

CHOSŎN LITERATI'S PERCEPTIONS OF THE WEST IN THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY AS REFLECTED IN KIM KYŎNGSŎN'S *YŎNWŎN CHIKJI*

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Introduction

The 19th century was a period that saw the growing encroachment of the Western powers in Asia, their eastward expansion characterized by attempts to use their influence to force Asian nations to open their doors. While Chosŏn faced numerous internal challenges, the Qing dynasty, then the most powerful Asian nation, found itself confronted with severe economic difficulties occasioned by the unfair trade practices being forced upon it. Furthermore, Qing and Chosŏn's prohibition of Catholicism created a situation in which Western Learning (西學 *Sŏhak*), which had been positively perceived up until the end of the 18th century, suddenly became a taboo amongst the literati elites. In this regard, Kim Kyŏngsŏn's departure for Beijing as a royal envoy can be regarded as having occurred at a point in time when negative perceptions of Western nations had become widespread in the East following the outbreak of a series of incidents of the above-mentioned variety. To this end, this study analyses the literati elites' perception of the Western world using the *Yŏnwŏn chikchi* (燕轅直指) written by Kim Kyŏngsŏn, a man who in his capacity as a royal envoy to Beijing had the opportunity to experience Western civilization first-hand.

The paper itself is divided into three parts. In Part I, a summary of the literati elites' perceptions of the Western world prior to the 19th century will be brought about, with an analysis of the manner in which Chosŏn literati perceived the Western world and its civilization. In Part II, a description of the international political situation and domestic environment that prevailed during the early 19th century is carried out in order to highlight the periodic circumstances under which Kim Kyŏngsŏn's visit to Beijing took place. In Part III, which is concerned with Kim's experiences while in Beijing, an examination of the way he perceived the Western world is conducted using his travelogue *Yŏnwŏn chikchi* (燕轅直指). To supplement these efforts, the *Yŏnhaengnok sŏnjip* (燕行錄選集 'Compilation of the Records of

Travels to Beijing')¹, a series of Korean translations of classical literature produced by the Korean Classics Research Institute, have also been consulted, as well as other studies pertaining to the *Yŏnhaengnok*.

I. Perception of the Western world before the 19th century

The *Chibong yusŏl* (芝峰類設 'Topical Discourses by Chibong'), written by Yi Sugwang (1563–1628) and published in 1614, can be identified as the first individual collection of works produced by a member of the Chosŏn literati elite in which the use of the term 'West' appears.² This *Chibong yusŏl* was compiled based on Yi Sugwang's own experiences during his three trips to Beijing between the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century. In Volume 2 of this 20-volume encyclopedia, entitled *Various Countries*, Yi included a separate section on 'Foreign Countries' in which he introduced cultural and geographical knowledge pertaining to 52 countries located in Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Europe. To this end, he paid particular attention to Portugal (佛浪機國), The Netherlands (南番國), England (永結利國), and Italy (大西國), whose customs and locations he introduced. However, Yi perceived Europe (歐羅巴國) as being the name of one of the nations located in the Western world, and also exhibited a limited understanding of the term 'West', which he perceived as denoting the countries located to the west of China.³

The perception of Chosŏn elites, which had heretofore been based on Yi's vision of the world, began to be broadened following the import of Giulio Aleni (1582–1649) of the Society of Jesus's *Chikpang oegi* (職方外記, published in 1623) in Chosŏn.⁴ The *Chikpang oegi* constitutes an enlarged edition of the materials from the Western world that is based on Matteo Ricci (1552–1610)'s *Kunyu wanguo quantu* (坤輿萬國全圖) and the world maps and atlases translated by Pantoja (?–?).⁵ The *Chikpang oegi*, which included detailed explanations as well as the location of Western nations which the *Chibong yusŏl* had failed to include such as Spain and Germany, had a great influence on Chosŏn's perception of the Western world.⁶ Nevertheless, this perception was limited to an awareness of the mere existence of the Western world from a conceptual standpoint, with no real notion of aspects such as trade, culture, and religion as they were practised in the West having yet been formed.

