate) 彰義門 B. 2. “The gate of the display of Righteousness,” Eui being also the leading character of the name.

Sung-ye-mun (The South Gate) 崇禮門 C. 7. Ye is the character associated with the south and so it appears in the hyun pan over the gate, “the gate of exalted Ceremony.”

The two gates to the east of the city, the Little East Gate called He-wha-mun 惠化門 and the Su-gu-mun marked Kwang heui-mun 光熙門 were named in honor of the king. The first and foremost place in the great matter of names, so important in the eyes of the Korean, is given to Chinese philosophy. After this honor is paid, the king comes in for his share. He-wha-mun means “the gate where royal favor comes forth. Kwang-heui-mun means “the gate of royal splendor.”

Only one king has ever passed through the Little East Gate and that was King In-join 1636 when he was escaping from the Mongol invaders.

The Su-gu-mun or Water-mouth Gate is defiled by the proximity of the burying ground and that is why it is permitted to carry the dead through it as well as through the Little West Gate.

In the naming of the gates of the Kyung-pok-kung or “Summer Palace” we see also the influence of Chinese philosophy. “Spring” is associated with the east and “Autumn” with the west; the east gate of the “Summer Palace” therefore becomes Kan-ch’un-mun 建春門, “The gate of opening Spring,” while the west Yong-ch’u-mun 迎秋門, “The gate[page 27]that meets the Autumn.” In Chinese writings Hyun-mu 玄武 is the spirit of the north and so the north gate become Sin-mu-mun 神武門 or the gate of the Spirit Hyun-mu.

The Kwang-wha-mun or front gate of the palace is so named in order to do honor to the king, “The gate of Glorious Merit.”

When Su-ku-jung 徐居正 wrote the names of the gates for the east palace he thought less of Chinese philosophy and more of trying to please his majesty. The front gate is Ton-wha-mun, somewhat similar in thought to Kwang-wha-mun.

I am told that the famous scholar Hun Suk-pong wrote the name over the entrance to the “Mulberry” Palace Heung-wha-mun 興化門 which Korean scholars speak of as a work magnificently executed. There is a story called Ya-jo-ka “The hill that shone at night,” associated with this hyn-pan. The inscription was said to have shone with so great brilliancy that moon and stars were eclipsed till a Mongol soldier fired a shot into it and destroyed the light.

**NAMES OF TOWNS IN SEOUL, WITH LOCATION ON MAP.**

An-dong, “The town of peace” 安洞. D. 4.

A-hyun (A-o-ka) 阿峴. A. 7.

An-hyun (Kil-ma-ja), “Pack Saddle Hill.” 鞍峴. A. 4.

Ch’a-dong (Su-re-kol), “Cart Town.” 車洞 B. 6.

Ch’ang-nim-jung-dong, “The town of the Big Woods” 昌林井洞. C. 5.

Chak-tong, “Sparrow Town” 雀洞 B. 8.

Chang-heung-dong, (Chang-dong) 長興洞. D. 7.

Chang-eui-dong, “The Town of Loyalty.” 壯義洞. C. 3.

Chi-jun-dong (kol), “Paper Store Town” 紙廛洞. C. 6.

Chong-hyun (Puk-ta-ran-ja) 鍾現.

Chip-ku-dong, “Pick up Town” 執舉洞. F. 6.

Chip-keui-dong 執機洞 F. 6.

Ch’o-dong, “Grass Cloth Town” 草洞. F. 6.

Ch’o-jun-dong, “First Fight Town” 草廛洞 (Grass Town) where the sons of Ta-jo had their first encounter hence the name.

Chul-lip-dong, “Military Hat Town” 戰笠洞. C. 4. [page 28]

Ch’uk-dong (Sa-tu-suk-kol), “Tanning Town” 畜洞. D. 7.

Chu-dong (Chu-ja-kol), “Type Town” 鑄洞. E. 8.

Chuk-dong, “Bamboo Town” 竹洞. E. 6.

Chun-dong, “Law Town” 典洞. D. 5.

Ch’un-ch’o-dong 川椒洞. F. 6.

Ch’ung-suk-dong, “Slate Town” 靑石洞. E. 5.

Ch’ung-sung-dong, “Blue City Town” 靑城洞. E. 4.

Chwi-hyun-dong, “The Town where the Good Meet” 聚賢洞. C. 6.

Eun-hang-dong (Eun-hang-namu-kol) 銀杏洞. C. 4.

Ha-hak-dong, “Lower Water Pestle Town” 下確洞. B. 6.

Han-hak-dong (Han-yan-kol) 漢學洞. This town stands on the site of the old town of Han-yang. E. 5.

Hal-lim-dong 翰林洞. B. 7. There is a story of an abduction case that makes this town famous and that gave it its name but it is too long for insertion here. Hap-dong (Cho-ka-kol) 蛤洞. B. 7. 5.

Hoi-hyun-dong, “The Town where the Good Meet” 會賢洞. D. 7.

Hoi-mok-tong, “Juniper Tree Town” 檜木洞. E. 5.

Hoi-dong (Cha-kol), “Ash Town” 灰洞. F. 7; E. 4.

Hong-mun-dong (Hong-mun-su-kol), “Red-gate Town” 紅門洞. E. 6.

Ho-dong, “Jug Town” 扈洞 E. 8. G. 4.

Hu-jung-dong, “Rear Well Town” 後井洞. F. 5.

Hu-chun-dong (Tui-na-kol), “Back Stream Town” 後川洞. F. 7.

I-mun-dong, “Big Gate Town” 里門洞. B. 8.

Ip-dong (kat-jun-kol), “Hat Store Town” 笠洞 E. 6.

I-dong (Sin-jun-kol), “Shoe Town” 履洞. E. 6.

I-gan-chung-dong, “A Well Town” 二間井洞 C 5.

Ik-nang-dong (kol) 翼郎洞. E. 4.

Ka-hoi-dong, “The Town of Pleasant Meeting” 嘉會洞. E. 3.

Ka-jung-dong (Tu-ke-u-mul-kol), “Covered Well Town” 蓋井洞. B. 7. D. 5. Called so because there is a well in the neighborhood.

Kal-hyun 葛峴. A. 2.

Ku-Pyung-dong, “The Town of Good Living” 居平洞 B. 5.

Ke-sang-dong (Sang-kol), “Cinnamon Town” 桂生洞. E. 4. [page 29]

Keum-pu-hu-dong (Tui-kol), “The Town behind the Keum-bu Prison” 禁府後洞. D. 5. Keun-dong 斤洞. C. 4.

Kwan-dong, “Town of the Confucian Hall” 舘洞 F. 6. G. 3.

Kwan-ja-dong, “Ear-button Town” 貫子洞. E 6.

Kwan-jung-dong (Kwan-a-mul-kol), “The Town of Kwan Well” 官井洞. C. 7.

Kok-jung-dong, “Crooked well Town” 曲井洞. C. 4.

Kyo-su-kwan-dong, “Town of Goverment Printing office” 校書館洞. E. 8.

Kyo-dong This town marks the site, of the Confucian Hall that was attached to the old town of Han-yang 校洞. E. 4.

Ma-jun-dong, “Hemp field Town” 麻田洞. So called because a certain Hong Kuk-gung used to live here in the days of Chung-jong. Hong was a high officer of state and received frequent despatches from the palace and there is a saying that “the king’s words are like fine hemp string,” hence the name. E. 5.

Ma-dong “Plum Flower Town” 梅洞. C. 4.

Ma-jo-mi-dong (kol), “Rice Hulling Town” 磨造米洞 B. S.

Mang-hyun 孟峴. E. 3.

Muk-sa-dong (Muk-juk-kol), “The Town of Muk Temple”黑寺洞. F. 7.

Muk-jung-dong, “Ink Well Town” 墨井洞. E. 6.

Mi-dong Kon-dang-kol), 美洞. There is associated with this name a story of faithfulness rewarded that is too long for insertion here. Suffice it to say that the common name Kon-dang-kol is not correct; it ought to read Ko-eun-tan- kol. “The Town of silk of Ancient Grace.” D. 6.

Mo-jun-dong, “Ceremonial Hat Town” 帽廛洞 F. 6.

Nam-san-dong, “South Mountain Town’’ 南山洞 D. 8.

Nam-so-mun-dong, “Little South Gate Town” 南小門洞. H. 7.

Nam-jung-dong, “Indigo Well Town” 藍井洞 B. 7.

Nam-jung-hyun, 南正峴. C. 4.

Na-dong. “Gauze Town” 羅洞. E. 8.

Na-bu-a-hyun, 內負兒峴 D. 9.

Nak-tong, “Camel Town” 駱洞 D. 7.

Nan-dong, “Nan-ch’o Town” 蘭洞. D. 7. [page 30]

Nang-jung-dong (Ch’an-u-mul-kol), “Cold Well Town” 冷井洞 E. 6. G. 5.

Ni-dong (Chin Kol), “Mud Town” 泥洞 E. 4.

Nok-pan-hyun, 錄礬峴 A. 3.

Nu-guk-tong, “Water Clock 0ffice Town” 漏局洞 C. 6.

Nu-gak-tong, “Tower Town” 樓閣洞 B. 3.

Nu-jung-dong, “Tower Well Town” 樓井洞 E. 5.

Oi-pu-a-hyun, 外負兒峴 F. 9.

Ok-p’ok-tong, “Jade Waterfall Town” 玉瀑洞 A. 5.

Ok-yu dong, 玉流洞 B. 3.

O-chung-dong, “Crow-well Town” 烏井洞 G. 7.

Pak-suk-tong (Pak-tong), “Flat stone Town” 磚石洞 D. 5.

Pak-un-dong, “White cloud Town” 戶雲洞 B. 2.

Pak-ja-dong, “Pine-nut Town” 栢子洞 H. 3.

Pul jung-dong (Pul-u-mul Kol), “Pul Well Town” 伐井洞 G. 6.

Pyuk jang-dong. 壁壯洞 D. 4.

Pi-p’a-dong, “Flute Town” 琵琶洞 K. 6.

P’an-jung dong, “Board Well Town” 板井洞 F. 7.

P’yun-ja-dong, “Horshoe Town” 片子洞 C. 7.

P’il-tong, “Pen Town” 筆洞 F. 7.

Sa-geui-dong, “Porcelain Dish Town” 沙器洞 D. 5.

Sa-hyun, “Sand Hill” 沙峴 B. 4.

Sam-chung-dong, “Town of the Bright Spirits” (Taoistic) 三淸洞 D. 3.

Sal-lim-dong, “Town of Sages” 山林洞 F. 6.

Ssang-i-mun-dong, “Town of the Twin Gates” 雙里門洞 G.8. Sang-hak-tong, 上確洞 C. 6.

Sang-sa-dong, “Remembrance Town” 相思洞 F. 4. D. 5.

Sang-dong, “The Town of Minister Sang” 尙洞 E. 7.

Sa-dong (Sa-jik-kol), “Earth Altar Town” 社洞 B. 4.

Sang-min-dong, 生民洞 F. 7.

Sang-sa-dong, “Town of Portraits of Living men” 生祀洞 C. 7.

Su-hak-dong, “The West College Town” 西學洞 C. 6.

Suk-ka-san dong; “Artificial Hill Town” 石假山洞 G. 8.

Suk-kwan-hyun (Tol go-ji), 石串峴 J. 4.

Suk-jung dong (Tol-u-mul-kol), “Stone Well Town” 石井洞 E. 5. D. 6. [page 31]

Sin-ch’ang-dong, “New Storehouse Town” 新倉洞 C. 7.

So an-dong, “Little An Town” 小安洞 E. 4.

So-in-hyun (Cha-geun In-sung-pu-ja), 小仁峴 F. 7.

So da dong “Little Belt Town” 小帶洞 C. 3.

So-han-hak-tong, “Little Han yang Town” 小漢學洞 E. 5.

So-san-im-dong, “Little Sage Town” 小山林洞 F. 6.

So-gong-dong, “Little Kong Town” 小公洞 D. 7.

So-ya-dong (Cha-geun Pul-mu-kol), “Little Blacksmith’s Town” 小冶洞 D. 7.

So-jung-dong (Cha-geun Kyung-na-kol), “Little Chung Town” 小貞洞 C. 6.

So-nok-pan-hyun, 小綠攀峴 A. 2.

Song-mok-tong, “Pine Tree Town” 松木洞 C. 4.

Song-chung-dong, “Pine Well Town” 松井洞 B. 5.

Song-hyun, “Pine Hill” 松峴 D. 4.

Sun-chung-dong, “Police Town” 巡廰洞 B. 7.

Su-geun-dong, “Celery Town” 水芹洞 G. 6.

Sun-la-dong, “Watchman Town” 巡羅洞 C. 5. ]

Su-mun-dong, “Water Gate Town” 水門洞 F. 4.

