Yŏnam Circle and the Political Situation of the In-Law Government in the Early 19th Century

Yoo Bong-hack*

I. Introduction

The philosophy of Pukhak (Northern Learning), which Pak Chi-won (Yŏnam, 1737–1805) and his circle established on the basis of realistic perception of Chosŏn society in the latter half of the 18th century, proposed to the Chosŏn philosophical circle the literary style of Pŏko ch'angsin, which literally means “the study of the classics to create the new”, Kŏngjejejhak, and the doctrine of learning the North, that is, Ch'ing China. This movement of thought which had occupied only one section of Chosŏn philosophical circle in the days of Yŏnam and Hong Tae-yong (Tambhŏn, 1731–1783) came to

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*Associate Professor of Korean History, Hansin University

1 There are three kinds of study in the learning society of Chosŏn Úripjakh, Kyŏngjejhakh and Sachangjakh. Úripjakh comprise philosophy, ethics, history and metaphysics. Kyŏngjejhakh comprise all practical learnings such as mathematics, geography, economics, politics. Sachangjakh could be regarded as same with literature. Until the 17th century the Chosŏn scholars laid stress on Úripjakh only. However, the scholars of the 18th century started to attach importance to Kyŏngjejhakh, and I believe the scholars of Pukhak considered Kyŏngjejhakh as important as Úripjakh, in contrast with the scholars of the traditional Neo-Confucianism.

2. See Yoo Bong-hack, “Pukhak sasang-ui hyŏngsŏng-kwa kŭ sŏnggyŏk Tambhŏn Hong Tae-yong-kwa Yŏnam Pak chu-won” (The Formation of the Philosophy of Pukhak and its Characteristics Tambhŏn Hong Tae-yong and Yŏnam Pak Chi-won), Hankuksaron, Vol. 8, 1982.
dominate the academic world in the first half of the 19th century, when Yi Sŏ-gu (Ch’ŏkch’ae, 1754–1825), Nam Kong-ch’ŏl (Kūmnŭng, 1760–1840), Sŏ Yu-gu (P’ungsŏk, 1764–1845), and Kim Chŏng-hŭi (Ch’usa, 1786–1856) played leading roles in their spheres. In contrast to Yŏnam, who entered the government service in his late years as a local official after spending his life as a ch’ŏsa (literati who did not enter the government service), his disciples and their juniors—the so-called Yŏnam circle—exerted political influence as high ranking officials in the government controlled by royal in-law families. This increase in their political power helped bring into vogue the philosophy of Pukhak. Furthermore, the rise and fall in their political power affected their world-view and ideological direction, thus also bringing about the changes in the philosophy of Pukhak itself.

Starting from this perspective, this paper aims, first, to make a brief survey of the political trends of the in-law government era in the early 19th century to understand the evolution of the Pukhak philosophy, second, to examine the political direction which Yŏnam circle took in this situation. This paper also attempts to analyze literature concerning the in-law government and activities of Yŏnam circle, while at the same time keeping in mind the problems of interpretation that arise in dealing with the historical materials of this period. It is hoped that this study will contribute to the understanding not only of the political history but of the history of thought in the 19th century.

II. The Political Situation in the In-Law Government Era

The so-called in-law government which developed in the political world of the 19th century, from Sunjo’s enthronement in 1800 to the rule of Hŭngsŏn Taewŏnggun and Queen Min, was a form of government in which king’s relatives on the paternal and maternal sides seized the political power by assuming Sadojim. Sadojim, which sallim (rustic literati) at first exercised in the process of realizing the Neo-Confucian political ideals since Injo’s accession, came to be seized by the king himself and his powerful immediate relatives who wanted to expel sallim, under Yŏngjo’s T’angpyŏngch’ak (policy of

3. Sado means ‘the right path of the world’. Therefore sadojim means ‘assume the political power to realize the right path or justice in the world’
impartiality). This tendency which had a lot to do with the rise of royal relatives in the latter half of Yongjo's reign, seemed to undergo changes in the process of the reorganization of political power during the reign of Chöngjo, who raised his own guard powers and suppressed the existing relatives and powerful lineages. But upon the sudden death of Chöngjo and the accession of Sunjo, a boy of only ten, the throne began to lose its authority. Some in-law families took advantage of this political turmoil to take over the royal power and thus began the in-law government that would last a hundred years.