The first actual encounter with the Western world and Western civilization occurred in the form of the arrival on the shores of Chosŏn of Pak Yŏn (J. J. Weltevree, 1595–?) and Hendrik Hamel (?–1692) during the reigns of King Injo and Hyojong respectively. Thereafter, the scope of Chosŏn's perception of the Western world and civilization was further extended during the late 17th century as a result of the visits to the Catholic churches located in the Imperial Capital which were conducted by the royal envoys dispatched to Beijing.

These diplomatic missions to Beijing (*yŏnhaeng*) became the only window through

which Chosŏn could come into contact with the Western world and its civilization. Chosŏn elites' perception of the Western world became more diverse during the 18th century as the royal envoys to Beijing (*yŏnhaengsa*) began to make regular visits to Catholic churches and forge friendships with Western missionaries.⁷ Hong Taeyong (1731–1783) for one was known to have often visited Catholic churches, and to have shown a keen interest in Western science and technology. He was especially intrigued by Western astronomy and the calendar system, but also showed an interest in Western devices such as the astronomical clock and the compass. Meanwhile, during the late 18th century, Pak Chiwŏn (1737–1805) focused on the practical aspects of Western civilization, leaving behind detailed records regarding Western paintings and Catholic churches. Similar actions on the part of other royal envoys to Beijing, including visits to Catholic churches, resulted in the emergence of an overall positive perception of the Western world and scientific civilization within Chosŏn.

II. The domestic situation and international political environment at the beginning of the 19th century

The growing interest in the West fuelled by the spread of the positive perception of the Western world and civilization within Chosŏn during the second half of the 18th century, had the effect of entraining discussions on the merits of accepting Western science and technology.⁸ Although Western religion continued to be perceived in a negative light, the absence of any perceived threat emanating from such religions lent itself to the development of an atmosphere in which Western science and technology could be selectively introduced.⁹

However, the Chinsan Incident of 1791 (also referred to as the Catholic Persecution of 1791, or *Sinhae pakhae* 辛亥迫害) occasioned a profound change in public opinion. As a result of this incident, the Chosŏn government abandoned its moderate approach towards the Catholic religion in favour of a hard line policy that unconditionally prohibited the dissemination of Catholicism within Chosŏn. As such, the discussions being held at the theoretical level to the effect that the obnoxious customs of Western Learning could easily be proved fallacious through the mere promotion of Confucian notions, were suddenly replaced by heated debates over the fact that Western religion was not a simple heathen faith like Buddhism, but rather a dangerous philosophy which constituted a threat to the survival of the existing system. Furthermore, as 'Westerners' were perceived as the force behind the domestic Catholic upstarts, the debate soon began to revolve around the need to exclude Western civilization altogether.

As part of the Chosŏn government's new approach toward Western Learning, King Chŏngjo (15th year of his reign) ordered that all the books related to Western

Learning housed in the Hongmun'gwan (弘文館, Office of Special Advisors) be burned, an action which was followed shortly thereafter by the outbreak of the Catholic Persecution of 1801 (*Sinyu pakhae* 辛酉迫害). Nevertheless, the Hwang Sayōng Silk Letter Incident of 1801 can be regarded as the event which directly triggered the widespread suppression of Catholic followers in Chosōn.

The Hwang Sayōng Silk Letter Incident revolved around the discovery of letters written by a Catholic convert by the name of Hwang Sayōng to Catholic Bishop de Gouvea (?–1808) in Beijing. These letters included all the particulars of the Persecution and the measures which the government had taken in conjunction with this matter. More to the point, Hwang detailed the situation of the Catholic church in Chosōn, the emergence of Catholic persecutions, the process through which the *Sinyu pakhae* unfolded, and the forced confessions and deaths of martyrs. In addition, Hwang also implored Bishop de Gouvea to instruct the emperor of Qing to force Chosōn to accept Western missionaries. Moreover, he also suggested that in order to ensure freedom of religion, Chosōn should either be turned into a province under the direct control of Qing, or the West should launch a military invasion of Chosōn. Hwang's silk letters were perceived as a plot to overthrow the existing state system.