Tang-p’i-dong, “Donkey Skin Town” 唐皮洞 C. 5. E. 7.

Ta-hyun, “Great Hill” 大峴 A. 7. 8.

Ta-jung-dong, “The Foreign Settlement” 大貞洞 C. 6..

Ta-myo-kol, “Great temple Town” 大廟洞 F. 5.

Ta-dong (Teui Kol), “Girdle Town” 帶洞 G. 6.

Ta-in-hyun (In-sung-pu-ja), “Hill of the Good and Great”大仁峴 F. 7.

Ta-jo-dong (Ta-ch’o-u-mul-kol), “Date Well Town” 大棗井洞 E. 6.

Ta-ch’ang-dong, “Great Storehouse Town” 大倉洞 C. 5.

T’a-bang-dong, “Tea House Town” 茶房洞 D. 6.

Ta-jun-dong, “Big Fight Town” Where the sons is of T’a-jo

fought to a finish 大戰洞 E. 6.

Ta-jun-jung-dong, “Great Store Well Town” 大廛井洞 F. 5.

Ta-sa-dong, “Great Temple Town.” There was a monastery built here by Se-jo in 1444 which gives the name. In 1512 it was destroyed and an edict was promulgated forbidding Buddhists to enter the city 大寺洞 E. 5. [page 32]

Tong-hyun (Ku-ri-ga), “Brass Hill” 銅峴 E. 6.

Tong-san-jung-dong, “Garden Well Town” 東山井洞 C. 5. E. 5.

Tong-san-dong, ‘‘Garden Town’’ 東山洞 G. 7.

Tong-yung-dong, “East Pass Town” 東嶺洞 C. 5.

To-dong (K’al kol), “Knife Town” 刀洞 B. 8. D. 6.

To-ga-dong, “The Town of To” 都家洞 C. 4.

T’ap-tong (T’ap-kol), “Pagoda Town” 塔洞 E. 5.

U-eui-dong 於義洞, G. 5.

U-su-hyun (Cha), “Ox Head Hill” 牛首峴 C. 8.

Wa-kwan-dong (Kol). Tong-p’yung-kwan the Hall where Japanese visitors were entertained was located in this town, hence the name “Town of the Japanese Hall” 倭舘洞 F. 7.

Wun-dong (Kol), 院洞 E. 3.

Wun-chung-dong (Tong-san-u-mul- kol), “ Garden Well Town” 園井洞 F. 6.

Yang-sa-in-dong (Yang-sa-kol), “Town of the Two Sa-in” 両舍人洞 H. 5.

Yang-dong, 養洞 C. 8.

Yang-dong (P’ul-mu-kol), “Blacksmith Town” 冶洞 B. 7.

Yu-chum-dong (Not-chun-kol), “Brass-dish Town” 鍮店洞 B. 6.

Yun-dong (Yun-mot-kol), “Lotus Lake Town” 蓮洞 G. 5.

Yun-pang-dong, “Lotus-seed Town” 蓮房洞 H. 6.

Ya-hyun, “The Blacksmith Hill” 冶峴 G. 7.

Yak-hyun, “Medicine Hill” 藥峴 A. 7.

FAMOUS BRIDGES.

There are forty bridges in and about the city but only six of them are specially noted.

Kwang-t’ong-kyo (Kwang-ch’ung-tari) “The Wide Connecting Bridge” 廣通橋 D. 6.

It is on on South Street just a few yards from the Great Bell.

Chang-kyo(Chang-Ch’a-kol-tari) “The Long Bridge.” Situated just below Kwang-ch’ung-tari on the canal. 長橋 G. 4.

Su-pyo-kyo (Tari) “Water Mark Bridge” 水標橋 D. 6.

Wha-ryang-kyo (Wha-ri-kyo-tari) 花浪橋 F. 6.

Hyo-kyung-kyo (Hyo-kyung-tari) “The Bridge of Hyo-kyung” (a book on filial piety) 孝經橋 F. 6. [page 33]

Ma-jun-kyo (Ma-jun-tari) “The Horse Traders Bridge” 馬廛橋 G. 6.

**SPECIAL LOCALITIES.**

In the matter of manufacture certain parts of the city are noted for special articles. For example:

Wooden shoes are to be obtained from Yun-mot-kol.

Tobacco-pouches ‘‘ Hoi-dong

Twine shoes ‘‘ T’ap-kol “Pagoda Town”

Girdles and strings ‘‘ Hun-yun-mun

“ Water Mouth Gate”

Hat covers ‘‘ Yu-kak-kol

Thatch peaks ‘‘ Whang-to-maru

Blue dye ‘‘ Mo-wha-kwan

Pictures ‘‘ Mal-li-ja (Han River)

Cherries ‘‘ Song-dong

Apples ‘‘ North West Gate

Medicine ‘‘ Ku-ri-ga

Metal articles ‘‘ Chal-mul-kyo

Boxes ‘‘ Chung-dong

Bows ‘‘ Tu-tari-mok

Porcelain dishes ‘‘ A-o-ka

Fruit ‘‘ Sa-in-jun

Variety-stores ‘‘ An-dong

**PROPHECY AND ITS FULFILMENT**

In casting the eye over the city there rare to be seen what Koreans call “fulfilments.” Certain names that have been handed down from the past are strangely full of meaning at this time. For example, before they had carts or cars to speak of, “Car Town” was the name used to designate the region between the “New” Gate and the “Little West” Gate just outside of the walls. Today the Seoul-Chemulpo Railroad is there and it becomes Car Town in reality, fulfiiling the prophecey hidden in the name.

There was the Su-hak or West School so called in its re-[page 34] lation to the schools of Confucius in other points of the city. That region has become the foreign quarter and as the Korean says the seat of Western learning. Again what was formerly called the “Imperial quarter” has in these days developed into the Imperial Palace.

Chong hyun, or Bell Hill, that used to be, finds the Cathedral standing on its top and the bell ringing out daily to the Korean ear its fulfilment of prophecy.

Dragon Town is now occupied by the Chinese Legation that flies the Dragon flag. All of which, in the mind of the ordinary Korean, has to do with prophecy and its fulfilment.

Many of the famous government offices have changed their designations since the reforms of 1897, and the taking, of the Imperial name.

The Eui-jung Pu [議政府] or Executive Board that stood just in front of the Kwang-wha Gate [光化門] and east of the Stone Lions has changed its name to the Na-pu [內府] or Home office; the I-jo [吏曹] Board of Office has become the Woi-pu [外部] or Foreign Office ； the Ho-jo [戸曹] or Treasury Department has become the Office of Treasury [度支] ; the Ye-jo[禮曹] Office of Ceremony has become the Educational Department [學部]； the Han-sung-pu [漢城 部] or City Office has become the Office of Agriculture, Trade, Works [農商工部]; the Kong-jo[工曹] Office of works has become the office of Telegraph and Post [通信院] : the Hyung-jo [刑曹] Board of Punishment has become the office of Justice This old office of Punishment was also called the Ch’u-jo or Autumn office, recalling the fact mentioned before, that punishment is associated with the Autumn season.

The former Pyung-jo [兵曹] is the present Kun-bu or War Office [軍部]. Next to the gate of the Summer Palace on the left side are to be found the Imperial Guard and the Gendarmes.

Under the old regime which lasted from 1400 till 1895 there were some 76 public offices in the city arranged under the names Pu [部] Jo [曹], Kam [監], Kwan [舘], Wun [院], Si [寺], Sa [司], Su [署], Wi [衛], having to do with the ceremony of Audience, Medicine, Music, Robes, Chairs, Clothes, Geomancy, Boats, Pictures etc., etc. [page 35]

In the 10th Moon of 1487, HHn-jong Emperor of the Mings, died. His son sent as special ambassador to Cho-sun a member of the Hallim College called Tong-wul [董越], also a scholar by the name of Wang-ch’ung to act as his deputy. He sent them that they might announce his ascension to the Imperial Throne. When Tong-wul saw King Sung-chong of Korea he looked upon him with evident satisfaction, saying, “I, an old man, have heard of your majesty’s learning, up-rightness, and magnificence. I come now and look, and behold it is even so.”

Tong-wul wrote an account of what he saw here in 1487 and with a translation of a part of his article I close this paper. It is a picture of his meeting the King and of the city of Seoul and will give you an idea of how greatly or how little the city has changed in these 414 years:

“The Emperor announced the name Cho-sun as most fitting for the Eastern Barbarian, it being also the ancient name of Korea. With the giving of the name the capital became established at Han-yang.

Crossing the Im-Jin river which touches P’a-ju and Chang-tan, propitious atmospheres are evident on the top peaks of Sam-gak-san, which is the guardian mountain of the new capital and exceedingly high. The royal palace rests on the back of one or its spurs. Locking from the top of Sam-gak the view is most extended. Myriads of pine trees cover the country. On the north, the hills rise a thousand measures, so that there is no fear from attack of armies. Coming by way of the west the road is just sufficient for one to pass (Peking Pass). A half li from Hong-je there is a Kwan which faces Sam-gak to the north and Nam-san to the south with a road between for one rider to squeeze through, the roughest of mountains ways. Mountains encircle the walls, toward the east they also enclose the city,; white sand like snow is seen everywhere under the pines. Between Sam-gak and Nam-san there is white with an admixture of red, but snow views predominate. Mo-wha-kwan [慕華館] is situated on the Kon spur of the hills with Song-ye raun (South Gate) to the south distant some eight li. A hall (Kwan) is built with a gate in front. When there is a message from the Emperor the king comes out to meet his[page 36] envoy here. The Kwan is used as a rest house for the envoy and also a gathering place for the officers of state. When the message arrives the king puts on his ceremonial robes and crown and Comes out to meet the ambassador. The ministers with pins in their head-gear stand like ibises in attendance, while old and young gather on the hills to see, and towers and gates are filled with people in gaudy dress, houses are decorated and music is wafted on the breeze, drums beat, flags fly, insense goes up like mist in the morning air, peach and plum blosoms give color and a noise of moving horses and chairs is heard. The Stone Sea- lions bask in the sun that rises from the sea. In front of the Kwang-wha Gate they sit east and west high as the towers wonderfully hammered out. Like monkeys of Mu-san acrobats perform; with boys on their shoulders, they dance and cut capers, walking the tight rope like sons of fairies with boots on too same as mountain spirits crossing stepping stones. They are masked in horse skins as lions and elephants and they dance as fabled birds decorated with pheasant tai’s. Nothing was ever seen in Song-do or P’yung-yang that equalled this.

They have prepared the court before the Ta-pyung-kwan [太平舘] (the guest house of the envoy.) Above it rises a tower; to east and west are servants quarters. Here we were entertained. The Bell swings in the tower of the city where the roads join from four points. It calls on men to rest, to rise, to work, to play. Here we sit with the eight-leaved screen spread out. The custom of the country is to hang but few pictures in the rooms. In official houses on the four sides are screens and on the screens pictures of mountains, rivers, the bamboo, characters and mottoes; in height sometimes they are two feet and sometimes three; transparent screens too hang from hooks.

At first cock-crow a messenger from the king wailed on us to ask how we had slept, the king too sent a Minister [宰相] and a Secretary [承旨] to inquire after our health. When we rode out there were throngs of attendants all ready to wait on us and write down what was said. Reverence for the Emperor means reverence for the envoy and so there is an abundance of ceremony awarded him. [page 37]

The royal Palace is modelled after that of China painted in red. They have no Vermillion and so they use red; neither is there oil in the paint they use. The tiles on the gates and smaller palaces are like the tiles on the official offices of the Flowery Land. There are three gates one behind the other entering the palace (Kyung-pok Kung) [景福宮] the first is the Kwan-wha [光化門] the second the Hong-ye [弘禮門] the third Keun-jung [勤政門] all fastened with nails shaped like conch shells and hanging with heavy iron rings, In the Audience Hall the windows are of green glass, something seen nowhere else. Before the Hall in the court there are seven ranges of steps to enter by, made of rough stones and brick, over these mats were spread. Silk screens shaded the eight windows. To the east and west there are fixtures by which the doors can be hung when the king receives audience. The two palaces Keun-jung (Summer Palace) and In-jung (East Palace) are built on the foot hills, separated by a spur that cuts one off from the other. They were built originally to suit the mountain spurs.

