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COVER: The logo of the Royal Asiatic Society-Korea Branch,

The seal-shaped logo consists of four Chinese characters which have been

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Telephone: (82-2) 763-9483 FAX: (82-2) 766-3796 eMail: info@raskorea.org

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[page 1]

**Korea in the White City: Korean Participation in the World’s Columbian Exhibition of 18931**

Daniel Kane, Honolulu

Introduction and Background: The World’s Fair

One historian of the subject has written that the phenomenon of the world’s fair in the late 19th century was the manifestation of “great historical confidence” on the part of Western imperial nations.2 Since the mid-19th century, and especially since the Paris exhibition of 1889, world’s fairs had become not only global showcases of national achievement, but venues for non-Western nations to present themselves to, or be presented by, their foreign audience. These two aspects were not at all contradictory. There should be no mistaking the fact that these fairs and expositions, which found their inspiration in London’s Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851, were Western in conception, organization, and orientation. That is, despite the active involvement of increasing numbers of non-Western nations (and colonial holdings), the fairs were more than anything a showcase of Western achievements in the arts, sciences, and industry, and the inclusion of non- Western nations and peoples evolved more as a showcase, at times blatantly entertaining in aspect, of the “other” as foil to more “civilized” Western norms, the superiority of Western mores and achievements, and even the skill of Western sciences in categorizing the world’s diversity. This aspect of the world’s fair has been examined with increasing interest in the last twenty-five years, in great part due to the tremendous academic influence of Edward Said’s Orientalism in reexamining the motivating factors behind Western constructs of the non-Western. In this contemporary reexamination of the fairs, and their representation of the other, a few salient themes have presented themselves worth mentioning briefly. [page 2]

One was the “Victorian” penchant for the exotic, and more specifically for equating culture with place. This was a phenomenon that evolved particularly after the Paris Exhibition of 1867, when non-Western participants were first included on a large scale. This inclusion of non- Western representatives was predominantly entertaining in aspect and served to add to the fairs’ attraction (and revenues, for they were increasingly commercial in nature) by titillating their audiences with views and tastes of the exotic and bizarre. This tendency can be discerned in the words of the American diplomat Horace Allen when he expresses his hope that the colorful native Korean outfit would “add to the attraction” of the exhibit, or else of “entertaining an exhibit for that department [the Women’s Building] from this land of female seclusion”.3 This aspect is even more clearly witnessed, in the case of Korea, with the original plans for the Korean exhibit at the Paris exposition of 1900, where a native Korean street display was planned, complete with “teahouse, open air performers and acrobats”.4

The inclusion of the native display also served to add to the fair’s “authenticity”, that is the accuracy and totality with which it was able to “recreate” the native scenario, whether it be Cairo or Tokyo, a Chinese temple or a Filipino village. Though ostensibly educational in purpose, allowing the fairgoer to learn about a foreign country and its culture without the troublesome necessity of having to actually travel there, the non-Western display often in fact became purely theatrical in aspect.

Further, to differentiate both their entertaining and exotic aspects, the non- Western displays were routinely set apart from the more “serious” portions of the fair, that is the displays of Western arts and sciences. After the 1867 Paris exposition it was customary that a certain portion of the grounds be set aside as an area of national displays, particularly of underdeveloped and colonized areas of the world that would lend the scene an air of exoticism and picaresque thrill. There the displays of non-Western nations were [page 3] presented to the fairgoer as curiosities and oddities, to be gawked at, flirted with, and indulged for a short time. An emphasis was placed on their primitiveness or their gaudiness, all in contrast to the more refined and rational aspects of Western culture. The Paris Exposition of 1889 caused a sensation by its depiction, or rather recreation, of an exotic Cairo street, complete with camel riders and dilapidated buildings for effect. The “Midway Plaisance” was the primary attraction and crowd-pleaser at the Chicago’s World’s Columbian Exhibition of 1893.5 Along its half-mile dusty pedestrian thoroughfare could be found such amusing distractions as a Chinese “joss house”, Persian theater, or live Eskimos, all of which contrasted sharply with the rational layout and design of the rest of the fairground, with its imposing neo-classical architecture, expansive (and paved) avenues, and geometrical arrangement. Despite its contemporary aspersions to being the locale where one could “study humanity in all its aspects”, the Midway Plaisance was foremost a place of diversion and entertainment, and one that more than pulled its weight in making sure the fair turned a profit. One contemporary seems to sum up the period attitude towards the Midway and its attractions:

There was about the Midway Plaisance a peculiar attraction for me. It presents Asiatic and African and other forms of life native to the inhabitants of the globe. It is the world in miniature. While it is of doubtflil attractiveness for morality, it certainly emphasizes the value, as well as the progress, of our civilization. There are presented on the Midway real and typical representatives of nearly all the races of the earth, living in their natural methods, practicing their home arts, and presenting their so- called native amusements. The denizens of the Midway certainly present an interesting study to the ethnologist, and give the observer an opportunity to investigate these barbarous and semi-civilized people without the unpleasant accompaniments of travel through their countries and contact with them.6

Another aspect of the fairs was their sense of cosmopolitanism, though again this was done under the ultimate assumption of Western superiority. [page 4]

The expositions increasingly served as venues for international conferences on cultural and intellectual matters, bringing together scholars and officials from a wide range of backgrounds and intellectual training. World’s Fairs in the nineteenth century began increasingly to celebrate diversity to an extreme. Chicago was no exception and the fair would serve as the venue for, among many others, the International Congress on Anthropology and the Conference on World Religions, where Japanese Shinto priests and Catholic bishops exhibited the unique aspects of their respective raiths.

Finally, perhaps too much emphasis has been placed lately on the intellectual-cultural-imperial aspects of the fairs and not enough on the economic. It is not too much to say that one of the primary motivations behind holding a fair, at least by the late nineteenth century when the gatherings had grown to monumental size and scope, was commercial. It was a moneymaking endeavor that to succeed required not the bland displays of farm machinery and agricultural products but the amusement and distraction of games and the “exotic”. Further, a successful fair could not only assure lucrative revenues but reflected well upon the successful and modern nation that had organized and pulled it off. In this respect the fair of the 19th and early 20th centuries may be likened to the modern Olympic games, rich in profit and status. Indeed, the modern Olympic Games were first revived in the context of a World’s Fair-the Paris Universal Exposition of 1900-and may be called the successors to the World’s Fair in many respects.

Having said all this regarding Western “uses” of the international fair, and Western conceptualizations of the non-Western participant, it would be going too far, and indeed would be playing into these very 19th century assumptions of Western superiority, to reject or neglect the idea that non- Western nations too brought their own agendas to the international fair. I believe Japan presents the strongest instance on this. From soon after its[page 5]

opening to the outside world Japan took advantage of the international exposition to both display and promote to the outside world its refined traditional culture (and promulgate the concept of an essential “Japaneseness”), while at the same time showcasing its rapid industrialization and modernization. In effect, the Western fair allowed Japan to kill two birds with one stone, by offering it a venue for promoting and reinforcing its own national identity-a concept always rooted in the traditional-and to sell itself as a modern, industrial, and eventually imperial power. Japan’s participation, alongside its new ally Great Britain, in the Anglo-Japanese Exposition of 1910 communicated Japan’s emergence as an imperial power on par with its Western counterparts with a clarity that figures on industrial output could never accomplish.

As another example, one may look at China and the Chicago’s World’s Columbian Exhibition of 1893. Coinciding with a rising crescendo of anti- Chinese sentiment in America in the early 1890s7 a group of Chinese- Americans pooled funds to organize a Chinese exhibit at Chicago in 1893 (China itself having refused to participate). One obvious motivation behind this was to familiarize non-Chinese Americans with aspects of Chinese culture, and in this way to improve the position of Chinese-Americans in a land and society increasingly hostile to their presence (or at least in Chicago by placating fair officials who would have been desperate for a Chinese exhibit of some sort). Whether or not they succeeded of course is another matter, but such are examples of ways in which participating nations or national groups might use the fair to their own specific ends. This aspect should be kept in mind even in the midst of larger and more blatant arguments regarding the representation and misrepresentation of “the other” at the fair. In should be kept in mind particularly in the case of Korean participation at Chicago in 1893, as we shall see.The purpose of this paper, the first of two examining Korean participation [page 6] in World’s Fairs, is to examine Korea’s presence at the 1893 World’s Columbian Exhibition. What motivated Korea’s participation and determined its display? What were the popular reactions to the Korean exhibit? To put it more generally, how are we to understand the presence of a Korean delegation at the World’s Columbian Exhibition? It is on these issues I hope to shed some light.

In its history as a united and independent state Korea would participate in only two World’s Fairs, first at Chicago in 1893 and then at Paris in 1900. Only seven years apart, the circumstances surrounding Korea’s participation in these two international gatherings stand in marked contrast. An examination of those circumstances offers the modern viewer insights not only into the domestic political situation in Korea and the mounting pressure of international rivalries through the 1890s, but also into Western attitudes towards Korea at a time when that country was really only first becoming familiar to the West. The experience of the fairs tells us something about Korean aspirations too as it made its painful, and ultimately tragic, transition to a modern world.

The last decade or so of the 19th centuiy was not an auspicious one for the kingdom of Korea. Still fresh from a failed attempt at reform (“The Kapsin coup” of 1884)8 ,the 1890s opened with Korean policy adrift and intrigue- ridden, with foreign powers the increasing and vociferous arbiters of its national will. After using its troops to suppress the Kapsin uprising China enjoyed an influence over Korean affairs unprecedented even in traditional tributary times. Great Britain occupied Korean’s Kumun Island from 1885 to 1887 to check what it viewed as menacing Russian advances on the peninsula. Japan, who had half-heartedly supported the reform-minded rebels of Kapsin, remained China’s main rival on the peninsula. Setting aside the more vague threat posed by Great Britain and other Western powers, Japanese ambitions on the peninsula were faced with two [page 7] formidable roadblocks-China and Russia. But through the mid-1890s it was Japanese-Chinese rivalry that dominated affairs on the peninsula. Despite Korea’s nominal independence as stipulated in the 1876 Kanghwa Treaty, China maintained an anxious desire to preserve its historical influence in Korea. From 1885 and the arrival of Yuan Shikai (1859-1916) as chief Chinese representative to Korea, China set out upon an unabashed course of establishing its hegemony, to a degree unknown in traditional times, and to this end repeatedly and effectively interfered with the functioning of the Korean legation in Tokyo, established in 1887, in the United States, established in 1888，as well as in Europe. From 1885 Chinese trade also began to make marked inroads into that of Japanese merchants. Whereas 1887 saw Japan’s exports to Korea almost three times that of China, by 1892 the two countries split the Korean trade almost equally.9

Augustine Heard (1827-1905), the American minister to Korea from 1890 to 1893，summed up the contentious atmosphere on the peninsula shortly before his final departure from Seoul, writing, ‘‘Discontent is rife, and there is an uneasy feeling that an outbreak of some sort cannot long be delayed.”10 That same year Japan increased diplomatic pressure on Korea for the payment of large indemnities for ostensible losses incurred by Korea’s halt of bean exports in the autumn of 1889. As the Korean delegation was heading to the Chicago World’s Fair it was confirmed that Japan would oversee the minting of a new Korean coinage, an ominous sign of things to come.

China’s determination to thwart Japanese influence in Korea would finally bring those two countries to blows in 1894-95, ostensibly over the domestic Korean Tonghak uprising. But the Chinese defeat in 1895, rather than resulting in Japanese domination of Korea, only cleared the way for further encroachments by Russia, Japan’s other rival in the region[page 8]

The period after 1895 then became one or heightened Japanese-Russian rivalry, offset by the lesser designs and geopolitical maneuverings of the Americans, French, and British, that would find their most dramatic of many climaxes in the murder of Queen Min and the harried flight of King Kojong to the Russian legation in February 1896. Only after 1898 did Russian interest in Korea begin to wane as the czar and his policymakers began to focus more on Manchuria and their new railway and commercial rights there.

In short, the decade of the 1890s was characterized by mounting Korean impotence in its foreign policy and by a growing sense of fear and despair for its national integrity. This trend is as noticeable in the vacillating and fear-driven policies of Korea’s King Kojong, a man who despite his learning and traditional upbringing in the ways of Confucian kingship was at a loss as to how to deal with the bewildering pace of modern events, as in the frenetic dispatches of the foreign diplomatic corps.

The popularly led Tonghak Revolt of 1894, the uprising that triggered the Sino-Japanese War, may be understood as another reaction to this pitiable state of national affairs. It was a revolt that came to be as much about anti- foreignism and political reform as about religious toleration. The first sign of renewed Tonghak revolt came in fact as the Korean delegation to Chicago was en route, when in March 1893 Tonghak faithful petitioned in front of the royal palace in Seoul for the termination of official persecution.

The rising voice of nationalism certainly constituted another response, as increasingly conscientious Korean intellectuals and writers began to opine publicly upon their nation’s downward spiral, and for whom Kim Ok-gyun (1851-1894), living in exile in Japan following the failed Kapsin revolt, constituted a figurehead and rallying point.¹¹ As the decade progressed reformist thought became more pronounced, culminating in the formation of[page 9] the Independence Club in 1896 and its broad appeal for political and social reform in 1898.

The Korean presence at the two world’s fairs, that of 1893 in Chicago and 1900 in Paris, I believe constitute two other such reactions, albeit official ones. In the midst of this prolonged crisis at century’s end, the opportunity to promote its own identity and to speak in its own voice in an international environment must have seemed a rare and welcome one to a Korea and its king increasingly threatened by the tide of international rivalries that was engulfing her. Chicago and Paris beckoned with opportunities for Korea to introduce itself to an outside world that knew practically nothing of her, that still referred to her, almost twenty years after opening to the outside world, by such sobriquets as the “Hermit Kingdom” or “Hermit Nation”, suggesting the country’s timidity and passiveness, or else alluding to her only in the geopolitical sense-of a Korean “question” or a Korean “problem” to be solved rather than as a national entity and advanced culture in her own right. What’s more, Korea’s participation at Chicago and Paris, despite the kingdom’s precarious financial and political situation, may be seen as attempts to augment its ties to Western nations in the face of increasing Japanese, Chinese, and Russian pressure. This being said, however, Korean success in representing itself, rather than having itself represented, was more successful in Chicago than Paris, though period observers could not have agreed less.

Horace Newton Allen

In the story of Korea’s participation at Chicago’s World’s Columbian Exposition there is perhaps no better starting point than with a man. Not much has been written about Horace Newton Allen (1858-1932)- missionary, physician, writer, businessman, influence-peddler, diplomat, royal confidant considering the tremendous influence he possessed with Korea’s King Kojong (after 1897 Emperor Kwangmu), and the influential hand he had in Korean affairs in the two decades from 1884 to 1905. It [page 10] would be Allen to whom King Kojong would habitually turn in moments of need and crisis vis a vis the outside world, and he would be decisive in Korea’s participation in the 1893 World’s Fair at Chicago. A brief glance of the man and his career is called for.

An Ohio Presbyterian with a long and distinguished American pedigree stretching back to the founding American colonies (and including Ethan Allen), a young Dr. Allen first arrived in Korea in 1884 from China, where he had served for two years as a medical missionary in Nanjing and Shanghai. For Allen and his young wife and newborn, the move was welcome. They had found China inhospitable and hostile to foreign missionaries. Allen, who has been described as temperamental and impatient, had higher hopes for his new posting. What he could not have foreseen was that he was arriving in Korea at a time of both crisis and opportunity. With approval from the Korean king, always suspicious of the infiltration of more Christian missions, Allen was appointed physician to the legation of the United States, as well as of England, Japan, and China (primarily to conceal his missionary activity), while becoming at the same time the first Presbyterian missionary in Korea. Only a few months after his arrival the perhaps ill-starred but certainly ill conceived Kapsin revolt broke out in December 1884 Allen won the lifelong confidence of King Kojong when he saved the life of Queen Min’s cousin Min Yong-ik from life- threatening wounds inflicted by the would-be coupists. The coup attempt quickly fell apart as Chinese and Korean troops reestablished control.Thereafter Allen became a sort of unofficial advisor to the king on foreign matters. He set a personal precedent by accompanying the first Korean diplomatic delegation to the United States in 1887 on the heels of the “Treaty of American-Korean Amity” of 1882. The American gunboat carrying Allen and the embassy left Chemulpo (Inchon) despite Chinese attempts to thwart its passage. Allen would be associated with the Korean legation on Iowa Circle in Washington, D.C. for nearly two years, as sort of unofficial advisor, before being appointed by President Benjamin Harrison[page 11] as secretary to the American legation in Seoul in 1890, at the request of the Korean king himself.12 Allen would go on to serve as secretary to legation and then as minister until his resignation and return to the United States in 1905 at the time of the Japanese protectorship. Even in retirement he would serve briefly as agent of Kojong in attempts to muster United States opposition to the Japanese protectorship. In gratitude for his years of service, at his retirement Allen was awarded by then Emperor Kwangmu (King Kojong) the T’aiguk First Class, the highest order of merit that could be bestowed upon a foreign representative.13

In 1890, upon Allen’s return to Korea as secretary to the American legation, it is safe to say that Kojong was glad to have him back. Informal meetings between the two were frequent, with Allen proffering his advice on such matters as Korean-Japanese relations and railway construction, while continuing to serve as court physician. In September 1892 Allen applied for leave of absence from his duties in Seoul for the following year in order to “visit the United States on the occasion of the World’s Columbian Exposition”.14 A few days later, in an audience with King Kojong, Allen broached his plans for leave the following year and was surprised to hear the Korean king’s sudden enthusiasm for sending a Korean delegation to the planned fair in Chicago. Describing the audience in a dispatch to Washington soon afterward, it is apparent that the king’s decision was sudden and unexpected.15

Why the sudden change in King Kojong’s attitude towards the Chicago fair? Before that can be answered one must address the rather important point of if, and when, Korea was first invited to participate. If one could determine the larger chronology behind Korea’s September 1892 decision to send a delegation it might go far in answering why they decided to do so, and what they hoped to gain. But the task of piecing together Korea’s decision to go to Chicago is not such an easy one16.

Allen had written in September 1892, “...it seemed recently that it would be impossible...to induce this government to prepare and send an exhibit”.[page 12]

As Allen’s choice of words indicate, Korea had previously been invited, or at least had heard of, the planned Chicago spectacle before Kojong’s sudden decision that month to participate.

We know that President Benjamin Harrison, on Christmas Eve 1890， issued official letters “inviting foreign nations to come to the Exposition...[and] accompanied by a letter of the Secretary of State, containing regulations for foreign exhibitors.”17 We also know from diplomatic correspondence between the American legation in Seoul and the Korean Department of Foreign Affairs that in May 1891 a special commissioner from the planned World’s Columbian Exposition arrived in Seoul in the person of Gustavus Goward, one time secretary of the American legation in Japan. On behalf of the Director General of the Chicago exposition Horace Allen requested a domestic passport for the American commissioner to proceed to Suwon and Pyongyang and other points “in pursuit of his special mission”.18 After this visit, however, we hear no more of Goward, and it is never clear, at least in any records to light, of what his “special mission” entailed, nor if he proffered an official invitation to the Korean king, though he certainly must have. At any rate, in February 1892 Horace Allen himself received credentials as an Honorary Commissioner of the World’s Fair from Walker Fearn (1832-1899)，Commissioner of the Department of Foreign Affairs for the World’s Columbian Exposition.19 It seems certain that this would not have been done had not Korea indicated a desire, though clearly not firm, to participate, thus necessitating an acting, credentialed representative on the ground in Seoul. The American periodical, Manufacturer and Builder for March 1892, includes Korea in its listing of “Foreign Participation” at the World’s Fair. Unlike most of the other listed nations, however, Korea has no dollar amount fixed in the “appropriations” column of the same list, suggesting its involvement was still quite tenuous. China, which did not end up participating in any ofticial capacity, is also listed, also with no dollar amount given.20 The most likely conclusion to all of this then is that Korea, like other nations, received the official invitation[page 13] of 1890, perhaps hand-carried by Mr. Goward, and though enthusiastic never provided a firm response one way or the other. Considering the small size of the exhibit that was eventually sent (and King Kojong’s concern with cost), it is easy to surmise that Korea may have initially shown interest in the World’s Fair, say in 1891，receded from its earlier position in the face of fiscal crises, only to suddenly decide once more to participate when Kojong heard that Allen would be physically attending the exposition.

Obviously then, one key factor in Korean participation seems to be the special personal relationship between Kojong and Allen, one based upon personal trust and service going back nearly six years, years spent for Allen in the service of the Korean king and nation, both in Korea and the United States. Realizing that Allen would be traveling himself to the fair, and knowing Allen’s experience leading a Korean team to the United States, helped convince Kojong to go ahead with dispatching a Korean exhibit. Korea in 1892 had virtually no presence overseas. Korean emigration to the United States would not begin until 1903 and the Korean legation to the United States remained highly fettered by Chinese interference. It is reasonable to assert that only the personal and hands-on assistance of someone like Horace Allen could make Korean participation a reality. This scenario would be repeated in 1900, when the personal offices of Collin de Plancy, the French minister in Korea (not to mention almost total French funding), would prove instrumental in getting the Koreans to Paris.

“The Bean Crisis” and the Specter of Japanese Dominance

I believe another factor behind Kojong’s decision to send a Korean delegation to Chicago relates directly to the political situation in Korea at the time. As mentioned earlier, 1889 saw a prolonged diplomatic crisis of sorts open up between Japan and Korea over the “bean issue”. In that year the governor of Hamgyong province, Cho Pyong-sik, halted the export of beans on the grounds that the combined factors of a poor harvest and Japanese over-buying threatened imminent shortage of this important Korean staple. [page 14]

A similar embargo on exports was affected in Hwanghae province that same year. Because the Korean governor had failed to give the one-month notice such action required under Korean-Japanese treaty provisions, and because the Japanese claimed Korean charges of over-buying were false to begin with, the Japanese soon pressed claims for the compensation of lost revenue. Despite the Korean government’s quick repeal of the ban on bean exports, they were effectively stopped until April 1890. The ensuing drama concerned indemnity demands by the Japanese, for pecuniary losses to Japanese merchants estimated to have accrued as a result of the ban, indemnities that amounted to over 200,000 yen.21 Diplomatic negotiations ensued during the next two years without satisfactory result. In January 1893 the original negotiators for both sides were replaced, the Japanese minister-negotiator being succeeded by Oishi Masami, who came to view the entire issue as a question of national honor, and who clearly, as it became apparent, lacked the tact of a diplomat. With Oishi’s appointment Japanese pressure increased measurably, with negotiations taking a decided turn for the worse and at times deteriorating into personal insult.

Even before his arrival in Seoul in February 1893 Oishi’s name was already known as the author of a pamphlet entitled Nippon no ni dai seisaka ‘ “The two great political aims of Japan”. It was hardly complimentary to Korea, its language in fact quite unabashedly belligerent. To quote but one portion of Oishi’s tract,

According to my view, Korea is already fallen; she exists only because the other powers have not yet taken her ...Corea is now a state almost devoid of any hope of recovery...Even American Indians and African savages have spears and rifles in their houses, they have the valour to prevent the intrusion of other tribes. In Corea it is not so. She is like a house without walls…there is no preparation in Corea to defend the country and the people have no valour required for their national defense. They say there are five or six thousand foot soldiers in Seoul; but in reality, there are no more than one or two thousand. And these are soldiers without intelligence; without valour, not even so good as our jinricksha men...22[page 15]

Perhaps it should come as little surprise then that in March 1893 Oishi recommended to his superiors that Japanese troops occupy Inchon and Pusan.23 All this motivated the French minister to Korea to report to his superiors that, “when we consider the country [Korea] in its relations to the other powers, it looks like a goat under the feet of a furious tiger. “24

Another witness to these events as they unfolded, and deteriorated, in 1892-1893 was the American minister Augustine Heard. In an article published about two years after these events, Heard openly questioned the notion that Japanese intentions in Korea were paternalistic, and argued the folly of any uninformed pro-Japanese opinion in the West. Remembering the period of Oishi’s tenure beginning in February 1893，and his frustrated efforts (“with more energy than courtesy”) to gain the sought for indemnities, Heard writes that “Mr. Oishi would be delighted to have a pretext to interfere by force in Korea”.25 Heard even goes on to speculate that the hand of the Japanese may be in the Tonghak uprising. Despite Heard’s misplaced suspicions on that final point, his reflections ao illustrate the period of diplomatic crisis that began to develop after January 1893. Such Japanese insistence upon indemnities was only the latest symptom of growing Japanese commercial encroachment upon Korea, but it is not too much to speculate that this latest tempest over bean embargoes served as bitter reminder of Japanese encroachment upon national sovereignty in general, and made clear to King Kojong the necessity of shoring up friendships elsewhere.

“Great America” was one obvious place to turn, and Korea’s participation at Chicago one such way to underscore their mutual friendship, as first made manifest in the Korean-American Amity Treaty of 1882. Kojong’s official message to President Cleveland, sent along with the World’s Fair delegation, would express the Korean king’s hopes “to strengthen and increase [the] friendship and commercial relations between our two countries.”26

Kojong’s sudden change of heart also seems to provide further evidence of that monarch’s heavy reliance upon foreign advisors to instill him with the[page 16] confidence to act, at least on an international level. This is a pattern that would be repeated during the period of Russian influence in 1896-1897 after the failure of the Kabo Reforms and again in 1898 when Kojong sought the aid of French and other Western troops to offset increasing Japanese and Russian pressures.27 But not to be disregarded is the indication it also gives of the Korean monarch’s desire, albeit diffident and somewhat unsure, to join the international community at the World’s Fair, and not to maintain an entrenched conservative and isolationist attitude.

Korea had missed several boats when it came to participation in world’s fairs. Japan had been displaying its national culture and “progress” at such gatherings since Vienna in 1874, and China longer still. Indeed, for Japan the world’s fair would become a preferred showcase for its industrial and social development. In 1892, however, Korea rang familiar in most Western ears as a locale of intrigue in an area ripe with international rivalries, or perhaps as one of the latest frontiers of American missionary activity. As noted earlier, Korea was also still widely viewed as a “hermit nation”, despite its ostensible openness to all foreign intercourse. By going to Chicago and paracipating in a World’s Fair Korea might hope to break free from this conceptualization of itself as isolated, ana in so doing assert itself as an independent nation by giving a Western audience a concept of its identity as “Korea”, rather than merely a “Korean problem”. Following upon the establishment of a Korean legation in Washington, a presence at the fair would also shore up American ties at a time when foreign friendships seemed increasingly vital.

Organizing an Exhibit

Allen immediately, if somewhat reluctantly, accepted King Kojong’s charge to lead the Korean team to Chicago.28 Displaying an initial enthusiasm, Kojong went about (as Allen mentioned) organizing an appropriate display and choosing representatives. To lead the Korean delegation to Chicago King Kojong chose Chong Kyong-won(鄭敬源1841-?)[page 17] SEE ILLUSTRATION 1), who despite his middle-age had only passed the special literary examination for state office pyulsi mungwa (別試文科) in 1890, and was subsequently appointed to the Office of Special Advisers hongmungwan (弘文館) before being named as kyumsaseo (兼司書) - a royal tutor in the household of the crown prince. His international career would begin with a brief sojourn as secretary in the Korean consulate in Tianjin in 1891. By 1893, though still rather fresh to officialdom, he had risen through the ranks with remarkable speed. His designation to lead the Chicago delegation may be interpreted as a sign of royal confidence in his abilities and loyalties. This would be confirmed soon upon his return to Korea from Chicago in early 1894, when he was sent south to deal with the Tonghak Uprising then rocking the Cholla Provinces. He clearly had (or was seen to have) reformist tendencies, perhaps strengthened by his brief sojourn in Chicago and Washington, for during the 1894 Kabo Reforms he was named to an important post on the newly established Deliberative Council kunguk kimuchoe (國軍機務處), which went on to spearhead an agenda of radical reform measures, and then Minister of Justice pubmuhyuppan (法務協辦) in the moderate-progressive Kim Hong-jip cabinet.29 After the failure of the Kabo Reforms and the retrenchment of the Korean government, Chong was named vice-governor of Pyongyang (also a traditionally coveted post and a clear sign of royal favor), from whence he disappears from the historical record. At any rate, in early March 1893 (Western calendar), in an audience with King Kojong, he was granted a commission as chulpumsamudaewon (出品事務大員) Royal Commissioner of the Korean Delegation to Chicago.30 Along witn Chong, King Kojong appointed two others as part of the Korean delegation, to which a third would be added later. Chong was also given on this date the royal greeting that would eventually be transmitted to President Grover Cleveland in May 1893. It read in part:

His Majesty, the King of Great Chosun, says: It is now ten years since we sent our embassy to America to ratify our treaty, which was the first treaty we ever[page 18] made with Western nations. Since that time our relations have been very friendly. Now, having heard that America will celebrate the Four Hundredth Anniversary of its discovery by holding the World’s Columbian Exposition, to which, with other

treaty powers, we have been invited: I hereby appoint my loyal subject Jeung Kiung Won [Chong Kyong-won], the Vice President of the Home Office, to represent Korea on this occasion, as Royal Commissioner, and to strengthen and increase our friendship and commercial relations between our two countries.