To remedy this situation, the Chosōn government began to concentrate its efforts on the search for and subsequent execution of Catholics. This incident not only resulted in the spread of a negative perception of the Western world, but also opened the eyes of the literati to the growing encroachment of Western powers.

Meanwhile, moves to exclude the West were also afoot on a regional scale. China for one suddenly found itself in the most precarious of positions because of growing demands on the part of Western powers for commercial trade, the unbalanced nature of such trade when it did occur, and the growing scourge of opium. To this end, the various moves made by Western powers became the main preoccupation in China. Unsurprisingly, the majority of the information conveyed by Chosōn's royal envoys to Beijing during this period was related to Western powers' economic exploitation of China. Such reports included examinations of how trade with Western countries in the late 1830s had resulted in China wasting huge amounts of silver currency.¹⁰ Such reports also pointed out how Qing had been losing thousands of silver coins every year as a result of the fact that Western merchants, rather than engaging in the barter of goods, were simply selling their wares within the Chinese market in exchange for silver coins, a practice which caused a serious run on China's supply of silver currency.¹¹ In addition, Qing's defeat at the hands of the British in the Opium War of 1840 promoted an awareness of the dangerous nature of Western powers within Chosōn and Japan alike, which in turn caused the emergence of a phenomenon in which relations with the Western powers were perceived as being based on tacit hostility. To this end, the crisis mentality created within Japan by China's defeat at

the hands of a Western power can be regarded as the impetus for the seclusion policy which it subsequently put in place.

A series of similar incidents unfolded in Chosŏn as well. The first British request for the signing of a commercial treaty in 1832 was followed in 1846 by the arrival along the shores of Hongju of a French fleet demanding an explanation for the murder of French missionaries in 1839. As such, the events of the beginning of the 19th century involving the Western powers can be regarded as having led to the formation of a serious crisis mentality within the East Asian nations, and to the onset of the perception of the West as a direct threat.

III. Chosŏn's perception of the West as viewed through the *Yŏnwŏn chikchi*

The author of the *Yŏnwŏn chikchi*, Kim Kyŏngsŏn (1788–?), who was dispatched in 1832–1833 as a member of the royal mission to Beijing, left behind a travelogue detailing his experiences while in the Forbidden City. In addition to his own experiences during the 6 months in which he stayed in Beijing, Kim also quoted many other records, such as Kim Ch'angŏp (1658–1721)'s *Nogajae yŏnhaengnok* (老稼齋燕行錄 'Nogajae's Records of his Journey to Beijing'), Hong Daeyong's *Tamhŏn yŏn'gi* (湛軒燕記 'Tamhŏn's Account of his Journey to Beijing'), and Pak Chiwŏn's *Yŏlha ilgi* (熱河日記 'Jehol Diary').¹² As it includes references to other records of travels to Beijing (*yŏnhaengnok*) compiled during the 18th century, the *Yŏnwŏn chikchi* can be regarded not only as a *yŏnhaengnok* which incorporates Chosŏn literati elites' perceptions of the Qing dynasty during the 18th century, but as a valuable historical source which introduces the differences between the perceptions of 18th and 19th century Chosŏn elites.¹³

Kim Kyŏngsŏn's *Yŏnwŏn chikchi* consists of three parts: the *Ch'ulgangnok* (出疆錄), or records of his journey from Chosŏn to Beijing; the *Yugwannok* (留館錄), in which the events that unfolded during his stay in Beijing are introduced; and the *Hoejŏngnok* (回程錄), which details his journey back to Chosŏn. However, as a detailed review of the overall contents of these records is regarded as being unnecessary, given the fact that the structure of this particular work is for all intents and purposes similar to that found in other *yŏnhaengnok*, the current study focuses solely on the records related to the West.