The chairs of the Crown Prince, Ministers, and Officers were standing in the court before the stairway. An awning of white was hung extending over the court. White, by the way, is the national color. There were lanterns, fans, banners, etc., planted in the ground. There was music, too, while a man with rapping sticks stood by to start the players off and stop them. When we approached the King bowed. They called three times “Long live the Emperor!” The officials circled about while the playing and dancing went 011, and though we could not uudersand the music we could catch the thought of the ceremony, it being modelled after that of China. Three times incense fires were lighted and three times they bowed their heads and called “Long live the Emperor!” and then the officers with folded hands turned toward the Imperial Palace. The presents to be offered were arranged to east and west. While guest and host stood apart the Emperor’s message was read, then we were led by the interpreter to a place under the awning. The king retired to change his robes and we stood to the east. His majesty then returned and took his place to the west, and so the envoy stands east looking west and [page 38]the kiug west looking east. We bowed and took seats on the king’s throne; the deputy envoy was stationed lower down. We bowed again and thus completed the ceremony. An interpreter was then called and the following message was written. “Our little kingdom may well serve as fence and wall and still do disgrace to the wide and limitless favor of the Emperor. Even though all one’s heart be in it it will be favor impossible to repay, though we die we shall never be able to make recompense. We sing the songs of Chu, that tell of the grace of heaven ； we pray that as the day comes round so may blessings fall upon the Emperor. We also intone the happy sayings of the Seupsang (Book of Poetry) and we proclaim the ceremonies of the Book of Spring and Autumn which says the various states must first sec to the rectitude of the individual man. May glory ever be in the presence of his Imperial Majesty.” As we were seated in our places in the Audience Hall a cup. of ginseng tea was brought in, and when we had all drunk, the king arose and facing us said， “I, the ruler of this insignificant kingdom, regard as most fitting the honoring of the Imperial Head. I have received the imperial message and the grace of the words that com mend me can never be repaid.” Then we replied, ‘‘Because our Imperial Master has confidence in the devotion and allegiance of the Eastern King-dom we regard you as different from all other states, and we lifted our hands and bowed. Then We, the envoys, were sent out of the Hong-ye Gate and his majesty waited ; ill we were in our chairs. We arrived at last at the Ta-pyung-kwan where the various officers cams and made their bows one after another ; then the king followed to share in a banquet. He stood outside the gate facing the east. The heralds approached and said, “His majesty is waiting.” On this we arose and went out to meet him, bowed, lifted our hands, and made way one for the oilier. Again we entered the kwan and took our seats in order each offering the other a glass of spirit. When we had finished the two interpreters said, “In the Book of Poetry we read. ‘The mulberry is on the hill; its leaves are bright and green; now that I behold you superior men what is my joy?’ We two also praised the grace of the host and the way in which[page 39]he had entertamed us along the journey. Then we again arose lifted our hands and bowed and his majesty continued, “The Ceremony of the Spring and Autumn Classic says, The king’s man, however small, is head of all officials,” how glorious then must our honored guests be. Today these ministers who dwell near the Son of Heaven have condescended to comedown to our insignificant state. Should we not show them honor?” and smiling kindly he said to the two interpreters, “Do you know what the name Imperial Minister means? It means to live and move before the eye of the Emperor.” We also heard what was said and smiled. In reply to the interpreters we said, “We heard heretofore that his majesty was a scholar and a rarely-gifted gentleman. Now that we see him we know it to be so.” We lifted our hands and repeated, “We thank you, we thank you”

In the court we walked upon matting spread out for guests and host. The king’s ceremonial robes were embroidered with a pair of dragons coiled together and also the phoenix flying with oustretched wings. Three mat carriers followed. While the bowing went on they placed before each of us dishes, in order, among which were gold, silver, brass, porcelain containing if we sum up in a word or two fish, flesh and dainty viands. When the king presented or passed anything to us he did so according to Chinese custom and when we returned the favor we did so according to feast ceremony.

There were five layers of honeyed bread and other things piled up a foot and more upon the tables ; the several dishes of bamboo, brass, etc., were arranged in order and a border of hanging gems was fastened round the table. Silk cut into pieces formed flowers and painted pictures of the phoenix were used as ornamentation. There was an absence of fruit upon the tables. Round cakes made of honey and flour and cooked in oil were placed in a circle on the dishes in different layers and in various colors, piled up until they were a foot high and more. There were also silver and white metal dishes having eight-horned borders, ornamented with blue gems, over which were laid four kinds of silk flower leaves. Along each border there were[page 40] nails of white metal made like to pearl flowers of China. Green silk decorations were embroidered with peacocks, their tails beautifully spread and their wings lifelike, all with heads down as though bowing to the guests. Koreans like to make a display, when they set a table, piling up in front and leaving less at the rear. One table was arranged like the character one (一). There were dainties and rice soup like Chinese Mi-go and Kyo-wha, pickled relish and soy. Their fermented spirit is made of glutinous rice and not of millet as ours, and yet it was if anything- superior. The aroma spread through the room in a way that surpasses even that of Chinese drink. The flavor was of the finest like the “Autumn dew” of Shantung. The wine cups ware lined out like the figure one (—) and covered with a silk spread.

As we were seated on the mat his majesty suddenly arose, stepped out and looked at the tables. I did not know what he meant to do till he picked up one himself and brought it forward, desiring thus to show honor. Beef mutton and pork were among the dishes. When these were cut the ministers first tasted. Last of all there was a large table of Mantu with a cover of silver on the dish. One official with a knife who had cut the meat also divided the Mantu. There were in the Mantu walnuts, dates and other things prepared and seasoned suitably. Of the meat used it was all of well fed animals. There were mutton sausages strung on sticks and broiled. Various kinds of fruits were mixed up in the preparation of them.

Dainties and soup were brought in a second time till there was no place to put them and so dishes were removed from the tables and put on the mats in order to make way. After eating fish and fishy food they brought us in lotus roots to sweeten the breath.

During all this time the various officials were circled about. Those in charge of the ceremony came past us bowing. The interpreters also stood with ceremonial hats and horned belts beside the king ready to catch any word to interpret. There were in all three feasts at the Ta-pyung-kwan. In each case the ceremony was the same. The first was called The Ha-ma-yun (alighting feast) ; the second Chung-yun[page 41] (middle feast) ； and the third the Sang-ma-yun (feast of departure). The banquet in the In-chung-yun was culled the Sa-yun (private feast). When all was finished we started in chairs and the king came out to see us off, being very gracious and particular in his form of ceremony. There was no end to the drinking of healths. We felt most grateful and overcome by his kindly sayings.” (King Sung-jong was then thirty years of age. The sojourn of the envoy lasted in all five days).

As regards the appearance and customs of Seoul at that distant date he goes on to say:

“One day we went out for a picnic and, as regards a good time it was worth a hundred years. The roads of the city are straight without crooks or turns. The eaves of the houses are in line and there are many great buildings and high. Walls divide them one from the other protecting from wind and fire. In every house there is a north window for cooler ventilation. As for outside appearences there are laws that regulate, so that a rich man’s house and a poor man’s look just about the same. Inside however, they are at liberty to arrange as they please. The main streets pass the official residences. Outside of these there is notelling by the house who is rich and who is poor. In the homes of the literati, they have unartistic pictures pasted on the walls. On the front gate there is to be seen the emblem of emerging cosmos (the T’a-geuk.) The poorer people build mud walls and thatch them with straw. They also use ropes in the walls to hold the mud and stones together. Fences are made of thorn bushes, some merely placed in the ground and some again tied with ropes. On many of the older thatch roofs weeds were seen growing and many of the huts looked like stacks of grain. “Though the phoenix flies a thousand feet from the ground yet the wren liv^s comfortably in the limb of the tree.” The ground used for building on is damp. In the rooms mats are used to sit on, also square or oblong matresses. They make pillows of silk or linen, stuff them with grass and use them to lean upon. They do not keep pigs near the houses and show little interest in flowers. For the carrying of heavy loads they use cattle and horses but horses are much more frequently seen. While[page 42] they keep domestic animals there is not a sheep anywhere. Koreans eat things obtained from the hills and the sen. also vegetables from the river side. An old man from a distant village had never tasted pork in ail his life ; at the feast he was offered some and he ate it as though in a dream.

When the poor bury they make use of some mountain spur, the rich select their graves more in the valley. On my way through Whangha and Pyung An I noted tint there were graves every where to the very tops of the hills. The rich select their graves with care. They use stone in front but no head stone. This is all a custom peculiar to the country and I cannot pronounce upon it.

The way they do up their hair mark differences of rank. They use a headband of horse hair with rings behind the ears that denote the degree. Jade rings mark the first, gold the second and silver the third, ordinary classes use bone, horn or shell. Children with short hair do not divide it fore and aft but when it comes down to the shoulders at 16 or 17 years of age they plait it. The people wear grass hats with bead hat strings all lacquered black. Chair coolies wear divided coats and have feathers in their hats. Ordinary people wear cotton or linen clothes of several layers with wide sleeves that hang down. They dislike a disturbance or an uproar and so when people are obstreperous a policeman is on hand with a club ; the men who carry batons are exceptionally tall. They wear large hats too and yellow linen coats, but no feathers in the head- They wear leather boots so that however muddy it may be the stockings take no harm. The stockings are tied at the top.

When labourers carry loads they stoop as though warming themselves against a fire. They sit, when ordered, before their superiors, and when leaving they shuffle out like a waddling duck. Their custom is to show respect by squatting on the knees and when departing to speak a word.

Three groups of eight men each, carried our chain They exchange with each other as they carry, not all taking part at once. Many others formed wings of out runners. Compared with a Chinese chair the legs are short and the seating capacity narrow. The two long poles are the same as we see in China. There are two cross-bars underneath[page 43] the chair five or six feet long. There are also two other cross sticks before and behind of about the same length. When the chair is to be carried they wrap cloth at the ends of these sticks and so rest them on the shoulder, lifting them with the hands. There were besides long strips of cotton that stretched from the front of the chair to the rear so as to fit onto the men’s shoulders as a yoke is placed upon the neck of an animal. These were fastened so as not to slip.

The women cover their ears and faces so that their jewels and ornaments do not appear. They wear a white kerchief oil the head which comes down to the eyes. The rich cover their face with a dark veil. The women of the rich wear a cap, with a sharp top and dark hangings that also hide the face, and though they have their faces so covered, they fly on the approach of man. Those of rank ride in chairs but I find in the office of ceremony that others, even though rich, must walk or go on horseback. Socks are made of cottou, shoes of leather, the poor man’s shoes of cowhide, the rich man’s of deer skin. I learned this from three or four different interpreters that I asked.

Clothes arc made of both silk and cotton. The sleeves are wide but not long.

The poorer women carry by the head, placing a bag of rice or a crock of water on the brow, never by the hand. All this I saw and so record.

I heard at first that the sexes bathed together, that widows were taken by force and made slaves of in the government post houses and that there was general immorality. I was alarmed at the rumor. Now it turns out that no such custom prevails.”

Such is the picture drawn by ambassador Tong-wul in the year 1487.

**KOREAN FOLK-TALES.**

BY H. B. HULBERT, ESQ., F. R. G. S.

Before beginning the discussion of Korean folk-lore it will be well to define the term or at least to indicate the limits within which the discussion will be confined ; for folk-lore ie a very ambiguous term, including, at one extreme, not only the folk-tales of a people but the folk-songs, superstitions, charms, proverbs, conundrums, incantations and many other odds and ends of domestic tradition which find no classification under other headings. Folk-lore is the back attic to which are relegated all those interesting old pieces of ethnological furniture which do not bear the hall-mark of history and are withal too ambiguous in their origin and too heterogeneous in their character to take their place down stairs in the prim order of the modern scientific drawing-room. But if we wish to feel as well as to know what the life of a people has been, we must not sit down in the drawing-room under an electric light and read their annals, but we must mount to the attic and rummage among their folk-lore and, as it were, handle the garments of by-gone days and untie the faded ribbon that confines the love-letters of long ago. Written history stalks across the centuries in seven-league boots, leaping from one great crisis to another and giving only a birds-eye view of what lies between; but folk-lore takes you by the hand and leads you down into the valley, shows you the home, ths family, the every-day life, and brings you close to the heart of the people. It has been well said that the test of a man’s knowledge of a foreign language is his ability to understand the jokes in that language. So I would say that the test of a man’s knowledge of any people’s life is his acquaintance with their folk-lore. [page 46]

The back-attic of Korean folk-fore is filled with a very miscellaneous collection, for the same family has occupied the house for forty centuries and there never has been an auction. Of this mass of material I can, in the space allotted me, give only the merest outline, a rapid inventory, and that not of the whole subject but of only a single part一namely the folk-tales of Korea.

For convenience we may group them under six heads. Confucian, Buddhistic, shamanistic, legendary, mythical and general or miscellaneous tales.