I further instruct him to convey to the President of the United States my compliments and congratulations.31

Interlude: Amedee Baillol de Guerville

November 1892 saw a curious visitor to Seoul and the royal compound in the person of Amedee Baillol de Guerville (1869-?), or simply A.B. de Guerville as he was known to his American audience. At this time de Guerville, a remarkably young man considering his charge, had already made a name for himself as an itinerant lecturer and journalist (SEE ILLUSTRATION 2). Despite his current anonymity, his brief life saw his acquaintance with kings, emperors, presidents, and popes, as a commissioner for the Chicago World’s Fair, newspaper correspondent, and eventual co- owner and editor of the monthly Illustrated American. A relapse of tuberculosis, and a scandal involving unpaid debts and the abandonment of his young wife, saw his return to Europe in 1899. Then, following two travelogues, and a short pamphlet on tuberculosis, in 1906 his pen falls silent and he vanishes, in all likelihood from a final fatal relapse of his chronic disease.32

In 1892, however, de Guerville was dispatched to Japan, Korea, and China as a Special Commissioner for the World’s Fair to encourage participation at Chicago.33 As such he seems to be part of a second public relations offensive in Northeast Asia, the first one being that of Gustavus Goward in 1891. His duties seem mostly to have involved audiences with heads of state and important officials, where he put on his trademark magic lantern show (a[page 19] medium he would later use regularly in his New York lectures), which besides “American cities and scenery” included images of past fairs, namely that of Paris in 1889. The magic lantern show he gave to an audience of Li Hungchang and family at Tianjin in the autumn of 1892 caused quite a sensation, as would be the one given to the Japanese emperor and empress.34 In mid-November 1892 de Guerville arrived in Seoul to make his pitch to King Kojong and Queen Min. The American Minister Augustine Heard’s request for a royal audience for de Guerville was soon granted. De Guerville still recalled ten years later how the queen, upon seeing the magic lantern views of Chicago and Paris, and particularly of the Women’s Building, “became highly excited and quitting her hiding place [from behind a screen meant to conceal her and her ladies-in-waiting from view], approached the white curtain on which the views were being displayed. She touched it with her finger and asked for a thousand explanations. She gave the strong impression of a woman of great intelligence and will.”35 Allen, though disappointed in de Guerville’s apparent lack of knowledge on the logistical details of the fair, was impressed himself with the lantern show and wrote to Walker Fearn of Queen Min’s strong interest in the Women’s Building. Queen Min was apparently impressed that Japan had agreed to put together a women’s exhibit to send to Chicago and Allen held out hopes (not to be realized) that Queen Min might in her turn contribute the same for Korea. He writes, “Her Majesty was quite impressed with the Women’s Building and Mrs. Palmer’s [Bertha Palmer, chief commissioner for the women’s exhibit] work, as well as the fact that the Empress of Japan was taking such an active interest in the women’s department, and I have hopes yet of entertaining an exhibit for that department from this land of female seclusion.”36 Queen Min’s strong interest in the fair, notably in light of Japan’s heavy commitment, no doubt hardened King Kojong’s resolve to send a Korean delegation.

But logistical problems plagued the Korean exhibit from the start. Allen encountered some difficulties in acquiring a decent amount of floor space in[page 20] the Arts and Manufacturers Building, the hoped for inclusion of a women’s exhibit was not forthcoming, and most seriously, there were problems with funding. Though Kojong assured Allen in January 1893 that the Korean team would be given $6000 to cover expenses, with a further $2000 to be sent on later, this doesn’t seem to have been the case.37 The treasury coffers were said to be empty in November 1892 and we know American workers in Korea were filing formal complaints with the American minister concerning unpaid wages.38 According to diplomatic correspondence in late 1892 it took a loan on a Japanese bank at Chemulpo to keep up the expenses of the Korean mission to Washington and two more loans from a Chinese merchant association in Seoul just to keep total fiscal crisis at bay.39 The American Minister Heard was somewhat dismayed to hear in March 1893 of Kojong’s decision, upon reading an official description of the fair that had been translated into Chinese for his perusal, to augment the Korean delegation by one official delegate and a ten-person band. Heard wrote home, “if I had known of the intention to send them earlier I should have been disposed, if not to discourage the project, [then] to point out the very considerable expense which would be caused by it - expense which this country is ill able to afford”.40 Apparently there were no funds forthcoming for the imminent departure of the Koreans and their crates of displays. Minister Heard telegraphed on to the San Francisco Customs Office requesting a waive of customs duties for the Koreans as he himself had no authority to advance any funds, meanwhile the Korean delegation in Washington made a similar request.41 The American reporter John Cockerill also seemed to have some information regarding the pecuniary difficulties of the Korean delegation, namely that they arrived in America with a “minimum of ready cash”, of which more shall be said later.

Allen departed for the United States in mid-January 1892. In a final pre- departure audience with Kojong the Korean king seems uneasy that Allen might not return, further evidence of Allen’s privileged and unique position vis a vis the Korean monarch. Kojong requests that, failing to obtain a good[page 21]position in the American government, Allen should “go to his [the Korean] Legation as Secretary or come back here and take service in his [the Korean] government. That I must not give up Korea.”42

Chicago Bound

The Korea delegation eventually left Korea from Chemulpo in late March 1893 on the S.S. China bound for Yokohama and San Francisco. In Yokohama they were joined in their voyage by some members of the Japanese delegation to Chicago (it is unfortunate that we have no record of any interchanges between the two parties). The more important members of the Korean delegation received cabin accommodations, the rest, including the ten-person band, were put in steerage. Their arrival in San Francisco about two weeks later was met by some curious publicity. We know mostly only of the American reaction, while the Korean voices remain virtually silent.

According The San Francisco Chronicle reporter, the Koreans arrived “arrayed in the curious silken gowns of the Coreans, and they wore the strange black hats, which look more like pieces of oddly shaped and perforated stovepipe than anything else.” 43 Apparently, Allen’s expressed hopes concerning the curiosity the native dress would elicit were not misplaced. No sooner settled into their rooms, and no doubt exhausted by their long journey and feeling overwhelmed by their foreign surroundings, a Chronicle reporter arrived for an interview. The Koreans, according to the American reporter, spoke in their “queer language” and their hotel desk was found strewn with “papers with strange hieroglyphics on them”.44 In interviews with Commissioner Chong and the newly appointed charge d’affaires ad interim to the Korean mission in the United States, Yi Song-su (李承壽1846-?), initial Korean impressions of America are gauged. Charge d’affaires Yi is careful to steer any questions away from sensitive, i.e. political, topics, reacting to the reporter’s inquiry concerning “Russian intrigues” and current conditions in Korea, by indicating “the Korean [page 22] government was very strict about having its representatives talk, because so many misleading statements have been made”. Commissioner Chong, whom the reporter describes as representing “the Hermit Kingdom at the World’s Fair”, expressed his hope to “learn much in this country regarding great inventions and the advancement of the arts and sciences”. It was perhaps the ten-man delegation of Korean musicians that elicited the most curiosity, and they are described as a “very jolly lot of orientals.”laughing and dancing much of the time”. We can see from this initial reaction to the Korean delegation that their attraction to the American reporter came mostly from their exotic air, the oddity of their speech, dress, and mannerisms. Months and even years after the Korean arrival accounts of the Korean delegation in the United States for the Chicago fair would be circulating. They would share a view of the Koreans as curious and exotic. The New York Tribune would run a story several months later, apparently passed down through word of mouth, entitled “The Coreans not used to Interviews”, in which an account of the Korean response to a request for an interview is described, along with the curious Korean answers, given in the “kindliest words-in Oriental fashion”.45 Two years after the fair a reporter for The New York Herald, in an even more fantastic account of the Koreans at Chicago (in which Korea is still described as the Hermit Kingdom), described the Korean penchant for gambling and drinking as well as the unlikely trials of the Korean delegation in Chicago, which come off like elements in a picaresque novel.46

The Great Cosmopolitan Event: Chicago, May-October 1893

Six days after leaving San Francisco the Koreans arrived in Chicago, the long journey from Seoul to Chicago taking, at the end of the 19th century, Just under 26 days. As in San Francisco, the Koreans attracted the immediate curiosity of the local press, which, notified by wire, were waiting to report on their arrival. Chicago reactions fairly mimicked those in San Francisco. The Korean musicians were again a source of attention. They were[page 23]compared with the “Javanese people on the plaisance” [Midway Plaisance], and performed “strangely on tom-toms, instruments that look like either a mandolin or a guitar, and big gongs”. Commissioner Chong, for his part, makes it strictly known that the Korean musicians are not to play for revenue but to add to the dignity of the Korean commissioners.47 Throughout these interviews it is usually the Korean Charge d’affaires Yi who speaks on behalf of the entire delegation. He comments on the overall Korean delegation to Chicago, “I have heard that no Corean [sic] people will come to the Fair. It is decided that the two Commissioners and the native band shall be the representation, and these, with our exhibit, will be sufficient to show the interest we have in the big Exposition.”48

Until now a virtually unknown entity, misrepresentation and ignorance of Korea in the American press and public is not hard to find. Besides a curious explanation of the Korean flag, given in the Chicago Daily Record (in which the symbols of the i-ching displayed on the flag are given as the four compass points, etc.), one newspaper account actually described Korea as an island! This account, centered on the arrival of the Korean commissioners in Chicago, goes on to puzzle over the Koreans themselves:

It would be difficult for me, not acquainted with the various types of nationalities, to determine exactly what the Coreans are. In eyes and general appearance they somewhat resemble the Japanese; the complexion, however, is of a much more dusky hue. The dress is rather picturesque, at least so far as the most distinguished among them are concerned. It consists of a long black robe somewhat clerical in style and material and a curiously shaped black hat, which gives sufficient room for a display of an ample provision of coal black hair.49

Another description of Korea that appeared in a period guidebook to the fair goes on in rather fantastic terms to describe that country as,

...the seat of one of the most despotic governments in existence. Until very [page 24] recently the reigning monarch was held in such sacred esteem that the mere mention of his name by one of the common rabble was regarded as a capital offense. Even the courtier, pampered and petted, found that to allow himself to be caught in the royal presence otherwise than prostrate until bidden to rise meant certain death.50

The Koreans would have their work cut out for them.

Twenty-six cases of goods accompanied the Korean delegation to Chicago. Arriving in Chicago on April 29, the Korean display was in no way prepared, despite its relatively small size, by the time of the fair’s official opening on May 1st. Even by late May Allen writes to the State Department requesting an unpaid 60-day extension of his leave, “...as the Exposition is not yet in good running order and the Korean officials are anxious for me to remain a little longer”.51 Such an extended delay seems difficult to believe, judging from the limited size of the Korean exhibit. More likely, based upon the audience that Commissioner Chong would have with Kojong upon his return, the Koreans were a little overwhelmed by the crowds and the vast foreign metropolis, and felt a little more secure with Allen around. Most of the Korean team spoke not a world of English, Charge d’affaires Yi having already proceeded on to Washington and his official posting. For interpretation needs they were to rely primarily on a Mr. Pak Yon-gin, who was in the United States for naval training.52

On a side note, shortly after the fair opened Commissioner Chong was the curious visitor to a rancorous meeting called by the fair’s organizers to debate whether or not to keep the turnstiles open on the Sabbath. An amused Chicago newspaper carried a sketch of the dignified Chong in official dress gazing perplexedly over the proceedings. “No doubt”, the paper mused, “he [Chong] wondered at the queer, noisy, and deceitfull ways of the western barbarian, for there were strange doings before his slant eyes during the session. It must have been more of a circus for H.R.C.M. Commissioner Jeung Kiung Won [Chong Kyong-won] than that of Col. [page 25] Buffalo William’s Wild West Show.”53 Commissioner Chong has not left us his impressions of the proceedings but perhaps he would recall them a year later back in Korea during the contentious months of the Kabo Reforms.

The Korean exhibit was set up in the Arts and Manufactures Building, an engineering marvel of its day, contributing perhaps more than any other structure to the architectural legacy that was “The White City” of the summer of 1893 (so nicknamed for the overwhelming sense of whiteness the fairground’s classically inspired buildings lent to the city). It was the largest open building ever constructed, able to accommodate five Brooklyn Bridges and 80,000 people, and served as an anchoring presence for the fair on the shores of Lake Michigan. One visitor described it as “greater than the whole exposition at Philadelphia [in 1876]. About the top of the dome of one building the walk is an even half mile... I was dazed at the magnitude of the building and at the marvelous variety of odd, instructive, and beautiful articles on exhibition.”54 As the somewhat official Book of the Fair, which appeared not long after the fair’s opening, described the Arts and Manufactures Building, it contained “...a comprehensive display of the choicest specimens culled from the manufactured products of all the nations, with the allotments of space among many thousands of participants reduced to a minimum, that justice might be done to the greatest number and room afforded for all the most worthy exhibits”. The description goes on, “Here also may be noted the cruder products of countries whose manufacturing industries are yet in their infancy, such countries as Zanzibar and the Orange Free State, as Madagascar, Korea, and Siam”.55 Korea, then, was clearly set aside (unlike Japan or even China) as a primitive and developing country- interestingly enough included among a group of nations many of who were already colonized. Apparently enough of the Korean display was in place by May first, when the official opening of the fair took place in a less than encouraging atmosphere of rain and yellow mud. Newly inaugurated President Grover Cleveland presided, and after the opening speeches came the march of nations concerning which one reporter wrote how “The[page 26] foreigners of all nationalities in their distinctive costumes attracted a great deal of attention; but none more than the Indians atop the Administrative Building ...and the Koreans with their long flowing robes of bright colors and queer-looking headdresses. The confusion of the popular mind with references to the distinction between Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans, etc., was amusing”.56 The President and his entourage made a symbolic tour through the Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building, where, upon passing the unfinished Korean exhibit, the Korean band received him with some native music.57

Impressions and Reactions

Compared to Japan and China, Korea went all but unnoticed at the fair. Enough survives however to give us a taste of the display and of the reactions, both Korean and Western, to it. The small size of the Korean exhibit meant all its products were predominantly arranged in one place, rather than dispersed around the various exhibition halls.58 The Korean exhibit itself was built somewhat to resemble a traditional Korean structure, complete with colorful painting and ceramic tile roofing. Inside the open pavilion-like structure the most visible displays were perhaps of a gentleman’s dress, official military uniform, firearms, Korean musical instruments, and a tiger’s pelt.59 [SEE ILLUSTRATION 3] Mostly the items consisted of daily household curios such as combs, fans, dinnerware, and smoking pipes. The official directory to the fair actually describes it as “bric-a-brac and curios”.60 An account in the Chicago Daily Record’s guide to the fair provides a comparatively full description of the Korean exhibit. After giving a rather inaccurate explanation of the symbolism behind the Korean national flag and a rundown of the displayed items (including a cannon purportedly used in the American attack on Korea in 1871) the reporter stumbles upon a telling detail:

The young Korean in charge of the exhibit has evidently become tired of

answering hundreds of times a day the same questions by different visitors. [page 27]

Consequently, to the corner of a map showing Korea and the neighboring

countries he has attached a paper headed “Questions Answered”. Many of them

are here reproduced:

- ‘Korea’ and ‘Corea’ are both correct, but the former is preferred.

- Korea is not a part of China but is independent.

- The Koreans do not speak the Chinese language and their language resembles neither the Chinese nor the Japanese.

- Korea made treaties in 1882.

- Korea has electric lights, steamships, telegraph, but no railroads.

- Koreans live in comfortable tile-roofed houses, heated by flues under the floor

- Korean civilization is ancient and high; area 100,000 sq. miles; population 16,000,000; climate like that of Chicago, country mountainous, mineral wealth underdeveloped, agricultural products, chiefly rice, beans, wheat and corn.61

What is interesting about this account is that it gives us a hint as to what foreign visitors to the Korean exhibit were most curious about, but more importantly perhaps it reveals what the Korean representatives themselves wanted most to impart about their own country-namely that it was politically independent and culturally unique.

The Chicago fair offered a wealth of subject matter for the writers of picaresque children’s stories, and dozens of them indeed found inspiration among the throngs on the Midway Plaisance or in the view from the world’s first Ferris Wheel. In one such book, Elsie at the World’s Fair, the story’s heroine Elsie, the matriarch of a large southern family, upon exiting the Guatemala building suddenly expresses her “particular interest in Korea just at the present”. “Elsie’s” description borrows heavily from the Chicago Daily Record’s account given partially above and the author quite likely never visited the Korean booth (or that of Guatemala for that matter) but nevertheless found in its description interesting fodder. Of the Korean booth she writes, [page 28]

...[it] is small but crowded with exhibits. The Korean Royal Commissioner- with the singular name of Jeung Kiung Won - has charge of it.

‘That’s a funny name, uncle,” laughed Ned.

“And yet our names may have just as funny a sound to him,” Violet said, smiling down at her little son...

They passed in and found a good many sights which interested them- banners and lanterns, a bronze table and dinner set...white and blue vases...There was a map showing Korea and adjacent countries, and attached to it was a paper headed, “Questions Answered”...

After reading the list of points already cited to the rapt family members, the youngest girl Rosie can sincerely remark upon leaving the small exhibit, “I am glad we came...for I know a good deal more about Korea than I did before, and find it a far more interesting country than I had any idea that it was.”62

In his newspaper article mentioned previously, John Cockerill, who likely had connections to both Allen and de Guerville, gives us his sense of the Korean display’s poverty (though he got the details wrong), “Our seductive agents for the Fair presented the Corean King with a request from our government for an exhibit, which impressed His immature Majesty with the idea of a command. He hastily knocked together a rather inexpensive collection of Corean junk and shipped it off to Chicago”.63

The Book of the Fair was somewhat more positive concerning the Korea’s exhibit (if not its king):

The representation from Korea (Corea), on the contrary, is unexpectedly full and interesting and was prepared and forwarded under the direct supervision of the king himself. That despotic monarch...was filled with the worthy desire of extending his enterprises. Hence this curious exhibit of the industries of these little-known people, which includes a large number of agricultural products, cotton, silk, grass and hemp faorics, tanned skins, paper, clothes, furniture, etc....The main interest attaching to the fabrics, which are generally of a poor [page 29] quality, is in the curious mixture of cotton, hemp, silk and grass all woven together in the same piece. There is also a full set of culinary utensils and table furniture，including one of the king’s own brass dinner sets; a complete smoker’s paraphernalia; numerous court costumes, ancient armor, weapons, horse trappings, musical instruments, and a full display of native jewelry and a valuable collection of old pottery which the monarch proposes to present to some American museum.64

The Book of the Fair’s descriptive of Korea goes on,

...even the so-called hermit kingdom, though yet secluding herself from the influences of western civilization, has sent commissioners and an exhibit to the World’s Fair...the king entrusted twenty-five or more tons of exhibits, most of them taken from the royal palace, which illustrate the customs and industries of this strange and isolated nation, whose monarch, ministers, and people have probably more confidence in the United States than they have in any of the foreign powers.65

It is interesting that Korea is yet described, almost twenty years after its opening, as a “hermit kingdom...secluding herself from the influences of western civilization”. This seems to be the general American image of Korea at the time. Whatever Korean intentions might have been, Korean was almost unanimously perceived in period accounts as being an isolated, if peaceful, nation only now timorously venturing out. One Chicago paper even headlined an article on Korea at the fair: “Korea’s Doors Open” - this nearly twenty years after the Kanghwa Treaty!66 Indeed, the prevailing attitude seems to be that Korea’s opening to the world came in 1893 not 1876. From the American viewpoint at least, perhaps they were right.

Divided Lovalties: Yun Chi-ho

Surely the most interesting and revealing reaction to the Korean display that has come down to us is that of Yun Chi-ho (1865-1945), at the time[page 30]finishing a prolonged period of study in the United States, who passed through Chicago en route to Japan and Korea.

The irony has been observed elsewhere that young reform-minded Koreans at the turn of the 19th century turned largely to Japan, their future colonizer, as the model of reform and progress. Ironic not only because Japan would eventual colonize Korea and deny it the very status of independent strength it was hoping to achieve by emulating her, but ironic in that Japan would justify its annexation as necessary in order to modernize a Korea that was incapable of modernizing itself But as a fellow Asian nation with close historical ties to Korea, it was felt that Japan offered the best model for the successful adaptation of traditional Asian values to the modern industrial world. It was a confidence that would find its first tragic conclusion during the failed Kapsin revolt of December 1884, when plotters put their ultimate hopes for success in the support of Japanese troops in Korea. It was an attitude, however, that would play into eventual Japanese colonization in 1910.

Yun had received an early Western-style education in Japan when he proceed there in 1881, at the age of sixteen, in the entourage of the “Gentlemen’s Tour Group” which King Kojong dispatched to Japan, in one of his periodic spells of progressivism, to observe and report on Japanese modernization. Yun opted to stay on in Japan to receive a more formal and Western education, returning to Korea in 1884 as interpreter for the first American minister to Korea, Lucius Foote. Though his English at this point was far from the polished Victorian prose it was to attain in his later journals, Foote felt confident enough in his young abilities to hire him. Yun was suspicious of Chinese aspirations in Korea, suspicions he soon made clear to Minister Foote, and suspicions that were founded as much upon his aversion to what he saw as China’s canon of anti-progressive traditional ideas (namely Confucianism), than in that country’s political machinations. In 1884 the failed “Kapsin coup” attempt by members of the “Progressive Party”(Kaehwa tang), with whom Yun had established links in Japan, [page 31]derailed moderate reformist trends by the monarchy and resulted in a conservative retrenchment. Though any significant connection between Yun and the Kapsin plotters has never been established, Yun’s father, who was appointed to an important government position in the short-lived Kapsin government, was in fact tarnished by his association with the would-be coupists. As a result, in 1884 Yun, seeing his immediate prospects in Korea spoiled by his father’s involvement, opted again to go abroad, this time to Shanghai. There Yun matriculated at the American Methodist run Anglo- Chinese College, and it was there that he converted to Christianity in 1887. Finishing his studies in Shanghai, Yun was able to procure a recommendation and the necessary funding to study at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee, where he undertook a two-year course in theology. From 1891 to 1893, Yun studied at Emory University in Georgia, where his studies took a more humanist tack. Nevertheless, upon completion of his period of study at Emory Yun was determined to return to Korea and establish a Christian and “manly” church in Korea to awaken a slumbering nation.67 On his journey homeward he made a point of visiting the Chicago fair.

Two basic sentiments animate Yun in the summer of 1893. One was a patriotic fervor, made perhaps more intense by homesickness and a love augmented by nostalgia and distance. The other was a strong Protestantism that manifested itself in an emphasis on self-reliance, masculinity, hard work, austerity, and a belief in progress. Yun, on his train voyage to Vancouver following his visit to the fair, feels some sympathy for the destitute Native Americans he sees along the tracks, yet at the same time blames their miserable lot on their lack of initiative and “enterprising spirit”.68 In Washington, during a visit to the Korean legation building on Iowa Circle, he feels a patriotic swelling of the heart upon entering “the lovely precincts over which my national colors waved”, while at the same time loathing the photograph of the Korean delegation, seeing in their faces “looks of supreme stupidity and beastly sensuality”.69 In these early[page 32] writings Yun very much equates all that is traditional about Korea with all that is backward, regressive, repressive, and even sinful. The ideals of progress and of Christian virtue have become very much melded in his young mind, sentiments indeed quite native to America at the time.

Yun was not well received by the Korean delegation at the fair. In fact he wasn’t officially received at all, something that only added to his mostly negative critique of the Korean delegation and display. This perhaps had less to do with any abject stupidity and bigotry on the part of the Korean commissioners, as Yun imagined, than with the natural reluctance of government officials to deal with someone linked, however remotely, to Kapsin. Commissioner Chong refused to greet Yun when he visited the delegation’s apartments shortly after his arrival in Chicago in September 1893, but apparently did not object to Yun’s loitering around the Korean exhibit at the fairgrounds. Despite his frustration with the Korean exhibit, which he calls paltry and full of the “crude and dull productions of Korean skill”, Yun is continually drawn back to its place in the Arts and Manufactures Building, where he spends several days in the course of his brief visit to Chicago. It is this dichotomy of sentiments that best illustrates Yun’s dilemma. On the one hand fiercely patriotic, he is on the other practical. While loving his homeland unconditionally, he also loathes its shortcomings. These sentiments, of unconditional patriotism and progressivism, of love and disdain, needn’t of course be contradictory, but the dilemma for Yun, and the young Korean reformers of his time is that they were, or very much seemed to be. Yun writes in one entry, “Went to the Corean Pavilion at 11 a.m. and stayed there until 5 p.m.! Why and what for? I can’t explain; only I couldn’t get away from there, miserable as the exhibit is.”70 But elsewhere he explains his actions somewhat, “While I could not help blushing at the poverty of the Corean arts etc. the sight of the Corean flags had a strong attraction to me.”71 On one visit he feels humiliated “not to find a Corean flag in any of the buildings from whose roofs fly the colors of almost every nation”, adding, “Ah! Yet I shall not know the depth and[page 33] breadth of the degradation and shame of Corea till I get into her capital.”72 Ashamed and frustrated as he might be by Korea’s lack of progress, the non- judgmental love of country remains.

Yun’s more practical side comes through in his appraisal of the other exhibits. Though he dismisses the Chinese temple and theater as “stupid”, he is highly impressed by the national pavilion of the Japanese, adding, “Well may a Japanese be proud”.73 Yun also does not hold very high opinions of the Korean representatives, except for the American-schooled Mr. Pak. He writes, “Mr. An, one of the Coreans having charge of the exhibit, is a fair specimen of the degraded humanity of Corea. He is dirty, lazy, dull, filthy in mouth and in morals. Mr. Chung [Chong], the chief commissioner, is said to be stingy and bigotted [sic]. Mr. Pak is the best of the whole lot. He knows that Corea is in a pitiful condition.”74 Recalling a long exchange with Mr. Pak later, Yun writes, “the corruption of the Corean government, the Chinese encroachment and kindred topics formed the principle burden of our conversation. He advised me not to call on any Coreans as that will remind them of the “rebellion” and of the part which I was and is supposed to have taken in it thus endangering rather than helping my future welfare”.75

Rather than see the fair as an attempt to join the world, Yun sees in it only a reminder of Korea’s miserable plight. In one extended entry, goaded by his visit to the exposition, he writes of Korea:

It suffocates me (literally) to think, that there is a country of 80,000 sq. miles where millions of souls can not think or say or act as they please; where talents have no market; ambition, no sphere; patriotism, no play; where infernal despotism breeds and nurses generations of slaves, beggars and idiots; where men are dying in life and living in death; where moral and material putrefaction and filth are destroying thousands every year. How long will this political hell last? (I beg pardon of Hell for degrading it by comparing Corea with it.)76

In Yun we may witness the continually crushed national hopes of a younger progressive generation, in stark contrast to the official stance, which[page 34] was one of more conservative and gradual change, which emphasized peaceful coexistence rather than radical change. Both were obviously concerned with Korea’s independence, and took a just pride and concern in Korea as a nation. What separated them was what separates most- varying visions of the future and how to get there.

Diplomatic Salvo: September 5,1893

The Chicago fair ended on October 21,1893. But before the turnstiles stopped the Korean delegation would gain one more burst of publicity in a lavish dinner it threw on September 5,1893 for the World’s Fair Commissioners, and in honor of King Kojong’s birthday, at the luxurious Auditorium Hotel in downtown Chicago. It is an all but forgotten incident but one I believe of prime importance to understanding the Korean presence at Chicago.

To return one final time to John Cockerill, he writes that the fete was made possible by the sudden arrival of a monetary windfall sent from Korea afforded the indulgence (which supposedly amounted to almost $1500). As a result, according to Cockerill,

When he had satisfied the landlord he [Commissioner Chong] found himself pecuniarily in a condition similar to that of the historic gentleman who came down the Jericho road. He dusted about and raised money enough to secure an emigrant railway ticket to San Francisco, catching his food as catch can. From San Francisco he journeyed to lower Japan in the steerage of a Pacific Mail steamer, and from thence was helped to the south gate of Seoul by the kind contributions of relatives and sympathetic acquaintances. But he had maintained the glory of Corea abroad...and could henceforth talk of the grandeur of his experiences.”77

What was this grand and important affair held in the banquet hall of Chicago’s premier hotel whose guests included Mayor Harrison of Chicago (a month before his assassination) and President Thomas Palmer of the Commission for the World’s Columbian Exposition, as well as Walker Fearn[page 35]and the Japanese commissioner to the fair, Motoudaro, and which apparently left the Korean commissioner destitute? Though of course we cannot dismiss the role that national pride and “face” may have played in hosting such an expensive affair, I believe there is a deeper significance behind it. Even the Korean charge d’affaires in Washington ventured out for the event. Surviving newspaper accounts describe how the Korean officials were garbed in their full court dress. President Palmer offered a toast to the King of Korea with Commissioner Chong responding with his own tribute.78 Chong’s toast is one of the very few insights we have into the official Korean perception of their own exhibit, it went in part:

For about ten years has Korea, formerly known as the Hermit nation, been open to the world. His Majesty was greatly honored by this invitation of the President of the United States to participate in the World’s Columbian Exposition. Never before has Korea taken part in any international exposition, but in response to the urgent request of America, the great friend of Korea, his Majesty has sent his first official exhibit abroad, to make complete the representations of nations. Our small and humble exhibit has its place in the Department of Manufacturers. It is simply for representation and is not offered in comparison with the exhibits of the earth, but is honored in forming a part of those combined exhibits which make the greatest exposition the world has ever seen. We recognize at this exposition the lessons of fraternal union in language, literature, religion, science, art, and the civil institutions of different peoples; and our administration for the educational system of imparting knowledge in all departments is very great indeed. We are sure this exposition will tend to the judicial arbitration as the supreme law of international relations. We have learned many things from all the various nations from for this exposition, and we have already determined to introduce into our country many of those beneficial improvements; and we hope that you also will take back to your country pleasant impressions of Korea.79

As the Korean Charge d’affaires Yi Song-su was present, and surely must have scrutinized and approved of any official comments, the wording of the[page 36] toast is revealing. First, it reflects a Korean desire to introduce itself as an enlightened and open nation. These are no longer delegates from the “Hermit Nation” but from the country “formerly known” as such. It reflects an expressed (whether or not real) desire to learn and to change, that is to join Japan in its endeavor to modernize along Western lines. Such a progressive-sounding attitude by Commissioner Chong (despite testimony to the contrary by Yun Chi-ho), also helps explain Chong’s later role in the Kabo Reforms, and thus the role his “Chicago experience” may have had on subsequent events in Korea though to what extent of course must remain pure conjecture. But most interesting is the expressed hope for “judicial arbitration as the supreme law of international relations”, a desire tied intimately I believe with developments in Korea, where it was soon becoming clear judicial arbitration might be necessary to save her. Indeed, this closing dinner party can be seen not simply as an expression of goodwill and gratitude to the fair’s commissioners, but also, indeed largely, as a political and diplomatic salvo on the part of Korea.