The following can be regarded as the most important records related to the West which can be found in the *Yŏnwŏn chikchi*. First, his account includes an in-depth description of the circumstances surrounding the appearance of a British ship in search of a commercial treaty along the shores of Chosŏn in 1832.¹⁴ At the time of Kim Kyŏngsŏn's departure for Beijing as a member of the royal mission, the political

situation in Chosŏn was rife with instability, and society was in disarray.¹⁵ We can imagine that given the chaotic circumstances which prevailed at that time, the arrival of a Western ship demanding the signing of a commercial treaty would have been treated as a very important occurrence. Halfway through his mission to Beijing, Kim Kyŏngsŏn heard about this incident from an official (*Hwangnyŏk chaejagwan* 皇曆資咨官) at the Hwanggajang, events which he proceeded to record in a detailed manner.¹⁶ This entry also included a summary of the knowledge pertaining to England which he possessed, as well as his own opinions on the matter. In addition, he also included letters and reports, maps, and a list of the gifts which the British submitted to the Chosŏn court. Moreover, in addition to descriptions of the structure of the ship and the sailors' names and places of origin, Kim also included information about the British royal family, its distance from Korea, and its institutions.¹⁷ In the section in which he described his own opinions on the matter, Kim addressed the issue of Western navigation techniques and ships' structures, which led him to conclude that Westerners' ability to achieve their 'goals' was in fact rooted in their advanced technologies.

The land in which British people live in is situated some 70,000 li from China. Nevertheless, this ship headed south through Africa before then heading north-east and reaching 'Aobi' (奧必). Although a great distance had to be travelled, these ships navigated by the British are very quick and comfortable and capable of navigating large oceans. We can tell that this was a well-planned voyage with predetermined goals.¹⁸

Kim Kyŏngsŏn understood these 'goals' as being the establishment of commercial treaties with various oriental nations. Moreover, he perceived them as being within the reach of the British because of the advanced navigation technology that they possessed. Given Kim's recognition of the fact that Qing trade with the British had been characterized by significant economic setbacks for the Chinese, there is a very high likelihood that his keen interest in navigation technology may have been linked to his belief that the securing of great national interests was closely related to such navigation technology. However, further analysis of this matter is greatly complicated by the fact that Kim did not include more details pertaining to his own opinion on trade.

Another record related to the West left behind by Kim pertains to the Catholic churches in Beijing. Unlike in the 18th century when interest in aspects of Western Learning related to scientific and religious matters was very high, the Chosŏn government had by 1832, when Kim Kyŏngsŏn's visit to a Catholic church took place, followed Qing's lead and prohibited the dissemination of Catholicism. On 22nd December of that year, Kim accompanied members of the *yonhaeng* on an outing outside the Yuheguan (玉河館). Having passed the Zhengyangmen Gate (正陽門) and reached the Xuanwumen Gate (宣武門), they came across a strange-looking house,

which they soon realized was in fact a Catholic church. His negative perception of Catholicism, which was at that time prohibited in China and Chosŏn, is clearly exposed in the following entry:

The Chosŏn and Chinese governments have prohibited us from coming into contact with Western Learning. Having heard that their religion possesses the power to make people subject to delusions, I did not even attempt to fix my eyes on or step into this particular space.¹⁹

However, his more positive opinion of Western science and technology can be seen in his statement to the effect that, 'given their mysterious and advanced nature, I believe that it is appropriate for us to observe, for reference purposes, their painting styles and various other implements.'

In the end, Kim did not visit the Catholic church, but rather contented himself with rehashing the contents pertaining to Catholic churches found in three other *yŏnhaengnok*, namely the *Nogajae yŏnhaengnok*, *Tamhŏn yŏn'gi*, and *Yŏlha ilgi*.

I hardly believe that I could describe the Catholic churches in Beijing any better than has been done in the *Nogajae yŏnhaengno*, *Tamhŏn yŏn'gi*, and *Yŏlha ilgi*, and this despite the fact that I am seeing this building with my own eyes. Furthermore, my visit to the Catholic church would be very similar to those described in these three books. Although I am including a summary of these three books, I hope that those who pass by this place in the future do not regard this action as a sign of laziness on my part.

This proves that Kim could not totally remove himself from the international political situation, or the domestic situation for that matter. As this event unfolded shortly after an attempt was made on the part of a British ship to open up trade with Chosŏn, Kim's criticism of Catholicism can to some degree be understood as having been based on his fear that Chosŏn would somehow head down the same path as Qing.