This in-law government also resulted from the distortion of political phenomena under T'angpyŏngch'ae during Yongjo's and Chöngjo's reign. For example, the general decline of sallim, the tendency of important sallim to be incorporated into the political world of the capital, the invalidation of sallim as oppositional force, and the growth of king's guard bureaucrats to be great families nestling in the capital (Kyŏnghwagöp), which in turn deepened the political rupture between the capital and the province— all these were responsible for the powerful royal in-law families being settled in the capital, who came to monopolize the political power when the throne was deprived of its authority with the accession of Sunjo. Therefore, the political ideals of the Neo-Confucianism that envisioned the balance of the province and the capital, that is, the balanced relation between bureaucrats of the capital and the opposing literati as represented by sallim, began to fail. Since the route transmitting the local opinion and movements to the political world of the capital was cut off, and since only a few powerful families wielded power thanks to their relationship with the king, the social base of the in-law government was very fragile.

In a study on the in-law government it is necessary to examine its atti-

5 See Jŏng Ok-ja, "Ch'ongjo-ui ch'okye munson kyo'yuk-kwa munch'ei ch'ong-ch'ae" (Ch'ongjo's Education of Civil Officials and Policy of Literary Style), Kyujanggak, Vol 6, 1982. See also Pak Kwang-yong, "T'angpyŏngron-kwa Ch'ongguk-ui byŏnhwa (The Doctrine of Impartiality and the Change of Political Situation), Hankuk hewon, Vol. 10, 1984
6 See Yoo Bong-hack(1986).
tude toward Ch'ing as well as toward the province and the people in its attempt to reinforce the fragile base of power. But this paper will concentrate on the shifts of power among various royal in-law families and survey the political situation before Taewon'gun in connection with the political vicissitudes of Yŏnam circle. We may attempt the following periodization according to the shifts of power among in-law families.

First Period: In-law government shared by three families, from the year of Sunjo’s accession (1800) to the 5th year of his reign (1805)

Second Period: In-law government shared by two families (Kim & Pak), from the 6th year of Sunjo’s reign (1806) to the 18th year (1818)

Third Period: In-law government shared by two families (Kim & Cho), from the 19th year of Sunjo’s reign (1819) to the 15th year of Hŏn’yon’s reign (1849)

Fourth Period: In-law government by Andong Kim, from the first year of Ch’ŏljon’s reign (1850) to the year of Kojon’s accession (1863)

Fifth Period: In-law government by Taewon’gun, from the year of Kojon’s accession (1863) to the 10th year of his reign (1873)

Sixth Period: In-law government by Yŏhŭng Min, from the 10th year of Kojon’s reign (1873)

Although Chŏngjo maintained the general direction of T’ang p’yŏngch’ae (The Evolution of the Doctrine of Loyalty toward Ming and the Attitude toward Ching in the 18-19th Century), Han’um waemunph, Vol. 5, 1988


8. See Ch’oe Wan-su, “Ch’usa silla kū p’arang–wŏ saengae–wa yesul” (The Stormy Life and Arts of Ch’usa), in Ch’usa Kim Chŏng-hui, 1984
ment by letting the factions hold each other in cross-check. But upon his sudden death and the accession of the young Sunjo, the guard forces of Chōngjo lost the momentum of power in the course of political reshuffling. During this process, the seizure of power by Pyŏkp’al(Reign of Principle), which was supported by the regency of Queen Dowager Jongsun(Yŏngjo’s queen), upset the political situation. Kyŏngju Kim now succeeded in securing the power as the core members of Pyŏkp’al and replaced P’ungsan Hong, the family of Chŏngjo’s mother, and Sip’al(Party of Expediency). As a result, Pannam Pak, the family of Subin(Sunjo’s natural mother), Andong Kim, from whose family Sunjo’s wife was to be selected, and Kyŏngju Kim came to constitute a triumvirate.

The balance of power, however, could not be maintained long enough in this strange situation. Taking advantage of the Persecution of 1801, Kyŏngju Kim and Pyŏkp’al attempted to strengthen their political position by attacking not only the Namin, pro-Catholic group, but also Noron Sip’al. The conflict between Kyŏngju Kim(Pyŏkp’al) and Andong Kim(Sip’al) was especially poignant. This conflict had been caused by Pyŏkp’al’s persistent manoeuvres to hinder Sunjo’s marriage with Kim Cho-sun’s daughter even after she was selected as the Crown Princess. Despite these manoeuvres, the marriage with Kim Cho-sun’s daughter was solemnized in September 1802 and, in December 1803, the regency of Queen Dowager Jongsun ended. The weakening of power of both Kyŏngju Kim and Pyŏkp’al was inevitable. Moreover, when Pannam Pak took sides with Andong Kim, the political situation of a triumvirate had to go through another change. In June 1804, Queen Dowager Jongsun, feeling her position threatened, attempted to reassume the regency only to fail. In October the same year(1804), Kyŏngju Kim No-hyŏng involvement in the imprisonment of Han Hae-ok was discovered. In January 1805, Queen Dowager Jongsun died. In December 1805, on Cho Tŭk-yŏng’s impeachment, Right State Councilor Kim Tal-sun was punished to death by Sunjo for his demand of the rehabilitation of Yun Chae-gyŏm and Pak Chu-won. Finally Pannam Pak and Andong Kim succeeded in securing power by expelling Kyŏngju Kim and Pyŏkp’al.