Also revealing is Chong’s explanation that Korea did not come to compete with the grandeur of its exhibit but came rather for the symbolic act of participation itself. Chicago, despite Korea’s minor, indeed nearly overlooked, presence may be seen as a genuine Korean effort to be heard amid the clamor of the fair and midst the growing, international rivalries that were engulfing it back home.

Aftermath and Conclusion

Commissioner Chong’s journey back to Korea would apparently be a saga in itself, if it resembled in any way the depiction John Cockerill later gave of it. However he made it home, in an audience Commissioner Chong subsequently held with King Kojong after his safe return to Korea, the king’s curiosity about the fair is revealed. The conversation displays the relative naivete of Korea and its king to the outside world (no less than American naivete of Korea) and is worth quoting in full: [page 37]

Kojong : In what ways were the American products remarkable?

Chong : They were most highly advanced.

Kojong : All together how many nations participated?

Chong : Forty-seven nations gathered. Japan sent a commission but China had only merchants who set up a shop.

Kojong : Did our country also have a stand?

Chong : Yes, at the fair we had built a small house in Korean style, complete with traditional tile roof.

Kojong : And how large was our exhibit?

Chong : I cannot say exactly, but approximately six or seven kan.80

Kojong : And how were our national products received?

Chong : As this was the first time for those of other nations to see our products, we soon encountered difficulties with the amassing sightseers, more than our managers were prepared to handle. We then used paper to label each item with its name and proper use.

Kojong : And what sorts of things were most popular?

Chong : They [Westerners] were particularly attached to our textiles, folding screens, inlaid mother-of-pearl, and embroidered screens. I even heard that we were awarded a prize but as the certificates were not prepared when we departed I couldn’t be certain of its status. But before returning I did meet with the fair’s commissioner who informed me that both our team of musicians and our products would receive commendations, which would be sent on via Secretary Allen.81

Kojong : How much were our products worth in American dollars?

Chong : About $1140.82

Kojong : And did you leave the remaining items behind?

Chong : I left some with various schools and museums, those items not worth viewing I deposited with the State Council [Uijongbu].83

Here King Kojong seems more concerned with how the Koreans intermingled with the foreign observers and with the rather insignificant[page 38]details of the exhibition, rather than with any larger lessons to be taken from it, notably in the realms of modernization. Commissioner Chong did seem to be keen on at least moderate reform, something his trip to the United States no doubt helped to reinforce. In the wake of the Sino-Japanese War Chong was among many reform-minded Korean officials tapped by the Japanese to spearhead the Kabo Reform effort. His sudden disappearance after the failure of Kabo, along with scores of other pro-Japanese officials, must be telling as well.

Korea’s participation at Chicago must also be viewed in the wider context of its ongoing attempt to liberate itself from Chinese hegemony and Japanese pressure and to assume among other sovereign nations the proper and independent place to which it was theoretically entitled. However paltry Korean participation at Chicago may have been, it is important to keep in mind that it was the act of participation that was of primary importance. As Woody Allen put it, eighty-percent of success is just showing up. Though the memory of a Korean exhibit at Chicago has nearly faded into oblivion, I believe enough material evidence remains to reveal that Korea meant its participation as an overt display of independence at a time of mounting foreign encroachment, and in this sense may be viewed in the context of Korea’s growing recognition of the independence and free initiative that new international realities entitled it. Korea went to Chicago as Korea, not as China’s younger brother. It is worth remembering that China did not go at all.

Intent and effect are not always congruous. Though it certainly seems to have been Korea’s intent to use the fair as a display of national sovereignty and an appeal for international recognition, American reaction to Korea was on the whole a mixture of curiosity and puzzlement. Compared to Korea, not only did Japan and China both receive wider treatment in the Chicago papers (despite the fact that China did not send an official delegation), but also, that treatment was generally more self-assured and focused.84 America had been dealing with Japan and China for decades, Korea was still an[page 39] enigma, though resembling the Chinese and Japanese in appearance their identity was still undetermined. It should be noted briefly, however, that the popular reactions to China and Japan were on the whole decidedly different in tone. Both countries received the full-page treatment in special illustrated supplements put out by such dailies as The Chicago Tribune and the Daily Inter Ocean. But while the Japanese display was praised, that of China (actually set up by private Chinese interests in the United States) was taken mostly as a convenient target for a barrage of anti-Chinese sentiments.85 While Japan was almost routinely lauded in such terms as “the Light of Asia” or the “Britain of the East”, its refined traditional culture and modern industrial and political progress equally worthy of admiration, China was viewed predominantly as a bastion of stasis and unfathomable mystery.86 For its part, Korea remained all but invisible, which in and of itself speaks much. It was, in the growing Western enthusiasm for Japan and its modernization, and in the growth of American and Japanese rivalry in Asia and the Pacific, an invisibility that would be repeated at the Hague in 1907, or at Versailles in 1919.87 It is not too much to make such comparisons.

However, from accounts of Korea that do survive one gets the distinct impression of the strangeness in which the Koreans were perceived. This is in one sense understandable. This was Korea’s first participation in such an event. Yet Korea’s isolation and status as “hermit kingdom” were almost deliberately exaggerated, as if to augment the attraction of their being there at all. It had been almost twenty years since Korea had opened its doors, or had them opened; a full decade since its first diplomatic mission to the United States. With their “queer hats”, “hieroglyphic writing”, “unusual instruments”, and the comparisons between elements of the Korean delegation and displays and things found “on the plaisance”, the Koreans seem almost to have been relegated to the plaisance of the mind if they were not there in fact. They remained throughout an enigma, neither deserving the vilification reserved for the Chinese nor meriting the praise heaped upon the Japanese for their progress towards the goals of “civilized nations”. To [page 40] their American audience Koreans seemed more than anything a benign curiosity.

Korea as an independent nation would participate only once more at a World’s Fair the Universal Exposition of 1900 in Paris, an affair that upon cursory inspection seems so much more successful. In fact, a more detailed examination of the Korean presence at the Paris fair reveals the extent to which Korean attempts at independent initiative and expression had faltered over the preceding seven years, and indeed augured ill for the survival of national independence. Korea bowed out of the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition held at St Louis due to the unfortunate condition of national finances.88 Japanese protectorship came the following year. But at the Anglo-Japanese Exposition held in London in 1910 to consummate in a material fashion the alliance between those two island nations, Korea once again made its way to an international fair its display entitled “Residency General of Japan in Korea”, and bordering that dedicated to the South Manchurian Railway [SEE ILLUSTRATION 4].

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2 Timothy Mitchell, Colonising Egypt(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 7.

3 Allen to Walker Fearn (26 November 1892). Allen MSS.

4 Delort de Gleon to Delaunay-Belleville (25 November 1898). French National Archives (FNA), “Series F/12/4357, Coree”.

5 Irony or not, the former Midway Plaisance now makes up the backbone of the University of Chicago campus; the hot, dusty, and claustrophobic thoroughfare now a peaceful, pleasant, and expansive lawn.

6 “None Can Compare with It”, The New York Times (19 June 1893), p. 5. [page 41]7 This was most clearly heralded by the Geary Act (1892) halting Chinese immigration, and indeed calling for the deportation of many.

8 An attempt by a small core of Korean reformers in the kapsin year (1884) to overthrow what they viewed as an overly conservative and China-oriented Korean government, and to thereby initiate modern reforms. The young coup leaders, some educated in Japan in the 1880s, unwisely placed their confidence in the armed support of Japanese soldiers. Not only was the armed aid not forthcoming by a Japan hesitant to risk military confrontation with China, but the Japanese connection to the Kapsin plotters helped to subsequently undermine the reformist cause in popular and royal eyes alike.

9 Ki-baek Lee, A New History of Korea. Translated by Edward W. Wagner with Edward J. Shultz. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 288.

10 Heard to Secretary of State (10 November 1892), in Spencer J. Palmer, ed., Korean- American Relations: Documents Pertaining to the Far Eastern Diplomacy of the United States (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), v. 2, p. 303.

11 At least until his assassination in Shanghai by an agent of the Korean government.

12 See “Allen, Horace Newton” in The National Cyclopedia of American Biography, v. 28， pp. 281-282 and Fred Harvey Harrington, God, Mammon, and the Japanese, Dr. Horace Allen and Korean-American Relations, 1884-1905 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961).

13 Allen to John Hay (9 April 1904). Despatches from United States Ministers to Korea (DUSMK). Allen is hardly humbled by the honor, stating in his dispatch that he (Allen) “helped to establish their independence by successfully establishing their legation at Washington” and that as he was “responsible for the chief developments in such large commercial matters as railways, mines, etc. This mark of esteem is therefore not out of place.”

14 Allen to John W. Foster, Secretary of State (13 September 1892). DUSMK.

15 Allen writes, “It seemed recently that it would be impossible？ owing to many causes-to induce this government to prepare and send an exhibit to the rair, but His Majesty on learning that I had applied to my government for leave of absence to visit the Fair began to show more interest in sending an exhibit and has now begun collecting articles which he asks me to receive, pack and ship.” Allen to John W. Foster (12 October 1892). [page 42] DUSMK.

16 A more definitive answer might be formulated but for the fact that the archives of the World’s Columbian Exhibition, whose organizing administrative structure resembled a small government complete with Commissioner of Foreign Affairs (Walker Fearn), are not to be found. Apparently, the fair’s organizing documentation went up in flames as much of the “White City”, including the Administrative Building, burned to the ground in the dry July heat of 1894. What documentation remains today is scattered and largely uncatalogued.

17 Hubert Howe Bancroft, The Book of the Fair, an Historical and Descriptive presentation of the World’s Science, Art and Industry, as Viewed through the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893 (New York: Bounty Books, 1894), p. xxiv.

18 Koryo taehakkyo, Ku-Han guk oegyo munso [Diplomatic papers relating to late Yi dynasty Korea] (Seoul: Koryo taehakgyo chulpanbu, 1965-1973), volume 10, p. 578, 584.

19 Allen to Walker Fearn (18 February 1892). Allen MSS.

20 Manufacturer and Builder, vol. 24, no. 3 (March 1892), p. 50.

21 For a thorough discussion of this “bean affair” see Han Kyo Kim, “The Demise of the Kingdom of Korea, 1882-1910” (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1962), pp. 190-195.

22 The contents of the inflammatory pamphlet were eagerly quoted in French diplomatic correspondence of the period. See Frandin to Ministre des Affaires Etrangeres (MAE) (15 January 1893). French Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives (MFAA), “Correspondence Commerciale, Seoul, 1893-1901”.

23 Han Kyo Kim, p. 193. According to Augustine Heard and others, Oishi later approached the Taew?ngun, living in not-so-quiet obscurity in Seoul, suggesting an alliance between Japan, China, and Korea to drive out the Russians, but more to the point to undercut the authority of King Kojong and his ministers. See Young Ick Lew, “Korean-Japanese Politics behind the Kabo-Ulmi Reform Movement, 1894 to 1896”. Journal of Korean Studies 3(1981), p. 41-42.

24 Frandin to MAE (15 January 1893). MFAA, ‘‘Correspondence Commerciale, Seoul, 1893- 1901”.

Augustine Heard, “China and Japan in Korea”. The North American Review, vol. 159，no. [page 43]454 (September 1894), p. 304.

26 Grover Cleveland Papers, series 3，reel 138. As it turned out, iUnited States that a more serious rupture between Korea and Japan was avoided. A period article (in the

midst of the Chicago fair) describes the whole diplomatic incident as a “triumph of the principles of modern diplomacy, as applied to conservative Eastern nations.” “United States as Peacemaker”. The New York Tribune (24 May 1893), p. 4.

27 Indeed, a letter from King Kojong to French President Felix Faure, entrusted with the Korean minister to Europe on the eve of the 1900 Universal Exposition, echoed that sent to President Cleveland, only in stronger tones, even making a vague request for French troops and a defensive alliance. Collin de Plancy to MAE (18 September 1897). MFAA, “Nouvelle Serie/Politiques exterieurs/Francais en Coree, 1897-1902”.

28 “...this is perhaps not exactly the work I was expected to do as Honorary Commissioner, I have agreed to do as he [King Kojong] asks, since otherwise the exhibit may not be sent”. Allen to Foster (12 October 1892). DUSMK.

29 Chong was one of 18 officials named to the Deliberative Council in July 1894. Like many of the other members, Chong held his seat concurrently with another position, in his case Vice Minister of Education, in the Kabo-Ulmi reform government. In his study on the Kabo reform era, Young Ick Lew describes the select members of the Deliberative Council as representing the “political elite of the reformed government of 1894”. See Young Ick Lew, “The Kabo Reform Movement: Korean and Japanese Reform Efforts in Korea, 1894” (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1972), pp. 228-230. For a short biography of Chong also see “Chong Kyong-won”,in Hanguk chongsin munhwa yoenguwon [Academy of Korean Studies]. Hanguk minjok munhwa tae paekgwa sajon, vol. 19 (Seoul: Samhwa inswae chusik hoesa, 1991), p. 700.

30 Kojong sillok (高宗實錄) [Veritable records of King Kojong], 30/01/24.

31 Grover Cleveland Papers, series 3，reel 138.

32 One curious and informative work, Au Japon, narrates de Guerville’s earlier travels in Japan, Korea, and China as commissioner for the World’s Fair and then war correspondent for the New York Herala during the Sino-Japanese War.

33 Though I can find no mention of de Guerville in existing records of the Chicago fair, his dispatch to the Far East seems to be in the same vein as other commissioners mentioned in[page 44] the semi-official Book of the Fair, “That there should be no possible doubt as to the sincerity of this invitation [i.e. President Harrison’s invitation of Christmas Eve 1890], five commissioners, representing both the national and local authorities of the Exposition, sailed for Europe on the 9th of the following June...When they returned in September they had visited all the northern countries of Europe, Journeying as far as Novgorod, and making it a point everywhere to approach the highest authorities, the Prime Ministers or Ministers of Foreign Affairs, and had been everywhere received with distinction.” [Bancroft, p. xxiv],

34 A.B. de Guerville, “Li Hung Chang, the Viceroy and Master of China”. Frank Leslie ‘s Weekly (15 June 1893), p. 386. De Guerville writes: “The following night a most interesting display took place at his palace, his wives and children being present. I had then a good opportunity of ascertaining that the Chinese do not see our pictures, photographs, and paintings as we do. First, because they cannot understand our perspective [emphasis his], and next, because, having never seen any buildings like those shown to them, they cannot make out what it is. It is necessary to tell them; This is a window, this another, this a door, this a wall; here is the roof and here the ground. And it is very hard for them to believe it.”

35 A.B. de Guerville, Au Japon (Paris:Alphonse Lemerre, 1903), p. 179.

36 Allen to Walker Fearn (26 November 1892). Allen MSS.

37 Allen to Walker Fearn (14 January 1893). Allen MSS.

38 Augustine Heard to John W. Foster (25 November 1892). DUSMK.

39 Frandin to MAE (24 August, 15 November 1892). MFAA, “Correspondance Commerciale Seoul, vol. 7，1886-1892”.

40 Augustine Heard to Walter Gresham (22 March 1893). DUSMK.

41 Ibid; and Ye Cha Yun [Yi Chae-yon] to Walter Gresham (3 April 1893). Despatches from the Korean Legation to the United States.

42 Allen to Walker Fearn (14 January 1893). Allen MSS.

43 The whole of the San Francisco account is taken from The San Francisco Chronicle (23April 1893), p. 2.

44 What he likely saw was the Chinese writing still used in official Korean correspondence and record-keeping. The equation (to the average Westerner) of the odd appearance of [page 45]Chinese writing, and the unfamiliar sound of its spoken language, to something “un¬-christian” and practically immoral was not uncommon during this heyday of extreme anti-Chinese sentiment, notably in California. A Chicago journalist would describe Chinese musical instruments as having names “that cannot be spelled without the Chinese alphabet or pronounced by a Christian” (The Chicago Tribune [24 September 1893], p. 33).

45 “The Coreans not used to Interviews”. The New York Tribune (2 June 1893), p. 7.

46 “Scenes from the Hermit Kingdom”. The New York Herald (22 December 1895)，p. 7. In the same piece John Cockerill goes on to say (though on whose authority is undetermined) that the Koreans arrived extremely strapped for money and “in imminent danger of starving until a German saloon keeper discovered that the extra trade of the thirsty drawn to his place of evenings by the wheezing of the Imperial Band justified him in providing members of the delegation with rice, red pepper and stewed weeds. And so the Coreans lived along and held their place in the great cosmopolitan event”. Cockerill was a well- known newspaper journalist and editor of his day, perhaps best known for his discovery of a young Lafcadio Hearn in 1872. At the time of this article he was serving as a special correspondent for The New York Herald in the Far East. He in all likelihood would have been acquainted with A.B. de Guerville, at this same time a correspondent for the The New York Tribune covering the Sino-Japanese War. It was no doubt to de Guerville that he was referring by “our seductive agents”,for de Guerville, as previously shown, had been acting as Special Commissioner to the fair. He gives de Guerville too much credit, however, for Allen had succeeded in securing Kojong’s promise of participation months before de Guerville’s arrival in Seoul. Cockerill would die of an apoplectic fit in a Cairo barber’s chair a few month’s after this writing.

47 The Chicago Tribune (29 April 1893),p. 2.

48 Ibid.

49 The Chicago Record’s History of the World’s Fair (Chicago: Chicago Daily News Co., 1893)，pp. 223-225; The Daily Inter Ocean (29 April 1893)，p. 3.

50 William E. Cameron, et al. The World’s Fair, Being a Pictorial History of the Columbian Exposition...(Chicago: Chicago Publication Lithograph Co.), p. 591.

51 Allen to Walter Gresham, Secretary of State (23 May 1893). DUSMK. [page 46]

52 Mr. Pak was not part of the delegation formulated by Kojong but was added in America. That Mr. Pak was in the United States as a naval trainee is based upon the word of Yun Chi-ho. According to the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis he was never a matriculated student there and I have yet to determine where and in what exact capacity he was training.

53 An account of these proceedings appears in The Chicago Times (24 May 1893), p. 1.

54 The Chicago Tribune (26 June 1893).

55 Bancroft, pp. 140-141.

56 The Japan Weekly Mail [Yokohama] (3 June 1893), p. 655. It is worth noting that besides this account of the Korean dinner (complete with full transcript of Commissioner Chong’s toast),no description of the Korean participation at Chicago appeared in The Japan Weekly Mail.

57 Ibid.

58 Though small exhibits of Korean agricultural products were displayed in the Agricultural Building and a chigye and sedan chair (strangely enough) in the Livestock Building.

59 Most of these items were either donated to or bought up by the Smithsonian Institution after the fair’s completion where they went on to make up the core of that museum’s Korean collection.

60 Moses P. Handy, ed. The Official Directory of the World’s Columbian Exhibition, A Reference Book (Chicago: W.B. Conkey Company, 1893), p. 134.

61 The Chicago Record’s History of the World’s Fair (Chicago: Chicago Daily News Co., 1893)，pp. 223-225.

62 Martha Finley, Elsie at the World’s Fair (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1894)，pp. 145-148.

63 John A. Cockerill, “Scenes from the Hermit Kingdom”. The New York Herald (22 December 1895), p. 7,

64 The Book of the Fair, p.

65 Ibid., p. 219.

66 “Korea’s Doors Open”. Daily Inter Ocean Illustrated Supplement^ September 1893), p.1.

67 For brief biography in English of Yun Chi-ho see Hyung-chan Kim, Letters in Exile: The Life and Times of Yun Chi-ho (Covington, GA: The Oxford Historical Shrine Society, [page 47]Inc., 1980), pp. 4-73.

68 Yun CH’’I-ho’s Diary, pp. 188-189 (14 October 1893).

69 Ibid., p. 147(14 August 1893).

70 Ibid., p. 180 (28 September 1893).

71 Ibid., p. 169 (24 September 1893).

72 To be fair, Yun had either misrepresented the situation or missed the large Korean flag that in fact occupied a central place above the crowded floor of the Arts and Manufacturers Buildings, as a surviving photograph shows.

73 Ibid., p. 179 (28 September 1893).

74 Ibid., p. 180 (28 September 1893).

75 Ibid., pp. 180-181 (1 October 1893).

76 Ibid., p. 182 (7 October 1893).

77 “Scenes from the Hermit Kingdom”. The New York Herald (22 December 1895)，p. 7.

78 The Chicago Tribune (6 September 1893)，p. 2.

79 The Japan Weekly Mail (7 October 1893)，pp. 406-407.

80 or about 50 square feet

81 According to the fair’s organizers, awards were not “competitive” but awarded to commend a displayed article’s “independent and essential excellence”. For this reason, there was only one category of medal and diploma. The Korean display garnered six medals and seven diplomas. World’s Columbian Exposition, Final Report of Executive Committee of Awards (Chicago: World’s Columbian Exposition, 1893), p. 4，44.

82 It was not uncommon for national exhibits to sell their wares at the end of the exposition. In one documented example, the Smithsonian paid $10 for three Korean furs. This was a price much less than “we would have to pay a dealer for them”, wrote one museum curator. Frederick W. True to G. Brown Goode (18 October 1893), Smithsonian Institution Archives，Accession 27829 [Korea].

83 Kojong sillok, 30/11/09.

84 A.B. de Guerville, having gone to China in hopes of convincing it to participate, was given a cold welcome. News of the Geary Act had just reached China and Li Hungchang suggested to de Guerville that rather than a delegation he send a Chinese fleet over, “to teach the American people how to respect China!”(AJB. de Guerville, “Li Hung Chang”). [page 48]

See in particular the full-page article on the Chinese display in The Chicago Tribune (24 September 1893), entitled “Freaks of Chinese Fancy at the Fair”. For a fuller treatment of the reactions afforded the Chinese and Japanese exhibits see, Robert Rydell, “The World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893 : Racist Underpinnings of a Utopian Artifact” in Journal of American Culture 1 2 (Summer 1978):253-275.

86 See for example, “The Light of Asia: Japanese Civilization Will Benefit the Continent”. The Daily Inter Ocean Illustrated Supplement (20 September 1893), p. 3.

87 When Korea would make futile appeals to the “judicial arbitration”- broached at the Auditorium Hotel in 1893- for the elimination of the Japanese imposed protectorship (in the case of the Hague in 1907) and then Japanese colonization (at Versailles in 1919).

88 Allen to John Hay (25 November 1903). DUSMK.

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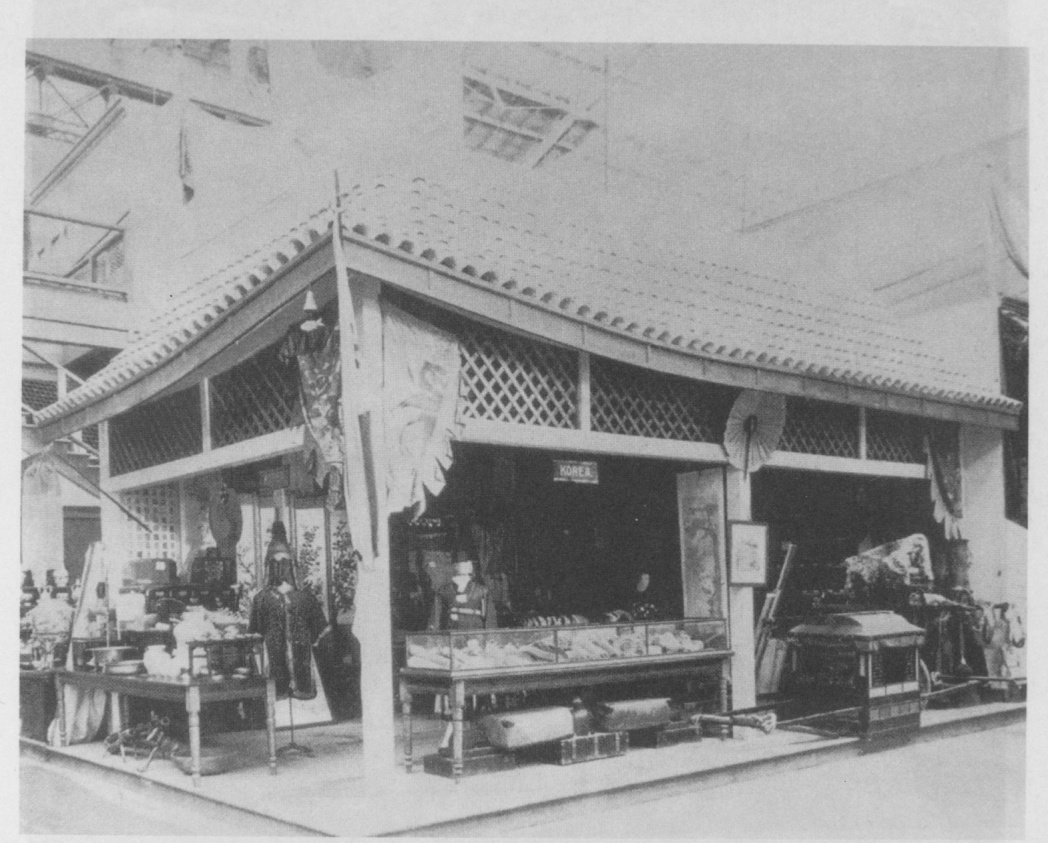


#1 The Royal Korean Commissioner to the World’s Columbian Exhibition,

Chong Kyong-won (1841-?) [page 54]

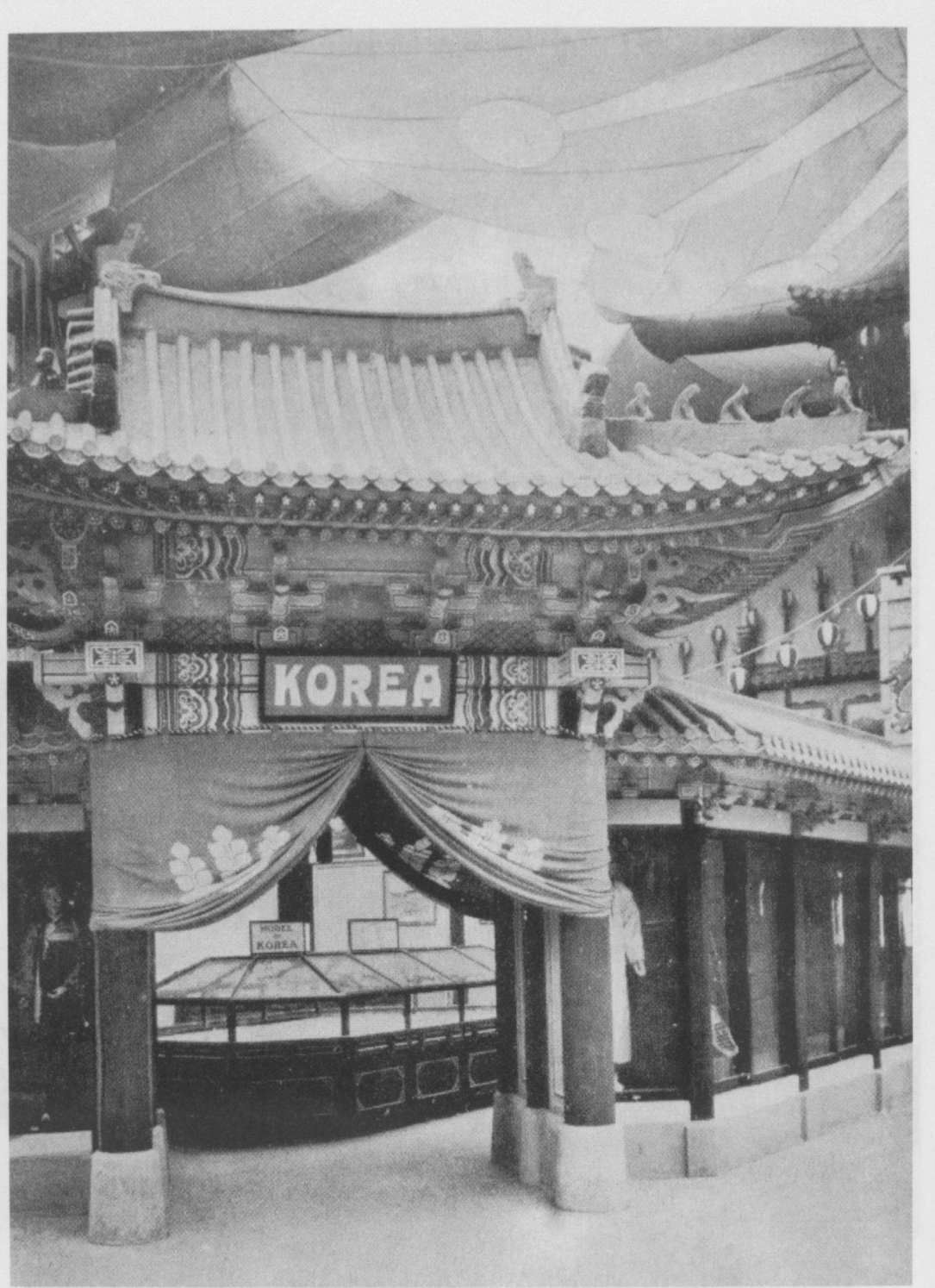


#2 Amade’e Baillol de Guerville (1869-?), Journalist who in 1892 visitied the Korean court in promotion of the World’s Columbian Exhibition. [page 55]



#3 Korean booth in the Arts and Manufacturers Building,

World’s Columbian Exhibition, 1893. [page 56]



#4 The “Korean” display at the Anglo Japanese Exposition of 1910. Actually it was called the display of the “Residency General of Japan in Korea”

and constituted a portion of the Japanese exhibit. Notice the rising sun motif on the overhanging canopy. [page 57]



#5 An unidentified member of the Korean delegation to the World’s Columbian Exhibition, 1893. Kane/Korea at the World’s Fair [page 58]

[page 59]

**The Crane in A Pine Tree: The State of Wetlands In Korea.**

Nial Moores (with additional editing by Charlie Moores)

Any visitor to Korea will sooner or later come across an artistic image of a bird: a snow white Red Crowned Crane typically standing atop a gnarled and black pine tree. It is an image to be found frozen in paintings hung on walls, on lacquer ware, even wrapped around more ornate chopsticks throughout the country. Not only just in Korea, but in China, and in Japan too, where the crane alone, this time in red, even adorns the planes of the national carrier JAL. Why did it come to be there? What does it mean? Sometimes, it is considered that the bird and the tree represent light and dark, or male and female characteristics; certainly they are both known to be symbols of long- life: those that look upon the crane, it is still widely said, shall live a century or more.