Williams defines Confucianism as “The political morality taught by Confucius and his disciples and which forms the basis of Chinese jurisprudence. It can hardly be called a religion as it does not inculcate the worship of any god.” In other words it stops short at ethical boundaries and does not concern itself with spiritual relations. The point at issue between Confucianism and Buddhism is that the latter affirms that the present life is conditioned by a past one and determines the condition in a future one, while Confucianism confines itself to the deciding of questions of conduct beginning with-birth and ending with death. It is to be expected therefore that, like Judaism in the days of its decadence, every probable phase and aspect of human life will be discussed and a rule of conduct laid down. This is done largely by allegory, and we find in Korea, as in China, a mass of stories illustrating the line of conduct to be followed under a great variety of circumstances. These stories omit all mention of the more recondite tenets of Confucianism and deal exclusively with the application of a few self-evident ethical principles of conduct. They all cluster about and are slavish imitations of a printed volume of stories called the O-ryun Hang-sil (五倫行實) which means “The Five Principles of Conduct.” This has been borrowed mainly from China and the tales it contains are as conventional and as insipid as any other form of Chinese inspiration. As this is a written volume which has a definite place in literature it may not perhaps be strictly classified as folk-lore but the great number of tales based on it, giving simple variations of the same thread-bare themes, have become woven into the fabric of Korean folk-lore and have produced a distinct impression, but rather of an academic [page 47] than a genuinely moral character. Following the lead of this book, Korean folk-lore has piled example upon example showing how a child, a youth or an adult should act under certain given circumstances. These “five principles” may be called the five beatitudes of Confucianism and while their author would probably prefer to word them differently the following is the way they work out in actual Korean life.

(1) Blessed is the child who honors his parents for he in turn shall be honored by his children.

(2) Blessed is the man who honors his king for he will stand a chance to be a recipient of the king’s favor.

(3) Blessed are the man and wife who treat each other properly for they shall be secure against domestic scandal.

(4) Blessed is the man who treats his friend well for that is the only way to get treated well oneself.

(5) Blessed is the man who honors his elders, for years are a guarantee of wisdom.

Then there are minor ones which are in some sense corollaries of these five, as for instance:

Blessed is the very, very chaste woman for she shall have a red gate built in her front yard with her virtues described thereon to show that the average of womanhood is a shade less virtuous than she.

Blessed is the country gentleman who persistently declines to become prime-minister even through pressed to do so, for he shall never be cartooned by the opposition—and, incidentally, shall have no taxes to pay!

Blessed is the young married woman who suffers patiently the infliction of a mother-in-law, for she in turn shall have the felicity of pinching her daughter-in-law black and blue without remonstrance.

Blessed is the man who treats his servant well, for instead of beeing squeezed a hundred cash on a string of eggs he will only be squeezed seventy-five.

Korean lore abounds in stories of good little boys and girls who never steal bird’s nests, nor play “for keeps,” nor tear their clothes, nor strike back, nor tie tin pans to dogs’ tans. They form what we may call the “Sunday-school Literature” of the Koreans and they are treated with the same contempt[page 48] by the healthy Korean boy or girl as goody-goody talk is treated by normal children the world over.

While these stories are many in number they are built on a surprisingly small number of models. After one gets a little used to the formulae, the first few lines of a story reveals to him the whole plot including commencement, complications, climax, catastrophe and conclusion. For instance there is the stock story of the boy whose parents treat him in a most brutal manner but who never makes a word of complaint Anticipating that they will end by throwing him into the well he goes down one dark night by the aid of a rope and digs a side passage in the earth just above the surface of the water ; and so when he is pitched in headlong the next day, he emerges from the water and crawls into this retreat unknown to his doting parents who fondly imagine they have made all arrangements for his future. About the middle of the afternoon he crawls out and faces his astonished parents with a sanctimonious look on his face which from one paint of view attests his filial piety, but from another says “You dear old humbugs, you can’t get rid of me so easily as that.” Be it noted, however, that the pathos of this story lies in its exaggarated description of how Korean children are sometimes treated.

We also have the case of the beautiful widow, the Korean Lucrece, who when the king importuned her to enter his harem seized a knife and cut off her own nose, thus ruining her beauty. Who can doubt that she knew that by this bold stroke she could retire on a fat pension and become the envy of all future widows?

Then there was the boy whose father lay dying of hunger. The youth whetted a knife, went into his father’s presence, cut a generous piece of flesh off his own thigh and offered it to his parent. The story takes no account of the fact that the old reprobate actually turned cannibal instead of dying like a decent gentleman. The Koreans seem quite unable to see this moving episode in more than one light and they hold up their hands in wondering admiration ; while all the time the story is exquisitely ironical.

There are numerous stories of the Lear type where the favorite children all deserted their parent, while the one who had been the drudge turned out pure gold. There is quite a [page 49] volume of Cinderella stories in which proud daughters come to grief in the brambles and have their faces scratched beyond repair while the neglected one is helped by the elves and goblins and in the sequel takes her rightful place. But these stories are often marred by the callous way in which the successful one looks upon the suffering or perhaps the death of her humbled rivals.

A common theme is that of the girl who refuses to marry any other man than the one, perhaps a beggar, whom her father had jokingly suggested as a future husband while she was still a child. The prevailing idea in this kind of story is that the image once formed in a maiden’s mind of her future husband is, in truth, already her husband, and she must be faithful to him. Such stories are a gauge of actual domestic life in Korea just inversely to the degree of their exaggeration.

Of course a favorite model is that of the boy who spends his whole patrimony on his father’s obsequies and becomes a beggar, but after a remarkable series of adventures turns up prime minister of the country. And yet in actual Korean life it has never been noted that contempt of money is a leading qualification for official position.

There is also the type of the evil-minded woman who did nothing but weep upon her husband’s grave, but, when asked why she was inconsolable, replied that her only object was to moisten the grave with her tears so that grass would grow the sooner, for only then could she marry again!

Korea is rich in tales of how a man’s honor or a woman’s virtue was called in question, and just as the fatal moment came the blow was averted by some miraculous vindication ; as when a hair-pin, tossed in the air, fell and pierced the solid rock, or when an artery was severed and the blood ran white as milk, or when the cart which was to carry the loyal but traduced official to his execution could not be moved by seven yoke of oxen until the superscription ‘‘Traitor’’ was changed to “Patriot.”

These are only a few of the standard models on which the Confucian stories are built, but from these we can judge with fair accuracy the whole. In examining them we find in the first place that they are all highly exaggerated cases, the inference apparently being that the greater includes the less and [page 50] that if boys and girls, youths and maidens, men and women acted with virtue and discretion under these extreme circum-stances how much more should the reader do so under less trying conditions. But the result is that, as Confucianism proposes no adequate motive for such altruistic conduct and provides no adequate penalty for delinquency, the stories are held in a kind of contemptuous tolerance without the least attempt to profit by them or apply them to actual conduct. This tendency is well illustrated in another phase of Korean life. When asked why his people do not attempt to emulate the example of the West in industrial achievements the Korean points to the distant past and cites the case of Yi Sun-sin, who made the first iron-clad man-of-war mentioned in history, and says “See, we beat you at your own game,” and he actually believes it, though the Korea of to-day does not possess even a fourth-class gunboat! Even so they point to these fantastic tales to illustrate the moral tone of Korean society when, in truth, these principles are practically as obsolete as the once famous Tortoise Boat. As proof of this I have merely to adduce what we all know of the readiness with which the Korean takes unfair advantage of his neighbor, the general lack of truthfulness, the absence of genuine patriotism, the chaotic state of public and private morals, the impudence of the average Korean child and the exquisite cruelty with which maimed animals are treated.

In the second place it should be noted that while the models given in the O-ryun Hang-sil are mostly from the Chinese, yet a great many of the tales which are based on these and which pass from mouth to mouth are purely Korean in their setting. The Confucian imprint is there, but translated into terms of Korean life and feeling.

A third point of importance is one that we have already hinted at in stating that the more recondite and esoteric ideas of Confucianism are entirely waived aside and only the practical application is brought to the fore. It is to this fact that we must attribute the virility of Confucian ethics, as a code or standard, even though there be no effort to live up to it. The ideas of filial affection, obedience to authority, marital love, respect for age and confidence in friends are not merely Confucian, they are universal, and belong to every religion and to [page 51] every civilization, and it is just because they are fundamental principles of all human society that they survive, at least as a recognized standard. They are axiomatic, and to deny them would be to disregard the plainest dictates of human reason. But let us return to our theme.

These stories, as we have said, form the “Sunday-school” literature of the Koreans. They are taken much as Bible stories are in the west, namely by a select few on select occasions. Everybody knows about them and has a general knowledge of their contents just as every western child knows more or less about David and Goliath, Jonah and the whale, Daniel and the lions ; but just as in the western nursery the Mother Goose Melodies, Cinderella, Jack the Giant-killer, Alice in Wonderland and the Brownies are more in evidence than religious stories, so in Korea the Dragon, Fox or Tiger story, the imp and elf and goblin story are told and listened to far oftener than stories illustrative of Confucian ethics.

The second division of our theme deals with Buddhist tales in Korean folk-lore. Here we find a larger volume and a wider range. The reason for this is that as Buddhism is a mystical religion it gives a much wider play to the imagination ; as it is a spectacular religion it gives opportunity for greater dramatic effect ; as it carries the soul beyond the grave and postulates a definite system of rewards and punishments it affords a much broader stage for its characters to play their parts upon. The Confucian tales are shorter, for they are intended each to point a particular moral, and conciseness is desirable, but with the Buddhistic tales it is different. The plots are often long and intricate. The interrelation of human events in more carefully worked out and the interplay of human passions is given greater prominence, and so the story approaches much nearer to what we call genuine fiction than do the purely Confucian tales. In fact the latter are mere anecdotes, as a rule, and afford no stimulus to the imagination as the Buddhistic stories do.

Another reason why Buddhist stories are so common is that Buddhism was predominant in Korea for a period of over a thousand years and antedated the general spread of Confu- cianism by many centuries. Coming in long before literature, as such, had made any headway in the peninsula, Buddhism [page 52] took a firm hold on all ranks of society, determined the models upon which the stories were built and gained an ascendency in the Korean imagination which has never been disputed. It is probable that to-day ten stories hinge upon Buddhism where one borrows its motive from Confucian principles. Buddhism entered Korea three or four centuries after Christ and it is not till near the middle of the Koryu dynasty, say 1100 A. D., that we hear of any rivalry between it and Coufucianism. By that time Buddhism had moulded the Korean fancy to its own shape. It went deep enough to touch some spiritual chords in the Korean nature. Confucianism never penetrated a hair’s breadth deeper than his reason ; and so Buddhism, by the priority of its occupancy and by its deeper touch made an impression that Confucianism has not even begun to efface.

Another cause of the survival of Buddhist ideas, especially in Korean folk-lore, even after Confucianism became nom-inally the state religion, was that the latter gave such an in-ferior place to women. Buddhism made no great distinction between the sexes. The very nature of the cult forbids the making of such distinction, and Korean history is full of in-cidents showing that women were equal sharers in what were supposed to be the benefits of the religion. Confucianism, on the other hand, gave woman a subordinate place, afforded no outlet to her religious aspirations, in fact made child-bearing her only service. Confucianism is a literary cult, a scholastic religion, and women were debarred from its most sacred arcana. They retorted by clinging the more closely to Buddhism where alone they found food for their devotional instincts, albeit the superstition was as dark as Egyptian night. In this they were not opposed. Confucianism, the man’s religion, seemed to fancy that by letting despised woman grovel in the darkness of Buddhism its own prestige would be enhanced. The fact remains that one of the most striking peculiarities of Korean society to-day is that while the men are all nominally Confucianists the women are nearly all Buddhists, or at least devotees of one or other of those forms of superstition into which Buddhism has merged itself in Korea. For instance, what would have become of the Buddhist monasteries had it not been for the Queens of the present dynasty? Even the[page 53] last ten years give abundant evidence of the potent power of Buddhism in the female breast.

But it is the mothers who mould the children’s minds, and every boy and girl in Korea is saturated with Buddhistic or semi-Buddhistic ideas long before the Thousand Character Classic is taken in hand. The imagination and fancy have become enthralled and, while it is true that in time the boy is ridiculed into professing a contempt for Buddhism, the girl clings to it with a tenacity born of sixteen hundred years of inherited tendency. It is of course a modified Buddhism. The underlying fetichism which the Korean inherits from unt told antiquity has been so thoroughly mixed with his Buddhism that it is quite impossible to tell where the one leaves off and the other begins.

It must be borne in mind that we are speaking now of the common folk-tales and not the ordinary written literature of modem Korea. The formal writings of the past five centuries have been Confucian and the models have all been those of the Chinese sage but they are studied only by the select few who have mastered the ideograph. They are not for the mass of the people and mean even less to the common crowd than Shakespeare and Milton mean to the common people of England and America.

There is one more important reason for the survival of the Buddhist element in Korean folk-tales, and that is its strong localizing tendency. The story plays about some special spot. It clings to its own hallowed locus—just as as the story of William Tell, of King Arthur or of Evangeline would lose half their valne if made general as to locality. It is because the Korean can lead you to a mountain side and say “Here is where Mu-hak stood when he pronounced the fatal words that foretold the Great Invasiou,” or show you the very tree, now centuries old, that To-san planted—it is because of these definite local elements that these tales are anchored firmly in the Korean consciousness. Any Confucian story might have occurred anywhere, in any age. Not so the Buddhist tale ; it names the spot and tells the day that saw the event take place and thus the interest is enhanced four-fold. Old Diamond Mountain carries the burden of as many tales of famous monks as it bears pines and the shoulders of old Hal-[page 54] la Mountain are shrouded in as heavy a cloak of Buddhist lore as of driving mist from off the southern seas.