But this coalition of two powerful in-law families was forced to end after Hong Kyŏng-rae Rebellion(1811), when Cho Tŭk-yŏng impeached Pannam Pak Chong-gyŏng in November 1812. Pak Chong-gyŏng died five years later, and in 1819, when the Crown Princess was selected from the family.
of P'ungyang Cho, the family of Cho Tük-yŏng arose firmly in the political world. With Subm's death in 1822, the power of Pannam Pak weakened while P'ungyang Cho rose up as a powerful in-law family. This growth of P'ungyang Cho's power seemed to be made possible by the tacit agreement of Andong Kim. But it was not long before these two clans started to struggle against each other when the chance arose with the Crown Prince Hyomyŏng's proxy rule in February 1827. This competition ended with the defeat of P'ungyang Cho, when, after the sudden death of Crown Prince in May 1830, Kim Ro, Hong Ki-sŏp, Yi In-bak, Kim No-gyŏng, the so-called brain trustees of Crown Prince, were expelled by the accusation of Andong Kim, branded as four traitorous subjects usurping the royal power. Therefore, it was only upon the general change of generations and the onset of wholly new political situation with Ch'ŏl'jong's accession in 1834 that the P'ungyang Cho clan managed to rise again. P'ungyang Cho In-yŏng and Kwon Ton-in, promoted to the important posts of ministerial level, demonstrated their power when they forced Pak Ch'ong-hun of Andong Kim clan to resign in 1837. Furthermore, in 1839, P'ungyang Cho Pyŏng-gu, director of military training, extended his power so remarkably that he and Andong Kim Hong-ŭn came to be called "the two great figures of the political world". Supported by the regency of Queen Dowager Sunwŏn (Sunjo's queen), Andong Kim once again attacked P'ungyang Cho by accusing them of the imprisonment of Yun Sang-do which had occurred 10 years before. In the course of this struggle, Andong Kim Yang-sun was flogged to death while Kim Ch'ŏng-hŭi of P'ungyang Cho clan was banished to Cheju Island. Struggles of the same nature between these two clans continued. However, upon the death of Hŏ nop (June 1849) who favored P'ungyang Cho clan and during whose reign Cho In-yŏng and Kwon Ton-in held the post of State Councilor, the precarious balance of power between these two clans maintained since the end of Queen Dowager Sunwŏn's regency was broken. As is well known, the accession of Ch'ŏl'jong was the decision of Andong Kim and Queen Dowager Sunwŏn, and this brought about the definitive defeat of P'ungyang Cho clan, despite Kwon Ton-in and Kim Ch'ŏng-hŭi's desperate resistance against Andong Kim clan on the issue of rites concerning Chinjông (Chinjongjŏch'on'rye). Since then, the in-law government of Andong Kim was to continue without meeting any challenge until 1863 when Chodaebi, widow of Crown Prince Hyomyŏng, son of Sunjo, cooperated with Hŭngsŏng'gun, a disciple of Kim
Chöng-huí, in enthroning Kjong and when Húngsŏn Taewon’gun, as the father of Kjong, secured power by expelling Andong Kim clan.

In this chaotic process of power change in the in-law government, a small number of privileged class who had risen from Chöngk’s guard bureaucrats to powerful lineages living in the capital established a new form of government in Chosón society. With the nation-wide disturbances weakening the authority of traditional Neo-Confucianism and the doctrine of brotherhood with Ming (Daemyŏng üiriron), these groups had greater influence on various fields of society than the king and salim. Besides, they not only took interest in new academic disciplines and thoughts, but also demonstrated their own peculiar life styles. They were interested in the Ch’ing Empirical School and appreciated the culture of Ch’ing. As a result, they showed the cultural refinements and the consumers’ life style in urban areas, which were often found in great families living in the capital, isolated from the rural areas and productive basis. From this point of view, as we shall see below, the movements of Yönam’s disciples and their juniors provide us with a clue to understand the political and ideological world in the 19th century.