But why a crane, and its rather odd complement, a tree? The answers to these questions perhaps can offer an insight into the deepest and most meaningful of relationships: bird and environment, human and nature, and how each is joined.

For the Red Crowned Crane Grus iaponenis is a bird not of forest but of wetlands. Though always confined to northeast Asia, it was once considerably more widespread, found in extensive river flood plains and in coastal marshes throughout the region, stalking elegantly through wet grasses and shallows to feed on fish, frogs, crabs and the roots of a variety of aquatic plants. Before conversion of much of the natural landscape, it would have been at once perhaps the most striking and the most familiar of birds across all the lowland river plains of Korea the Kimpo Plain formed by the Han and Imjin Rivers, the Pyongtaek and Yedang Plains, The Honam Plain[page 60] of the Kum, the Naju Plain formed by the Yeongsan River and the vast Kimhae Plain merging into the delta of the Nakdong River. In a land of mountain and dry forest, of dusty, dark pine and bare crag, what a vital contrast such floodplains and wetlands must have made a tapestry of greens and yellow browns, with quicksilver ribbons of waterways and pools.

And in amongst this green and silvery expanse, white points of light: the cranes. For peoples of an earlier time and culture, dependent upon the natural resources close to them for their very survival, the space where the dry forested mountain slopes met the flat and open wetland must have offered the very best of two seemingly opposite worlds-dry land for living on, with its shelter, building materials, firewood, and the wetlands with their food and clean water-all things necessary for life, for a long life. The Crane and the Pine were surely the most eloquent and enduring indicators, the simplest twin symbols, of the optimal conditions for human life. Highly- evolved and specialized, long-legged and billed, massive winged and shy, the Red Crowned Crane is always associated with extensive wetland areas. Never perching in the trees with which it is so often depicted, it instead nests on mounds of vegetation on the ground in remote bogs and open reedbeds; roosts in shallow rivers or low islands; and feeds in the same wet areas, safe from predators such as wolves and more recently people. Common only one or two centuries ago throughout the lowlands of the Far East, its population now numbers a mere two thousand: with 600 to 800 in eastern China, 600 in Japan and between 500 and 650 in Korea (1). A relic population of a once much more numerous species, it is now classified as Endangered because it has a very small, declining population as a result of loss and degradation of wetlands through conversion to agriculture and industrial development. (2). Though all know the name and the outline of the bird, few people these days have ever seen one for real, often confusing them instead with the much more abundant Little and Great Egrets that to a larger extent tolerate the noise and filth of our urban rivers and concrete sea fronts. [page 61]

Not seeing, who remains to embrace their ancestors’ vision of the Crane in a Pine Tree?

In recent decades, the majority of the Korean Red Crowned Cranes migrate here from their vast Amur breeding grounds, to spend the winter largely confined, and protected, behind the barbed wire and fences of that narrow strip of regenerating nature, the 4-km wide DMZ, congregating in extensive and undisturbed rice paddy and shallow rivers in the Cheorwon Basin. A few more make it each year to the extensive tidal-flats and salt- marsh that flow outwards in evolutionary slow motion from the Han and Imjin Rivers-wet land crawling out a millimeter at a time over centuries towards the open sea. At Kanghwa and on the northern edge of Yeongjong 148 Red-crowned Cranes remain, their once remote habitat increasingly squeezed and ringed with roads, over-flown by planes and crowded out by people wishing to escape the confines of the city. An even smaller group, a single family, at least in 2000 and 2001, has reached as far south as the Mangyeung and Dongjin estuaries-now made famous as being the rivers of the Saemangeum area, the world’s largest intertidal reclamation project.

It is no coincidence that the remaining cranes winter at these sites. Sites that can sustain the cranes de facto must also be able to support an abundance of other life, for they are large birds, requiring large amounts of food. The wetlands that support these symbols of long-life also therefore must be able to support a wide range of other animals and plants consumed by the birds, and a seemingly infinitely expansive web of interrelated consumers, and producers, from microbe-rich soils to swarms of life more easily visible to the human eye. Along each strand of that web, other lesser- known but equally threatened wetland plants and animals: birds such as the Black-faced Spoonbill Platelea minor, with a world population of only 850，the once numerous Chinese Egret Egretta eulophotes now reduced to ca. 2000 in number and the Saunder’s Gull Larus saundersi, a crab-eating [page 62] specialist of tidal-flats, that throughout its global breeding range (the Yellow Sea) now totals only 7000 individuals. The Cheorwon basin, Ganghwa, northern Yeongjong, the free flowing estuaries of the Mangyeung and Dongjin, comprise 4 out of only approximately 65 wetlands in South Korea that still support internationally important concentrations of waterbirds (3), that still support a semblance of the abundant life that once must have been much more typical.

So what of the state and importance of Korean wetlands now? Before considering their present condition, there is the need to recall what used to be, to remember the time when the crane was widespread, back before a time when people used to moan that they could not sleep at night for the deafening clamour of geese, before the time too when the comical gulping song of the Watercock, the Tumbugi, came to symbolise the sound and feeling of the home village when loved ones become separated.

Back approximately 10, 000 years ago, a mere 100 centuries of time, when the melting of enormous continental ice sheets caused the sea to rise again, submerging the shallow ancient flood plain of the great rivers of China and Korea; when low hills and headlands became islands, and the present coastal outline of the Korean peninsula, with its numerous indentations and islands was formed. From that time on, melt-water and rains have continued flowing into this shallow sea, the West or Yellow Sea, depositing eroded soils and the leaf litter of ten thousand autumns, creating expansive areas of organically- rich mud and sandy estuaries and tidal flats. As now, summer monsoon rains in some years caused rivers to swell and break their banks, inundating low lying land, creating pools, ponds and in the deepest and widest hollows, lakes. With each flood, the dry land grasses and weeds and young trees were submerged, and with their rotting and death a release of nutrients that could feed the whole cycle of life carried downstream by the river: a floodplain- derived pulse of nutrients and energy moving along the river out into the[page 63] estuaries and beyond where it could sustain the most enormous concentrations of life. Each river, each floodplain, each rivermouth, each tidal-flat supported a range of specialised species at optimal densities.

As these summer floods slowly subsided, Red Crowned Cranes competed with Oriental White Storks Ciconia boyciana, White Spoonbills Platelea leucorodia and the pink-flushed Crested Ibis Nioponia niopon in shallow pools for frogs and fish, carrying on their legs and body- feathers the eggs of those species which they consumed, allowing them to spread into areas ever further removed from the river. As summer shifted further into autumn, geese and ducks which had bred in the uninhabited taiga and tundra, including the Taegul faced Baikal Teal Anas formosa, swarmed south into Korea, to graze the marsh edges for the seeds or roots of abundant water plants, while in the estuaries, all estuaries, Black faced Spoonbills, and Saunders Gulls and a whole host of migrant shorebirds, crowded the surface of the mud. With each season’s cycle, the shorebirds as now, made their way between their Siberian and Arctic nesting sites and their wintering grounds in Australasia and southeast Asia, and then the following spring, back north again: an enormous and energy demanding ebb and flow of migration, repeated endlessly over thousands of years, ever dependent upon a sure supply of abundant food at every staging site to sustain them.

We can only guess at the numbers of such species at that time, but looking across the Pacific to the Americas, even now we can witness the same migration undertaken by tens of millions of shorebirds. In East Asia, at the beginning of the eleventh millennium, we are left with only 4 million migratory shorebirds, and more threatened species of waterbird than any other flyway in the world (4).

In Korea, the causes for these declines are clear. An increasing population， the shift from living within the resource to living within cities, the[page 64] intensification of agriculture, the growth of industry, all have put increasing demands on the natural wetland systems. Although conversion of wetland into farmland had been practiced since the Koryo Dynasty such projects were generally small scale. Even during the 1800s the Red Crowned Crane and the Oriental White Stork were considered locally common (2). Through the 1900s, however, the speed of change accelerated rapidly.

Occupation of the peninsula by a militarized Japan led to widespread hunting with guns, wiping out mammals and the larger waterbirds from all but the more inaccessible wetlands. There was savage exploitation of not only people, but also of the natural resource, to fuel Japan’s rapid industrialisation and decades of war. Forests were cut, altering flood regimes and smothering clear waters with muds and sands. Inland, whole floodplains were drained, and converted to rice for export, while salt marshes and some 40, 000 ha of tidal flats were also impounded for human use (6), including much of the massive delta which used to be formed by the Geum, Mangeyung and Dongjin rivers.

By the 1950s，when Korea regained its independence, many species were already in steep decline, and the Crested Ibis was all but lost. With the need to feed a desperately hungry people the national priority was of course food self-sufficiency: substituting the natural for the tamed, the tidal-flat edge for the rice-field. Through the 1960s and 1970s, the resultant reclamation and massive growth of the domestic pesticide industry led both to increasing rice fields, but also to the poisoning of rivers, the sterilisation of soils, and a severe decline in some commercial fisheries (7). In consequence, the Oriental White Stork disappeared as a breeding bird in the 1970s (2), while many other species of insect and aquatic animal-eating bird declined enormously, including the once-ubiquitous Watercock. The 1980s and 1990s brought even more change: in the mid-1980s, the then military government decided upon a National Master Plan for land use, which included targeting [page 65] about 90% of all tidal flats and coastal shallows for reclamation (5). As part of this plan, more than 30% of all remaining tidal flat has already been or is presently undergoing reclamation. Several of the major rivers were barraged too, forming huge reclamation lakes intended for agriculture, with sluice gates only to be opened during major rain events to prevent flooding. The very real consequences of this poor design include both the halting of migratory fish movements, and of the life-giving floodplain nutrient pulse. Results include eutrophic and often unusable reclamation lakes at e.g. Shihwa and in Haenamgun; a sudden toxic flush of released reservoir water if the sluice gates are opened, with the associated red tides further limiting fish and bird populations; and an end to the gentle merging of salt and freshwater that creates the extensive and muddy brackish zones in estuaries: rather now abrupt shifts from marine water to fresh and back again The overall consequence: massive declines in brackish zone and estuarine specialist species, including many species of shorebirds and the mud dwelling animals that they feed on. And as each web of life is interwoven, the demise of estuaries, where many species of fish lay their eggs, has been followed by the demise of fisheries, as predictably as day is followed by night, summer by winter.

Recognising the loss and degradation of wetlands worldwide and harnessing the wisdom of past generations, the Ramsar “Wise use of wetlands” Convention (Iran, 1971) developed a series of guidelines for identifying the world’s most important remaining wetlands, some of which look to the presence or absence of birds as indicators of such wetlands- character, health, and value. Using these criteria, approximately 65 wetlands in South Korea can still be considered internationally important for waterbirds, defined in accordance with the guidelines as being able to support concentrations of 20,000 individual waterbirds or more, or of 1 % or more of a waterbird species-suspected minimum population (8). Although South Korea has acceded to the convention, most of our 65 internationally[page 66] important wetlands, including the Yellow Sea’s single most important site for shorebirds, Saemangeum (9) are still threatened with complete or partial reclamation or degradation. Even officially “protected” sites such as Woopo Ramsar site and the Nakdong estuary are increasingly being ringed by roads, drained, and reclaimed at rates unimagined by our ancestors.

Within the lifetime of the leaders of Korea, once widespread species have all but disappeared, while several others have become extinct as breeding birds. We have lost the Oriental White Stork, said to herald the birth of children; we have all but silenced the Watercock; we have replaced the sounds of geese with those of cars and building sites; and even the once abundant Barn Swallow Hirundo rustica or Chebi seems to be only a name to most city children. The decline in these birds indicates the decline of the species they feed upon; the loss of the ecosystems in which they and we evolved; the loss of nature’s great productivity, relied upon not only by birds, but by people too for our very survival.

Not seeing, who remains to embrace their ancestors’ vision of the Crane in a Pine Tree?

For more information on wetlands and birds in South Korea and neighboring countries: http://www. wbkenglish. com

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[page 69]

**Karl Friedrich August Guetzlaff - The First German in Korea**

**Dr. Sylvia Braesel**

“July 17.-A stiff breeze brought us in sight of Corea. A merciful Providence has protected us through many dangers, along the coast of China, and 0 (sic) that we were truly grateful. We came to anchor at Chwang-shan (modern designation Wosan-do; S. R), an island north of Basil’s Bays. The silent (sic)] seemed to reign everywhere. We ventured towards the shore, and the first thing we met was a fishing boat..., with two natives in it clothed in rags. Though we could not communicate with them orally, yet we could use the Chinese character (sic) in writing.”(l)

This description comes from the pen of Karl Friedrich August Guetzlaff, who was the first German and the first Protestant missionary to set foot on Korean soil. This occurred on the late afternoon of July 17，1832. He came as a translator and one of the leaders of an expedition of the British East India Company. The East India Company had sent out the ship ‘Lord

Amherst’ on a recognizance voyage along the coasts of China and Korea.

What were the official reasons given for this undertaking and what subjective motivation could have caused the Prussian Protestant missionary Guetzlaff to take part in an expedition? History tells us that that contacts between Europe and East Asia in the course of the 18th Century were weakened by trade barriers imposed on mercantile traders and the clear failure of Jesuit missionary efforts in China. In addition, as a consequence of the Napoleonic Wars in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Europe was too much preoccupied with its own affairs to turn its attention to East Asia. It was not until after the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and the rise of the industrial revolution in Western Europe that there was a renewed focus on[page 70] East-Asia. Trade with Asia was a primary motivation for the European powers. Great Britain was especially interested in strengthening its exports to East Asia, above all to China. This was the goal of Lord Amherst’s unsuccessful political mission in 1816 in Peking. At this point Great Britain adopted the official position that its peaceful attempts at normalizing trade with China had been exhausted.

In 1832 the British East India Company once again attempted to expand its trade with the Middle Kingdom (China) and to initiate trade relations with Korea. There is a certain historical symbolism in the fact that the ship ‘Lord Amherst’ under the direction of company’s supercargo Hugh Hamilton Lindsay was selected for this secret mission. Guetzlaff was hired because he was fluent in the Chinese language including coastal dialects. He was able to communicate with the Mandarins and had knowledge of the area gained on previous trips. The expedition was risky, but Guetzlaff was motivated by the opportunity to disseminate the Gospel among the Chinese and Koreans.

Who exactly was this extraordinary missionary and gifted man, and what led him to spend half of his life in East Asia? And what drove this man to became one of the most knowledgeable experts on Cnina and the surrounding regions in the 19th Century, and a well-known figure in East Asia, Europe and North America?

The 200th anniversary of Karl Guetzlaff s birtn in 2003 is an appropriate time to objectively evaluate his life and work. For the most part he was misunderstood and even discredited by 19th and 20th century historians. Yet he had a profound knowledge of East Asia, was a devoted missionary and, seen from the perspective of our current global era, he was a sensitive interpreter of culture. One must also take into account that Guetzlaff was a colorful character, with eccentric traits, a taste for adventure, and a touch of [page 71] arrogance. He was also a master of public relations, fundraising, and marketing, whose abilities far exceeded those both of his professional colleagues and his contemporaries in general. In order to fully appreciate his restless, bold and exciting life in its entirety, it is first necessary to do historical justice to this outstanding, globally active pioneer of dialogues between East-Asia and the West which were based on a profound sense of equality and respect.

This paper takes up this task and examines Guetzlaff’s role in the development of German-Korean relations and his significance in promoting the transfer of information from Korea to Europe and North America. At the same time, we will consider the need for a re-evaluation of his place in the history of the relations between the Western World and East Asia.

Karl Guetzlaff was born on July 8，1803, into a family of artisans in county seat of Pyritz located about 100 kilometers northeast of Berlin in the Prussian province of Pommerania. Already as a secondary school student his gift for languages and nis interest in faraway lands and peoples made itself apparent. After completing his schooling, he went to Stettin where he learned the trade of belt-making. His inclination to become a preacher and missionary was nourished by the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the harbor city near to the Baltic Sea. As the result of a chance meeting with the Prussian King, Friedrich Wilhelm III, Guetzlaff was able to attend the Berlin Missionary School. The historical records indicate that from 1827 on, after his training as a missionary at the Dutch Missionary Society in Rotterdam, he was devoted to missionary work on Java in Netherland India. His encounters there with Chinese traders strengthened bis resolve to devote the rest of his life to missionary work in China. An important step towards this goal was his relocation to the island of Bintang located off Singapore, Here he continued his studies of various Chinese dialects, and began to adopt the appearance and customs of the Chinese. [page 72]

In preparation for his move to China, the restless missionary, always in search of new activities, relocated his sphere of operations to Bangkok in the middle of 1828. This led to a break with the missionary society. From that point on, like Albert Schweizer in the 20th Century, he became a free-lance missionary, without any firm connections to a missionary society. In spite of his mastery of the language, his attempts to win converts among the Buddhists of Siam were unsuccessful. Even so, his translation of the New Testament into Siamese left its mark in Thailand.

Instead of trying to convert the Siamese, he concentrated his missionary zeal on the local Chinese and on those Chinese involved in trade. His knowledge of Chinese dialects, and of medicine, used in his missionary activities, won him increasing recognition and goodwill. In 1831 after the death of his wife and their twins, he decided to move beyond this personal tragedy and dedicate himself entirely to his work as a missionary in China and East Asia.

What followed next in 1831 was Guetzlaff’s adventurous journey on a Chinese junket. Guetzlaff, who had adopted Chinese ways and taken the alias of Kuo Shi-li, traveled into the isolated Chinese Empire as far as Manchuria. This was a new step in the history of relations between the Western world and East Asia. This was followed immediately in 1832 by his famous expedition aboard the ‘Lord Amherst’. This fact-finding mission and good-will tour was to the coastal provinces of China, including Taiwan, Korea and the Riu-Kiu Islands (today Nansei Islands; S. B.). Its goal was, in part, was to collect information about the reactions in official circles, the business community and the population at large to the petition requesting opening the harbors and initiating free-trade and missionary activity. At the same time, the expedition sought to gather information about the political climate and the strength of the military. The British interest in the Korean peninsula was strengthened when the travelers included the kingdom of [page 73] Chosun in the route of their expedition. Earlier interest by the British had been expressed in the recognizance journeys undertaken by W. R. Broughton (1797) and Basil Hall (1816).

“In the distance we saw a dome-shaped island, named the Guetzlaff Island in honor of the famous German missionary and Sinologist. (2) This quote is taken from The Frigate Pallas”, a travel book by the Russian author Iwan Gontsharov (1812-1891). Gontsharov’s renown rests less on his experiences as a world traveler than on his having added the legendary figure of Oblomov to world literature. In the middle of the 19th Century Gontsharov was a member of a Russian expedition to China and Japan. He also visited Korea and consciously followed in the footsteps of Guetzlaff, with whom he was familiar having read his publications. This gives some indication of the aura which the Protestant missionary disseminated and it shows how his influence transcended cultural borders.

Guetzlaff devoted an entire chapter to Korea in his ‘Journal of Three Voyages Along the Coast of China, in 1831，1832, & 1833, with Notices of Siam, Corea and the Loo-Choo Islands’. He begins his discussion of the relations with the powerful neighbors, China and Japan, by making observations on the shifting course of Korean history. As one of the first Western authors to write about Asia, he takes pains to understand the ‘other’within the context of his own behavior. He does this when he comments on his first meetings with Koreans on Chwang-shan-do (Wonsan- do; S. B.) on July 18，1832: “Their conduct formed a contrast with the behavior of the Chinese. Had we now left the peninsula, we should have reported to the world, in addition to the accounts of other travelers, that the Coreans, were the most misanthropical people in the world, with courage enough to repress any intruder, so that threatening and injury were all which could be obtained there. From our first interview with them, I very much doubt this, but had no sufficient reasons to urge in supporting my opinion of [page 74] their cowardice, and willingness to yield any thing firmly demanded. Though they very plainly showed their inhospitable feelings towards us, we would yet perceive a conflict in them while treating inoffensive strangers like enemies, for the native feelings of humanity, which are in the breast of every mortal, can never be entirely eradicated.” (3). In his reflections addressed openly to the to his readers Guetzlaff considers his own characteristic manner of overcoming prejudice in dealing with the modes of behavior he encountered. He does this when he notes that an incorrect, hostile view of the Korean people would probably have resulted if he would have measured it against the behaviors decreed by the Korean royals: “We cannot think that those signs of decapitation, made by the people on shore, were merely for pretence, but begin to believe, from the universal adoption of this gesture, that government would punish every transgressor with death, who dared to cultivate friendship with strangers.” (4)

Due to his linguistic competence and cautious manner of dealing with people, Guetzlaff gained access to the Koreans within a few days. On July 24th he notes in his journal: “A large boat came along-side, and before the people came on board, they sent up a slip of paper, expressing their sympathy with us in our hardship from the winds and weather and assuring us they did not come to intimidate (sic) us. Those who entered the cabin called themselves mandarins, and made very free with the rum. They inquired politely our country, and remarked that we had anchored in a very dangerous place, adding, we will bring you to a bay called Gan-keang, where you may find safe anchorage, meet the mandarins, adjust the affairs of your trade, and obtain provisions.” (5)

With the help of Korean pilots the expedition reached Gan-keang “and found very convenient anchorage, sheltered from all winds.” (6) At the second place where the expedition dropped anchor the Koreans were very congenial. As Guetzlaff comments: “All seemed cheerful and happy that we[page 75] had come. And promised that we should soon have an audience of the great mandarins, to whom we might deliver the letter.”(7)

The document Guetzlaff refers to was an official letter to King Sun-Jo requesting that he establish trade relations and accept gifts including a Bible and religious books. The formal presentation ceremony to the mandarins Kim and Lee took place on July 26，1832. “After our formally delvering (sic) the letter and presents, they handed us raw garlic and liquor, and promised speedly (sic) to forward the things entrusted to their charge. Meanwhile, they sent us two pigs, and a little ginger and rice, aboard; a very satisfactory proof of their good intensions (sic).” (8) As Guetzlaff s depictions make clear, the expedition was quite successful in establishing a relationship of trust with the local authorities, whose hospitality he repeatedly emphasizes: “Our old friend Kin (sic), meanwhile prepared a dinner, consisting of cakes, vermicelli, honey, pork, melons, salad, vinegar and rice. This time they had taken all possible care to make the whole palatable, and we did not fail to enjoy their hospitality.” (9) This friendly stance, which contradicted the official government position regarding foreigners, gives us a deeper insight into the feelings and interests of the Koreans. This prompted Guetzlaff to write in his journal: “Though apparently their laws do not permit foreigners to enter their dwellings, we met everywhere with as much friendship as could well be expected from barbarians.” (10)

Guetzlaff used the weeks of waiting for an answer from the king to study the behavior of Koreans, their everyday way of life and their relationship to nature and society. Impressed with what he observed, he summarized: “In their intercourse with us they always showed a great deal of soundness of judgement. We cannot charge them with laziness, but we fear they want the necessary stimulus to exertion. Government does not permit them to enjoy the fruits of their labors; they are therefore indifferent to the possession of[page 76] anything beyond the bare necessaries of life.” (11) Here Guetzlaff proves himself to be a profound analyst of social condition in the kingdom of Chosun, which in the first half of the 19th century were characterized by crises in the feudal system and general decline.

The missionary describes the people and their appearance realistically and objectively. He resists the trend current at the time to portray foreign cultures as exotic. “As soon as we stepped ashore, some persons took the trouble to conduct us to their village. Many of them wore large brimmed black hats most elegantly plaited. Their frocks, made of a sort of grass cloth, reached down to their ankles, and had very long and wide sleeves, which served also as pockets. Most of them wore stockings and shoes very neatly fitted to their small feet. They are not tall, but of middle stature, have Tartar features and the most symmetrical shape.” (12)

True to his Pommeranian roots, Guezlaff planted potatos in Korea and gave instruction on their cultivation. The potato had been the basic source of nourishment in Pommerania since the reign of the Prussian monarch Friedrich the Great (1740-1786). Guetzlaff used his charm to circumnavigate the general ban and distribute Bibles and religious works to the populace. In this connection he reports: “We had frequently opportunity of speaking to them of the Saviour of mankind, whilst we explained to them the time of the commencement of our Christian era. They heard and read repeatedly that Jesus Christ, God overall, was also their redeemer, but their affection was never roused... Yet I provided those, who were willing to receive the gospel, with books, and they promised to bestow some attention to the subject, and took great care to keep possession of their books.” (13)

In his unrealistic visions, Guetzlaff had attributed to Korea quite an interesting role in his missionary plans for East Asia. Thus, when they passed Cheju-do, he said: “Would it not be giving a fatal blow to those[page 77] hateful systems of exclusion, by establishing a mission in so important a situation? I know not how far the Corean government exercises control over the island; but I should think, that a missionary residing here, would be less subject to dangers than those in New Zealand, and the first harbingers of the glad tidings in Labrador or Greenland.” (14) This comment illustrates that Guetzlaff’s area of missionary activity extended beyond the Middle Kingdom and included bordering countries like Korea. Guetzlaff was so convinced of the importance of his mission, already during his stay in 1832， that he asked himself: “Can the divine truth, disseminated in Corea, be wholly lost? This I believe not: there will be some fruits in the time appointed of the Lord.” (15) His prediction was proven correct by the history of missionary conversion in Korea and the current position of the Christian churches there.

On August 9，1832，the failure of the goals of the expedition were formally announced by King Sun-Jo’s representative Woo Tayin: “He stated that he was sent by the treasurer, and … said: To receive your letter and presents is illegal, we ought to ascribe the mistake to the great age of the two mandarins whom you charged with this business; but as it is illegal, we cannot represent your affairs to his majesty, and accordingly returned all to you.” (16) The official offered a formal explanation of the reason the Koreans rejected trade relations: “Our kingdom is a dependent state of China; we can do nothing without the imperial decree: this is our law.” (17) The argument presented here as a justification for rejecting the offer of trade and travel relations does not touch on the central issue in the position of the royal government. As is well-known, the reasons for the strict policy of isolation from foreigners was connected to Korea’s decisive historical experiences with the domination and efforts at occupation imposed by its neighboring states, especially Japan, in the 16th and 17th centuries. From this point on, a deeply rooted distrust towards all foreigners dominated Korean politics.

Not only was the decision of the royal court contrary to the national[page 78] interest of Korea, but also, as Guetzlaff notes, the local mandarins, such as General Kim, disapproved of it: “He expressed his deep regret that strangers should not be permitted to have any intercourse with his country…” (18)

Of course the Protestant missionary was well aware that opening the country to foreigners was a double-edged sword, and he wrote accordingly: “Would their present state have been what it is, had they been allowed intercourse with foreigners? ‘Exclusion’ may have kept them from the adoption of foreign customs, but has not meliorated their condition.” (19) But already in the opening section of the chapter on Korea, he emphasizes a fundamental historical insight whose validity extends beyond any particular epoch: “As long as this system of exclusion of which they boast continues, they must always remain in the lowest rank of nations.” (20)

The first German in Korea had departed on the ‘Lord Amherst’ on August 17 and after a stay on the Riu-Kiu-Islands sailed back to Macao. He had not achieved any of the goals of his mission, but had been given ample provisions by his hospitable Korean contacts.

In spite of the failure of the expedition, Guetzlaff’s one-month stay on the west coast of Korea must be regarded as an important milestone in the contacts between the Western world and Korea in the early 19th century. In many respects the response of the local population as well as the mandarins was positive. This was due in large measure to Guetzlaff’s linguistic brilliance, the medical help he offered, and his Chinese garb. In his travel report he rightly stresses: “Never did foreigners, perhaps, possess such free access to the country as we enjoyed. We hope that the communications which we transmitted will suggest to the rulers a different line of policy from that which they have hitherto followed. The inhabitants seem to possess sound understanding, but with great pride and apathy of feeling.” (21)

A glance at Korean history substantiates the basic accuracy of Guetzlaff’s[page 79] travel report. In his well-known book, ‘The Call of Korea,’ Horace G. Underwood already pays tribute to Guetzlaffs voyage: “As early as 1832, the intrepid Prussian pioneer missionary Guetzlaff landed, and spent a month on the island in Basil’s Bay, disposing Chinese Bibles and other books.”

(22) In his standard work The History of Protestant Missions in Korea’ George Paik explains how, upon arrival, the ‘Lord Amherst’ dropped anchor near “...the cape of Changsan, on the west coast of the Hwanghae Province”

(23) and later anchored more southwards off the coast of Chung Chyong Province.