If we are asked as to the style and make-up of the Buddhist story we can only say it is almost infinite in variety. What we may call the inner circle of Buddhistic philosophy seldom appears in these tales, but through them is constantly heard the cry for release from the bane of existence, and the scorn of merely earthly honors in seen on every page . Well indeed might the women of Korea be willing, nay long, to sink into some nirvana and forget their wrongs. Buddhism is consistent in this, at least, that from its own standpoint it acknowledges the futility of mere existence and says to every man, “Now what are you here for?” There can be no manner of doubt that the pessimism of the Buddhistic cult appeals strongly to the great mass of the Korean people.

The plots of the Buddhistic tales are too long to give in extenso but a few points can be indicated. In many of the stories the Buddhist monastery is the retreat to which the baffled hero retires and receives both his literary and military education and from which he sallies forth to overthrow the enemies of his country and claim his lawful place before the king.

Then again a monastery in the mountains may be the scene of an awful crime which the hero discloses and thus brings triumph to the right. There is no witch nor wizard nor fairy god-mother in Korea. It is always the silent monk who appears at the crucial instant and stays the hand of death with a potent but mysterious drug or warns the hero of dang-er or tells him how to circumvent his foes. Now and again, like Elijah of old, a monk dares to face the king and charge him with his faults or give enigmatic advice which delivers the land from some terrible fate. Often a wandering monk is shown a kindness by some boy and in after years by mysterious power raises him to affluence and power.

In these days one never connects the idea of scholarship with a Buddhist monastery but the folk-lore of the country abounds in stories in which the hero retires to a monastery and learns not only letters but the sciences of astrology and geomancy. And not only so but even military science seems to have been commonly taught in these retreats. In fact there[page 55] are few of these tales in which the hero is not taught the science of war as well as the arts of peace. No other source of information tells us so much about the status of the Buddhist monastery in the middle ages as these same stories. While in Europe the monasteries were repositories of learning and culture, in Korea they went still further and taught the science of war as well.

This, then, is the first and most important thing that Korean folk-lore has to tell us about Buddhism, namely its agency as a general educator. But in the second place these stories show the part that Buddhism has played in determining many of the phases of Korean life as seen to-day. Take for instance the peual code. The punishments inflicted on criminals are evidently copied from the representations of the Buddhist hell. Of course these, too, originated in the imagination and one may argue that the Buddhist hell was copied from the system of punishments in actual force in the country. Now we would expect to find, in any land, a gradual change in the forms of punishment during the centuries, but those in vogue to-day are such exact copies of the ancient Buddhist representations that we cannot but conclude that, even if the Buddhist hell was copied from actual custom, yet the crystalization of it into religious form has perpetuated the ancient and gruesome horrors and prevented the advent of humaner forms of punishment, commensurate with the general advance in civilization and enlightenment.

Another mark that Buddhism and Buddhistic stories have left upon the Korean is his repugnance to taking the life of an animal. To make blood flow is beneath the dignity of any decent man and though Buddhism has been politically under the ban for five centuries the butcher has, until very recently, counted with the Chil-ban or “seven kinds,” which include mountebanks, harlots, slaves and sorcerers. Yet this repugnance to taking animal life does not prevent the most revolting cruelty to animals of all kinds. Were it possible within the limits of this paper, many other points might be cited showing how Buddhistic lore has tended to perpetuate ideas which are not only outside the Confucian system but virtually antagonistic thereto.

And this brings us to our next point, the antagonism [page 56] between Buddhism and Confucianism. All during the Koryu dynasty, 918—1392 A. D., there was kept up a bitter fight between the adherents of the two cults. In those days no one was both a Confucianist and a Buddhist, as is the fashion today. There was a clear line of demarcation, and sanguinary struggles took place, in which Buddhism was uniformly successful. Yet there was always left the nucleus of an opposition, and in the end, when Buddhism had dragged the nation in the mire and made her contemptible, the Confucian idea came to the top and at one bold stroke effected, at least on the surface of things, one of the most sweeping changes that any people has ever seen, comparable with the French Revolution. Now this long and desultory struggle between the systems could not but leave indelible marks on the folk-lore of the people and a volume could be filled with tales illustrating in detail the success now of one side and now of the other. Once when the Confucian element prevailed and the Buddhist Pontifex was condemned to death he foretold that when his head fell his blood would run white like milk to vindicate his cause. It was even so, and his executors bowed to the logic of the miracle and reinstated the despised cult. Again a raven was the bearer of a missive to the King bidding him hasten to the queen’s quarters and shoot an arrow through the zither case! He obeyed and found that his weapon had taken effect in the breast of the Buddhist High Priest, hidden behind it, who had taken advantage of the king’s temporary absence to attack his honor. Then again there were wordy battles between celebrated exponents of the two systems in which the honors rested now with one side now the other. In one instance a test was made to see whether Confucian or Buddhistic principles were better able to control the passions. A celebrated Confucian scholar and a noted Monk were subjected to the seductions of a courtezan, with the result that Confucianism scored a notable victory.

So far as our limited investigation goes it would seem that in these contests between Confucianism and Buddhism Korean folk-lore gives a large majority of victories to the latter. This would indicate that Buddhism made far greater use of folk-tales to impress itself upon the people than did Confucianism. The latter is the more conservative and reasonable [page 57] of the two cults but Buddhism chose the better or at least the surer part by capturing the imagination and monopolizing the mystical element which is so prominent in oriental character.

But the time came when Confucianism usurped the place of power and Buddhism went to the wall ; by which we do not mean that the latter was destroyed nor even that its hold upon the masses was really loosened ; but Confucianism became the state religion, and the Buddhist priest became officially an outcast. From that time, five centuries ago, there has never been a blood feud between the two. Confucianism, having secured control of all temporal power, cared little what Buddhism did in the moral sphere. So we find that the two svstems became blended in the Korean consciousness, in so far as the antipodes can blend. This also has left its mark upon Korean folk-lore. The longest and most thoroughly elaborated stories in Korea show Buddhism and Confucianism hand in hand. For instance a boy in the filial desire to save the life of his dying parent has a dream in which a venerable monk appears and tells him that in a certain monastery in India there is a medicine that will cure the patient. The Buddhist spirits waft him on his way, shield him from the dangers of the “Ether Sea” and bring him back to the bedside of his expiring parent just in time to save his life. We here see that the motive is Confucian, the action Buddhistic. The ethical element is supplied by Confucianism the dramatic element by Buddhism. Sometimes a story begins with Confucianism, drifts into Buddhism and thence into shamanism or even pure animism and then by devious courses comes back to its original Confucian type.

Such tales as these are extremely popular and the reason is not far to seek. The blending of the two ideas gives greater opportunity for the working out of a plot, the story is longer and more complete, while at the same time the dual religious sense of the Korean is better satisfied. If we leave this part of our theme at this point it is not because it is exhausted, but because a paper like this can hope to give at best only a hasty glance at a subject that requires a volume for its proper discussion.

We will pass on, therefore, to the shamanistic stories in Korean folk-lore. Under this head I include all tales which [page 58] hinge upon shamanism, fetichism, animism and the like. In other words, the stories which appeal to the basic religious element in the Korean. Before he was a Confucianist, before he was a Buddhists he was a nature worshipper. True enough the Buddhist monk could scare him with his pictures of a physical hell but it was nothing to the fear he had of the spirit that dwells in yonder ancient tree on the hill-side. The Confucianist could make the chills run up and down his back by a recital of the evil passions of the heart but it was nothing to the horror which seized him when in the middle of the night a weasel overturned a jar in the kitchen and he felt sure that a tok-gabi was at his wierd work among the lares and penates. The merchant would not be moved by a Confucian homily on the duty of fair-dealing with one’s fellow-men but he would spend all day spelling out a luck day from the calendar on which to carry out a plan for “doing” an unwary customer. Countless are the stories based upon these themes. The spirits of the mountain, stream, tree, rock or cave play through Korean fiction like the fairy, goblin or genius through the page s of the Arabian Nights.

This portion of our theme is of greater interest than almost any other, for while the Buddhistic and Confucian systems are importations and bring with them many ideas originally alien to the Korean mind we have here the product of the indigenous and basic elements of their character. And yet even here we find an admixture of Chinese and Korean, as we do in every branch of Korean life. After the lapse of so many centuries it is difficult to segregate the original Korean and the imported Chinese ingredients in these tales, but we may be sure that here, if anywhere, we shall come near to the genuine Korean. The number and variety of these stories are so great that we can give only the most meager description of them.

First, then, come the stories which are based upon the idea that animals can acquire the power to transform them- selves into men. These are among the tales that children like the best. There was the wild boar that drank of the water that had lain for twenty years in a human skull and thus acquired the magic power to assume the human shape, but with this fatal limitation, that if a dog looked into his face [page 59] he would be compelled to assume, on the instant, his original form. There is the story, common to China and Korea, of the fox that assumed the shape of a woman, an oriental Circe, and worked destruction to an empire. Now and again a centennarian toad assumes human shape and acts as valet to the tiger who is masquerading as a gentleman. A serpent turns into a beautiful maiden and lures a man to the brink of destruction but being thwarted, changes its tactics and infests his body with a myriad of little snakes from which he is delivered by the sparrows who pluck holes in his skin and let the reptiles out. In the list of animals there is a clear line of demarcation between the good and the evil. The fox, tiger, the wild-boar, the serpent and the toad are always bid while the dragon, the rabbit, the frog and the deer are always good. The tortoise, the bear and the badger are sometimes good and sometimes bad. As the tiger is the mast destructive animal in Korea we are not surprised to find a great number of stories telling how be turned into a girl and came crying to the door of a house in order to lure out one of its inmates, for his supper. This is the favorite story with which to frighten unruly or disobedient children.

Many are the wonders worked by the tok-gabi, a sort of imp that delights to make trouble in the household. There is no Korean who will profess to have seen one or to have been personally cognizant of their pranks but at the same time there are equally few who do not know of somebody else who saw one or was the victim of its malice.

The Koreans believe that these tok-gabi are the spirits of wicked men which have been refused entrance to the place of the blessed and have no option but to haunt their former places of abode, or they may be spirits of innocent people who died by violence or under other painful circumstances and cannot goto paradise because they burn with a desire to avenge themselves. Sometimes they take the shape of a man, sometimes that of a man with the lower part of his body gone, sometimes that of a flying man or a mad-man or a child. At other times it may be in the shape of fire or lightning or a crash like that of thunder or of breaking pottery. The reason why people believe them to be the spirits of men is because no one ever saw out: in the shape of an animal. [page 60]

Many stories are told of how these tormented spirits have leagued themselves with men, promising them that the unholy compact will bring riches and power. This corresponds closely with the withcraft of the Wist. By the aid of these “familiar spirits” many a deed of darkness is said to have been committed. But the promises always fail and the man who sells himself to a tok-gabi gradually wastes away, his face becomes pinched and yellow and unless he breaks the compact and frees himself from the toils of his familiar, disaster is sure. Tales of this Kind frequently tell the means that are employed to annul the compact and prevent the return of the evil spirit. The things he dreads the most are silver, the color red, and wood that has been struck by lightning. Many a man is believed to have broken the spell by hanging about his house long strips of cloth dipped in a red dye. This the spirit cannot pass, and after four days of waiting he departs, never to return. His dread of silver reminds us of the superstition prevalent in the west that in order to shoot a ghost one must load his gun with a piece of silver money in addition to the regular charge. When a tok-gabi attacks a man it always seizes him by the top-knot, so a little silver pin is often stuck in the top of the top-knot as a preventative. If a tree is struck by lightning the boys hasten to secure splinters of the wood to carry in their pouches as charms against the fiends. Then again, these imps figure as guardians or hidden treasure. Once a scholar became impoverished through a too assiduous application to his books and the consequent neglect of the more practical business of life, and wandered away as a beggar. Coming to a village where there was a haunted house from which family after family had been driven by the tok gabis he declared his intention of taking possession. The first night he was rudely awakened by a load of filth being thrown upon him. The situation was anything but pleasing, yet he restrained his anger and quietly remarked that he understood how matters lay but was not to be frightened. Soon a ball of sulphurous fire entered the room and passed before his fact, but he contemptuously waved it off and showed no sign of fear. Thereupon an aged man entered and said. “You are the man I have been waiting for. I was the trusted servant of the man who built this house and even after he died I guarded the[page 61] chest of silver which he had hidden under that house-post yonder. I died with the secret on my mind and could not leave the place till the money was delivered into the hands of a good man. So in the form of a tok-gabi I have been compelled to guard it till you came. Now I can go in peace, for my work is done.” So he vanished. The wondering scholar dug beneath the post and was rewarded with fabulous wealth.