III. Yönam Circle and Its Political Vicissitudes

1. Yönam and his colleagues

Born in the famous family of the Old Doctrine, Yönam succeeded to the tradition of Nangnon which Kim Ch’ang-hyöp, Ô Yu-bong and Yi Po-ch’ŏn had maintained. He was related by his wife’s family (Yi Po-ch’ŏn and Yi Chae-sŏng) to his master’s family (Ô Yu-bong and Ô Sŏg-yun) and to his colleague’s family (Hong San-han and Hong Sŏk-chu). His own family produced some great scholars of Nangnon as Yŏho Pak P’il-ju and Kŭnjae Pak Yun-won (the latter’s brother, Jun-won, was the father of Subim, the natural mother of Sunjo). It seemed to be natural that such a special kinship and scholarly relationship should affect his life as a chŏsa in his manhood. Particularly, Yi Po-ch’ŏn, Yönam’s father-in-law and master, who had been

constant in his life as a typical sallim ch'osa of the Old Doctrine, seemed to have a deep influence on Yŏnam's life and scholarship. (For example, Yi Po-ch'ŏn criticized not only T'angp'ŏngch'aek on the ground of Loyalty of Smm aleza, but also such persons as Hong Kye-hŭi and Song Tŏk-sang who later joined Pyŏkp'a. Moreover, claiming to stand for Srbaek (practical learning), he devoted himself to practicing the Neo-Confucian teachings by engaging in productive activity in his own province and refused to enter the government service all his life.)

Under Yŏngjo and Chŏnggo's T'angp'ŏngch'aek, however, the influence of sallim weakened gradually and a host of young literati related to sallim entered the government service to become the guard forces of Chŏnggo. They were called Clean Faction of the Old Doctrine. In these general trends, Yŏnam could not refuse to enter the government service any longer. At the age of 50 (in 1786, the 10th year of Chŏnggo's reign), he put an end to his life as a ch'osa to become an official, on the recommendation of Yu Ŭn-ho, his intimate friend. It was a case of the so-called protected appointments (ŭmphk). His late transformation into a government official reflects the general tendency of sallim to become bureaucrats, supported by the rise of the Clean Faction of the Old Doctrine during Chŏnggo's reign. Another typical case was that of Hong Tae-yong who also put an end to his life as a ch'osa to enter the government service at the age of 44. Thus Yŏnam and Hong Tae-yong differed from their colleagues or juniors, who entered the government service from the start and held high ranking posts afterwards.

Like Yŏnam, his seniors and friends came from the renowned families living for generations around Hanyang area. In academic discipline, they had been related to Nanggod since the days of Kim Ch'ang-hyŏp and Kim Ch'ang-hŭp, and politically they belonged to the Old Doctrine, constituting its Clean Faction later. Among Yŏnam's seniors, there were Yi Yang-ch'iŏn, Yi Yun-yŏng, Hwang Kyŏng-won, Kim Yong-gyŏm, Kim Won-haeng, Yi Min-bo, Yun Tŭk-kwan, Kim Sang-suk, Kim Sang-jŏng, Yi Un-yŏng, Yu ûi-yang. Yŏnam's colleagues included Yi Chae-sŏng, Hong Tae-yong, Chŏng Ch'ŏl-p'o, Yi Hŭi-ch'ŏn, Yu Ŭn-ho, Yun Si-dong, Kim Yi-jung, Sin Kwang-

10. "Kwaŭngnok" written by Pak Jong-ch'ae is very important for the understanding Yŏnam's life and his friendship. See Jung Ok-p', "Kwaŭngnok-e n'at'anan Pak Chi-wŏn-sang" (Pak Chi-wŏn as Described in Kwaŭngnok), Sahak naphong in commemoration of the 60th anniversary of Prof. Min Sŏk-hong, 1985.
on, Sin Kwang-jae, Sin Nyöm-po, Kim No-yong, Kim Yi-so, Hwang Sungwon, Hong Won-sop, So Yu-rim, who all associated with one another with similar inclination. Among them, Hong Tae-yong founded the school of Pukhak with Yonam. Yonam’s close friend Yu On-ho protected him by recommending to take a refuge in Yonamhyo for a while and helped him enter the government service Yi Chae-song, his friend and brother-in-law, understood Yonam’s life and thought better than any other person, owing to their long lasting friendship. Besides them, Yun Si-dong, the great State Councilor Yu Ch’ok-ki’s son-in-law and leader of the Clean Faction of the Old Doctrine during Chongsu’s reign, was also Yonam’s friend from his childhood. Kim Yi-jung was the father of Kim Cho-sun, who later became the suzerain of Andong Kim in-law government. Sim Nyöm-po was the father of Sim Sang-gyu, who later was to constitute the core of the Andong Kim clan with Nam Kong-ch’ol and Yi Sang-hwang. Kim Yi-do, who gladly accepted Yonam’s attitude toward Ch’ing or his economic policy, was himself an important figure in Andong Kim clan. Kim No-yong was the foster father of Kim Chongsu-hui who became the leader of the school of Pukhak as a key man of Pungyang Cho in-law government. In short, the greater part of Yonam’s friends was related to the great families living in the city of Hanyang, and in the next generation they would lead the central academic world of Choson as the core of the in-law government. This would have a great influence on the political and ideological direction of the Yonam circle from the 19th century on.