The next series of entries to which attention can be drawn is the so-called *Angnasagwan'gi* (顎羅斯館記),²⁰ or records pertaining to Russia. Kim proceeded to describe the knowledge he had been able to obtain about Russia during his visit to the Russian Legation as follows.

It appears that this country is located far beyond a huge desert. However, I do not know exactly where this country is located as I have never found any reference to it in any history books. Nevertheless, from what I was able to hear from these people, this country is vast, 30,000 li from east to west, and 20,000 li from north to south. It is adjacent to Vietnam and Okinawa on its south-eastern flank. On its north-east border, it abuts Mongolia, and it is surrounded by oceans to its south-west. While the distance from the outskirts of the desert to its western border is unknown, it is approximately 50,000 li from China in the east. If this country is as big as is claimed, then its territories would

dwarf China a few times over. As such, the current description is either an exaggeration or fabricated lies. In addition, there is also no way of knowing whether their borders are as they claim them to be.²¹

Kim perceived Russia more as a branch of the Mongol tribes than as an independent Western nation. In addition, unable to confirm the location and scale of this entity's territory, he betrayed his narrow-minded perception of the world by automatically assuming that what he had been told was either an outright lie or a gross exaggeration. In addition, he also included records of his conversations with officials from the Russian Legation who were known on paintings in Korea as Tök Noya 德老爺 and Hyök Noya 赫老爺, while also describing at length the Russians' appearance, clothing, and building style. He was so impressed by the Western-style portraits that he asked the Russians to paint his portrait. Hyök Noya listened attentively to Kim's requests, and the two built up a close friendship after the Russian treated his guest to a meal.

Kim only included a very short description of the Catholic church and of the statue of Jesus Christ which had been erected within the Russian Legation before moving on to another topic: 'as this country is in close proximity to the West and also worships Catholicism, it imitates Western institutions and enshrines statues of Jesus Christ'. This apparent oversight was also closely related to the domestic ban on any contact with Catholicism, an action to which Kim appears to have consciously avoided being linked.

Kim also weighed in on the issue of opium addiction amongst Chinese soldiers. His knowledge of the issue was based on a petition to the Qing government prepared by Ma Guangxun (馬光勳) which called for a ban on opium consumption. Once opium addiction became widespread amongst the military, the military's fighting spirit would be impacted to the point where such forces would only be military by name. To this end, it was necessary to thoroughly investigate and prohibit the use of opium. Kim also included his own opinion to the effect that opium was imported from the West, where addiction was rife.²² This can be regarded as a sign of his negative perception of the West.

Conclusion

This paper has analysed Kim Kyöngsön's perception of the West through his *Yönwön chikchi*. A look at the domestic and international situation during the relevant periods reveals that while the Chosön literati elites had a mostly positive impression of the West during the 18th century, this perception took a rapid turn for the worse during the 19th century. Kim Kyöngsön for one perceived the British request for trade with Chosön, which he identified as the root cause of the economic problems then faced by

China, as representing a serious crisis for his homeland. Meanwhile, he showed great interest in Western navigation and shipbuilding technology. As far as the Catholic churches in Beijing were concerned, Kim seemed content to express his interest in Western-style paintings and science and technology, while limiting his work on Catholicism to the mere act of quoting from previous works on the topic.

In terms of his visit to the Russian Legation, Kim appears not to have perceived Russia as a Western state, but rather as another branch of the Mongolian tribes, and as one that accepted and in many ways mimicked Western civilization. Such a perception is evidence that Kim still possessed a narrow-minded perception of the world as it related to the West. In addition, Kim also made use of a petition to the Qing government to highlight the serious impact on China's economy and military occasioned by the spread of opium. To this end, he added his own belief that Chosŏn should begin at once to take measures to prepare itself for a similar outbreak.