This meddlesome sprite is a sort of Korean Puck and any casualty whose explanation is not patent is attributed to his malevolent influence. One of his favorite pastimes is to bewitch the rice-kettle and make the cover fall into the kettle. Now a Korean kettle cover is always a little larger than the mouth of the kettle and so this super-human feat is attributed to the tok-gabi. It is easy to see how this tale originated. At some time or other a kettle cover was made only a very little larger than the mouth of the kettle so that when the kettle expanded under the heat, the mouth became wide enough to admit the cover which was as yet cold. Then the cover became warm and refused to come out. So it is chat the lack of a little knowledge of physical law has invested the tok-gabi with wide powers. In Korean stories the tok-gabi seldom plays the leading part, but he flits in and out and adds the spice of mystery to the plot.

Fetiches exercise a powerful influence over the common people. The bunch of straw over the door, the rag tied on a sacred tree, a stone thrown on the heap in the mountain pass, the cabalistic sentence which wards off disease, the dead rat with the name of one’s enemy written on its belly and placed beneath the enemy’s bed in order to destroy him,—these and scores of other fetiches play their part in Korean folk-lore, spurring on the imagination and giving piquancy to otherwise tiresome tales.

Prominent among the animal stories are those of the Uncle Remus type, where it is very commonly the rabbit who outwits his stronger enemies; as for instance where the wicked tortoise, who was seeking a rabbit’s liver to cure the Sea King with, induced a rabbit to mount his back, promising to take him to an island where no hawk ever was seen ; but when the rabbit was midway in the channel the tortoise told him his fate, whereupon the rabbit laughed and said that all rabbits had [page 62] removable livers and that he had taken his out and washed it and laid it on a rock to dry, but that the tortoise was welcome to it if he would go back for it. So the rabbit got safely back to shore and had a good laugh at the expense of the amphibian. The fact that the plot is a little far-fetched does not harm it in the least in the Koreans’ eyes.

Spirits are everywhere and are likely to turn up at any corner. Even door-hinges and chop-sticks may be the abode of spirits who have power to change a man’s whole destiny. As a rule these spirits seem to be on the lookout for some one to insult them or trample on their rights, and then their revenge is sweet. And yet we have numerous stories in which good boys or girls have been aided by them. These tales deal with the lowly and common things of life and it is here that Korean humor shows itself to best advantage. Such stories as this probably outnumber all others combined, but as they are generally only anecdotal in character their actual bulk might be less. But this can never be determined, for such stories as this are seldom put in print. Their influence is enormous, and it may be said with considerable confidence that they define the actual religion of far more Koreans than do the more sounding titles of Buddhism and Confucianism. One would think that the spirit worship of the Koreans must be something like that of the ancient Hellenes before the elaboration of their mythology into a definite pantheon. It the Koreans had been left to themselves, we must believe that they too would have developed some such pantheon, but the rival cults from the other side of the Yellow Sea came in and preoccupied the ground. And yet in spite of the long centuries that have passed since then, we find the Koreans to-day worshiping these same spirits of the grove, the rock, the mountain, with a fervor that neither Buddhism nor Confucianism can arouse.

A marked difference between Korean and western wonder-stories is that in Korea the genuine fairy does not exist. It is a grievous lack. A people without a Titania or an Ariel are surely to be pitied. The Korean imagination has never evolved those gossamer beings whose every act is benevolent and who are personifications of charity. At the same time a similar feature is found in Korean folk-lore under a different [page 63] form, as is illustrated in the case of the two brothers one of whom was good but poor while the other was rich but bad. The good brother found a bird with a broken leg. He took it home and cared for it till it was well and then let it go. Soon the bird returned with a seed and laid it in its benefactor’s hand. He planted it and it grew an enormous gourd which turned out to be full of gold. The bad brother thought to do the same, so he caught a bird and broke its leg and then kept it till the leg was well. Sure enough, the bird came back with the seed and a gourd grew from it, larger even than his brother’s, but when it was opened it poured out a flood of filth which destroyed the wicked brother’s house and all he had.

But we must hasten on to our third heading—the legends of Korea. Under this term we include all supernatural or extra-natural incidents believed by the credulous to form a part of the history of the country. These stories are always short and pithy and are more truly indigenous than any others. This is only what we would expect, since they deal exclusively with Korean history. But apart from this fact there is something about them that separates them from the legends either of China or Japan. They are mostly of great antiquity, in many cases antedating any considerable Chinese influence, which may account in part for their distinct individuality.

And first, of course, we must speak of the legends which tell of the origin of kingdoms and of their founders. We find upon examination that the egg plays the most important part in the origin of ancient heroes. To be sure Tan-gun, the most ancient of all, had an origin quite unique. A bear by patient waiting in a cave was transformed into a woman. She became the bride of Whan-ung the spirit son of Whan-in, the Creator, and their son was Tan gun, contemporary of Noah. But the founder of the great southern kingdom of Silla, 57 B.C. came forth from a gigantic egg found in the forest. The founder of Ko-gu-ryu the northern kingdom came from an egg of semi-supernatural origin. Suk T’al-ha one of the early heroes of Silla came from an egg which floated in from northern Japan in a fast-closed chest. The legend of the three sages of Quelpart is different. They arose from a crevice in the rocks. The founder of the Koryu kingdom had for mother a daughter of the Sea-King, the Korean Neptune. The father[page 64] of the founder of Koguryu was found beneath a stone and he was golden in color and shaped like a frog, so they named him Keum-wa or “Golden Frog.” The wife of the first King of Silla came forth from the side of a hen, beside the “Dragon Spring.” Cases are thus multiplied in which heroes have been credited with superhuman origin.

Closely connected with these stories are those which deal with the omens and signs that heralded the coming of momentous events. Propitious ones were seldom foreshadowed excepting in dreams. There is hardly a great man in Korean history since the tenth century with whose birth tradition does not connect a dream, foretelling the happy event. Heroes themselves before attaining fame had dreams, announcing the approach of greatness. The founder of the present dynasty is said to have dreamed in his youth that he saw a running sheep whose horns and tail suddenly fell off. This afterwards was interpreted to mean that he would become a king for the character for sheep is 羊 and if the horns rand tail are dropped it becomes 王 or King ! Yi Sun-sin, the great admiral who, with his “Tortoise Boat,” drove back the Japanese reinforcements in 1592, was assured of future greatness by one of his friends who dreamed that he saw some men trying to cut down a great tree but Yi Sun-sin came along and with one hand held the tree up while with the other he drove off the vandals. The father of Wang-gon, founder of the Koryu dynasty, dreamed that he saw a young pine tree growing and under it a child with a scale like a fish-scale growing on the back of his neck. When he awoke he saw a monk, the great To-sun, who congratulated him saying that he would be the father of an illustrious son, for the boy in the dream was none other than the offspring of a dragon that lived in the sea off the island of Kang-wha. Before the Japanese invasion King Sun-jo dreamed that a woman came into the palace bearing on her head a sheaf of rice. The great scholar Yul-gok, on hearing of it, exclaimed “You must prepare for war ; for the character 倭 means Japanese and is composed of 人=‘man,’ 禾=‘rice in sheaf’ and 女= ‘woman’ and as the ‘sheaf of rice’ is over the ‘woman’ it means that the ‘small men’ are coming, namely the Japanese.” A maiden dreamed that she saw a dragon enter her father’s ink-water-bottle and when she[page 65] woke up she concealed the bottle and kept it until she was married and her son had attained the age when he must try the government examinations. She gave him the bottle and said “Use this when you write your essay and you will gain great honors.” He did so and through the aid of the dragon passed successive examinations, until at last he became prime minister.

As a rule the signs which fort old future events were ominous. It is a mark of all semi-civilized peoples that fear is the main element in their religion, and this fear has made them quick to detect the signs of coming evil. Before the kingdom of Pak-che fell, imps flew through the palace corridors screaming “Pak-che is fallen, fallen,” and then dived into the earth. Digging at the point where they disappeared, the king found a tortoise on whose back was carved the words “Silla’s sun has just risen, Pak-che’s is at the zenith,” which meant that the latter was about to wane. Before Ko gu-ryu fell, tigers came down from the mountains and wandered in the streets of the city. The fall of Silla, the Japanese Invasion and many other calamities have all had their forerunners. Among these baleful signs must be mentioned the waters of the streams or of the sea turning red like blood, meteors and cornets, eclipses of the sun, abnormal births either human or animal, a white fox crossing the road in front of one, a shower of insects, thunder in the winter, fruit trees blossoming late in the autumn, a white bow piercing the sun, red snow, wailing sounds coming from royal tombs, the blowing down of city or temple gates, clouds fighting with each other, frogs destroying each other, frog’s eyes turning red and fiery ; all these and many more are repeatedly met with in Korean legends. It is of interest to note how closely many of these signs resemble those which were dreaded by the Ancient Romans’ for instance as given in Shakespeare’s tragedy of Julius Caesar. Of course such things as earthquakes or other cataclysmic phenomena might easily be interpreted as omens by widely separated people but others are not so easily explained, such as the roaming of wild animals through the street. Among signs which predict good fortune the most prominent are the meeting with a white deer or a white pheasant, or the finding of a two-stemmed stalk of barley. [page 66]

Prophecy plays an important part in Korean legendary lore. Of course it is all “ex post facto” prophecy, and yet the Korean people still cling to it. Most of the leading events in Korean history since the tenth century are found to have been foretold at some time or other. There does not seem to have been any prophetic office, but now and again a monk or a scholar has been moved to tell his vision of the future. One of the most celebrated of these was the monk Mu-hak who at the time the present dynasty was founded opposed the building of the palace at the site of the Kyong-pok-kung, affirming that if it were done a great calamity would overtake the land in just two hundred years. This is supposed to have been uttered in 1392, and the year 1592 beheld the Japanese invasion. The occurrence of the invasion precisely two centuries after the founding of the new dynasty evidently seemed too tempting an opportunity to let slip for making a startling prophecy.

When anyone doubts the genuineness of these prophecies the Korean points to that one which still stands waiting fulfillment, that this dynasty will be followed by another, whose capital shall be at Kye-ryong San. This prophecy has existed, they say, since far back in the days of the Ko-ryu dynasty. Curiously enough there is another prophecy which says that if this dynasty passes its 500th anniversary it will be perpetual! A few years ago when that crisis was on, considerable uneasiness is said to have existed among leading Koreans on account of that prophecy. The latest one to come to light affirms that “when white pines grow in Korea the south will go to the shrimp and the north to the Tartar.” The “white pines” are interpreted as telegraph poles while the shrimp means Japan and the Tartar means Russia. When the monk Mu-hak pointed out the town of Han Yang as the site of the capital of this dynasty, he ascended Sam-gak Mountain and looking from its top toward the south exclaimed, “I see South Mountain (Nam-san) ten li away which is a sign that if the capital is founded here no official will be able to hold power more than ten years. I see rapids in the river at intervals of three li, which is a sign that no family will be able to retain its wealth more than three generations.”

When the monk To-san in 918 A. D. ascended Song-ak [page 67] Mountain and chose the site of Song-do for the capital of the Koryu dynasty he made a mistake, for the next day he ascended it again and saw to his dismay that the distant peaks of Sam-gak Mountain back of Han Yang had shot up in a single night so that they became kyu-bong or “Spy-peaks” upon Song-do; and from this he prophesied that within five centuries trouble would arise from that source. So twelve brazen dogs were set up outside the gate of Song-do which, for four hundred and seventy-five years, barked at the “Spy-peaks,” but to no avail. But space does not permit us to multiply examples. Those given here indicate with sufficient accuracy the style of Korean prophecy.

During the entire history of Korea twenty-one capitals have been founded, and the legends connected with these events are very fascinating. The most of them, as we have seen, center about Song-do and Seoul but ancient Kyong-ju, P’yung-yang, Pu-yu, Ch’un-ch’un, Kwang-ju and others are also embalmed in Korean-folk-lore. In the founding of Seoul we find the clashing of Buddhistic ideas in the dispute between Mu-hak and the courtiers of King T’a-jo. In the end the Buddhistic element seems to have won, perhaps because, before that time, all such things had been left to monks and the new order was not sufficiently well established to depart from precedent. These stories could have little in common with the utilitarianism of the Confucianist, and so all that is occult, mysterious, supernatural or infra-natural finds its genesis in Buddhism, fetichism or Shamanism.