Meanwhile, Yonam’s friendship with the intellectuals of Chungsu origin (men of illegitimate birth and Chungsu) was particularly important. For example, Yonam kept company with Yi Tök-mu, Pack Tong-su, Song Tae-jung to study together the new learnings of Kyongsadak. Yonam dared to receive the disciples of Chungsu origin, despite the social prejudice against them at that time. Therefore, Yonam’s associations were different from those of his seniors and colleagues in that his was based not only on his experience as a chosa but also on his solidarity with the intellectuals of Chungsu origin, whose influence was increasingly growing in the peculiar socio-economic situations in the midst of the profound social change in the late Choson society.

Having been oppressed in his chosa days by Hong Kug-yong who wielded power as Chief Royal Secretary, Yonam also had broken off his relations with the principal figures of Pyakpa like Sim Hwan-ja and Chongsu Il-hwan.
This and the distance he kept from the Kyŏngŏ Kim clan made him pay when they came to power upon the sudden death of Chŏngjo. Having resigned from the office in the first year of Sunjo's reign, he had to watch many of his colleagues, juniors and their disciples expelled. From then on, members of Yŏnam circle who had earned Chŏngjo's confidence and risen up to the important bureaucratic positions of the royal court had to grope their way through the turbulent alternations of the in-law government.

2. Yŏnam's Disciples and Their Juniors

The range and characteristics of Yŏnam's friendship indicate the political and ideological directions of his disciples and their followers. As was mentioned earlier, some benefited from circumstances and entered the government service, holding important positions as king's guard forces till the last years of Chŏngjo's reign. For example, Yi Sŏ-gu, from whom Yŏnam had expected much, came to hold the post of Right State Councilor; Nam Kong-ch'ol headed the cabinet of the Andong Kim in-law government as a Chief State Councilor; Sŏ Yu-gu was promoted to the position of Pongjoba. There were also sain of Andong Kim clan like Kim Hŭi-sun, Kim Kŭn-sun, Kim Mae-sun, Yi Myŏng-yŏn, Na Yŏl, Yu Han-ŭp, Yu Yun-lim, Yu Hwa. The three Kyujanggak Kŏmsŏgwans (book inspectors), Yi Tŏk-mu, Pak Che-ga, Yu Tŭk-kong, who could not become high ranking officials because of their social origin, nevertheless enjoyed a reputation of being the four famous scholars together with Yi Sŏ-gu. They distinguished themselves in the academic world of the capital with such scholars of Chūngso origin as Sŏng Hae-ŭng, Sŏ Sang-su, Yi Hŭi-gyŏng, Yi Hŭi-myŏng, Yi Kong-mu, Chŏng Su, and Kim Yong-haeng, who all followed Yŏnam. Finally, there are such from Kaesŏng as Yang Ho-maeng, Ch'oe Chin-gwan, Yi Hyŏn-gyŏm, Yi Haengjak, Yang Sang-hoe, Han Sŏk-ho, and Han Chae-ryŏm, who followed Yŏnam in the days of his refuge to Yŏnamhyŏp, formed a group of disciples, and established their position outside the bureaucratic scholars.

Apart from these people who were under the direct influence of Yŏnam, there were also those who were influenced indirectly by Yŏnam as sons and nephews of Yŏnam's colleagues. They were Kim Cho-sun, Sim Sang-gyu, Yi Sang-hwang, who were punished for using the same literary style with Yŏnam's [when Chŏngjo, exercising Munch's panjong, reprimanded Yŏnam and Nam Kong-ch'ol for backing this literary style]. Afterwards, they also
came to form the core of the Andong Kim in-law government. There were also junior members who grew up under the direction of Yŏnam's disciples of Ch'ongjŏ origin, like Kim Ch'ŏng-hŭi, who had been trained by Pak Che-ga and kept company with Song Tae-jung, Song Hae-ŭng, Yu Tŭk-kong, Yu Pon-ye, and Cho In-yŏng, who was influenced by Yŏnam through Song Hae-ŭng's teaching. These two men would later contribute to spreading Pukhak in the academic world of Chosŏn as leaders of P'ungyang Cho in-law government.

In Yŏnam circle, however, there was a group of people who continued to keep contact with one another and displayed a remarkable activity politically and ideologically. The group was composed of Sŏ Yu-gu and Kim Mae-sun who followed Yŏnam personally, and of Hong Sŏk-chu, Hong Kŭl-ju who grew up under the direction of Yi Chae-sŏng. They held frequent meetings with Ch'ŏng Yag-yŏng, Ch'ŏng Hag-yu, Ch'ŏng Hag-ŭn of the Namin and the juniors like Kim Myŏng-hŭi, Yun Chong-hyŏn. They discussed Yŏnam's scholarship and literature from time to time. Furthermore, they induced young scholars like Pak Kyu-su, Kim Sang-hyŏn, and Kim Yŏng-ak to participate in their meetings and taught them.