Paik designates the year 1832 as the beginning of Protestant missionary efforts in Korea. This marks 1832 as the year of Guezlaff’s visit, which Paik makes a point of characterizing as peaceful. Paik’s assessment of these missionary attempts is realistic when he says that the “...visit to Korea was so brief that no recognizable results were produced.” (24) The former president of the Yonsei University provided later generations of scholars an important Korean source concerning Guetzlaff’s visit. In his writings, the president refers to the annals of the 7th month of the 32nd year of the reign of King Sun-Jo. The Naval General Kim who is mentioned by name in Guetzlaff’s journal and the Mandarin Lee are historically verified in the annals as Kim Hyeong-Su and Lee Min-Hee. The information which they collected and passed on to the royal court are striking in their focus on the essential and also their wealth of detail regarding particular important questions. Their painstaking transmission of information regarding the cargo of the ship (including 50 bails of cotton, 40 lantern, 100 knives, 500 bowls, wheat) confirms the commercial character of the undertaking. At the same time the annals give us insight into the world view of Koreans at that time. For instance, England is presumed to be right next to Hindustan. In addition there are statements to the effect that England is a state which respects its citizens and maintains trade relations with countries such as France, Siam, Russia, Holland and Africa. (25) It supports the view that the[page 80] expedition was undertaken to create friendly trade relations, that a petition to this effect was submitted, and, in the end, bowed to the wish of the Korean king that they should leave the country. Thus a favorable opportunity to pave the way to peaceful trade contacts between Korea and the West was not utilized.

Among the publications that resulted from the voyage to Korea, Guetzlaff’s explications of the Korean language deserve special attention. It is to the Prussian missionary’s credit that in contrast to earlier philological commentators, he published the first treatise in the entire Western World dealing with the Korean language that was based on first-hand information. It is characteristic of the speed with which Guetzlaff worked that in November 1832, shortly after the voyage, he published an article entitled ‘Remarks on the Corean language’. Within a short time, in 1833, this article was made available in abbreviated form to German-speaking readers.

Despite the reservations of the part of the Koreans, Guetzlaff had succeeded as best he could in acquainting himself with the Korean language and put together some notes on it. This is confirmed in several sources, including the ‘Report of Proceedings on a Voyage to the Northern Ports of China in the Ship ‘Lord Amherst “ published in London in 1833 by order of the House of Commons: “One day, the 27th [of July 1832; S. B.], after a great deal of persuasion, we succeeded in inducing Yang-yih to write out a copy of the Corean alphabet, and Mr. Gutzlaff having written the Lord’s Prayer in Chinese character (sic), he both gave the sound, and wrote it out in Corean character (sic), but after having done so he expressed the greatest alarm, repeatedly passing his hand across his throat, and intimating, that if the chiefs knew it [,] (sic) he would loose his head. He was most anxious to be permitted to destroy the paper. To quiet his apprehension, it was locked up before him, and he was assured that no one should ever be allowed to see it. (26) In his article ‘Remarks on the Corean language’ Guetzlaff places the[page 81] Korean language within the cultural sphere of China and comments in this connection: When the lands neighboring China “...adopted (sic) Chinese mode of writing, they introduced also their original sounds of the characters, but as their organs of speech differed widely from those of the Chinese, they were either unable to pronounce them correctly, or they confounded them with similar sounds in their own language, which were more familiar their ears... Thus two languages arose, one merely expressive of the sounds of the written characters, the other expressive of the ideas uttered. For the latter, the natives of the respective countries..., invented alphabets, strictly adapted to their own organs of speech. These general remarks apply fully to the Corean language.” (27) Korea made this step in the development and introduction of Hangul already in the mid-fifteenth century under King Sejong the Great. The article ‘Remarks on the Corean language’ contains these Korean letters. Even though he was a language genius, with a command of an entire range of European and East-Asian languages, Guetzlaff did make mistakes, due no doubt to the short length of his stay. For example, he assumes that there is a similar sentence structure in Chinese and Korean, and he speaks of 15 consonants. However, in the Korean of that time there were 17 consonants. Moreover, today there are only 14 remaining. On the other hand, he very precisely describes the 11 vowels of that period (at present there are 10, since the dark ‘a’ is no longer in usage). Similarly, he discusses intonation, pronunciation, details of sentence construction, and even word order. On the whole it is accurate to say that Guetzlaff was one of the first Europeans who contributed to the dissemination of knowledge about the Korean language. In this way he laid important cornerstones for scholarly study of Korean in the Western World.

The Protestant emissary performed brilliantly during the expedition as a perfect translator and skilled missionary with a profound knowledge of the Chinese and East-Asian mentality. It were two publications especially that rapidly escalated the Protestant missionary to world fame: The Journal of [page 82] Two Voyages Along the Coast of China in 1831, & 1832; the First in a Chinese Junk; the Second in the British Ship Lord Amherst: With Notices of Siam, Corea, and the Loo-Choo Islands, and Remarks On the Policy, Religion etc. of China，(New York: 1833) and ‘Journal of Three Voyages Along the Coast of China, in 1831, 1832, & 1833, With Notices of Siam, Corea, and the Loo-Choo Islands’ published 1834 at London (German version Basel: 1835). It was these volumes, that were later translated into other European languages which made a fundamental contribution to the transfer of information to Europe and North America about China and Korea in particular and about East-Asia in general.

The well-known missionary Broomhall Marshall paid tribute to Guetzlaff’s pioneering achievement with the words: “one can hardly imagine the enormous enthusiasm that these reports generated in political, religious and business circles in England and America.” (28) Almost 150 years after the report of the Dutchman Hendrik Hamel on Korea, Guetzlaff remains one of the few Europeans, who contributed to the modernization and enrichment of the image of Korea.

An important stage in Guetzlaff’s further activities in East-Asia was his appointment in 1834 to the Chinese Secretary and translator at the English legation in Canton. This guaranteed him a certain measure of financial independence. On the one hand, he was now a part of the British establishment in East-Asia. On the other hand, he continued his missionary work with undiminished elan. He focused his efforts on China, as is indicated by nearly a dozen trips he took into the Middle Kingdom and along the coasts, as well as an expedition he planed to Tibet. Even so, he never lost sight of the totality of East Asia, as is attested by his participation in a voyage by ship in 1837 to do missionary work and pave the way for trade contacts with Japan, which at the time was closed to foreigners. In spite of his efforts, the Japanese prevented the cargo from being unloaded. [page 83]

Nonetheless, Guetzlaff was able to make a contribution to missionary work in Nippon by contributing to the translation of the Gospel according St. Johannis.

Naturally the Prussian missionary was in his missionary activities always obligated to respect the trade interests and the political ambitions of his British employers.

During the military skirmishes between Great Britain and China between 1839 and 1842 Guetzlaff continued in his double capacity as a missionary and also as a confidant of the British. Thus, for example, in 1840 he served as a magistrate in the strategically important Zhousan Islands at the mouth of the Jiangtse, and, later on in the harbor city of Ningbo. In 1842, after the end of the war, he participated in the negotiations for the Nanking peace treaty, which began the forced opening of China through military force. It also signified a breakthrough for Christian missionary work. In 1843 in recognition of his important service to the British, Guetzlaff was given the important position of Chinese Secretary to the Governeur of Hongkong. Running parallel to his administrative and political function, Guetlzlaff was able, in the time that followed, to utilize the new possibilities to intensify his missionary activities and increase his work as a publicist. He knew how to further the results of his increased output as a writer in a manner that was made extremely effective use of the media.

A highpoint in Guetzlaffs dynamic and intensely creative life was his travel in Europe in 1849-1850. In the course of this trip he traversed the continent in breath-taking tempo, from Ireland to White Russia and from Sweden to Italy. His primary task was to publicize his missionary work, to acquire material and personal resources for future activities, and also to disseminate knowledge about China and the bordering lands of East-Asia. Thanks to his prominence, his gripping presentations, and his aura, Guetzlaff[page 84] was certain to have a full house everywhere he went. His sermons and lectures drew thousands of people from all over Europe like a magnet, which led to a genuine Guetzlaff-euphoria among the public and in the media. His basic message consisted in promoting support for missionary work all over East-Asia. On May 30, 1850, already during his second lecture in Berlin, a sermon held in the Trinity Church, he mentioned Korea by name when he said: “that one worships Thee [God; S. B.] in Manchuria, one honors Thee in Korea and bows to Thee in Japan. Lord, have pity on these nations and give them Thy mercy!” (29) In two other Berlin sermons the missionary explicitly mentioned the Koreans.

Guetzlaff did not limit himself to the pulpit in order to awaken interest in East Asia during his stay on the European continent. It is to his credit that on October 9,1850, he was the first German who held a lecture in the Berlin Borsensaale (stock exchange chambers) which reported from his own eyewitness perspective ‘Concerning the Trade Conditions in Eastern Asia.’ The basic thrust of this lecture was to solicit support in Prussia for a flourishing trade relation with East Asia. He had already written earlier in his ‘Journal of the Three Voyages Along the Coast of China...’concerning the economic potential of Korea: “We could never discover the staple articles of export from the country. Judging from the climate and from what we have seen, we think there must be a great variety of the productions which we find in southern Europe. The natives were very desirous to persuade us that their country produced nothing for exportation…” (30) In view of Korea’s position today as one of the world’s leading export nations, this comment must appear truly grotesque.

It is further to Guetzlaff’s credit that he nonetheless includes Korea in his reflections: “Now we come to the trade with the East, that is with China, Japan, Manchuria, and Korea.” (31) He adds truthftilly: “The later is hardly worth mentioning.” (32) And in the end he adds: “Trade with Korea is too[page 85] insignificant, and in Manchuria there is still little that has been undertaken.”(33) With historical insight into future possibilities he concludes his evaluation: “Both regions will, however, soon be the subject of serious, consideration.” (34) These examples confirm that his visit to Korea in 1832 definitely make its mark on Guetzlaff. Moreover, his repeated references to Korea may have been the first official mention of the country in Germany, or at least in Berlin. In any event, he is the first German who examined Korea in an East Asian context from a commercial point of view.

As a result of Guetzlaff s presentations, support groups for his missionary work sprang up all over both inside and outside of Germany. His writings about his missionary work in China and East-Asia were published in large editions. At the same time he received many honors, including, for example, an audience with the Prussian King Frieanch Wilhelm IV.

His life took something of a tragic turn, when towards the end of his triumphal tour of Europe he had to respond to accusations regarding the methods of his missionary efforts and defend his reputation. On the one hand there was ill-will as well as envy because of so much admiration for Guetzlaff from his professional colleagues. And then on the other hand there was just criticism of his missionary methods from colleagues who judged him objectively. Accustomed as he was to success, this hit him hard, even though his personal integrity had not been called into question. Defending himself from these intrigues and from some just criticism exhausted his reserve of energy, which had already been dissipatea by his hectic travels. In any event, his life’s work was now being put to the test. Upon returning to Hongkong he used up what little strength he haa left in his attempt to maintain and preserve what he had accomplished. But the missionary, who had devoted his life to his projects, was not to recover from these superhuman efforts. On August 9, 1851，the great son of Pommerania, Karl Friedrich August Guetzlaff, who brought the German Protestant[page 86] mission to East Asia passed away, having only reached the age of 48.

His name and his work were soon to lose their luster, especially since the principles he put forth did not mesh with the conceptions of missionaries who succeeded him in the age of imperialistic expansion which followed. His principles included a belief in the equality and equal ranking of nations, and a high regard for the Chinese and their culture. It is only in historical and missionary literature that he is remembered or, rather, often refuted, without coming close to doing justice to his outstanding significance in the complex texture of the relations between the Western World and East-Asia in the 19th-century. This is true of standard works in the West and in East-Asia as well. Thus, representative reference works such as ‘Dong-A’s Encyclopaedia’( Seoul 1983) and ‘Hakwon’s World Encyclopaedia’ (Seoul 1993) only give brief biographical data and the travel date 1832.

After Guetzlaff’s death, it took almost 150 years until steps were take towards his historical rehabilitation. It is to the credit of Dr. Winfried Scharlau that in 1997 he published a new annotated edition of ‘Gutzlaffs Bericht uber drei Reisen in die Seeprovinzen Chinas 1831-1833.’ The book and Scharlau’s commentary marked a milestone in the reevaluation of Guetzlaff s role in history. The renowned journalist explains in his biographical essay that among other things: “The name of the Prussian missionary in British service streaked like a comet throughout the world and was rapidly extinguished. In the controversies among missionaries … Guetzlaff fell into the garbage pail of history. In the end, the victors were his opponents who denigrated him as a charlatan, fraud, and adventurer.... Today in Europe Guetzlaff is unknown, notwithstanding the breadth of his world historical influence in Asia.” (35) Also worthy of mention is the publication ‘Karl Friedrich Neumann und Karl Friedrich August Gutzlaff. Zwei deutsche Chinakundige im 19. Jahrhundert, ‘ edited in 2001 by the Director of the East Asian Department of the State Library at Berlin Dr. Hartmut[page 87] Walravens. In addition, we should take note that the German Embassy in Korea has erected in 1982 a stone monument on Wonsan-do to honor the first German who arrived in Korea.

To summarize we must again assert that Karl Guetzlaff was not only a devoted missionary, but also a successful promoter of British interests, a talented master of public relations, and an efficient fundraiser. His willingness to mesh the Bible, commerce, and the transfer of information are attested to by his activities in Korea. These activities are reflected in his wide-ranging and ambitious missionary efforts and they correspond to the basic pattern of Western operations in Asia in the 19th Century. The dimensions of Guetzlaff’s missionary goals, which were aimed at East-Asia as a whole, smacks of a certain megalomania-even if from his subjective point of view they were a part of honest good intentions. As his biographer, Schlyter, stresses: In all of his activities “Guetzlaff overestimated the importance of quick and superficial missionary work and the distribution of written materials.” (36) In his missionary zeal, he often succumbed to illusions, and proved himself to be “a man of visions, who often designated something as a fact that he saw as a promise of the future.” (37)

This qualification of his impressive activities and influence is, however, not intended to belittle the outstanding achievements of Guetzlaff the missionary as an inspiration and pathfinder for Protestant missionary work in East Asia and as a pioneer in the network of relations between Europe and East Asia. From today’s perspective, the symbiosis he sought between Western values and those of Chinese culture pays testimony to his deeply felt humanistic concept of missionary work and his commitment to promoting contacts between peoples. This symbiosis was based on the principles of equal ranking and mutual respect rather than hegemony and intolerance. Thus it is correct to describe Karl Friedrich August Guetzlaff as a forerunner in the process of establishing basic values and principles which[page 88]

increasingly characterize relations in our global epoch and serve to benefit mankind.

It is in this sense that Guetzlaffs name and his inestimable contribution to the intercultural dialog, and to better understanding between the Orient and Occident, will continue to live through the centuries.

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**Murder in the Land of the Morning Calm**

Robert D. Neff

Korea was one of the last oriental kingdoms to be opened to the west. It was often referred to as the Hermit Kingdom by the west, but in Chinese it was known as Choson- the Land of the Morning Calm. Chemulpo, now part of modern Inchon, was the gateway into the Land of the Morning Calm and as William Franklin Sands described it: “Chemulpo was an unattractive entrance to a great adventure.”1

Since Chemulpo’s opening in 1882, it had grown from a cluster of squalid Korean huts to a bustling city of modern buildings, hotels, stores and taverns with a mixed foreign population of 6,750 people in June 1898. Most of the foreign population was Japanese (4,350), but there was a large number of Chinese (1,350), and both of these groups lived in tneir own part of the foreign settlement, while the remainder-composed of Americans (17), British (15),Germans (10), Austrians (7), French (5), Portuguese (3), and Italians (3) dwelt in the General Foreign Settlement.2

While most of the foreign population in the interior of Korea were missionaries-the greater part of the foreign community in Chemulpo were diplomats, businessmen, members of the Korean Imperial Customs service and their families along with a large number of transients who served aboard the many ships that made calls upon the port. Crime wasn’t unknown in this small foreign settlement-petty crimes of theft and even assault were often reported but were usually committed by Koreans-rarely by westerners, but this was all to change.

On August 31，1898，the unexpected news of a death, possibly a murder，in Chemulpo made its way to the American legation in Seoul. The deceased was George W. Lake, “an elderly unamiable beachcomber” who ran a small shop selling alcohol and commodities in the slum section of the Chinese Settlement. He was found dead in his bed on the second floor of his[page 92] relatively empty house and shop, possibly murdered. It’s unknown who discovered the body, and under what circumstances the building had been entered, or even what time the discovery was made. However, we do know the constable3 was given the unhappy task of reporting the death to the only person in the city that had a close relationship with the deceased John G. Flanagan. It was with great difficulty that Mr. Flanagan was aroused from his sleep at the late hour of eight in the morning, and when he was told of the death of his friend and benefactor, instead of displaying sorrow, he complained about Mr. Lake and continued to eat his breakfast and drink his brandy.

A telegram was sent to the American Legation in Seoul by Walter Townsend4 and asked that someone be sent to examine the body. Franklin William Sands, the young flamboyant American vice-consul, was sent to Chemulpo to examine the body and determine if foul play had occurred. Sands went to the Chemulpo Club where most of the foreigners residing in Chemulpo whiled away their time. When he explained to them his mission he was met with laughter and jokes-obviously George Lake was not thought too highly of. The laughter soon turned into curses and complaints when Sands drafted these leading men of Chemulpo5 into a coroner’s jury and they were instructed to accompany him to the deceased’s home to help determine the cause of death. Most of these men were undoubtedly American but Sands did manage to get the English consul (H.A. Ottewill) and coerced an English doctor to join his coroner’s jury.

It seems that no one in the group knew the location of George Lake’s home and they were forced to wander around Chemulpo asking for directions before they found it in a run-down section of the Chinese settlement. It was a small two-story house located next door to an abandoned opium den. Sands described it as filthy and reeking with a rotten stench. The state of the body and the building was so poor and disgusting that Sands was only able to keep his Coroner’s Jury from deserting him by threatening “impossible and fantastic things”-even Sands was forced to leave the body for a short[page 93] time to regain his composure.

George Lake’s body was obviously badly diseased, and even though they were fairly sure that he had died from natural causes they none-the-less searched it for evidence of foul play. The English surgeon that conducted the autopsy stated that the combination of evident diseases were enough to kill anyone and concluded that Lake had died from natural causes. In addition, Sands and the British Consul questioned the Chinese that lived around Mr. Lake, inquiring of his activities on the day and night of his death, whom he had met, his acquaintances and his habits but none of these aroused suspicions of foul play. As a result of their investigation and the results of the British doctor’s autopsy, the Coroner’s Jury determined that George Lake had died as a result of natural causes and not foul play. Sands then returned to Seoul to report his findings and the decision of the Coroner’s Jury to Mr. Allen.

Chemulpo was like any other small isolated community, news-and especially rumors spread rapidly-often becoming exaggerated and distorted. Within days the news had reached the United States by cable and later by letter that Lake had been murdered. It was the cable sent to Senator Lodge7 of Massachusetts that aroused his powerful interest in the case and caused him to put pressure upon the American Minister, Allen, to ensure that the “murderers be brought to justice.” A letter from the United States to Korea described how it was printed in the papers in the States as “An American named Lake, who for years has kept a small store at Chemulpo, was found murdered in bed on Sept.3rd It is believed that Chinese, who owed him large sums of money, committed the deed. Every effort is being made to apprehend the murderers. Lake was an old man and is believed to have come from New York. He left considerable money.”8 The local newspapers reported him as having been found with a large hole in his head possibly caused by a Chinese weight which was found a short distance away with the victim’s hair on it. The initial Coroner’s Jury never mentioned a hole in Lake’s head, and it seems highly unlikely they would have missea it, but the[page 94] rumor surrounding the death included the hole in his head. A few days later, an offer of 100 dollars reward for any information leading to capture of the murderer was made in the local newspaper-a murderer had to be found even if there wasn’t one.

Sands was again sent to Chemulpo, this time to find a killer that he did not believe existed. It was finally decided on September 22nd that John Flanagan, a naturalized American that Lake had taken in and treated as a son, was responsible for the death of George Lake. Sands thought that Flanagan was one of the drifting seamen that often came in and out of Chemulpo and had given a “satisfactory account of himself as one expected from a discharged sailor in a rather low seaport town. He was indicated in my instructions, however, as the obvious person to arrest.”9 Flanagan was not a sailor and actually came to Korea as professional mining expert to work with the American Mining Company owned by Mr. Leigh Hunt, but Hunt thought he was of such poor character that he dismissed him before reaching the mines. Charges were drawn up by Alfred Stripling and a warrant was issued for the arrest of Flanagan for the murder of George Lake. It is unclear who accompanied Sands to Flanagan’s home to arrest him, and Sands was very nervous when he found Flanagan cleaning a large revolver and obviously feared the worst. Flanagan evidently didn’t want trouble, and much to Sands’ relief, agreed to put down the gun and accompany him to Seoul to stand trial in a consular court for murder.

Meanwhile back in Seoul, Consul-General Allen busily prepared for the up-coming trial. The European countries all had clauses in their treaties that the respective legations would try and punish their own citizens when it came to crimes committed in Korea by their nationals. It was widely believed that the Western countries had progressed from “barbarous forms of torture” and punishment to more humane and compassionate treatment of prisoners, where as the Asian countries had not progressed to this level yet. It was felt that Westerners could not get a fair trial under the Korean court and thus the need for these Consular Courts. United States still has a form[page 95] of this with its SOFA status in the various nations that it maintains military forces. Then, as it does now, it created a great disgust amongst the people who felt that the Westerners could not be adequately punished for their infractions of Korean laws.

Allen, with his own money, had a two-cell jail built on the American Legation grounds in preparation for Flanagan. Even though Sands doesn’t mention anyone accompanying him when he escorted Flanagan to Seoul from Chemulpo on October 18th, he was most likely not alone and may have been accompanied by Mr. Coleman, the American Legation’s constable, Mr. Alfred Stripling, the foreign advisor to the Korean police, or perhaps Sgt. Boxwell-the British naval assistant to Mr. Stripling. It is probably safe to assume that they walked the 26 miles from Chemulpo to Seoul, the Seoul- Chemulpo Railroad still had not been completed, and the steamships that plied the river were notorious for their long delays caused by their frequent grounding on the ever-shifting sandbars.10

The trial was conducted on October 31 at the American Legation presided by Consul-General Allen and four associate judges: Revs. Henry G. Appenzeller, Samuel F. Moore and Daniel L. Gifford, and the fourth member was the lawyer Clarence R. Greathouse. Sands described Greathouse as having sobered up long enough to partake of the trial but Allen made no mention of his drinking and instead described him as distinguished. The Rev. Dr. Underwood and later Alexander Kenmure represented Flanagan in his defense.

The murder weapon was the first point of contention. Allen claimed that when Flanagan was brought to the murder site he picked up the Chinese weight that had been used as the murder weapon-he then put it back onto the floor. Later, when he was asked about the weight, he denied seeing the weight claiming, “Well I never saw that before,” even though he claimed that he found the safe keys on the floor, which were right next to the weight. When he was shown the weight he suggested that Lake “must have fallen and hurt himself.” Allen scoffed at this idea that a man could have fallen[page 96] upon the weight and then, with a large hole in his head, climbed back into his bed-especially when he felt that the blow caused instantaneous death. It seems strange that Allen could not believe that Lake was that sick and weak that he could have fallen. Allen had noted that “on the day of his murder, he [Lake] was scarcely able to return the salute of a passing friend, and had twice to be assisted, once after falling down stairs at about 4 p.m. the day of the murder, and again at dusk, when he was taken sick at his door.”

The conclusion of murder completely contradicts the earlier diagnosis of the English doctor that Sands coerced into joining his first investigation. How is it that the Coroner’s Jury could conclude that it was natural causes that resulted in his death, had the body buried that night, but later, another jury would find that the cause of death was murder-even though they had not examined the body. It is remarkable that Allen, a former doctor, didn’t go to Chemulpo himself to see the body when it was thought that a murder had been committed, instead preferring to send Sands.

It was noted that there were several American axes at the foot of the bed that could have been more readily used as a murder weapon, but instead a piece of heavy iron was brought from the Chinese steel yards and used. This implies that it was premeditated murder and that it had been left conspicuously lying on the floor so that the suspicion would fall upon the Chinese-which in fact it did in the United States. Allen, however, did not suspect the Chinese and stated that the relations between the Chinese and Mr. Lake were very good and furthermore, they had no reason to rob an empty house. Allen was convinced that the Chinese were incapable of killing a “man with one sure steady blow, as was so neatly done in this case. A coward would have made sure of his work and caused more or less mutilation.”

Robbery wasn’t believed to be the motive because Lake was known to have very little ready money-a couple of days prior to the murder he had sold goods at a loss in order to pay off a pressing debt, and the house did not appear to have been ransacked. In fact, on October 3rd, F.H. Morsel sold off[page 97] his estate which consisted of “sundry articles and stores of all kinds,” two rice hullers and an assortment of Sherry, Portwine and Claret in 50 gallon casks. Nothing really seemed to be missing-only a set of binoculars found at the embankment on the property and appeared to have been set there to give credence to the robbery theory. These binoculars had not been noticed on the morning of the murder but the following day, a custom’s employee found them unbroken and just lying on the embankment-he opined that it was an attempt to mislead them into thinking it was a robbery.

There was a safe, unlocked, but it most likely contained nothing more than documents which were never found. Allen claimed that Lake was a ‘man of careful habits’ and would have kept careful notes and preserved any valuable papers in his safe. It was his believe that the safe, and what was within it, led Flanagan to murder Lake.

Why would Flanagan, a penniless wanderer when he met George Lake, kill the man who took him in and treated him like a son-Lake had loaned him some 714 Yen11 in cash and goods and had only received some 175 Yen back in payments, he let Flanagan live in one of his buildings, and had promised to let him run the new saloon that they were about to open. It was speculated that the motive of the murder was to obtain the documents that were within the safe-documents that may have implicated Flanagan of embezzlement or of forgery. There was evidence that Flanagan had practiced George Lake’s signature and that several letters sent to Edward Lake in Nagasaki appeared to be forgeries. Some of these letters were demands for goods to be sent to Chemulpo while other were letters George wrote to ask his brother why he was sending him these goods. Flanagan owed Lake over 500 Yen and he could have practiced forging his signature in order to wipe out the debt that he owed. When Edward arrived in Chemulpo a couple days after the murder Flanagan deliberately avoided him-even though they knew each other through frequent correspondence. It was further alleged that Flanagan had stolen the goods intended for the new saloon that Lake had planned on opening, all prime motives for murder. [page 98]

Flanagan was confident that he was in George Lake’s will and boasted to Alfred F.A.W. Busby that if there were a will, he was sure that he was the benefactor and would inherit all of Lake’s properties. What wasn’t mentioned is that Busby, an Englishman, had just recently returned to Korea (just in time for the trial) after having served three months at hard labor for assaulting a well-liked Korean national. Allen thought that Flanagan had motive to kill Mr. Lake: Either to obtain the documents that proved he owed the deceased several hundred Yen and had stolen materials and supplies that were to be used for the new saloon or because he was sure that he was a benefactor in Lake’s will and he was no longer willing to wait for the old man to die.

Throughout the trial Flanagan perjured himself on several occasions. When asked about his whereabouts on the night of the murder, he insisted that he was at home the entire night. However, he was witnessed entering Lake’s home just as the lamps were being lit on the streets but no one noticed him leaving. Later that night he was seen wandering the streets by three Westerners around 9 or 10, and later he was witnessed visiting the brothels, drunk, and wearing Chinese garments similar to those that Mr. Lake was known to have owned.

It seems that when Flanagan was first taken to Lake’s home by the police he was he was asked to open the safe, which only he and the deceased were able to open, he went right to the safe knowing that the safe was unlocked. When the constable noted that the safe would need keys in order to open it, he made his way back upstairs, by himself, and then returned “as quickly as though he taken them from his own pockets.” He stated that he made a protracted search through the pockets of the deceased and finally found them on the floor next to the bed. Later when he returned the keys he did not place them in one of the articles of clothing pockets but instead placed them under the deceased’s pillow. Flanagan was in the house for nearly an hour while they waited for the Chief of Police and he could have tampered with some of the evidence. [page 99]

On November 11th the court found him guilty and sentenced him to death but this was changed to life with hard labor, after Greathouse pointed out that consular regulations did not allow them to extend the death penalty. Kenmure, Flanagan’s representative, issued a statement to the court that he planned on appealing the ruling and it was perhaps his work that eventually caused Allen to request that the President of the United State review the case (he refused) and led to the final trial in California Several years later, Allen claimed that Flanagan could have been acquitted of the crime but he had perjured himself so often that it seemed to Mr. Greathouse that he was trying to protect an accomplice in the crime.

He was taken away to his cell where he was held in confinement guarded by a drunken constable named Coleman. Obviously Flanagan was not deemed to be dangerous. When Allen returned to the United States in April 1899 on a short vacation, Flanagan was able to walk away from his cell- possibly because the constable was drunk-and managed to stay free for about a day before he realized that his life was much better while he was in jail where he had hot food and companionship, all provided by the constable and the legation. While Allen was away, Sands was in charge of the Legation and promptly fired the constable and then paroled Flanagan (his reasoning was he couldn’t leave the country anyhow) and had him work as the Legation’s gardener and stableman until late June 1901.

It is possible that as time passed Allen began to doubt his own judgement or perhaps he felt guilty. In early 1899 he requested that the matter be presented to the President of the United States in hopes that the President would reduce the sentence but it was refused. Then, in October 1900， Attorney General Griggs gave his opinion that “in this case Flanagan appears to have been guilty of willful and deliberate murder, which，in this country, would have subjected him to the death penalty. He was, however, sentenced to life imprisonment for life. I can find no ground whatever for advising the President to grant any pardon of any nature.”

After almost a year and a half under semi-arrest, Thomas K. Keller, a clerk[page 100] in the U.S. State Department, finally escorted Flanagan to the United States and San Quentin prison. Allen was disgusted with the entire affair- the cost of the jail had come out of his own pocket, and the cost to the government to take Flanagan to the San Quentin Prison was some $2,000. Perhaps Allen thought that this was the end of the issue- but he was sadly mistaken.