Another style of legend deals with important crises when supernatural aid was rendered. When Chu-mong the founder of Ko-gu-ryu fled from Pu yu in the far north to escape from the scourge of his brothers’ hatred he came to a river where there was neither bridge, boat nor ford. He shot an arrow into the water and a great school of fish rose to the surface and placed back to back to form a bridge for turn to cross. Thus he escaped. When the capital of Silla was attacked by wild natives of the north and was about to fall, strange warriors appeared who had ears like bamboo leaves, and the savages were speedily put to flight. The next day the King found his father’s grave strewn with bamboo leaves and so he knew that spirits had come forth to help him in his dire need. [page 68]

When the Japanese, during the great invasion, attempted to dig open the grave of Ki-ja they heard the sound of music corning from the ground and fear compelled them to desist. This theme of warnings proceeding from royal tombs is a favorite one in Korean lore. When the same invaders attempted to desecrate the grave of the founder of this dynasty the reeds which grow thick about it turned into armed warriors and drove the Japanese away. The Kings of Angnang had a drum which sent forth of its own accord an ominous wail whenever an enemy was about to attack the border.

As in every other land, the battle-fields of Korea form the background for many a thrilling tale. When a Ko-gu-ryu army went north to attack Pu-yu they heard the sound of clashing arms in Yi-mul forest. The leaders pushed forward and found swords and spears wielded by invisible hands. The omen seemed a favorable one. They seized the weapons and with them overthrew the enemy. When rebels attacked Kyong-ju a star fell in the city, which was an omen of destruction, but the stubborn general, defying even the fates, sent up a kite with a lantern attached to its tail. The rebels thought it was the star returning to the sky, and so decamped.

At one time or another almost every foot of Korean soil has been the scene of battle and the stories of wonderful marksmanship, heroic daring, gigantic strength, subtle strate- gem, inventive genius, intrepid horsemanship, hairbreadth escape by field and flood are among the commonest household words of Korea. Such is the story of the battle in which the leader of a piratical baud was killed by Yi T’a-jo who ordered his lieutenant Yi Chi-ran to shoot off the helmet of the robber. Yi T’a-jo’s arrow followed the other and smote the enemy in the eye as the helmet was displaced. Memorable too is the strategem of Yi Sun-sin who, when surrounded by the Japanese, hung men’s clothes on bamboo sticks and placed them along the hill-tops, thus making the enemy suppose that he had a powerful force and so raise the siege. Who shall worthily sing the praises of Yi Yu-song whose virtue was so great that Japanese bullets flattened against his body and fell harmless to the ground ; or of Kwak Cha-u, called “The General of the Red Robe,” who today would be falling upon a body of the enemy in Chul la Province and tomorrow [page 69] would take breakfast in Kyong-ju a thousand li away, because lie had power to “wrinkle the ground.” He would make the ground contract before him, and after he had taken a few steps, expand again, to find that he had gone a hundred li. Others had power to leap over a house or to become invisible. Many are the dei ex machina, like these, whereby men have been saved from seemingly desperate situations. Time would fail us to tell of the exploits of famous captains, monks, bandits and corsairs whose names are enshrined in Korean lore.

Women too come in for their full share of attention, from the time of Yu-wha the mermaid princess and mother of Chu-mong down to the time of Non-ga, the dancing-girl patriot, who seized the Japanese general, her enforced paramour, and threw herself and him from the battlements of Chin-ju in the days of the great invasion. Most noble among the women of Korea was the queen of the last king of Pak-je who, upon the approach of the ruthless enemy, led her maids to the top of a beetling precipice and threw herself into the water far below rather than to suffer indignity at the hand of the Silla soldiery. That precipice is today called Nak-wha-am, or “Precipice of the Falling Flowers,” a name which, alone, would prove the existence of a poetic faculty in the Korean.

Tongman the first woman ruler in Korea divined from the fire in the frogs’ eyes that Pak-je invaders had already crossed the western border of Silla. Se-o the faithful wife followed her husband to Japan on the flying boulder and became a queen, and she wove the magic silk, on which the King of Silla sacrificed and brought back the light of the sun to his dominions which, upon the departure of Se-o, had been stricken with Egyptian darkness. There was, also, the dancing girl in P’yung-yang, the Korean Judith, who during the occupation of that place by Hideyoshi’s army brought her brother over the wall at night to smite off the head of her captor who always slept bolt upright at the table with a sword in each hand and with only one eye closed at a time! Even after his head bad rolled upon the floor he arose in his place and hurled one of his swords with such tremendous force that its blade went clean through a massive wooden pillar.

There are stories of women notorious for their wickedness, as for instance the princess of Ang-nang who married a[page 70] prince of Ye-mak. Her husband came to live at the Ang- nang court, where, in a closely guarded building, there hung a drum which would give out muffled sounds, without being touched by mortal hands, whenever an enemy was about to attack the frontier. The prince knew that his father, the King of Ye-mak, was going to attack Ang-naug; so he induced his wife, the princess, to gain access to the bell-house and slit the head of the drum with a knife. Soon after, messengers hurried in saying that Ye-mak forces had crossed the frontier, but the King laughed at them saying that he had not heard the drum, and so it could not be true. Too late it was found that the drum had been cut. The prince had already fled to the enemy but the princess was forced to confess her sin and was killed just before Ang-nang fell beneath the Ye-mak sword.

A fruitful source of Korean legends is the wisdom shown by prefects and governors in the solving of knotty problems of jurisprudence. These stories, too, bear witness to the rich fund of humor which lies back of the Korean temperament and which keeps the Korean cheerful and patient through centuries of―what shall we say?—anything but ideal government.

A boy accidentally shot his parent and came weeping to the prefect, who could not make up his mind to execute the rigors of the laws upon him until the prefect’s child, coming in, asked the cause of his father’s perplexity and, being told, exclaimed, “The boy must be killed. If his heart had been right he would not have waited for you to punish him ; he would have killed himself. His tears are only to excite your pity.” So the boy was executed.

A father dying left only a hat, a pair of shoes and a roll of paper to his infant son and gave everything else to his daughter, who was fourteen. When the boy came to maturity he asked his sister to share the money but she refused, and drove him away with nothing except the hat, shoes and paper. A friend advised him to appeal to the magistate. He wrote out his plea on the paper and, putting on the hat and shoes, without which no petitioner could enter the magisterial presence, he went to the governor’s yamen. When he had told his story the governor laughed and said, “Certainly you shall have just-[page 71] ice. It is evident that your father knew the avaricious nature of his daughter and foresaw that she would spend the money before letting it pass to her brother, so he gave it to her to hoard under the supposition that it was her’s, but he gave you the hat and the shoes to wear and the paper where on to write out your accusation against her. I decree that she shall turn over the entire fortune to you, as was evidently your father’s intention.”

A valuable brass bowl had been stolen. The thief was doubtless one of twenty or thirty men, but which one it was impossible to tell. The prefect called them all in, on some pretext or other, and after talking about indifferent subjects dismissed them. As they were passing out the door with their backs turned to him he shouted “Where is that bowl?” The thief, taken by surprise, lost his presence of mind and turned like a flash toward the prefect and thus betrayed himself.

A cow’s tongue was cut off by someone in the night and the prefect, after keeping the cow all day without food, called all the town people together and forced each one to offer the cow some beans in a trough. The cow greedily ate from each one until at last a boy came up, whereupon the cow plunged as if in fright. So the prefect knew who the culprit was. The boy confessed that he had done it because his sick mother had asked for cow’s tongue to eat and he had no money to buy one with. The prefect paid for the cow and gave it to the boy for food.

Two men got into a dispute over the ownership of a long pipe. The prefect said, “Before taking up this case let’s sit down and have a smoke.” He offered each of the men a pipe of medium length. As they smoked the prefect saw that one of the men held his head erect and sat back straight while the other would bend his head or lean forward and smoke. So the prefect said, “There is no use in troubling about this case. I know which of you is the owner. A man who is accustomed to use a long pipe gets accustomed to sitting up straight, otherwise he could not smoke with comfort. So the real owner was discovered.

A countryman was standing at Chong-no looking about him, with a fine yellow dog-skin under his arm. A sharper[page 72] came along, backed up to the countryman and got one end of the skin under his arm. When the countryman started on the sharper exclaimed, “What are you doing with my dogskin?” The countryman insisted that it was his. The matter came before the magistrate, who took the skin in his hand and folded it so that the head did not show. When each man had told his story the prefect looked thoughtfully at the skin and, without addressing either man in particular, said “That’s a rather nice skin but why did you slit one of the ears?” The sharper hastened to answer, “O, that was done about two months ago in a fight.” The real owner said, “Why, no, the dog’s ear is not slit―at least not to my knowledge.” The prefect handed the skin to its proper owner and then said to the sharper, “How comes it that if your dog’s ear was this one is not? I think you need a few weeks in the chain-gang.” A hunter was chasing a fax and had wounded it severely. In a few moments more it would be his ; but a dog came out of a yard and caught the fox, whereupon the owner of the dog claimed the animal. The prefect said, “It is evident that the hunter was after the animal’s skin, whereas the dog was after its flesh. Let each have what he sought.”

Such are a few of the anecdotes told of the Solans of Korea and from these the whole of this class of stories may be judged. They often evince a keen knowledge of human nature and they abound in a dry kind of humor which render them not the least interesting part of the repertoire of the Korean story-teller.

Fascinating though the realm of legend may be, we must hasten an to speak of Korean myths ; and here we take the word in its strict meaning, namely some extra-natural origin of a natural phenomenon. At the very start we must say that the Korean imagination has never proved large enough or buoyant enough for those grand flights of fancy which produced the enchanting myths of Greece. Nor has it been virile enough or elemental enough to evolve the hardy heroes of the Norse mythology. The Greek, Roman and Scandinavian pantheons were filled with figures that loo tired gigantic and awful while in Korea almost all superhuman or extra-human agencies seem, somehow, less than man ; sometimes craftier, often stronger, but seldom nobler or worthier. So, instead[page 73] of giving us a Phoebus Apollo to lead out the chariot of the sun to run his daily course across the sky, the Korean gives us the reason why bed-bugs are so flat. Instead of fancying that the cirrus clouds are flocks of sheep feeding in the ethereal pastures the Korean tells us why sparrows bop on both feet while magpies put one foot before the other. Greek mythology is telescopic ; the Korean is microscopic. If you want to know the origin of fire, of the procession of the equinoxes, of echo or of lightning you must seek it in the Greek mythology but if you want to know how it comes about that the ant has such a small waist or why the louse has a black speck on his breas-you must consult the Korean. To the West, form is everything and detail is but secondary while to the East detail is all important and form is but the background for its display.

A very few samples of mythological stories will suffice. Let us ask why it is that the crab walks backwards and the angleworm has no eyes. The Korean will tell us that in dim antiquity this was not true, but that the crab was blind and had a black band around his body while the angleworm had eyes, But, as it happened, a crab took to wife an angleworm and, not long after, suggested that as he was the provider for the family, his wife should lend him her eyes in exchange for his black band. She did so, with the result that the treacherous crab soon after sued for a divorce and obtained it. The angleworm asked to have her eyes back but the crab refused. She then attacked him so furiously that he backed away. She pursued and kept him backing so long that he formed the habit and has never gotten over it.

The flies and sparrows had a quarrel and agreed to arbitrate. The governor of Py’ang An Province was the arbiter. The flies charged the sparrows with stealing rice and building their nests under the eaves and quarrelling all the time. Without waiting to hear the other side the governor ordered the sparrows to be beaten on the legs. As the blows began to fall, the sparrows hopped up and down and begged the governor to wait till he had heard the other side. He complied, and the sparrows charged the flies with entering the house and defiling the food, and with laying eggs in the rice and destroying it. The governor thereupon ordered the flies beaten ; but they begged so piteously, rubbing their hands to-[page 74] gether the while, that the governor let them off. He decreed however that in memory of the trial the sparrows should forever hop on both feet instead of walking properly and that Wherever flies alight they must rub their hands together!

In like manner Korean lore tells why flounders have the two eyes on the same side of the head, why the shad fish has so many bones, why the moon has on it the picture of a tree with a rabbit beneath it, why sorghum seeds are enveloped in a red case, why clams are simply birds that have fallen into the sen, why hawks are like policemen, how the octopus and the serpent had a lawsuit in which the serpent lost, and had to give up his four legs to the octopus who before that time had enjoyed only four. how the angleworm had his legs all taken away and given to the centipede―these and many another quaint and curious freak of nature are explained to the satisfaction of the Korean, at least.

So far we are able to classify roughly the different types of Korean folk-tales, but outside of these limits there is a Whole realm of miscellaneous fiction so varied in its character almost to defy classification, and are able to enumerate only individual types. If I were allowed to classify arbitrarily I should include under one head all those stories which draw their inspiration from the Workings of human passions. Of the love story, pure and simple, as we know it in the west, Korean folk-lore is entirely innocent Social conditions which prevent all communication between men and women of a marriageable age sufficiently account for this ; and it many well be that this limitation along the line of legitimate affection is to blame for a very wide range of popular literature Which could not be discussed with propriety. Love between man and woman is a thing seldom spoken of among respectable Koreans.