It is true that Yŏnam's disciples and their juniors generally regarded as the members of Yŏnam circle spent their youth in the closed society of the capital under Ch'ongjŏ's reign and thus had similar experiences, scholarly and ideologically. However, their political position could not be the same when they came to play a leading role in the ups and downs of in-law government. In this respect, the period of triumvirate mentioned above was the time of "groping in the midst of confusion" for the members of Yŏnam circle who maintained each in their own way different relations with the powerful clans of the in-law government. Therefore, it was also the time when the seed of the internal division was sown. For example, Pak Che-ga, the most passionate adherent of Yŏnam, was involved in the imprisonment of Yun Ka-gi, one of the numerous incidents that arose in the course of conflicts among the strong clans. Because of this, Yun Haeng-im and Pak Che-ga were exiled in 1801. In 1805, Yi Sŏ-gu was expelled from the central political world because he kept criticizing the despotism of the powerful clans. And immediately after Yŏnam's death in October the same year, Sŏ Hyŏng-su, Sŏ Yu-gu, and Kim Mae-sun were also expelled, involved in the
imprisonment of Kim Tal-sun that heralded the collapse of Kyŏngju Kim clan and Pyŏkpa. Unlike Pak Che-ga, who was released in February 1904 immediately after the end of Queen Dowager Jongsun's regency, Yi Sŏ-gu and Sŏ Yu-gu could return to the political world only in 1819 and 1823 respectively when the powerful family of Pannam Pak stopped hindering their return, for they were men of such political importance. Thus the political vicissitudes of the members of Yŏnam circle were intimately related to the political situations of the in-law government.

That even in these hard times, Nam Kong-ch’ŏl continued to rise in the political world and became the Chief State Councilor in 1823 owes to his close connection with the Andong Kim clan. In fact, he became the core member of the Andong Kim in-law government, together with Kim Cho-sun, Sim Sang-gyu and Yi Sang-hwang. At that time, he was a typical man of power who led the political, academic, and cultural world of Chosŏn. He once helped Yi Sŏ-gu and Sŏ Yu-gu, his classmates, with his political power. In 1829, however, he had to impeach Yi Sŏ-gu, for the latter did not stop criticizing the in-law government of the powerful clans. In this way, the internal division of Yŏnam circle was prepared. One may notice the fact that Yi Sŏ-gu and Sŏ Yu-gu managed to hold high ranking positions in the in-law government after their return to the political world. But they were no more than administrative bureaucrats who did not have real political power and exercised only practical execution of government affairs. Their political position in the in-law government was quite different from those of the men of power like Nam Kong-ch’ŏl.11

On the other hand, members of the next generation, such as Kim Chŏng-hŭi, Cho In-yŏng, Kwon Ton-in, not only distinguished themselves from their seniors like Hong Sŏk-chu and Sŏ Yu-gu, as we can see in Kwon Ton-in’s impeachment against Hong Sŏk-chu(1822) or Kim Chŏng-hŭi’s impeachment against Sim Sang-gyu(1827), but also rose to powerful positions in P’ungyang Cho in-law government, which competed fiercely with the Andong Kim clan. Gathering around Crown Prince Hyomyŏng, they wielded power during Hŏnjong’s reign when they succeeded temporarily in ousting

from power the political magnates of the Andong Kim clan.

As we have examined so far, every member of Yŏnam circle underwent his own political vicissitudes under the in-law government since the accession of Sunjo, rising sometimes to the positions of power or administrative high ranking office. Their promotion was possible because salim itself changed its character and declined. That the Clean Faction of the Old Doctrine sought to become bureaucrats was one indication of such a change. Therefore, it was natural that the growth of their political influence should contribute to the popularity of Pukhak while the Neo-Confucian metaphysics of the preceding generations declined Yŏnam circle also took the place of salim in assuming the leadership in the central academic world as bureaucratic scholars enjoying luxurious styles of living in the capital. However, the members of Yŏnam circle differed sharply from one another in their political affiliations with each in-law government. With continuing changes in the political situation, they gradually came to lose the common ground they shared with Yŏnam’s political and ideological stance. As a result, the split among themselves was unavoidable. Actually, Yŏnam did not expect his disciples to have the ideological identity with him either, as we can see in his attitude toward Pak Nam-su and Nam Kong-ch’ŏl. He only sought for the freedom of thought and called into question the existing order and system of thought. Furthermore, what was important in the meetings of Yŏnam circle was not the transmission of the ideological identity which the rustic literati traditionally emphasized in the name of the true orthodoxy. On the contrary, the members of Yŏnam circle, facing the changes of the times, freely discussed the literary style of Pŏkch’angsin, Kyŏngjejibak, and were open toward Ch’ing and in the next generation, toward the reception of the Empirical School of Ch’ing. It goes without saying that this attitude had something to do with their perception of social reality and the awareness of their own political situation. Therefore, the political vicissitudes of the members of Yŏnam circle under the in-law government and the differences in their respective social position caused their perceptions of reality so different from one another and deepened the ideological differences among themselves. In the meantime for those