Kim's records represent a salient example of Chosŏn literati elites' perception of the West during this period. The spread of the negative perception of Catholicism caused Kim to hesitate between accepting Western science and technology and excluding it all together. This is clear evidence of the fact that Kim could not rid himself completely of the prevailing perceptions of the West and of the world, perceptions which were in large part shaped by the chaotic nature of the international and domestic environments, and in which the West was viewed as a potential threat.

Notes

1. Kim Kyŏngsŏn, *Yŏnwŏn chikchi* (燕轅直指), in Korean Classics Research Institute, 1976. *Yŏnhaengnok sŏnjip* (燕行錄選集 'Compilation of the Records of Travels to Beijing'), Vol. X.
2. The first reference to the term 'West' did not appear in any individual collection of works, but rather can be found in the *Koryŏsa*. *Koryŏsa* (高麗史 'History of Koryŏ'), Sega (世家), Vol. 44 (King Kongmin 7, 22nd year, July 1373), p. 857.
3. For more on Sirhak scholars' perception of the West, please refer to Wŏn Chaeyŏn, 1997. 'The Sirhak scholars' perception of the West during the 17–19th centuries (*17–19 segi sirhakchaui sŏyang insik kŏmt'o*)', *Han'guksaron*, History Department, Seoul National University, Vol. 38. See also 'Scholars' perceptions of the West during the Chosŏn era (*Chosŏn sidae hakchadŭlii sŏyang insik*)', *Taegu sahak*, Vol. 73. Taegu Sahakhoe.
4. *Chikpang oegi* (職方外記), one of the Chinese-language materials related to Western Learning, was originally brought back from Beijing by Chŏng Tuwŏn (1581–?) who travelled to the Imperial City as a member of the royal mission dispatched in 1631 (the 9th year of King Injo). Chŏng also brought back other books such as the *Ch'iyŏk yŏn'gi* (治曆緣起), *Imadu ch'ŏnmunsŏ* (利瑪竇天文書), *Wŏn'gyŏngsŏ* (遠鏡書), *Chŏlli kyŏngsŏ* (千里鏡書), *Sŏyangguk p'ungsokki* (西洋國風俗記), and the *Man'guk chŏndo* (萬國全圖). Yi Wŏnsun, 1986. 'Western Civilization: the introduction of Chinese versions of materials on Western

Learning (*Söyang munmul, hanyök söhaksöüi chöllae*), *Journal of the History of Western Learning (Chosön söhaksa yön'gu)*, p. 63.