Prominent among the stories of human nature I should place those which have for their motive the passion for revenue. Without doubt the prevalence of this type springs from a state of society in which even-1anded and blind-fold justice finds no place ; in which the principle that “to the victor belongs the spoil”. applies equally to political, industrial and social life. It is a state of society in which influence in vulvar language, “pull” is the chief asset of the politi-[page 75] cian, the merchant or even the coolie. In such a condition of things the passion for revenge finds daily and hourly fool to feed upon, and we see a clear reflection of it in the folk-tales of the Korean.

A woman has been robbed of her ancestral burying- ground by the prefect, and she is told by a fortune-teller that she will be able to secure revenge when she shall succeed in making one egg stand upon another without falling off. She spends years in the attempt, while all the time her wrath burns hot within her. One night the King of Korea, masquerading like Haroun al Raschid of old, peeped through a window and saw an aged woman attempting, time and again, the impossible feat. As he looked, the woman suddenly saw her desire fulfilled. One egg rested on the other and did not fall off. The King demanded admittance and after hearing the whole story gave her her revenge.

A young girl whose father and brother have been wrongfully done to death by the prime-minister, retires to a mountain retreat and practices the sword-dance for years with the settled purpose of thus securing the opportunity to kill the prime minister’s only son, and so cutting off his line. Meanwhile that son has been disowned by his father and wanders away among the mountains where he finds the girl. Neither knows the other, but in time they wed, the girl reserving the right to carry out some dread fate of which she does not tell him. When the time comes for her to go, it transpires that her husband is the very man she has vowed to kill. The husband casts off his father’s name and takes her father’s name, and all conies out right.

A young man mistakenly thinks that he has been grievously injured by a high official. In disguise he secures a position in the household of his intended victim and becomes a confidential servant. As he sees the wished-for day approach, when he can secure his revenge, his master reads his secret in his face and at night puts a manikin in his own bed while he himself hides behind a screen. He sees his would-be murderer enter knife in hand and drive the steel into the supposed body of the official and then escape. The next day, in a most skillful manner he gets the boy back, shows him his error and reinstates him in his old place as if nothing had hap-[page 76] pened. and all without any of the other members of the household suspecting that anything has happened.

Korea also has its stories of detectives and their wiles. The Korean custom of sending government detectives to the country to spy upon governors and prefects and to right the wrongs of the people, forms an easy hook upon which to hang many an interesting tale. These are crude compared with the complicated plots of the West, and yet now and again situations occur which would do credit to Sherlock Holmes himself. In the human heart there is a passionate love of justice. In the end the right must prevail. The Koreans evidently think so, for though there are tragedies enough in actual life there are none in Korean fiction. Tilings come out right in the end. The Korean may be much of a fatalist but he is not a pessimist. His fatalisim is of that cheerful type which takes things as they come. We may rightly say that the comic muse fills the whole stage of Korean drama. It is the villain only who gets killed off.

This craving for justice amounts to a passion, perhaps on the principle that things that are least accessible are the most desired. This feeling has expressed itself in a multitude of stories in which justice, long delayed, has at last been done; justice between King and subject, father and son, friend and friend, master and servant. The Korean story-teller has the same penchant for getting his hero into hot water in order to show his (the teller’s) cleverness in getting him out that prevails in western lands. Fortunately in Korea he always gets out, while in the so-called realism of the West the poor fellow is often left suspended over the coals.

Stories based upon the passion for fame generally take a literary turn. They cluster about the great national examinations. The enormous influence that these examinations have exercised on the life of the Korean is shadowed forth in countless stories relating to the open strife of the competitors, their attempts to cheat or bribe the examiners, to substitute spurious manuscripts, to forge names, if by any means whatever they may arrive at the Mecca of official position. And right here comes out the relative status of literary and military life. The literary man is distinctly above the military. No fame is sufficient that rests only on military success. There are a few [page 77] exceptions but they are very rare. All Korean fiction goes to prove that military glory is thrust upon a man, while it is only literary fame that he eagerly seeks.

Avarice, too, is one of the chords which is struck in Korean tales, but it is usually only as a secondary theme. Rarely is a story devoted exclusively or even mainly to the illustration of this passion. The Koreans are too happy-go-lucky and they have too great a contempt for niggardliness to make the sordidly acquisitive faculty a pleasing theme in fiction. On the other hand the tales of generosity and self-sacrifice, of prodigal and reprehensible extravagance are common enough, for they fit the spirit of the people and go hand in hand with their optimism.

For instance a lad goes forth to seek his fortune. He comes to a village and there finds another boy weeping because he has no money to bury his parent with. Our hero gives the unknown lad every cent he has in the world and then fares on, a beggar. Of how he tramped up and down the country and finally came to the capital of Silla and became a general, of how the Ye-mak enemy had in their ranks a veritabe Goliath, of how our hero went and challenged him, only to find that he was the man whom, as a boy, he had helped with his last cent, and how a happy peace was consummated ―all this forms the kind of story the boys and girls of Korea can listen to by the hour, and ask for more.

Of course we would expect that the peculiar customs of the country would be enshrined in the folk-lore. Nor are we disappointed. The unique stone-fight, the tug-of-war, the detestable custom of widow-stealing and the still more horrible custom called po-sam which was veritable murder, com-mitted for the purpose of forestalling the prediction of the fortune-teller that the bride would soon become a widow, the wiles of the ajun or hereditary hangers on at country prefectures who are looked upon much as Judean publicans, or tax-gatherers were in the days of the Christ; all these themes and many more, based on peculiar Korean customs, swell the volume of Korean folk-lore.

Another class of stories depend for their success upon some startling surprise, some drop from the sublime to the ridiculous. One of the first of these is the story of the man [page 78] who found a monstrous stone Buddha in the woods. From a fissure in its head a pear tree grew and on the tree hung a pear as large as a mail’s head. Such a prize was worth risking life and limb for. Clinging to the bushes that grew from crevices in the ancient image he succeeded in reaching its neck. A wild grape vine afforded him the means to get over he projecting chin but still the nose hung out over him and seemed to bar the way effectively. The only thing to do was to climb up one of the nostrils hoping to find a passage through to the top. All went well until he reached the point where the nostril narrowed, when suddenly a terrific blast of wind came down the orifice and a veritable earthquake shook the mage to its foundations. His last thought as he was hurled though the air to certain death on the rocks below was this— “The god has sneezed.” He landed in a clump of bushes and did not regain consciousness till late in the afternoon when he found to his joy that the same convulsion had shaken off the pear and that it lay at his feet. So he went on his way rejoicing.

It is natural that a land as old as this should be filled with relics of other days and that they should be surrounded with a halo of popular veneration. Even though many of these relics are now lost like the “Holy Grail” yet the stories remain. There was the “Golden Measure” of Silla and the pair of jade flutes that could be sounded only in Kyong-ju, their home There was the magic stone in which one could look and dis-cover the nature of any disease. There was the magic robe that would render its wearer invisible and the “King Stone” from which the ashes of cremated Kings of Silla were cast into the Japan sea. Then there are stories connected with the dolmens which are found all over Korea, but whose origin no one seems to know.

Among the miscellaneous tales are those which tell of the introduction of various things into Korea, or their invention. St. Patrick drove the snakes out of Ireland but Yun-san-gun introduced them into Korea. He wanted a few to keep under his bed; but as there were none in Korea he sent to India and secured a boatload. As they were being unloaded some of them escaped, and ever since there have been snakes here. We also have stories about the introduction of tobacco, [page 79] ginseng, bomb-shells, muskets, and musical instruments, some of which came from Japan and some from China, while others were of native invention. One curious tale tells how the Korean alphabet was formed from the lattice work of a Korean door, another one how the Koreans come to wear the remarkable, broad-brimmed hats, as a preventative of conspiracy!

In closing it is necessary to mention the matter of com-parative folk-lore and its relation to Korean folk-lore. The present paper is simply an attempt to give a brief outline of the general style and contents of Korean lore, but beyond that, and more important still, is the relation between the tales of Korea and those of other lands. Here, of course, lies the scientific value of such a study. We want to know the affinities of Korean folk-lore, what elements it borrowed and what elements it lent. It would be quite impossible to attempt such a discussion in this paper, but that it will prove a most interesting field of investigation can be shown in few words. We find in Korea native stories that are almost the exact counterpart of that of Cinderella, which is such a common theme in almost all European countries, of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves, of the Uncle Remus stories in which the rabbit outwitted other animals, of Haroun Al Raschid and his nightly peregrinations, of Jonah and the whale, of Red Riding Hood, of Alladin’s Lamp, Sinbad the sailor, and many another type familiar to the scientific folk-lorist of the West.

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**MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETINGS.**

SEOUL, KOREA, Jan. 3, 1902.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held this day in the Seoul Union Reading Room, at four o’clock in the afternoon. In the absence of the President, the Vice President occupied the chair. A quo- ruin being present, the meeting was called to order.

The Minutes of the last general meeting were read and approved.

The Annual Report of the Council was then read by the Corresponding Secretary. It was moved by Rev. J. R. Moose to adopt the report. The motion prevailed.

The Treasurer read his annual report showing total receipts of Yen 546.90 and total disbursements of Yen 288.30, leaving a balance of Yen 258.60.

The Meeting then proceeded to the election of officers for the year, the result being as follows:

PRESIDENT J. N. JORDAN, ESQ.

Vice President Rev. GEO. H. JONES.

Corresponding Secretary Rev. JAS. S. GALE.

Recording Secretary H. B. HUMBERT, Esq.

TREASURER G. RUSSELL FRAMPTON, ESQ.

LIBRARIAN REV. H. G. APPENZELLER.

Hon. H. N. ALLEN.

Additional Members of Council H. WEIPERT, Dr. Jur.

M. COLLIN DE PLANCY.

The chairman called for the reading of a paper on Korean Folk-tales by H. B. Hulbert, Esq- After the reading of this paper the subject was thrown open for discussion. The President, Vice President, Corresponding Secretary and others made brief remarks. The Librarian suggested a vote of thanks to the reader of the paper, which was carried.

The meeting then adjourned.

H. B. HULBERT, Recording Secretary.

SEOUL, Dec. 17th, 1902.

A GENERAL MEETING was convened at the Seoul Union Reading Room at 4.00 P. M., with the PRESIDENT in the Chair. The Minutes of the last general meeting were read and approved.

The PRESIDENT then called upon Rev, Geo. H. Jones, Ph. D., to read the paper of the day, on Ch’oe Ch’i-wun. At its close the subject was thrown open to the house for discussion. Brief remarks were made by the Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary and others.

After an expression of thanks to the reader of the paper the meeting adjourned.

H B HULBERT,

Recording Secretary.

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Report of the Council.

The Council would report that the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society has now been in existence some thirteen months. A letter from London, dated Nov. 16th, 1900, conveyed a minute of action by the Parent Society which constituted us a branch of the same, an extract from which you will find printed as a preface to Vol. I.

Every encouragement has been given the Society by the foreign residents in Korea, and also native gentlemen, for carrying out the object of the same as marked in the constitution, namely, to investigate the arts, history, literature, and customs of Korea and the neighboring countries. The Council has already published Vol. I, containing three papers, “The Influence of China upon Korea,” by J.S. Gale, “Korean Survivals,” by H. B. Hulbert, and “Korea’s Collossal Image of Buddha,” by G. Heber Jones ; also Vol. II, Part 1, containing a paper on “Kanghwa,” by M. N. Trollope, and “The Spirit Worship of the Koreans,” by G. Heber Jones. Vol II, Part 2, shortly to be published, will contain a paper on “Seoul,” by J. S Gale, and one entitled “Korean Folk-tales,” by H. B. Hulbert.

We are glad to say that other members who have not yet contributed are at work on papers to be presented shortly. One is investigating the old city of Kyong-ju, Capital of Silla ; and another the ancient tombs of the Kings. It is the desire of the Council to get as many as possible to contribute, and so put on record the many interesting facts regarding Korea that will be lost unless this Society makes them secure.

We regret the loss of our President, J. H. Gubbins, Esq., C. M. G., who did so much to get the Society organized. We know however that his interest in the Society will still continue.

The Council would inform the members that the Library of the Society is at present in the rooms of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The library consists largely of a valuable collection of books on the Far East made by the late Or. Landis and loaned by the English Church Mission. Mr. Kenmure, our former librarian, has also added thereto. Exchanges now coming in include such publications as the Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, and of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Records of the Anthropological Society, Reports of the Smithsonian, Washington, Journal of the Ceylon Branch and many others, so that shortly the library will include a valuable collection of exchanges.

The Council looks for the assistance and support of all who «re interested in things Korean.

JAS. S. GALE,

Corresponding Secretary.

A P P E N D I X .

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