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members of Yŏnam circle who became high ranking officials without experiencing the rigours of the traditional Neo-Confucianism and the austere life of the rustic literati (sallim chŏsa), their preference of luxurious living and orientation toward the bureaucracy may be regarded as their self-incurred limitations.

IV. Conclusion

The in-law government, which overwhelmed the royal authority so thoroughly that kings’ power became only nominal since the accession of Sunjong, came to assume sedojuim and went through several stages of power shifts. At that time, some intellectuals of Yŏnam circle, who followed Yŏn-am personally or were influenced by him through the teaching of his colleagues or disciples, experienced political vicissitudes of their own in the in-law government. It was natural that the political success of Yŏnam circle which proposed the literary style of Pŏkch'angsim, Kyŏngjejihak, and the doctrine of learning Ch'ing constituted a main reason for the expansion of Pukhak (Northern Learning) in the ideological world of Chosŏn in the 19th century, where the authority of the Neo-Confucianism and the doctrine of brotherhood with Ming declined abruptly whereas anti-Ch'ing attitude became softened.

However, I believe that the luxurious living and orientation toward bureaucracy that some of the Yŏnam circle pursued were in direct contrast to those of Yŏnam himself who lived a life of a chŏsa and held modest posts. Perhaps it must have been the main factor in altering Yŏnam’s thought. We can also suppose that the internal division in Yŏnam circle according to the respective affiliations with the in-law government caused ideological gaps among themselves. The perception of reality and self-consciousness of Yŏnam’s disciples and their juniors, who had to face enormous domestic and foreign changes of society under the in-law government, could not be the same with that of Yŏnam himself who had elaborated the philosophy of Pukhak on the basis of his realistic perception of the Chosŏn society and who always tried to be stern about himself as a są. In that sense, the factors I have mentioned in this essay should be included in the future study of the development of the philosophy of Pukhak as well as in the study of the in-law government and Yŏnam circle.