5. Ibid. pp. 122–4.
6. In addition, Italy was referred to as 意大利亞, the Netherlands as 法蘭得斯, England as 諸厄利亞, and Ireland as 意而蘭大; detailed explanations unlike those found in the *Chibong yusöl* were also included (Wön Chaeyön, op. cit.).
7. With regards to existing studies dealing with Chosön's perception of the West as perceived through the *yönhaengnok*, please refer to Sin Ikch'öl, 2005. 'Yi Kiji's *Ilam yön'gi* and Chosön elites' contacts with Western Learning (*Yi Kijüi Ilam yön'gi* (一菴燕記) *wa söhak chöpch'ok yangsang*)', *Tongbang hanmunhak*, Tongbang Hanmunhakhoe, Vol. 30); 'The influence of the Catholic churches in Beijing as reflected through the *Yönhaengnok* compiled during the 18th century, and Chosön elites' perception of Western Learning (*18 segi yönhaengnoke panyöngdoen bukkyöng ch'önjudang ch'ehömgwa söhak insik*)', in *Compilation of Essays Presented during the World Congress of Korean Studies*, 2006.
8. In this paper, I will use the terms 'Western religion (*sögyo*)' and 'Western science and technology (*sögi*)' separately, and the term 'Western Learning (*söhak*)' in cases where both aspects are referred to. This method was first used in Ch'oi Sökku, 1999. 'The Perception of Western Learning during Later Chosön (*Chosön hugüi söhak sasang*)', *Kuksagwan nonch'ong*, Vol. 22; No Taehwan, 1996. 'Changes in the perception of the West during the first half of the 19th century and the movement to accept Western science and technology (*19 segi chönbansöyang insiküi pyönhwawa sögi suyongron*)', *Journal of Korean Historical Studies (Han'guksa yön'gu)*, Vol. 95. Han'guksa Yön'guhoe.
9. Ibid. p. 111.
10. *Il söngrok* (日省錄), the 3rd year of King Hönjong, August 15, *Kyöngsin*.
11. *Il söngrok* (日省錄), the 4th year of King Hönjong, *Muja*.
12. Kim Kyöngsön regarded Kim Ch'angöp, Hong Taeyong, and Pak Chiwön's *yönhaengnok* as having been the most outstanding. Kim was fond of conducting a comparison of these three scholars' records and then introducing his own opinion on the matter at hand. Whatever he did not directly experience, he complemented by quoting from the above-mentioned three compilations. 'The majority of those who visited Beijing left their own travelogues. Amongst these records, the most illustrious are those left behind by Nogajae Kim Ch'angöp, Tamhön Hong Taeyong, and Yönam Pak Chiwön.' Kim Kyöngsön, '*Yönwön chikchi* (燕轅直指)', in Korean Classics Research Institute, 1976. *Yönhaengnok sönjip* (燕行錄選集 'Compilation of the Records of Travels to Beijing'), Vol. X.
13. Chöng Hyejung, 2005. 'Kim Kyöngsön's voyage to Beijing and his understanding of foreign information at the beginning of the 19th century (*19 segi ch'o chosön sahaeng Kim Kyöngsönüi bukkyöng ch'ehömgwa oeguk chöngbo ihae*)', *Chungguksa yön'gu*, Vol. 37, p. 146. Chungguksa Hakhoe.
14. The British ship *The Lord Amherst* arrived at Monggümp'o, Hongju in July 1832 in search of a commercial treaty with Chosön. Kim Kyöngsön left for Beijing in October 1832, arriving in the Forbidden City in December. We can only imagine the extent of the seriousness with which Kim perceived this incident that occurred shortly before his departure.

15. During this period, Chosŏn society was in a chaotic state as a result of the spread of the evil practice of *maegwan maejik* (賣官賣職, selling off of official titles and ranks) and the failure of the state revenue system. In 1811, the capital area found itself in a precarious state as a result of the outbreak of the Hong Kyŏngnae Revolt. These problems were further compounded by the fact that the literati elites began to abandon their government posts and ranks and secluded themselves from the world. The possibility of revolts and uprisings was highlighted by the growing number of peasants who were forced to leave their hometowns in search of food.
16. Records pertaining to British ships can be found in the *Sunjo sillok* (純祖實錄), *Sŏngjŏngwŏn ilgi* (承政院日記), and *Ch'ungch'ŏng sunyŏng dŏngrok* (忠淸巡營謄錄).
17. These contents are included in the 'Records pertaining to England' (英吉利國漂船記) section of the entry compiled on 25 November 1832. Kim Kyŏngsŏn, op. cit. pp. 86–97.
18. Ibid. p. 96.
19. 22 December 1832, 'Records pertaining to the Catholic churches in the Western Gate Area (西天主堂記)', 'Records pertaining to the Catholic Churches in the Eastern Gate Area (東天主堂記)'. Kim Kyŏngsŏn, *ibid.* pp. 259–274.
20. 26 December 1832, 'Records pertaining to Russia (顎羅斯館記)'. Kim Kyŏngsŏn, *ibid.* pp. 303–308. Other terms used to refer to Russia in the *Yŏnwŏn chikchi* include 阿羅斯 and 俄羅嘶. Russians, who were regarded as a rather big-nosed branch of the Mongolian tribe, were also called 大鼻子.
21. 26 December 1832. *Ibid.* pp. 303–4.
22. Chŏng Hyejung, 2005. 'Kim Kyŏngsŏn's voyage to Beijing and his understanding of foreign information at the beginning of the 19th century (19 *segi ch'o chosŏn sahaeng Kim Kyŏngsŏnŭi bukyŏng ch'ehŏmgwa oeguk chŏngbo ihae*)', *Chungguksa yŏn'gu*, Vol. 37. Chungguksa Hakhoe.