At some point after Flanagan arrived at San Quentin prison, another trial was held and he was found innocent of all charges. Allen found himself under attack for the illegal confinement of Flanagan both in Korea and in California by the Honorable W.A. Day, Acting Attorney General, and Mr. G. Van Vorst of Cleveland, Ohio. Van Vorst even went further and accused the court of being a “board of missionaries who had to convict someone of the crime in order to protect themselves.” Furthermore he insisted that unless a man committed the crime on embassy grounds he could not be held responsible in the United States.

Allen rebutted some of these claims in a letter that he wrote to the Secretary of State on December 12, 1903. He claimed that he had done everything possible to protect the rights of Flanagan both during the trial and after and that it was a ‘grievous matter’ for him to have to convict someone to life imprisonment. As to the charges of the missionaries having to protect themselves, this might have referred to the sharp criticism that the religious leaders received for their perceived indifference to Lake’s death and the fact that none of them officiated the funeral. Their excuse for not performing the ceremony was that they were all attending the Presbyterian Conference in Seoul and were unable to return in time.

George Lake was an old man at 53 years of age; he was in very poor health, his eyesight was nearly gone and his voice was low and weak, and he lived in a poor section of the Chinese Settlement at Chemulpo just before he died. He was described in a Chinese newspaper as an unobtrusive man of most genial temperament and exceedingly popular among his circle of acquaintances and was ever ready to bestow charities upon the needy. The Chinese residents of Chemulpo took up an offering and raised a tombstone[page 101] over his grave as a token of their appreciation to the kindness that he showed them during the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895. Not only was he generous to the Chinese, but also to the penniless John G. Flanagan, an American that would later be tried and found guilty of Lake’s murder.

Prof. Lane Earns12 has done a great deal of research into the life of George W. Lake revealing another side to George Lake that was far from the kind gentleman that the Chinese knew. George Lake arrived in Nagasaki in September 1860 and established one of the most important western companies (Lake & Co.) there, and also served as Marshall to the U.S. Consulate. From the very start he ran into trouble, in 1862 he was charged with assaulting a fellow American, a couple years later threatening a Japanese police officer and in 1871 was party to a paternity suit brought against him by a former prostitute that he lived with for a number of years.

In 1871 George Lake was deported from Nagasaki and made his way back to the United States, most likely Massachusetts-his home, where he managed to find himself in even more trouble. At one point he was arrested and convicted of incest and served time at Auburn State Prison in New York. It was in January 1893 that he made his way back to Nagasaki much to the displeasure of the American Consul William Abercrombie.

George Lake wasted no time and promptly found himself in trouble again- this time for assaulting his brother Edward. He managed to remain in Nagasaki for the remainder of the year but on January 1, 1894, he was arrested, his business closed and he was deported from Nagasaki to Shanghai, China. Three times he returned to Nagasaki and three times he was deported-the final time to Pusan on July 13, 1894, and it was most likely because of the opening of hostilities between China and Japan that he did not remain in Pusan or return to Nagasaki but instead made his way to Chemulpo. Obviously he avoided the Japanese part of the settlement and took up residence in the Chinese section, supporting the Chinese in retaliation for the Japanese having deported him.

It is obvious that he was not well liked by the other western members of[page 102] the foreign community-his funeral was held late at night attended only by the coolies that had been hired to transport his body to the cemetery and the policeman that accompanied them. There were no ministers or religious leaders in attendance and none to say a prayer over his burial grave-his death was mourned by few if any.

The Korean government obviously did not like him because of the deal involving his company in Nagasaki in regards to a ship that the Korean government bought for some 9,000 dollars in the mid- 1880s. The Korean government, under severe economic problems, fell behind on the payments and was forced to sell it back to Lake & Co for only an eighth of the original price. Later, Edward Lake, George’s brother and in charge of the company, complained about it to the American government and sought their help in obtaining additional money.

George Lake does not appear to have been mourned by anyone other than the Chinese-it is even a safe bet that there were no tears shed by his brother who did not even raise a tomb over his elder brother’s grave and with his death became the sole owner of the company.

Giving the benefit of doubt to the Chemulpo police and the community, the body was most likely buried quickly because of the diseased state of Mr. Lake and the oppressive heat of early September, which would have caused the body to decay quickly. No explanation has been given as to why the English doctor’s diagnosis of a natural death was over ruled by Allen, who never saw the body，yet, was able to rule it as a homicide. The initial coroner’s jury verdict was overturned and a new trial held-were all of these done as a result of political pressure from Senator Cabot Lodge.

1 Undiplomatic Memories, By William Franklin Sands, Page 29

2 The Independent, June 7，1898

3 The constable might have been the old Chinese constable that went through the streets at night with a set of wooden clackers chasing away the thieves, but he was later fired[page 103] because the noise bothered the Western residents of Chemulpo and replaced by an ex-navy British sailor. He did not last long. Soon after he had been hired a crime wave of thefts broke out and the Chinese Consul in Chemulpo suggested that the criminals (who were mainly Asians) were not afraid of the western policeman, even though he was young and strong, they were afraid of the Chinese constable and what his clacker represented-the attention of the gods.

4 Pioneer American Businessman in Korea, By Harold F. Cook, Page 70

Walter Townsend was perhaps the best well known American residing in Chemulpo. He served on the Municipal Council of Chemulpo and was the owner of his own trading company-one of the largest American interests in the country.

5 According to Harold F. Cook, the coroner’s jury consisted of Walter Townsend and two other Americans. In his book, Prof. Cook speculated that Townsend and Lake knew each other from Nagasaki but this seems highly unlikely as George Lake was deported in 1871 and didn’t return to Nagasaki until 1893. It is unlikely that Townsend was close to George Lake, he didn’t know where he lived, Townsend had close dealings with the Japanese and he did not attend Lake’s funeral.

6 This might have been Dr. E.H. Baldock who was the doctor at the English Church Mission at Chemulpo.

7 Sands claims that Senator Lodge arranged for his appointment as secretary to the Legation in Seoul. He also claimed that he could have had the position of Minister to Korea but he told the Assistant Secretary of State that he only aspired to be the secretary of the Legation. Allen later tried to get Sands transferred from Korea to China-under the pretext that it was for Sands, own good.

8 The Independent November 17, 1898

9 Undiplomatic Memories, By William Franklin Sands, Page 82

10 Mrs. Isabella Bird Bishop described the journey from Chemulpo to Seoul by river as: [page 104]

“Nearly every passenger who has entrusted himself to the river has a tale to tell of the boat being deposited on a sandbank, and of futile endeavors to get off, of fretting and fuming， usually ending in hailing a passing sampan and getting up to Ma-pu many hours behind time, tired, hungry and disgusted.” The river was “not much patronized by people who respect themselves.” As to the road she said that it was plagued with deep mud, “nearly bottomless.” “Bullock-carts owned by Chinese attempt the transit of goods, and two or three embedded in the mud till the spring showed with what success.” Korea and Her Neighbours -，page 35

11 In the treaty ports Japanese money was often used, as were other silver currencies such as the British Sterling, American Dollar and especially the Mexican Silver Dollar. All of these foreign silver coins bore chop marks that verified the purity of the silver but because of the fluctuation of silver the value of these coins also fluctuated. The Japanese had several banks in Korea and their money was considered one of the safest-being guaranteed by their banks in Korea, and tended to be the most widely spread and convenient. I think that the Yen at this time was about the same value of a dollar and Constable Coleman’s salary in 1901 was $50 - which was considered to be well paid.

12 Prof. Lane Earns of the Department of History at the University of Wisconsin (Oshkosh) has done a great deal of research into the westerners that dwelt in Nagasaki just after it was opened to the west. He has done extensive research into George Lake and provided most of the information on George Lake’s life in the United States and Japan.

[page 104]

**Chusok Trip to China 2002**

Reported by Nancy Peck

Fourteen travelers gathered at Incheon International Airport early on Friday，20 September 2002 for a quick four-day, three-night overview of China during the Korean Chusok holiday (China’s mid-Autumn moon festival). This is Korea’s biggest holiday, during which almost everyone returns to their family homes to pay homage to their ancestors. The holiday provides a good opportunity for ex-pats to do some international traveling. Dr. Kim Yong-duk led the RAS sponsored group, assisted by Ms. Kim Hye Ree. Dr. Kim provided lectures and background information to help us understand the connections between Korean and Chinese culture and history. Ms. Kim handled all the logistics and kept the group going in the same direction! She faced a challenging task. The group consisted of five Germans, four Americans, two Korans, one Portuguese, one Chilean, and one Czech.

We flew first to Shanghai, China where we were met by David, our tour guide for the day. Several attempted to change money at the airport, but the line was long and time was short, so we hustled off to the waiting bus while our luggage was checked through to the next flight. We enjoyed a whirlwind tour of the city.At the Shanghai Museum, we ran into two American ex-pats from Seoul who were also traveling in China. Turns out that they were both RAS regulars, so they spent the day with our group before continuing on their own. On our way from the airport to the Shanghai museum we were treated to views of a very modern city. The museum is housed in a building that is an architectural combination of circle and squares, and example of the Chinese traditional concept that imagines heaven as round and earth as square. The centerpiece of Shanghai’s People’s Square, the museum embodies the modern spirit of the city. The museum houses an impressive collection of Chinese painting, jade, seals, Ming and Qing furniture, coins[page 106] and ethnic art among other exhibits. We scattered throughout the museum so that we each had the opportunity to explore exhibits that interested us most. The very nice museum shop off the main lobby was the first of many shopping opportunities and provided several of the group with an introduction to Chinese products.

Our lunch stop was the famous Yuyuan Gardens and Bazaar area. In the quickly evolving modern city of Shanghai, this area retains the flavor of old Shanghai. On our way to lunch we wound our way through the antique market and past many interesting shops. We were on a tight schedule, however, and quick photos had to suffice. I managed to record one very colorful shop selling giant traditional Chinese red tassels. The entire shop was decked out in these, and I thought it was quite spectacular. The building was traditional Chinese architecture and was quite picturesque. The area was teeming with people, including lots of tourists, which lent an air of excitement to the whole scene. When we reached our lunch destination, it was in a multi-storied Friendship Store loaded with all sorts of wonderful purchasing possibilities. We meandered our way through some of the merchandise to get to the dining room. Large round tables, with seating for ten, with the customary “lazy susan” in the center awaited us. The food was typical Chinese and tasted very good to us, as we had already been traveling since before dawn.

After lunch we had a bit of time to purchase the specialty items offered in the store. We knew that this would be our only opportunity to shop in Shanghai and wanted to take advantage of this. The quality and selection of goods available was quite nice, although the prices matched.

We then headed to the actual garden, the Yuyuan, which were built in 1577. The original gardens were destroyed but have since been rebuilt. The gardens offer a beautiful setting and surprising solitude in the midst of an otherwise bustling city and market area. The place was crowded with tourists, but was still a very pleasant experience. The garden is a picturesque place and offered lots of photo opportunities. One section of the gardens[page 107] were under construction, whether renovation or new we couldn’t tell. It was interesting to see how many people were working on the project and observe their construction methods, which seemed quite different from what we are accustomed to seeing in the west. We took a leisurely stroll around the garden and then on to the bridges over ponds surrounding the famous Huxinting Tea House. It would have been fun to have tea in this ancient wooden building, but it is quite expensive and we had just had tea during lunch, not to mention the extra time we would have needed. We settled for photos and noticed a Starbucks coffee practically next door for those preferring a modern counterpart. There are boardwalks across the ponds surrounding the teahouse and the water fountains were spouting their displays. The day was beautiflil and sunny and the scenery quite impressive.

Once again boarding our bus, we toured the city on the way to the Bund, also known as Waitan. This is the street with all the famous commercial buildings built in the 1920s and 1930s. Standing on the harbor-side, we could look at all the buildings and across the Huangpu River to the new Pudang section of Shanghai, with the Pearl of the Orient television tower, high-rise hotels, and other new development. There is also a high-rise expressway, which allows traffic to move quite well and affords travelers sweeping vistas of the city as they pass by. Shanghai residents, in an effort to move around the city, often travel by bicycle. The bikes queue up at the intersections waiting for the lights to change and then rush off en masse. We had a little time before we had to be back at the airport for our next flight, so there was time to visit a silk carpet factory and showroom. The carpets were really fantastic and quite amazing to see the girls laboring at them. Apparently young girls make the best workers. Probably because the yarns and patterns are so fine that anyone over 25 wouldn’t be able to see them， nor would their fingers be nimble enough for the extremely fine work. We had an explanation about the different qualities of carpets and learned a bit more about what to for when buying carpets.

It was time to return to the airport to fly to Zhangjiajre, which used to be[page 108] called Dayong. Located in Hunan province, the city is a couple of hours west of Shanghai by air. The new name is very difficult for non-Chinese to pronounce, and we all tripped over the pronunciation for the next few days.

Hunan province has some of the richest agricultural land in China. Zhangjiajie is home to three of the province’s minority peoples. The flight to central China was packed as the Chinese were celebrating mid-Autumn Moon Festival the next day. Lots of people were traveling, perhaps to be with families. The flight was uneventful and we all disembarked upon landing and made our way across a little-lit airport to the terminal. We commented that we were glad we were the only flight landing. We waited for our luggage which soon arrived at the terminal door on a trailer That was as far as it was going. It was up to each of us to find our own bags, pull them off the truck, and to do this in the dark. Quite interesting. Most were good sports and it worked out all right.

Our guide for the next two days, Ms. Zheng, also known as Ganory, met us and shepherded us into our waiting bus. Also along for the ride was a young man who would be video taping our stay in the area. The Chinese have caught on to the capitalist system and have figured out how to make money at every turn. We learned that a majority of the tourists to the area are Korean. In fact, on the first night our guide assumed we were Korean, since we were coming from Korea, and that we would want Korean food. Our international group assured her that we were looking forward to Chinese food and a change of meal plans was telephoned ahead to the restaurant, which graciously accommodated our last minute adjustment. It was late evening, around 8 p.m., and we were really ready to eat. One of the dishes was a tomato and scrambled egg mixture, along with many other dishes, too, but the tomato-egg dish would find its way into nearly every meal we ate in the central Hunan area.

The hotel in Zhangjiajie was modern and quite nice. The area is a tourist zone, and in 1984 Zhangjiajie, Suoxiyu Valley and Tianzi Mountain, an area of 369 square kilometers was formally named Wulingyuan. In 1988 the[page 109] State Council designated the area as a scenic area, and in 1992 UNESCO placed the area on the World Heritage list as a cultural and natural site of exceptional and universal value. Wulingyuan comprises a lofty forest, crystal clear lakes, limpid streams and above all, its unique karst topography. The quartzite sandstone crags and canyons are really quite a spectacle.

Day two dawned early and the first order of business was to try to exchange money. Although it was 8 a.m. Saturday morning, and a holiday, we were assured that a bank would be open. Not just any back, though, as it have to be a bank that was authorized to exchange foreign currency. Our group strained the bank’s cash reserves in our desire to acquire local currency. Eight Yuan equals about 1 US Dollar, and while most of us didn’t exchange a great deal of currency, money seems to go much further in China. Waiting on the busy street comer while everyone finished their banking transactions we were interested in observing the local folks, but not quite sure which was the more curious, us or them! We were especially intrigued by a small local parade moving past and a transaction involving a chicken sale. The chicken was transported in a basket on the seller’s back and negotiations were held right in front of us before the chicken was finally carried off by the buyer.

Traveling into the National Park area, rural housing tended to be two storied brick structures. They seemed quite substantial. Most houses appeared to have electricity and tile roofs. Crops of rice and various vegetables were plentiftil and nearly ready for harvest. We saw lots of fruits and mushrooms in the local markets. The Zhangjjajie area seems to be prospering and there is a lot of construction and modernization. Bamboo scaffolding and plenty of manual labor was witnessed. Workers carry loads balanced on poles carried over the shoulders. We saw all sorts of things being carried by this method, including dirt, luggage and market supplies. We did see some of the locals in the area carrying baskets with straps on their backs. These would have made interesting souvenirs, but we didn’t see them for sale anywhere. This contrasts with the Korean method of carrying[page 110] loads in a-frame carriers.

Merchants were eager to sell their goods, but no quite so desperate that they came running after us as has happened in the past. There were many colorful ethnic clothing articles, dolls, cloth bags and purses, wood products and stone whistles for sale. The garments had lots of embroidery and some featured commercial trim. We kept seeing the same things for sale throughout the area, so the merchandise may be made in bulk somewhere in the region. The locals were well dressed in western style clothing.

Now that we were freshly armed with local currency, we moved on to the National Park to experience the fascinating karst formations. First we had to activate our electronic tickets that would be good for several re-entries in the park. To accomplish this, we had to insert our tickets and leave our thumbprint. We weren’t quite sure why we needed to do this, but it came clear the second day when we entered on the same ticket and our thumbprints had to match! Quite a high-tech system for the backwoods.

We walked for several kilometers along a riverbank through the Golden Whip Stream valley. The path was paved and relatively level; an easy walk. The first part was a coordination/exercise challenge which most opted to try. Our photographer was on hand to record our adventures on this day. Beautiful scenery, swinging bridges, interesting signs along the trail?lots of photo opportunities, including having some photos taken by locals with scenery in the background. Unbelievably, these local photo merchants had digital cameras and computers set up in the woods. After some looking, we discovered a cable discreetly hung in the trees powering all these electronic marvels.

At one point in our travels through the national park, we were entertained by a Ferris-wheel device which carried four passengers. Care in boarding was maintained for balance, but once in motion it took two men to stop it from wildly spinning around. A couple of men and women tried it out. It must have been exhilarating.

Those who didn’t wish to walk the trail could avail themselves of some of[page 111] the teams of porters who would have been happy to transport paying customers on their sedan chairs supported by long bamboo poles. None of our group chose this means of conveyance, but the porters were friendly and didn’t seem to mind us taking their picture. Along the trail were dancers dressed in traditional garb and providing entertainment through dance and music. Souvenir, beverage and snack vendors along the trail provided many opportunities for refreshment or bargain hunting. We couldn’t speak Chinese and they couldn’t speak English, but communication took place through charades, pencils and paper, and calculators. Bartering seems to transcend language and is fun for everyone.

There were many people walking and enjoying the park. Walking along the gently sloping paved path along the riverbank was very peaceful. The woods were dense, but looking up we were treated to magnificent limestone karst formations. Everyone one looked seemed picture perfect. We hiked for a couple of hours, noticing that the trash barrels were in the shape of tree trunks and blended well with the landscape. Even the safety railings, made of concrete, were designed to appear as logs or bamboo. The park was clean and well maintained. Most signs included English translations.

Once through the Golden Whip Stream Valley, we traveled to another area to see the Gallery Valley. The rock formations have all been given names and those seen in Gallery Valley appear as subjects in paintings. We had just walked for a couple of hours and several kilometers, so many of our group chose to ride the train up the hill to the viewing area. Our photographer opted to job up the hill so he could get photos of us disembarking and enjoying the views. This time, though, he was the subject of photos as we snapped away while he was jogging alongside the tracks. The train had small two-person compartments with glass roofs making it easy to view the rock formations towering above. The river valley was filled with tall pampas grass and didn’t appear to have much water despite the recent heavy fall rains.

We returned to town for a traditional lunch which included many[page 112] vegetables and the local somewhat spicy food. It was the Moon Holiday, so we were treated to the sweet and nutty moon cakes. Other popular Moon Festival activities include gazing at the moon and lighting fireworks. It is also a traditional holiday for lovers. After lunch we visited a local studio that produces, displays and sells embroidered and painted landscapes. The regional geography certainly offers plenty of inspiration for artists.

We spent the afternoon exploring the Yellow Dragon Cave, joining numerous other tour groups for the guided tour through the cave. Our guide, as well as all the others, carried a small megaphone to explain the wonders of China’s largest cavern. You can imagine the din of the competing guides as they each talked to their groups.

The paths through the cave were constructed of cement which made walking comfortable. The cavern sights were fabulous, with lighting strategically placed to highlight and show off the best features. We rode a boat on the river that winds through the cavern, viewing the pools, stalactites, stalagmites, pillars and columns. The engineering of the walkways, steps and bridges also impressed us. There were a lot of steps and it took a couple of hours to walk through the entire cave. By the time we emerged, our city legs realized that we had given them plenty of exercise. A rainstorm greeted our exit, so we rushed past the many vendors, but one member of our group stopped long enough to purchase some of the geodes to add to her collection.

The weather on our third day, Sunday, really cooperated for our viewing of the mountains. We drove along exciting mountain roads to get to Tianzi Mountain. The cable car station seemed like it was half-way up the mountain, but the walk was worth it. The view from the nearly 20-minute long cable car ride was breathtaking. We passed close to the peaks, right over others, and cliffs with huge dropoffs. The views were spectacular. Once we reached the top the views of the surrounding area stretched for miles. The rain the night before had made the air clear and we enjoyed it so much. [page 113]

A shuttle bus transported us to a memorial park at a lower elevation, and were delighted with our exploration (despite having to climb lots of steps) of the park. The views of the canyon from above the karst peaks were magnificent. We discovered why this place was so popular and exciting!

A tea shop visit after lunch introduced us to traditional Chinese tea making. We enjoyed tasting several types of tea, including one kind made from the droppings of silk worms. It sounds terrible, but didn’t taste too bad, and no one got sick, so it must be ok to drink, but I don’t think anyone bought any to take home!

Our next stop was Baofeng Lake, where another hill climb faced us from the bus parking area. There was a beautiful waterfall and pool area, almost too perfect to be natural. The scenery was beautiful, but our city legs were really screaming for relief! A gentle walk into the woods brought us to the rhesus monkey park, where they were all having a great time. They were caged, sort of, but seemed to be able to escape their confinement although they didn’t seem to wander too far. A continued walk brought us to the lake shore where we boarded our excursion boat. Gliding past numerous islets covered with trees and vegetation, we observed that the lake is an area completely surrounded by mountains that seems to have simply filled with water. At various stops on our cruise, entertainers provided song and dance depicting traditional cultures and customs.

Having returned to Shanghai Sunday night, our itinerary for Monday was a trip to Suzhou, which took about 1.5 hours by bus. We passed through many farms and lots of beautiful countryside.

Suzhou is one of the oldest towns in the Yangtze (Jangjiang) Basin, dating back some 2500 years. With the completion of the Grand Canal in 609 CE, Suzhou grew rapidly as a center for shipping and grain storage. Marco Polo visited the city c. 1276 and described is as “great and noble” and mentioned that its population included great sages, physicians, and magicians. By the 14th century, Suzhou became China’s leading silk producer, during which era the wealthy inhabitants of the city created many beautiful gardens, of which[page 114] some 100 or more survive to the present time. When the oppressed silk workers staged a series of violent strikes in the 15th century, the industry began shifting its focus away from Suzhou. The city is fortunate in that it was by-passed by the misfortunes of the 19th and 20th centuries (the Taiping Rebellion, the Japanese occupation, and the Cultural Revolution (1966- 1976).

Because of its many canals and bridges, Suzhou is sometimes referred to as the “Venice of the East.” Today it is an industrial center, with factories producing electronics, machinery, optical instruments, boat building，chemicals, etc. And silk reeling and weaving has returned to Suzhou, making it renowned once again for its fine silk goods.

We arrived at Tiger Hill just in time for a parade of traditionally costumed performers. It was colorful and spectacular. Our timing couldn’t have been better. The parade included a dragon dance and lion dancers, as well as performers on stilts and others transported in sedan chairs. It was loud and picturesque. We followed them through the compound，but with our tight schedule we couldn’t linger to watch their performance. Our visit to Suzhou also included a stop at a silk factory where we watched a demonstration on how wet cocoons are opened and the silk stretched into silk caps. It takes up to twenty-five cocoons to make one cap. The make blanket filler, four women then stretched the wet caps even further. We had only twenty minutes to shop, but some of us could easily have spend a couple of hours in order really see everything! We concluded our visit with a tour of the Humble Administrator’s Garden, which dates from the early 1500s and is quite large. The garden features streams, lily ponds, bridges, islands of bamboo, pavilions and teahouses. A large fall floral peacock greeted us and there were fall floral arrangements strategically placed throughout thegardens. There we many good ideas for using plants and making good use of small spaces.

The weary RAS travelers then headed back to the Shanghai airport through rush hour traffic, arriving in time to check in and board our flight back to[page 115] Korea. The trip was quick, but packed with lots of stimulating sights, good exercise, and good memories. Another successful RAS event!

Commentary on the Trip Dr. Kim Yong-duk, Tour Leader

Archaeologists have concluded that rice cultivation originated at a site called Hamoto near Shanghai some seven thousand years ago, and reached Korea in the Ilsan area north of Seoul about five thousand years ago. Rice farming has been discovered in Japan along the northern shore of Kyushu only as early as about two thousand five hundred years ago. The migrations of people can be traced in this manner, but we can also conclude that cultivation revolutionized the ancients’ ways of life.

Coins of the Han Dynasty (2nd Century BCE to 2nd Century CE), and earlier, are on display in the Shanghai museum. Some of these coins have been found in Chejudo, Korea, indicating contact and even possibly trade between them and China at that early period.

Paekche and Shilla peoples also colonized the Chushan Archipelago near Hangzhou Bay, south of Shanghai. Arabian traders at an early era recorded that inhabitants of these islands were so rich that even dog leads were made of gold.

One of the several ethnic minorities living in the Zhangjiajie region are the Zhangzo, who reside in a place which is called the “ruins of Paekche.” Apparently a “tamno” or colony of the Paekche kingdom existed in that region at least until the downfall of Paekche c. 660 CE. This fact was discovered when the tombstone of the feudal lord Heukchi (Black Teeth) was uncovered recording the fact that he was the great grandson of the viceroy of Paekche who had been appointed to rule the area.

Yangdi, the second emperor of the Sui kingdom, built the Great Canal as a means of conveying soldiers and war materiel to northern China. Eventually, he sent a one million strong force to invade Koguryo, but was [page 116] defeated whereupon a military coup d’etat overthrew the kingdom and established the Tang kingdom. Years later, the founder of Tang’s grandson finally succeeded in conquering war-weary Koguryo who had been fighting the Chinese for over seventy years.

The 2500 km long Great Canal served the nation well for hundreds of years providing for the economic cohesion of China. This canal passes through Suzhou (which had hundreds of bridges over the many streams and canals in the region), and boasts of more than one hundred elegant gardens still surviving out of more than 400 that were built since the Ming kingdom. There are some interesting points of similarity as well as differences between Korean and Chinese gardens, but the four elements of rock, water, plants, and pavilions are found in both garden cultures, as well as those of Japan. The oldest extant rockery is found not in China, though, but in what was the Koguryo palace garden near Pyongyang. The oldest known two- tiered humanmade waterfall is found in Kyongju, built in Shilla times.

Chinese love to use odd-shaped rocks in their gardens, while Koreans tend to use roundish, flat rocks. Pavilions are also constructed differently in the three garden cultures (pointed roofends in China, gently curved roof lines in Korea, and straight roof lines in Japan). Korean pavilions are often built with the pillars founded in the pond bottom. This is rare in China and not found at all in Japan. Chinese gardens feature junipers, Koreans love pine trees, and Japanese gardens often feature cherry trees.

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**Japan’s Connection to Korea A Series of Three Essays**

Kim Yong-duk, Ph.D., Professor Emeritus, Sogang University

Inariyama Sword Revisited

In a previous article, published in Transactions (1999), I wrote about the gold-inlaid sword from the Inariyama Tumulus in Japan, and its inscription of 115 Chinese characters. In the succeeding years, I have uncovered further interesting and revealing facts which describe the intimate relationship between the owner of the sword and the Paekche Kingdom, and consequently the relation between Paekche and Wa (or Wae) Japan.1

We find three key words, 加利 (ga-ri), 世世(sae-sae), and 獲加 (hoek- ga), in the inscription. These three words are crucial in interrelating historical events taking place in both Paekche and Wa Japan in the fourth and fifth centuries C. E.

The first word, 加禾stands for placenames in the southeastern region of the Korean peninsula. Historical records and ages-old traditions point to the existence of 5 or 6 states known as Gaya or Gara, which were situated along the Naktong River. Additional inscriptions on the sword contain the names of seven generations, which are thought to be related to the placenames of their residences or territories under their control in both Korea and Wa Japan. These seven names, according to the Korean government Romanization system, are (1) Gana Gari, (2) Gori Gari, (3) Daga Bisi, (4) Dasagi, (5) Bara Gobi, (6) Gasa Biri, and (7) Ho Hoekgo. I’ve ascertained the readings of these names according to the findings of Ryu Ryol in his I-du research, as reported in the following essay below.

Gari is a variant of Gara, or the name of the small federation of states located in and around the present-day Kimhae region of southeastern Korea.

1 Kim Y.D., I-du: Writing the Korean Language with Chinese Characters, Transactions (vol. 74), Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 1999. p. 49

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It seems plausible, then, that the ancestors of Ho Hoekgo, the owner of the sword, resided in the Gara region of Korea for at least four generations, including Gana Gari, Gori Gari, Daga Bisi, and Dasagi.

Gori Gara is especially known to refer to the present Sangju area in Gyeongsang Province. Daga Bisi could not be specifically identified with any currently known placename, but it may have been located south of Gori Gari in the vicinity of Imna Gara under the rule of Paekche. Daga may refer to present-day Changwon, while Bisi may be identified with Changnyeong.

Accoding to the Samguk Sagi, Silla took over Sangju from Paekche in 250 C. E., which is perhaps why Lord Gori Gara moved to the Sungsan area from Sangju.

We believe Gori Gara was under the rule of Paekche since Lord Ho states in the inscription of 世世:(sae-sae), that his family served Paekche “generation after generation.” As will be seen later, the great king, whom Lord Ho served, turns out to have been King Gaero of Paekche. Thus, Ho’s ancestors in Gara must have been vassals of Paekche, as is noted in the inscription. Dasagi may be identified with the present-day Hadong on the border between Jeolla and Gyeongsang provinces.