(translated by Song Ki-hyung and Yi Hyung-sik)
GLOSSARY

Andong Kim 安東 金氏
Chunghong oc'h'omye 欺宗給遺禮
Cho In-yong 趙寅永
Cho Myon-ho 趙冕鎬
Cho Pyong-gu 趙乘龜
Cho Tuk-yong 趙得永
Chodaebi 趙大妃
Choe Ch'un-gwan 崔鎮寬
Ch'oljong 哲宗
Chong Ch'o-jo 鄭喆祚
Chong Hag-yon 丁學淵
Chong Hag-yu 丁學游
Chong Il-hwan 鄭日煥
Chong Su 鄭遂
Chong Yag-yong 丁若鐸
Chonggo 正祖
Ch'osa 處士
Chungin 中人
Chungsô 中庶
Crown Prince Hyomyong 孝明世子
Daemyong t'uriron 大明義理論
Han Chae-ryom 韓在廉
Han Hae-ok 韓海玉
Han Sok-ho 韓錫浩
Hong Ki-sop 洪起燮
Hong Kug-yong 洪國榮
Hong Kye-hui 洪啓禧
Hong Kyong-rae Rebellion 洪景來亂
Hong Sang-han 洪象漢
Hong Sok-chu 洪奭周
Hong Tae-yong (Tamhon) 洪大容 (港軒)
Hong Won-sop 洪元燮
H'ojong 宣宗
Hungsón Taewon'gun 興宣大院君
Hwang Kyong-won 黃景淵
Hwang Sung-won 黃昇源
In-Law family 世道家門
In-Law government 世道政權
Injo 仁祖
Kang Wi 姜維
Kim Chang-hup (Samyon) 金昌潤 (三淵)
Kim Chang-hyop (Nongam) 金昌協 (農巖)
Kim Cho-sun 金祖淳
Kim Choong-hui (Chusa) 金正喜 (秋史)
Kim Hong-gun 金弘根
Kim Hui-sun 金義淳
Kim K'un-sun 金近淳
Kim Mae-sun 金邁淳
Kim Myong-hui 金命喜
Kim No-gyong 金魯敬
Kim No-hyong 金魯亨
Kim No-yong 金魯永
Kim Ro 金鎭
Kim Sang-hyon 金尚鉉
Kim Sang-jong 金相定
Kim Sang-suk 金相蔭
Kim Tal-sun 金達淳
Kim Won-haeng 金元行
Kim Yang-sun 金陽淳
Kim Yi-jung 金履中
Kim Yi-so 金履素
Kim Yong-gyom 金用謙
Kim Yong-haeng 金龍行
Kim Yong-jak 金永爵
Kojong 高宗
Kwon Ton-in 權敦仁
Kyônghwa gôjok 京華巨族
Kyonggyehak 經濟之學
Kyongu Kim 慶州金氏
Kyunganggak Kômsôgwan 奎章閣 檢書官
Min Kyu-ho 閔奎鎬
Min Tae-ho 閔台鎬
Munche pan'ông 文體反正
Na Yol 羅烈
Nam Kong-ch'ôl(Kûmnûng) 南公轅（金陵）
Namn (Sourherner) 南人
Namn Ch'ongnon 南人 清論
Nangnon 洛論
Noron (Old Doctrine) 老論
Noron Ch'ongnyu 老論 清流
Noron Junn buffer 老論 峻論
O Kyông-sôk 吳慶錫
Ô Sog-yun 魚錫胤
Ô Yu-bong 魚有鳳
Paeck Tong-su 白東裕
Pak Che-ga 朴齊家
Pak Ch'i-won 朴致源
Pak Chi-won (Yônam) 朴趾源（燕巖）
Pak Chong-ch'ae 朴宗采
Pak Chong-gyông 朴宗慶
Pak Chong-hun 朴宗薰
Pak Chun-won 朴準源
Pak Kyu-su 朴珪壽
Pak Nam-su 朴南壽
Pak Pil-ju(Yôho) 朴弼周（黎湖）
Pak Yun-won(Kûnæ) 朴胤源（近齋）
Pannam Pak 潘南 朴氏
Persecution of 1801 辛酉邪獄
Pongjoha 奉朝賀
Popko ch'angsin 法古創新
Pukhak 北學
P'ungsan Hong 豐山 洪氏
P'ungyang Cho 豐壤 趙氏
Pyôkpa 傍派
Queen Dowager Jongsun 貞純王后
Queen Dowager Sunwon 純元王后
Queen Min 閔妃
Regency 垂簾聽政
san 士人
Sainghak 詞章之學
sallim 山林
sêdo 世道
sêdopum 世道之任
Sim Hwan-ju 沈焕之
Sim Nyôm-jo 沈念祖
Sim Sang-gyu 沈相奎
Sim Kwan-ho 申觀浩
Sim Kwang-jik 申光直
Sim Kwang-jon 申光珍
Sim mun 辛壬義理
Sinsôpa 信西派
Sip'a 時派
Srhal 實學
Sô hyông-su 徐ؤول修
Sô Sang-su 徐常修
Sô Yu-gu(P'ungsok) 徐有燁（楓石）
Sô Yu-rin 徐有麟
Sông Hae-ung 成海應
Sông Tae-jung 成大中
Song Tôk-sang 宋德相
Subun 綏敷
Sungp 純祖
T'angp'yôngch'aeak 湯平策
Útriphak 義理之學
Úmjak 隱職
Yang Ho-maeng 梁浩孟
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Yang Sang-hoe 梁尙晦
Yi Chae-sŏng 李在誠
Yi Haeng-ak 李行綽
Yi Hŭi-ch'ŏn 李義天
Yi Hŭi-gyŏng 李富鍾
Yi Hŭi-myŏng 李喜明
Yi Hyŏn-gyŏm 李賢謙
Yi In-bak 李寅薄
Yi Kong-mu 李功懋
Yi Min-bo 李敏輔
Yi Myŏng-yŏn 李明淵
Yi Po-ch'ŏn (Yuanæ) 李輔天（遠安齋）
Yi Sang-hwang 李相璜
Yi Sŏ-gu (Ch'ŏkchae) 李書九（惕齋）
Yi Tŏk-mu 李德懋
Yi Un-yŏng 李運永
Yi Yang-ch'ŏn 李亮天
Yi Yun-yŏng 李胤永
Yŏhung Mín 驚興 閔氏
Yŏnamhyŏp 燕巖峽
Yŏngp 鄭祖
Yu Ch'ŏk-ki 俞拓其
Yu Han-jo 俞漢鎬
Yu Hwa 柳訢
Yu Ŭn-ho 俞彦鎬
Yu Pon-ye 柳本藝
Yu Tŭk-kong 柳得恭
Yu Ŭi-yang 柳義養
Yu Yun-lim 俞允霖
Yun Chae-gyŏm 尹在謙
Yun Chŏng-hyŏn 尹承鉉
Yun Haeng-im 尹行恁
Yun Ka-gi 尹可基
Yun Sang-do 尹尙度
Yun Si-dong 尹善東
Yun Tŭk-kwan 尹德觀