As will be presented in my essay on the seven-branched sword, the ruler of Imna Gara was Yeo Ji of Paekche who moved to Wa Japan by the middle of the fourth century. We believe they participated with the Paekche military in conquering the Gara states along the Namgang River, a tributary of the Naktong, circa 369 C.E.2

Sometime shortly after this time, four states, Biri, Bidi, Pomigi and Barago along the Seomjin River, surrendered to Paekche as recorded in the proper and correct interpretation of related records in Nihongi. Perhaps Lord Gori Gara or Lord Daga Bisi took part in the campaign and may have been appointed to govern Dasagi at the estuary of the Seomjin River for some time prior to moving to Wa Japan, since the name of the next Lord Gasa Bari can now be identified with Kasahara near the Inariyam Tumulus in Japan,

2 Cheon Kwangy, Study on Kaya History, Iljeogak, 1993.

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while Bara Gobi, or Blue Sea, cannot so far be identified.

The Tamno Lord Jin Nyeh at Komanaru or Kongju, fleeing the assault of Koguryo in 396 C. E., went over to Wa Japan and took over the state in the Nara area which was ruled by Nigihayhi or Yeo Ji, the progenitor of the Mononobe clan, and founded the new Yamato court of Wa Japan. Perhaps Jin Nyeh went through Dasagi on his way to Wa Japan, picking up military support from the troops of Lord Dasagi.

Now we come to the crucial detail of the name of the great king, whom Lord Ho and his ancestors served, must be dealt with. The five Hanjas preceding 大王 or “great king” are: 獲加多支贼 I recently found the I-du word 或加or Hokga, used in the list of lords’ names in the Mahan entry of the chronicle of Wei China (220 C. E. to 265 C. E.). “King Jin ruled the Mokchi state whose lords are Hokga (或加), or Supreme Lord Uh Ho, and etc.”

In this record, Hokga stands for “supreme lord.” So we can deduce that “hokga” is Paekche’s term for a great king. Now this word “hokga” may be identified with “hoekga” in the inscirption, since their usage and their sounds are identical.

Choen Kwanuh argues in his book “Study on Kaya History” that the King of Jin, mentioned in the above Chinese chronicle, may be identified as King Koyi, Paekche. Cheon indicates that Mahan, or later Paekche, extended its power over the Gara (Kaya) statesin the south and other states in the west of Korea. Hanweon, another Chinese chronicle (early seventh century), records that Imna Gara belonged to Mahan.

Since Mahan was absorbed by Paekche, it is evident that Imna Gara belonged to Paekche. This is entirely consistent with the statement in the sword’s inscription that

Lord Gori Gara was a vassal of Paekche.

Now the I-du reading of the Chinese character 多 is Gana according to Ryu Reol and it means “Great”, Amazingly, Samguk Sagi records that the name of King Gaero may be also written as Geun Gaeru where Geun is equivalent to Gana, or great. King Gaero reigned from 455 C. E. to 475 C. E.

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If this is the correct reading of the great king’s name, “Hoekga great Gaeru” may be identified with King Gaero, and the inscription testifies that Lord Ho and his ancestors served Paekche for seven generations at first in Gara in the southern part of Korea, and later in Japan. So the Inariyama sword must have been made in 470 C.E. during the reign of great King Gaero.

The implications are startling:

First, in the view of Lord Ho the kings in Wa Japan were vassals to the great king of Paekche.

Second, the brother Konji of great King Gaero went to Wa Japan in 461 C. E., most likely to become king as a feudal lord of Paekche.

Third, King Muryong of Paekche, who returned to Paekche from Wa Japan in 501 C.E., was definitely the King Mu or Bu, who sent a state epistle to Liang China in 478 C.E., three years after the death of his father King Gaero and his brother the crown prince which occurred at the same time during the invasion of Koguryo in 475 C.E.

Fourth, the owner of the Funayama sword in Kyushu must have been a feudal lord of Paekche since the inscription is quite similar in style to the Inariyama sword.

This new interpretation of the inscription on the Inariyama sword means that Japanese ancient history must be viewed from quite a different perspective.

Seven-Branched Sword and the Conquest of Yamato Region by Wa King Ji

Introduction

Many scholars have studied the seven-branched sword with the inscrition of sixty-one ideograms on its blade, which have resultedin far-reaching implications in understanding the ancient history of Wa Japan and its relationship with Paekche. The inscription indicates that the sword’s owner, the Mononabe clan, along with Paekche’s feudal lord Yeo Ji, conquered the[page 121] northern shore of Kyushu. In time, they turned their attentions eastward, eventually subduing and occupying the Yamato region (Nara) to found a kingdom prior to the arrival of Ojin (alias Jin Nyeh), the founder of the Yamato court of Wa Japan3 at the turn of the fifth century C. E.

In this study we summarize first the argument of So Jin-Chul4 that the seven-branched sword was handed down to Yeo Ji, a member of the Paekche royal family, upon his appointment as the feudal lord of the new occupied land, which in our view was somewhere in northern Kyushu. This view will be prfesented in the third section. In the second section, we will present information regarding the origins of the Mononobe clan, which owned this sword

Also in the third section, we will study known archaeological evidence that provides the essential link between Wa Japan and Imna Kara, which we believe is the original home of the Mononobe clan.

In the fourth section we will present our arguments, through mythological connection, that Yeo Ji was depicted as King Sujin in the Nihongi, an early Japanese chronicle.

Finally, we will summarize our findings that the owner of the seven- branched sword ruled first in Imna Kara, and then the Yamato region of Japan as a state, eventually to yield the land to a new conqueror, Jin Nyeh, who became King Ojin, the founder of the new Wa state, as described in the Nihongi.

I. Yeo Ji: a feudal lord of Paekche

The text of the inscription on the seven-branched sword is as follows;

3 Kim YD, Japan’s Korean Roots, RAS Transactions, Volune 76，2001

*4 Sughara Mastomo, On the Seven-Branched Swork, 1907, collection of papers by S. M. So, Jin-chul, King Muryong’s world in metal and stone inscriptions, Sairyusha, 2001*[page 122]

Our interpretation

[In front] [In front]

秦? 四年? 月 十六 日丙午正陽 in the year C.E. 349 on sixteenth of

造百練鋼七支刀生 百兵 certain month at noon the seven

宣供供侯王 ？？?? 作 branched sword was made with

branched sword was made with steel wrought one hundred times. This sword should be offered to feudal lords, made by…?

[In rear] [In rear]

先世以來未有此刀百慈王世? This sword has never been

寄生聖音故爲倭王旨造傳示後世 possessed before by our ancestry.

The king of Paekche, owing his life to the holy supreme one, prepared this sword for Wa king Ji to preserve it for posterity.

This inscription was first found by Sugahara Masatomo5, the priest at the Isonokami Shinto Shrine in 1874. He found not only an iron sword and comma shaped jewelry in a sanctuary but also the seven-branched sword in the divine storehouse. It is said some of the characters in the inscription were damaged in the process of removing rust, which caused much confusion and controversy in the interpretation of the text. Nonetheless the inscription offered a crucial clue in understanding the correct relation between Paekche and Wa Japan in the fourth century. Among sixty-one characters, seven were illegible. One missing crucial character in the era name makes it very difficult to date the sword.

So J.H.6 asserts that the inscription definitely indicates that the sword was offered to the feudal lord Ji, not dedicated to a superior as many Japanese

5 Ibid.

6 Op.Cit. Kim YD*.*

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scholars suggest or as the Nihongi records.

So J.H. reasons that since Koguryo was already using its own era name (Yongnak) by the early fifth century and since the bronze mirror of Shidahachiman Shrine carries an inscription with the era name Dae Wang or great king, there is no reason why Paekche would not have its own proper era name, which is usually the prerogative of an emperor or a great king with feudal lords.

Since the inscription does not specify who was in charge of producing the sword as in the case of Shidahachiman bronze mirror, So J.H. thinks that the sword was made in Paekche and offered to the prospective feudal lord Ji, a member of the royalty.

According to a long held tradition in Asia, the offering of a weapon such as a sword symbolizes trust in the recipient and certain rights to rule politically or militarily.

In all the diplomatic documents sent to China by Paekche, royalty had personal names written with a single Chinese character, such as Ku, Yeong, Keon, Kyeong, etc.

Thus the feudal lord Ji, with a single syllable name, must be a member of the Paekche royal family. For instance, Wa king Mu sent a diplomatic document to Liang China in the style of that sent by King Kaero to northern Wei China. In this document, Koguryo is described as a mortal enemy, which must be destroyed while King Mu was very compassionate with Paekche, which was thought to be under jeopardy. His hostile action was held in check only because his father and brother died suddenly. Thus by implication King Mu must be the son of Paekche’s Kaero and so must the preceding kings Chan, Jun, Jeh and Heung, who sent diplomatic missions to China, So J.H. concludes that feudal lord Ji, the recipient of the seven- branched sword, was dispatched to rule the feudal land Wa Japan in the fourth century. Since the sword was offered in the fourth year of reign of the Paekche king Keunchogo, ruling the exact year the sword must be 349 C.E., and we think Paekche was already ruling Imna Kaya before that year. [page 124]

But where could this feudal land of lord Ji have been in Wa Japan? This is the question we must address now. For the purpose we study first the origin of the Mononobe clan, which preserved the seven-branched sword in their ancestral Shrine.

**II. The Mononobe clan**

It is a well-known historical fact that the Mononobe clan exercised great power in the military, political, judicial and religious affairs in Wa Japan from the founding of Ojin’s Wa state at the turn of fifth century until its overthrow by the rival Soga clan for its opposition to the introduction of Buddhism into Wa Japan in the late sixth century.

We know the Mononobes’ Paekche connection from its possession of the seven-branched sword and another iron sword with a phoenix-motif pommel, of a type possessed by Paekche’s rulers.

Now we look into their original strongholds. For the purpose it is useful to study the clan’s chronicle, the Sendai Kyuji Hongi, which was the only clan chronicle allowed by the Wa state. Many scholars have done this research.

Mayuzumi7 studied the Mononobe chronicle to find that the mythology in it records the descent of a heavenly god, Nigihayahi into the world, riding a rock boat with many attendant gods and eventually reaching the Yamato area to rule. He noticed that in essence the mythology in the Nihongi and this mythology are similar in organization. This Mononobe ancestral tradition is also mentioned in the Nihongi. In particular, Nigihayahi is recorded in the Nihongi as one who yielded his kingdom in Yamato, when Ojin (alias Jinmu), the legendary founder king, made his assault on this land in his war of eastern conquest.

Mayuzumi pursued the Mononobes’ earlier settlements by analyzing placenames associated with the above attendant gods, since gods’ names are often associated with place names of their former settlement, where the

7 Mayuzumi H., The Mononohes the the Sohas in relation to the ancient kingdom of Japan, Kobunkan co., 1995

[page 121]

Mononobes moved in to occupy and settle on their way to the Yamato area from northeastern Kyushu. It turned out that placenames with gods’ names, such as Nida, Shimado, Tajiri, Akama or Tsukushi, are located in the northeastern part of Kyushu.

On the other hand, another scholar, Torikoshi K.8, concludes after studying the Kyujiki that the Mononobe clan’s original homeland was near Kurate County, Fukuoka prefecture, east of Hakata. He finds the Mononobes settled at Tsuruta, Nida, Sotake, Akama, Shimato, Kiku and Umami along the Toka River in Fukuoka Prefecture.

The Mononobes eventually moved on to Yamato to found a kingdom there, which had a ruler named Nigihayahi. Could this be the Japanized name for the original. Yeo Ji.

It is most surprising and intriguing that characters Yeo Ji(余 旨) maybe put together by kana Ni(二), Gi(キ), Ha(ハ) for eight, Ya (ヤ) and hi(ヒ) which make up the parts of the Cninese characters. Could this be a way of codifying the original name, which may have been forcefully Japanized when the Nihongi was compiled? Even today in northern Kyushu, one finds many Shinto Shrines where the ancestral gods of the Mononobe clan are worshiped witnessing how widespread and powerful the Mononobe influence was in olden times.

In ref.(7), one learns about the Kohra Shrine in Kurume city, Fukuoka Prefecture, which has a detached Shrine, called Isonokami Mononobe，which houses four wooden figures that carry a wooden seven-branched sword. All these facts suggest that northern Kyushu was undoubtedly the original stronghold of the clan in Wa Japan.

Now we wonder about their connection to Paekche on the Korean peninsula? The link may be found through Imna Kara, which was under the control of Paekche, as we shall see, in the fourth century. Just as the homelands of the Mononobes in Kyushu were tracked down with their ancestral gods’ names, the link may be found through the name of the god

8 Torikoski K., the Great Yamato Kingdom, kodansha Co.

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Tamul, an important ancestral god of the Mononobe clan.

Tamul is the Korean pronunciation of the god Ohmono’s name just as the name of Tsushima island may be read as Tamai in the Korean Idu way. Placenames Tamal or Tamul may be found strung along the western coast of Korea and reaching even Tsushima Island and other Japanese places, according to Kim Sungho9.

Imna Kara, which existed in the Pusan area, is referred as Tamul Imna in the Chinese chronicle Hanwon. In the same text, Imna Kara is recorded as being a part of the Mahan state, which ruled the southwestern part of Korea from the first century B.C.E. until Paekche’s takeover in the fourth century.

So we argue that the god Tamul of the Mononobe clan may have derived from their ancestral land, Tamul Imna.

Another piece of evidence is provided by the Nihongi, which records that the mother of the tenth king Sujin was from the Mononobe clan and gives his Japanese style name, which suggests that Sujin’s family can be traced back to Imna, as many scholars conclude. Curiously the Samguk Sagi never mentions Imna in the main text, in spite of numerous contacts between Imna and Silla.

However, the Kwang-gae-to stele, monk Jin-Kyong’s stele, on which Jin- kyong claims his ancestry to be Choji or the clan of Chora of Imna, and Gangsu’s biography in the Samguk Sagi, which describes Gangsu as a descendant of the royal family of Imna with the family name Suk, all indicate the existence of Imna Kara without any doubt.

Kim S.H.10 argued that the placename Imna was the Idu way of writing the Korean placename Masara, Im for Mas, meaning takeover, and Ra or Na, meaning iand’. The word Tamul has connotation of take-over. So he suggests that Imna perhaps means a land taken over by Paekche or one of its feudal lands, called Tamno or Tamul.

Imna is said to have been located near the present Yongdu hill in Pusan.

9 Kim Sungho, Biryu Paekche and Japan’s Origin Chimunsa Co., 1982.

10 Ibid.

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Yong-du is again an Idu way of representing Korean word Mi, or ‘dragon’ for Yong and Mari, or ‘head’ for du. Mi-Mari later became Mimana, Japanese for Imna in the vicinity of Yongdu hill.

Evidence for Imna as a territory of Paekche sometime in the fourth and fifth centuries may be found in many other places.

Archeological findings such as the custom of direct burial of coffins in ditch overlapping the Kara’s cyst burial, horse armor, and ritual cylindrical earthenware of Paekche origin all suggest Imna’s relation to Paekche.

More directly, the inscription on the seven-branched sword suggests that Yeo Ji was awarded with the sword after the conquest of the northern shore of Kyushu sometime early in the fourth century.

The overthrow in C.E. 314 of Luolang, a Chinese commandery in North Korea, by Koguryo heralds the beginning of the direct clash between Koguryo and Paekche. Now at this time Paekche established its own colony, or Tamno, in the northeastern area of Liaoxi Province in the Beijing area to counterattack Koguryo, which had became a menace to Paekche, which was expanding at this time, overthrowing Mahan, which ruled the southwestern part of the peninsula, and also Imna, according to the Chinese chronicle Hanwon.

One evidence for the link between Paekche and Imna is provided by the New Compilation of the Pegister of families (C.E. 815) of Japan as noticed by Kim S.H. In the book one finds that prince Mimana (or Imna) is a descendant of king Mo Ruchi of Imna and the Kudara clan is related to lord Mori Kaza of Paekche, where we note Mo as the family name of both. Imna and Paekche lords Mo is one of eight great family names of Paekche and it is surprising to find Imna’s royal name as Mo, which indicates the close political association of Imna with Paekche.

So it is plausible that Paekche took over Imna in the process of conquering Mahan.

Finally we mention the Chora fortress of Imna, recorded in the Nihongi and the Chobara fortress of Imna, where the Wa army was crushed by the[page 128] Koguryo army in C.E. 400, and Chora under Paekche’s power mentioned in the ambassador’s portraits of Liang China. All these fortresses are believed to be identical and one of Imna’s strongholds.

We conclude from these pieces of evidence that Yeo Ji, who was the ruler in possession of the phoenix pommel sword, led his people, including the Mononobe clan, to conquer northern Kyushu and set up a Tamno for Paekche, earning him the seven-branched sword. Eventually they moved eastward to found a kingdom in the Yamato plain. We believe Yeo Ji is the mans who is called Nigihayahi in Japanese in the Mononobe chronicle and recorded in the entry about the fictitious tenth king, Sujin, in the Nihongi. Sujin has a Japanese name, which suggests his origin in Imna or Mimana. This again provides evidence for Imna as a feudal land of Paekche.

Later this kingdom was yielded to the later conqueror Jin Nyeh, alias Ojin, and another Tamno lord, who founded the Yamato court of the Wa State. No wonder that the Nihongi proclaims that Wa Japan was born of Tamno or Tamnuro as its placenta.

Imna Kara and the other Karas must have been very prosperous and powerful in the third and fourth century, judging from ample archeological findings in the Imna Kara area and also from records in the chronicle of Wei China.

Kara people traded far and wide, according to the Wei chronicle. Since they traded overseas, they must have been good seafarers also. The existence of iron weapons and armor iron armors” indicates a powerful military capability, too.

It is very plausible that they were aware of the weakened political and military state of affairs among smaller Wa states in Kyushu after Himiko’s unified Wa state in Kyushu disintegrated in the late third century. After the fall of Chinese colonies Luolang and Dafang in the early fourth century in the northern Korea, which was good trade partners for Kara, the Kara states must have felt the shrinking and unstable trade with the north, while they felt

11 National Museum at Bokcheondong, Catalog, 1996.

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the need for expansion to the south.

So sometime in the middle of the fourth century, the Mononobes, under the rule of Yeo Ji in Imna Kara, made a push to Kyushu. Now we have to examine in detail the archeological evidence and the geopolitical situation that support this conquest of the Kyushu by the Mononobe clan and eventual advance to Yamato in the middle of the fourth century.

IIL Archeological evidence for the conquest of the Yamato region by the Paekche feudal lord，Wa King Ji

The chronicle of the Mononobe clan and the Nihongi both record that the Yamato region was ruled by the Mononobe clan under the ruler Nigihayahi, who was the progenitor of the Mononobe clan.

Now we present some of archeological evidence in support of this proposition.

First is the similarity of old tombs of Yayoi Japan and those of Kara in the Yayoi period.

In the Yayoi period (300 B.C.E. to 300 C.E.), Kara tombs and Yayoi tombs were made of a stone chamber with a top opening and a round mound on top. The four walls of the chamber are built up with slabs or boulders and the floor is covered with dirt or pebbles.

In the fourth century several key-shaped tombs (with a square front and round rear) over two hundred meters long, have been found in the Kinki area of Honshu but none in Kyushu.12

Recently several key shaped tombs are found to our amazement in the Eesong Mountain fortress of Early Paekche near Seoul.13

In the vicinity an old tomb in the style of Puyeo kingdom，from which Paekche originated in the first century B.C-E., was also found.14 These are amazing discovery since these tombs must have been built in the

12 Ishiwatari S，Emperor Ojin Came from Paekche，Sanichi Co., 2002.

13 Han Jong-Seop，Hanam City cultural heritage committee，private communication.

14 Ibid.

[page 130]

early period of Paekche’s history, perhaps in the first or second century C.E. These findings immediacy suggest that the origin of Japanese key shaped tombs must be found in Paekche. As we believe, Paekche ruled Imna Kaya through the feudal lord Ji, who was appointed as the king of Wa by Paekche’s great king and conquered the northern shore of Kyushu and eventually reached the Kinki region to set up a kingdom in the middle of fourth century.

Since the key shaped tombs in Japan are built after C.E. 380 according to Japanese findings,15 it is very reasonable that the Wa kings or descendants of feudal lord Ji started building the key shaped tombs in their ancestral way in Paekche late in the fourth century.

Most scholars agree that the burial custom is usually preserved strictly and the similarity of tomb shapes and structure is a strong indication of cultural links.

Second evidence is that hundreds of broken bronze bells for religious rituals from the fourth century were found in the Kinki area, indicating the arrival of a people with new religious practices.16

The third evidence is that two hundred fifty-five ancient Chinese bronze mirrors have been found in Kyushu but only six in the Kinki area, while more than five hundred bronze mirrors of triangular edge with an animal motif, which were mostly made in Japan sometime between C.E. 380 and C.E. 410, have been found in the Kinki area but only a few in Kyushu.17

Thirdly iron ingots and other iron products have been found abundantly (139 pieces in Kyushu and six pieces in Kinki) dating from C.E. 240 to C.E. 340 in Kyushu, while 524 pieces have been found in Kyushu and 73pieces in the Kinki area dating from after C.E. 340.18 Fourthly, a Sueki pottery of peculiar shape, called Hasouh in Japanese with

15 Op. Cit, Ishiwatari.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

[page 131]

a round bottom, wide mouth and a hole at the side are found in the Kinki area，Imna Kara area and the Yeongsan river basin area under. Which was the Paekche’s rule.

In addition, numerous placenames of Kara origin are found in northern Kyushu, in the Okayama region along the Seto inland sea as well as in the Nara region in concurrence with abundant old tombs in these regions.

All this evidence supports the argument that people from Imna Kara of Paekche crossed the sea to conquer Kyushu and pushed on to occupy the kibi region along the Seto inland sea, and eventually reached the Osaka bay area and the Yamato region to found a kingdom.

This is in essence our argument in support of Sujin founding a kingdom in the Yamato plain, and Sujin is none other than Nigihayahi or feudal lord Ji in our view.

**IV.Mythology of Tamul god**

Not only the archeological evidence but also the religious tradition of the Wa court provides strong support to the argument that Mononobe clan with ancestral god Tamul and ancestral ruler Nigihayahi, moved to Yamato and ruled until the arrival of Ojin.

To find out more about the religious role played by the Mononobe clan and its Tamul god, related to the founding god of Wa Japan, it is useful to study relevant passages in the Nihongi.

The Nihongi relates in its opening chapter about the mythological era that the seventh generation gods Izanagi (identical in name to Kaya’s founder king) and Izanami produced three gods Amaterasu, Tsukiyomi and Susanowo. Susanowo was to rule this world but in consideration or his violent nature he was banished from Kumanari (Kongju, Korea) peak to reach the Hyuga region of Izumo in southeastern Kyushu, where a son, Ohmuchi, was born. He chased away this time by a native Futsu/Tamul and fled to the Shimane region of Izumo to found a state here.

Now the Tamul god was forced to marry the daughter of Takamusubi, [page 132]whose son Ninigi founded a state in the Hyuga region.

In these narrations, Tamul, the ancestral god of the Mononobe clan, plays a crucial role.

Now we turn to the Kyujiki, the Mononobe chronicle. Umashimichi, the son of Nigihayahi, the legendary ruler of Yamato, dedicated his family treasures to Jinmu, the legendary founder of Wa Japan, on the occasion of his enthronement ceremony, while divine shields and a new shaman tree were set up and the curiously Tamul god was worshipped.

After that, all ceremonies of enthronement, new year’s day, national foundation day and the periodic rebuilding of the national Ise Shrine, followed the ritual precedents of the above first enthronement, including the role of a maiden priestess of the Mononobe who leads the ceremony in offering divine clothes, divine food, divine drink and chanting, which were shared by participants.

In these religious practices, old and new, one sees the important legacy of the Mononobe clan in the establishment of Wa Japan.

Therefore, the Mononobe clan enjoyed a privileged position in the Yamato court of Wa Japan in the centuries following the turn of the fifth century.

It is evident that the Tamul god was accorded a special importance by the Yamato court of Ojin’s Wa Japan, as the native god of earlier settlers and the earlier ruler of Yamato.

In the Nihongi, Nigihayahi was made into the fictitious tenth emperor, Sujin, just as Jinmu became the fictitious founder, reflecting the deeds of Ojin and Jingu as the fictitious ruler reflecting the legendary shaman queen Himiko.

**V. Conclusions**

We have reached the conclusion that Yeo Ji, the Wa king named on the seven-branched sword, was formerly the ruler of Imna Kara and conquered northeastern Kyushu to become the Wa King, a feudal lord Paekche, in C.E. 349 and eventually moved on to the east to conquer and rule the Yamato[page 133]region, founding a new state only to yield it to the later conqueror, Jin Nyeh, another feudal lord of Paekche, or Ojin, in C.E. 396, who founded Great Wa as related in the Nihongi.

Once these findings are accepted as true, it is easy to understand why Wa soldiers took part in the war of conquest over the seven Kara states along the Nam River, a tributary of the Naktong River, in C.E. 37219 in collaboration with Paekche and why Wa soldiers occupied a Silla fortress and were chased out to the Imna Kara fortress Chobara by the Koguryo king’s army in C.E. 400 and took part in a battle against Koguryo in the Dafang region in northern Korea in 404.

These wars were carried out as the army of Paekche’s feudal land or in defense of the Wa’s ancestral land in alliance with the former suzereign of Paekche. This is indeed a totally new view of the historical relations between Paekche and Wa Japan and requires an open mind and a drastic rethinking of history.

**Shinto Shrines and their origins**

Introduction

Buddhist temples and Shinto Shrines are found in great number all over Japan. The origin of Japan’s Buddhist temples is well known. Paekche transmitted Buddhism to Japan in the middle of the sixth century by the religious zeal of Paekche kings, who sent monks, sutras, temple builders and other artisans.

More obscure and ancient are the origins of Shinto Shrines in Japan. Shintoism itself is not well known, either. Perhaps it is related to the shaman and ancestor worship customs, which were observed by settlers from the Korean peninsula since the sixth century BCE, when rice farming was introduced to Wa Japan from Korea.

In this article I will try to present some characteristic features of Shintoism and Shinto Shrines through examination of some prominent Shrines, which

19 Op. Cit, Kim YD

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Korean settlers influenced with their older tradition from Korea.

(I) Examples of Shrines Inary Shinto Shrines20

At Kohryuji, a Buddhist temple in Kyoto, one finds not only the famous wooden sculpture of the smiling and meditating Maitreya Buddha, Japan’s National Cultural Treasure, but also the wooden images of Hata Kawakatsu couple, who had contributed much in establishing this temple and in enshrining the Maitreya image brought over from Silla. Many scholars believe that this Hata clan originally immigrated from Patara, located near Ulchin, Kyongsang Province, Korea.

Patara is the ancient Korean word for sea, or Pada in modern Korean. Now Patara is said to have become the family name Hata of the Hata clan. This Hata clan became very prolific, productive, prosperous and powerful through their skills and industriousness in various fields of industry and agriculture such as rice farming with skillful irrigation, wine making, sericulture and fabric industry.

In C.E. 701, a certain Hata clan member named Torii founded the huge Matsuo Shinto Shrine at the foot of Mt. Matsuo in Kyoto.

Its grounds cover an area of about 430,000 square meters. It serves as the head Shrine for one thousand and several hundred-branch shrines.

Formerly they were dedicated to Oyamagui, a mountain god. The Shinto priests are appointed from members of the Hata clan. Passing the huge Shinto gate, one can see a stone pillar with the inscription “nation’s top wine god” and piles of wine casks under the roofs of the Shinto buildings. This wine related symbol were set up after the Edo period, or four centuries ago, reflecting prosperity from winemaking and the wish for continued prosperity.

Interestingly, in 711 Hata Irogu founded the Inari Shinto Shrine in Fushimi, south of the Matsu Shrine, with its characteristic red gate for a

20 Kim Dalsu, In search of Korean cultural remains in Japan, Daewonsa, 1997

[page 135]

harvest god, as the name Inari or rice growing suggests. It turned out this Shrine also proliferated to branch Inari Shrines all over Japan, forty thousand or so in number.

Here we see that trade related gods were enshrined later. In Bronze-Age Korea, it is known that certain shaman rituals were held during the spring planting season and the autumn harvesting season as attested by the discovery of a bronze ritual plate engraved with scenes of planting and harvesting as well as by records in China. This custom is still observed in the countryside of Korea in spring and autumn festivals.

It is interesting to learn about, or rather to speculate about, why the Hata clan moved to Japan around the early sixth century. A clue may be found in the discovery of a Silla stele.

At the village of Bong-pyung near Patara in the Ulchin area, an old stone stele was found in 1988. Its inscription stated that the Silla king Maezik- kimi, or Bophung, led a campaign to settle conflicts with a local chieftain in the Patara area.

In fact it is known that this area was often contested between Koguryo and Silla, resulting in frequent military clashes. This is also the area where a jade seal, appointing a local chieftain of the Yeh tribe by eastern Jin China in the fourth century, was found. The Yeh tribe is also thought to be the original Koguryo people. Already in the second century BCE some of the Yeh people surrendered to Han China and a seal of appointment for the chieftain was found. Some of the Yeh tribe is known to have occupied the northeastern plain of Korea, eventually moving down to Ulchin area also. The name Kimi Juri of the Yeh tribe shows up also in an inscription on a bronze mirror21 ,which was made by this Yeh governor in the Osaka region of Wa Japan in C.E. 503 at the order of King Muryong of Paekche.

All these series of facts suggest that the Yeh tribes, with a long cultural tradition due to long contacts with Chinese culture, moved out of the Ulchin area either to avoid frequent wars or intolerable taxes often imposed by Silla

21 Kim YD, RAS Transactions, Volume 76,2001

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against hostile people. So it was reasonable to think the Hata clan might have derived from the Yeh tribe and fled to Wa Japan. No wonder that the Hata clan, with its high skills, was very successful in Wa Japan, where they moved to settle in a large number.

(2) Hachimangu Shrine22

In the vicinity of the Ojin Kofun in Osaka, one finds a Shrine called Konda Hachimangu Shrine. As is often the case, a Shrine is found near ancient tombs or kofuns. This supports the idea that Shinto Shrines were originally associated with tombs and their occupants to offer a religious service.

According to the records of the Konda Shrine, it was built 1,400 years ago. Actually this type of Hachiman shrine originated at Usa city in Kyushu, where the Usa clan founded the first Hachiman shrine to commemorate their ancestor god. Actually the word Hachiman is the Japanese pronunciation of Chinese characters for Yahata, which means ‘many banners’. Just as we see many banners at a farmers’ festival or other shaman rituals even today in Korea, many banners were seen also in rituals to commemorate the Usas’ ancestor god.

Eventually the Usa clan’s ancestor god and the Karashima clan’s ancestor god were jointly enshrinea in the Usa Shrine. Obviously Kara in the family name Karashima refers to the kingdoms in the southern part of Korean peninsula from the first century C.E. until the sixth century and the family name Karashima indicate its origin from a Kara State. Besides, the archeological finds in the area such as Korean bronze bells, which were used in shaman rituals, strongly suggest that people from the Korean peninsula with Shaman customs settled in the area.

The nature of enshrined gods became syncretic both with Taoism and Buddhism, which were introduced to Japan by the middle of the sixth century. Syncretism of shaman mysticism and Buddhism took place also in Silla in the formation of the Wharang, the militant elites of Silla who

22 Nakano Hatayoshu, The Beliefs of Hachiman, Hanawa Series, 1985.

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believed the reincarnation of Maitreya in them and became the fierce fighters of Silla. With the popularity of Maitreya Buddhism, the Maitreya is believed reincarnated in the Hachiman god to save the world, and the Hachiman shrine gained more followers. It is also blended with deified king Ojin, and now the Hachiman shrine takes the added role of nation protector with Hachiman believers’ successful campaign in subjugating the riotous Hayato tribe in southern Kyushu. This added a militant nature to the Hachiman shrine.

When King Shobu wanted to build a large guilt Buddha image in the eighth century at the Todaiji temple, he consulted with the Hachiman shrine priest about whether to send a mission to China to secure gold and the oracle is said to have replied in the negative. Soon after, a Paekche prince, resettled in Tohoku after the downfall of Paekche, found gold in the northeastern part of Japan. So the prestige of the Hachiman shrine was very much enhanced, and it was invited to build the head Hachiman shrine in Nara, the capital at the time.

These Hachiman shrines were now favored as the shrines of the god of war, and their popularity and prosperity grew even more.

The Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine in Yamashina, Kyoto, was built in the ninth century, and King Ojin is also enshrined and regarded as the guardian god of this new capital.

The Konda Hachiman Shrine, near the Ojin tomb also enshrined Ojin as the Hachiman god. Interestingly this Shrine has a treasure house with a national treasure of an openwork golden saddle in its custody. This saddle was found in a satellite tomb of King Ojin.

Similar saddles and other equestrian trappings were also found in the satellite tombs of King Inkyo, or Richu, in the same area.

These archeological finds prompted some Japanese archeologists to propose that at the turn of fifth century horse riders from the Korean peninsula came to conquer Japan and established the Yamato court Actually the Tamno lord Jin Nyeh is the one who became the founding king of Wa[page 138] Japan, as shown in my previous paper.23

One of the most common types of Shinto shrine, the Hachiman shrines are now found all over Japan, numbering more than a third of all shrines. There are 12,000 of them in Japan.

I must mention another typical Shrine that enshrines an ancestral god. The Asukabe Shrine, which is found in Asuka, in the Nara region, surrounded by clusters of old tombs whose occupant were Paekche people.

King Konji, or the younger brother of Paekche King Kaero, is enshrined here. According to the Nihongi, he came to Wa Japan in 461 and returned to Paekche in 475 after Paekche moved its capital from Kanaguru, or Seoul, to Komanaru, or Kongju to serve as a minister in Samguk Sagi. His descendants in Asuka founded the Shrine to commemorate him as an ancestral god. But after the Meiji restoration, when Shinto Shrines and Buddhist temples were separated, Shinto Shrines were given government recognition, but the Asukabe Shrine was excluded and it no longer has a Shinto priest to take care of it and is rapidly deteriorating.

(3) Tenmangu Shrine24

In the rear of Domeiji Temple in Fujiyi City, one finds the Tenmangu Shrine，formerly the Haji Shrine, where deified Sugawara Michizane has been enshrined since the tenth century. As the name Haji indicates, this Shrine served originally as the ancestral Shrine for the Haji clan. Sugawara, a descendant of the Haji clan, was an eminent scholar and an outstanding statesman, who was exiled to Kyushu through political intriguery. Sugawara died three years later in exile in Kyushu in 903 and was later enshrined there for his fame and scholarship.

One year later, Masakeno Yasuyuki set up a Shrine after allegedly hearing an oracle that Sugawara was a Tenman god. This eventually became the Tenmangu Shrine in the compound of Tazaifu, Kyushu.

23 Op, Cit, Kim YD.

24 rakeuchi Hideo, Tenmangu Shrine, Yosikawa Kobun Co., 1996.

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Sugawara is a descendant of Nomi Sukune, who came to Wa Japan from Korea. Nomi Sukune is considered the father of Japanese sumo wrestling and also an innovator, introducing haniwa, or clay figurines, to replace human sacrifice in burial.

Two Chinese characters, meaning ‘soil artisan’, denote the clan name Haji. However in modern Japanese it doesn’t mean anything, although it means ‘artisan’ in Korean. Actually Haji is related to Pachi in modern Korean, as in the word tongsan pachi, meaning ‘garden (tongsan) artisan (pachi)’ or ‘gardener’, for example.

At any rate, the Haji clan is associated with pottery and haniwa making and other civil engineering. Sugawara Michizane was admired so much for his scholarship and accomplishments that he was enshrined as a god in the Tenmangu Shinto Shrine.

He was also admired as a god of calligraphers, integrity and literature. Some of the Tenmangu shrines have even set up learning institutes where poetry recital and lectures on Shinto books or Confucian classics as well as literary works are taught.

The number of Tenmangu Shrines was 10,442 as of the end of last century.

(4) The Ise Shrine

The Ise Shinto Shrine is special among all the shrines in that Amaterasu the sun goddess is enshrined here. Her descendant Jinmu is recorded as the founder king of Wa Japan according to the Nihongi although many scholars think Ojin is the real historical founder king.

This is the Shrine where new emperors report and perform the religious rite Daijosai, or New Year’s day ritual. This ritual is considered very sacred and is performed in privacy. However it is known that a young Shinto priestess officiates, offering divine clothes, foods, etc

Every twenty years the whole building is rebuilt. The present structure is the fifty-ninth.

The central hall, where the goddess is supposed to descend, is built directly [page 140] above a core pillar, which is retained during the renovation. One thinks this is the shaman legacy that gods are supposed to descend upon a shaman tree when a shaman invokes gods in a ritual. The torii gate at the entrance of a Shinto Shrine is again a legacy of the shaman tradition of a pole with a branch where a bird or the divine messenger from above is believed to perch. Usually a woman or maiden performs the shaman ritual, which is again preserved in the Daijosai ritual. It is amazing how all of these elements of a shaman ritual are preserved in a Shinto Shrine after so many years.

In fact the word Jingu in Japanese for a Shinto Shrine was originally called Shingung in Silla Korean, and the first Shingung was built to enshrine Pak Balkanuri, the founder king of Silla centuries before Japanese Shinto shrines existed.

This shaman practice was in decline in Silla after the introduction of Buddhism as the state religion but not so in Japan, where shamanism evolved into Shintoism with syncretism, chauvinism and other modifications.

But even after its evolution, Shintoism doesn’t provide any organized moral teachings or creeds accept that ancestral or hero gods are prayed to for blessings or protection from evil or for thanksgiving for a good harvest, etc. Shaman Shrines were built near tombs in ancient Korea. In the case of Koguryo, a shrine was built on top of a pyramid tomb of King Jangsu, while the national Shrine was built on a hilltop to commemorate the founder King Tongmyong in Paekche.

So we can see the continuation of the shrine tradition of ancient Korea in the Japanese Shinto shrines, while the Shinto shrine continues evolving in its own way.

**(III) Key-hole shaped tombs**

We now know that Shinto shrines are closely associated with tombs or at least early in history as one can see clusters of old tombs or Kofuns in the vicinity of shrines. [page 141]

Among old tombs of various shapes and structure, the keyhole-shaped tombs stand out and are thought unique to Japan. They number about 2,600. They are found throughout Japan. Japanese kings are associated with 25 of them, although the identification of many of them is not certain. Many of these larger tombs are surrounded by moats, and the burial chamber is usually in the round part with various relics, while haniwa, or ritual terracotta figurines, or cylindrical vessels with rows of holes or other terracotta items are buried around the tomb. Now the question rises as to the origin of the keyhole-shaped tombs.

The oldest keyhole shaped tombs dates from the late third century and they were built until the eighth century.

Lately several rock tombs of a keyhole-shape have been found at Song- am-ri and Unpyong-ri in North Korea25, dated at the turn of the first century. These rock tombs of a keyhole shape were built in a plain near rivers, which seems to suggest a certain religious character.

More surprising is the latest finding of keyhole-shaped rock tombs along the Imjin River26 near the demilitarized zone. A square tomb with cylindrical pots with a moat is also found near the Taejon area and several keyhole tombs are also found in South Korea.

It is known for sometime that this kind of keyhole-shaped rock tombs also existed in Takamatsu and Naruto, Shikoku, Japan. Shikoku also has several rock-pile tombs, which suggests that settlers with this type of burial tradition were quite numerous here.

Undoubtedly these people came from parts of Korea with such a tradition. Presumably, a new fashion to cover the rock tombs with dirt mounds became popular and the keyhole-shaped tombs were built and became fashionable in Japan.

25 Chun Hochon, rock tombs of keyhole shape

26 Yoncheon Culture Center. Excavation Reports on Paekche’s Rock Tombs, 1994.

[page 142]

The origin of Shintoism in Japan is examined and found to be the continuation of the shaman tradition of Korean settlers, although it has evolved in a uniquely Japanese way by adding Buddhist and chauvinistic elements. We examined typical Shinto shrines such as Inari shrines, Hachiman shrines, Tenman shrines and the Ise shrine, which constitute the majority of Japanese Shrines which number about 15,000 in total They are all related with shaman beliefs, shaman rituals and ancestor worship of early setters and mythology of founding gods of the nation. It is most interesting to compare various common practices between Korean shamanism and Japanese Shintoism, are such as the erection of bird poles called Sotte in Korea and Torii gates in Japan which is said to have evolved from Sotte, divine straw ropes with white pieces of papers in both countries, objects of worship such as rocks, rivers, swords or various deities, etc. A type of Korean shaman music evolved into Samul Nori while Shinto music adheres to the classic court music. Shamanism in Korea has no scripture or original founder or creeds, just as in Japanese Shintoism.

Concerning the founding gods of nations in Korea and Japan, it is interesting to note the similar general structure of myths in which gods in the heaven descend to earth reincarnating as the human founders of nations, as in the Tangun mythology and the myths of founding gods of Koguryo, Paekche, Silla and Kaya as well as Wa Japan.

The shaman shrines of these kingdoms in Korea have almost all disappeared, while Shinto shrines in Japan are going very strong even today. So I have found only partial answer for the origin of Shinto Shrines as evolved shamanism. Perhaps one has to examine the religious tradition but also politics, sociology as well as national psychology to get the complete understanding of Shintoism.

Finally I may add that the new Tang China chronicle recorded the practice in Koguryo and Paekche in dedicating weapons such as spears or swords as divine objects. Perhaps this explains why the seven-branched sword was preserved in the ancestral shrine of the Mononobe clan.

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**Satanic Devils in the Hermit Kingdom**

Wilson Strand, Minneapolis

“one of the most extraordinary affairs ever known”

-William Elliot Griffis

In 1853, as is well known, Matthew Perry, an American naval commander, led an expedition to Japan to open that country to trade and contact with the West. He succeeded and has been praised in the West ever since. Perry himself declared that he was only trying to bring a then isolated people into the family of civilized nations. Japan then modernized and became a world power.

In April, 1868, Ernst Oppert, a merchant from Hamburg, led an expedition to Korea to open the country to trade and contact with the West. The “hermit kingdom” of Korea, like Japan, was likewise isolated and, from the Western point of view, backward and uncivilized. Oppert, however, failed. Although the two expeditions were very different, Oppert’s expedition has been ridiculed or ignored ever since.

The only item of any length on the internet in the last few years about Oppert called his expedition an “incident of piracy” and the participants “criminals” and “satanic devils,” which included Koreans, “a handful of miserable Christian converts who were more than willing to sell out their country to the foreign devils.” Among other things, the author also declares that Frederick H. B. Jenkins, the American interpreter at the U. S. consulate in Shanghai, financed the expedition. He then quotes extensively from a contemporary review of Oppert’s book, criticizing the fact that Jenkins, who he says provided lots of money and arms for Oppert, was scarcely mentioned. The review ridiculed Oppert’s attempt as “grave robbing.”1

This is not unusual. The author was following contemporary writers, who likewise treated Oppert with scorn and ridicule. Typical was a writer for The Nation,” who in 1880 described Oppert’s men as “wicked ghouls” who[page 144]attempted “a perfect burlesque.” The whole thing, he declared, was absurd.2 William Elliot Griffis wrote the most complete account 14 years after the event. He said Oppert was “a Jewish peddler” who led a “body- snatching...piratical expedition,” financed by an American, “for the sake of money.” Somewhat unfortunately, he has been followed ever since. And yet, quite correctly, he also called it “one of the most extraordinary aftairs ever known.”3

The Koreans then saw it differently and, when aware of it, still do, although their mention of the event is brief. They saw Oppert’s expedition as a mission of revenge for Korea’s persecution of the Catholics.4 Thus, they seemed more concerned with Feron, the French priest who accompanied Oppert, than with Oppert himself. At that time all but two of the French priests in Korea and thousands of their converts had already been executed by the Korean government. To be sure, Feron was interested in reopening Korea to missionaries and protecting the Korean Christians already there, but Oppert’s primary motive was not religious.

Modern historians are no better in understanding Oppert. Wanne J. Choe’s impressive history, published in the year 2000, writes of the “body-snatching expedition” by “the Prussian adventurer” though Hamburg was never part of Prussia and repeats the assertion that it was financed entirely by Jenkins. He agrees with the Korean version that Oppert acted to retaliate for religious persecution of Christians but adds that he was “lured by precious metals and stones,”5 i.e. going to rob the tomb. Even Andrew Nahm, probably the foremost Korean historian today in America, calls Oppert’s expedition “a tomb-robbing expedition...to steal treasures” from a royal tomb. He also calls Oppert a “naturalized American citizen,”6 but does not provide any documentation for this assertion. Modern accounts typically mention him in a paragraph at most and are always negative.

The purpose of this article is not to justify or excuse what Oppert did but, for the first time, to understand Oppert by examining his expedition in the light of further research about the too long neglected merchant. Modern[page 145] writers have been only too eager to accept a single contemporary account without questioning it Who, after all, was Oppert? What was he trying to do by his expedition to Korea? Was the expedition his idea? Can we believe what Oppert wrote considerably later in his own account? And, how different would Korean history be if Oppert had succeeded?

Who Was Oppert?

Ernst Jacob Oppert( 1832-1903) was a member of a distinguished Jewish family in Hamburg, one of the most active seaports in western Europe. An ancestor, Samuel Oppenheimer, was the banker in Potsdam for the German Emperor Leopold X. Although the family changed their name to Oppert, perhaps signaling a change of religion, they continued to be bankers. Officially, the family lived in Hamburg beginning in 1832, the year Ernst was born on December 5 to Julius Edward and Henriette(b. Gans) Oppert, but since Germany did not become a nation until the German Empire was declared after the war of 1870, and since has suffered many wars, Hamburg records are incomplete. His parents had been married in Berlin on August 5,1824. Her father was also a banker and her brother a jurist and professor of law. In 1825 her brother changed from the Jewish faith to the Christian religion.

Ernst was the sixth of ten surviving children, six boys and four girls. His brother Julian became the assistant librarian in the Bodelian Library at Oxford, working especially with their Hebrew collection, and later a distinguished professor of Assyriology in Paris. His brother Gustav became a professor of Sanskrit in Madras. The family was well-todo, well educated and well traveled.

Ernst decided to be a merchant and left for Hong Kong in 1851. He was 29. Three years later he moved to Shanghai(as shown in the box below), where he founded Oppert & Co., a publishing house. Two of his younger brothers, Hermann and Emil, joined him there. In the same year the United States opened Japan to limited trade. In 1858 Western powers concluded[page 146]treaties with China.

Time Box

1853 Perry arrives in Japan 1868 May: Oppert’s third expedition to Korea

1864 Taewongun rises to unchallenged power 1871 American Fleet tries to open Korea

1866 August 27: General Sherman burned. 1876Japanese show of force opens ports to Korea

October: French Fleet in Korea 1882 Treaty with the US opens Korea

During a visit to Europe in 1858 Oppert spoke with government ministers in both London and Hamburg. With the help of his father and recommendations from 15 trading firms in Hamburg, he applied for the position of Hamburg consul in Shanghai but did not get the appointment. The new consul was chosen from within. Rudolph Heinsen, already working in the consulate(and a later supporter of Oppert), was selected instead. This was a major disappointment for Ernst.

On June 10，1863, back in Hamburg, he married Olga Bunsen, the daughter of a German merchant in Moscow. She was seven years younger than him and of the Evangelical religion. Ernst was a member, like his parents, of a German Jewish synagogue. She accompanied him back to Shanghai and two years later gave birth to their first child, Alma. There would be four children altogether: two sons and two daughters.7 When he returned to Shanghai, he no doubt looked forward to a successful career in the Far East.

What Was Oppert Seeking in Korea?

The next year, in April, 1866, Oppert made his first of three trips to Korea. His plan was to approach the capital by ship in order to initiate friendly negotiations with the government for establishing trade. That he believed firmly in the commercial value of opening Korea can be seen by the title of the report he wrote On the Capability of the Land to Absorb European Manufactured Goods and Imports and with the Unquestionable Advantage[page 147] of Production Inside Korea at this Time . 8

However, maps of Korea were then unreliable. He did not find the mouth of the Han River and soon returned to Shanghai. His second trip, in August of the same year, was likewise unsuccessful Financing both his trips was Jardine Matheson & Co.,an English firm which was then one of the leading commercial houses in Shanghai.

In the summer of 1866 an American ship, the General Sherman, as is well known, steamed up the Taedong River in an attempt to establish trade with Korea. It was attacked, the sailors killd and the ship burned. Although the Koreans mistakenly considered it English, this event interested the Americans who, for lack of reliable information, thought some of the American sailors might still be alive and could be rescued. Oppert was then looked upon by the American consulate in Shanghai as their major source of information about the Hermit kingdom because of his earlier voyages.9 A stone monument today in North Korea shows where the General Sherman was burned by the Korean people, supposedly led by the great grandfather of Kim II Sung, showing how easily historical events become political in today’s hermit kingdom.

After his two unproductive trips to Korea, Oppert was bankrupt, as recorded by the Prussian consul in Shanghai, Tettenborn, to the amount of 180,000 taler10 and as testified later in the Jenkins trial.¹¹ Gaining a commercial foothold in Korea was thus seen by him as a way out of his financial difficulties.

At this financially crucial time for him, he met Feron, a priest who had been the driving force behind the French mission in Korea. Foreign priests and their Korean Christian followers had already been executed in Korea by order of the Taewongun, the political leader then in Korea. Feron and Ridel, another priest, were the last two French religious leaders to Jeave Korea. Oppert had already received a plea for help from Ridel while in Korea but had been unable to help him escape. In September of 1866 a French fleet arrived at the mouth of the Han River but was too late to rescue Feron, who[page 148] had already escaped to Shanghai. The French fought with Korean soldiers on Kangwha Island, then left, but left behind a growing feeling against all foreigners.

Oppert met Feron in Shanghai and was impressed. Feron convinced Oppert that only the Taewongun, then ruling Korea, was hostile to Christianity, and that from his experience the Korean people were desperately searching for something spiritual to believe in and would welcome Christianity. The Taewongun, Oppert was told, ruled harshly and repressed all foreign and progressive ideas. The outside world was shut out and there was no freedom of speech. It was time for change, not just for trade with foreign nations, but also for the good of the Korean people. But because of the Taewongun’s hostility to western influences, force had to be used. He believed in the saying, as Oppert would write later, “Great ends require great means.”

Feron, advised by his Korean followers, suggested a plan for opening Korea that he said involved little risk. The tomb of the father of the Taewongun lay in the countryside not far from the coast. It would be unguarded since it was unthinkable in Korea that anyone would disturb the dead. Feron’s plan was to seize the sarcophagus. Because of the great respect of Koreans for their ancestors, Feron argued, the Taewongun would do anything to get back his father’s remains. The expedition would not damage the body in any way but safely return it as soon as the Taewongun opened some Korean seaports to trade. Oppert thought the plan plausible and decided to try it. No doubt his financial worries helped persuade him. If successful, he would be in a position to benefit as the first to trade with Korea.

For the third voyage Oppert chartered a ship from Siemssen & Co., a Hamburg firm in Shanghai. Its records noted only Oppert’s name, not that of Feron or the voyage’s purpose, nor was anyone else listed in the ship’s records. Oppert did not want his plan to be known but thought the risk slight and the prospects great. According to the ship agreement, in a postscript the[page 149]ship company as the financial sponsor, would be paid one per cent of the value of any goods or money brought back up to 500,000 taler, 3/4 of one per cent if between 500,000 and 750,000 taler, and one-half of one per cent if more.12 Therefore, Siemssen must have known of the destination and of Oppert’s hope that trade could be started almost immediately, but quite possibly was not told the means.

Oppert and Feron were soon on their way to Korea for Oppert’s third visit. Oppert later said that he took with him an agreement for the Taewongun to sign, along with money and gifts from Hamburg, which he thought would make Koreans grateful and more willing to do business. He also took with him an impressive amount of German alcoholic drinks, remembering no doubt that such gifts had helped Perry negotiate in Japan. He realized the Taewongun would be angry and that it would be necessary to placate various officials involved in the negotiations. His plan was thus, not to take the bones of the Taewongun’s father out of Korea, but to negotiate immediately afterwards with the Taewongun, thus persuading him to sign the agreement he carried with him.

Since his major ship, the China, was too big and too obvious to cruise up a shallow river unnoticed, he carried on board a smaller ship, the Greta, which he had secured from J. C. Godeffroy & Sohn in Shanghai through arrangements made by Heinsen, who asked Woldemar Nissen to “keep quiet” about it. The deputy consul for the German consulate, who also was associated with William Pustak & Co., the oldest German trading company there, was informed of Oppert’s expedition but had no questions.13

The China left Shanghai in late April under the German flag. On board, in addition to Oppert and Feron, were four Germans, two Swedes, two Italians, 21 Filipinos and about 120 Chinese, a “motly crew-the riff-raff of humanity,”14 according to Griffis, who had nothing good to say of Oppert. There was also one American, Jenkins, who spoke Chinese fluently and was put in charge of finances, which was probably mistakenly construed later to mean that he financed the expedition. [page 150]

They stopped on the way at Nagasaki to pick up guns and ammunition. They then landed on the Korean coast in what was then Asan Bay and hiked for six hours inland, but the tomb was farther than Feron had led them to believe- Nevertheless, they found the tomb in what is today Taedok County, Chungnam Province, but had much trouble digging into it because of the heavy stonework surrounding the sarcophagus and their few tools. Although Griffis declares that they leveled the tomb and reached the sarcophagus, 15 this is unlikely. More likely, they shoveled off the top dirt above the stonework, which they could not budge. Moreover, soldiers under the command of Honsu Yang, arrived, killing two Filipinos and wounding a German seaman. Without uncovering the sarcophagus, they returned to their ship empty handed. Korean reinforcements of 100 soldiers arrived at the tomb under the Taewongun’s son, Chaemon Yi, too late to take part in the fight. Yang was soon promoted to naval commander for his service and honored later with another promotion, a residence and money.16

The small tomb today shows no signs of attack but the large underlying stone blocks would surely have been too difficult to pierce, using only four spades, as Oppert later declared.17 The inscription in front of the tomb still attributes the financing of the expedition completely to Jenkins.

Back in Shanghai, neither Heinsen nor Probst, the consular agent, made any fuss about what had happened, perhaps because they were not told everything. The whole episode might well have been quickly forgotten except for Tettenborn, who did not get along with Heinsen or Probst. He complained to the German government, calling Oppert’s crew “pirates,” “freebooters” and “treasure hunters” who had misused the German flag to “loot corpses,” words that would be used freely by historians thereafter. Tettenborn demanded that Probst be dismissed or transferred. His complaints were passed on to the Prussian Senate where Rudolf von Delbruck, president of the chancellery, added his own opinion, calling Oppert’s expedition “an infamous act” which had compromised the honor of the German nation. Oppert, he declared, should be arrested and brought to Hamburg for trial. [page 151]

The Spanish government, on behalf of the Filipinos used, also complained to the German government about Oppert’s misuse of the Filipinos he’d hired as crew and demanded 4000 talers compensation for the families of the two killed and 462 talers for each of the surviving Filipinos for the hardships they had suffered. Oppert, in the eyes of both the German and Spanish governments, was clearly a German citizen from Hamburg. Heinsen was dismissed as consul and some time later returned to Hamburg.

Oppert soon returned to Hamburg for trial. His lawyer was Johann Georg Monckeberg, a distinguished lawyer, son of a priest, and himself a future mayor. The Supreme Court found Oppert guilty, declaring that his motives of opening up Korea to trade and spreading Christianity among the Koreans did not justify the means used. They sentenced Oppert to three months in prison but Oppert’s lawyer appealed for a pardon.18 Frederick Henry Barry Jenkins was also brought to trial. Charges were made by Dr. S. Wells Williams, the American charge d’affaires in Peking, the indictment formally written, reluctantly, by George Seward, who apologized for the trial to his uncle, explaining that he’d been pressured into doing so by the European powers.19 The translator of the American consulate in Shanghai, where Seward was consul, was charged on eight counts with preparing and assisting an expedition for the purpose of “illegally and clandestinely exhuming and removing the remains of a deceased sovereign of Corea.”

The trial, which involved testimony from several members of Oppert’s crew as well as Oppert and members of the foreign shipping community in Shanghai(Feron had already left China), heard that the “purpose of the expedition,” in the words of Oppert, “was to conclude treaties and possibly obtain an embassy.” According to Oppert, Jenkins “lent me some money. That was all” Jenkins did not help plan the expedition, knew nothing of its purpose, was only a passenger, and did not go ashore in Korea. Be that as it may, it was established that Jenkins, described by the defense attorney as “a shrewd man of business,” did loan Oppert money to charter the ships and [page 152] loaned him more money in Nagasaki to pay for the arms purchased there. However, he did this as a businessman, expecting a profitable return if the expedition was successful. Moreover, as the Defense argued, no known Korean law had been broken, the grave had not been robbed nor the body exhumed; therefore, no crime had been committed.20 Jenkins was acquitted. Griffis, however, cites an unidentified witness to the trial as calling it a “perfect burlesque.” Serious or not, the consulate would not have wished their translator’s involvement to become an international scandal.

Oppert served his sentence in the summer of 1889 and lived the rest of his life inconspicuously in Hamburg. He was listed as a stockbroker in the telephone book. He moved several times, never owning a house of his own. One street on which he lived still exists in a middle class neighborhood, but it was destroyed during the wars and has been completely rebuilt. His two daughters both studied to be teachers and married, one in New York. All his children were baptized Christians, perhaps by his wife’s brother, a priest. One son worked in Frankfurt, the other as a company graphic designer, also in Germany, but he attended the world rair in St. Louis in 1904. Oppert died on September 19,1903，at the age of 71. He’d spent his last years writing.21

Can We Believe Oppert?

It’s only A Forbidden Land: Voyages to the Korea, published in 1880, twelve long years after the expedition, that discusses his expedition to Korea in much detail. In it he argues that Korea was ready to join the family of nations, but to reach the level of China and Japan, it had to be opened to international trade and Christianity. Its government should not be treated tenderly, as the West was wont to do. Instead, a “very small army and a very few war vessels” would be sufficient. Russia, he predicted, would try next.

In an aside, he wrote that although he considered the Korean language more difficult than Japanese, one could, with little effort, understand it after a month of study.22 Perhaps he meant only that the alphabet could be learned in a month, though it can actually be learned in an hour or two. If he really[page 153] meant that one could speak and understand Korean in a month, he was certainly a gifted linguist.

His accounts of the three voyages are all peaceful until the very end. The first five-day expedition sought only “to open up commercial and friendly relations with that country,” to explore the mouth of the Han River and to make initial contact with Korean officials. He did meet with a provincial governor and general and sent a message to the capital but, after a few days of waiting for a reply and, unable to find the entrance to the Han River, he left- Oppert told the officials he would return.23

The second expedition, which included six Europeans and a smaller boat good for river passage, reached the mouth of the Han River, where they were met by friendly officials who discouraged them from going up river to approach the capital They agreed to wait four days for a reply. They meanwhile collected plants from the neighborhood. The government representative returned but asked Oppert to get permission from the Chinese emperor. Angry at what he considered an evasive reply, he left.24 In a vague sense, Korea could then be considered a tributary vassal of China. Was the Taewongun really encouraging Oppert by asking him to go through proper channels and get Chinese approval? More likely, considering the Taewongun’s anti-foreign feelings, he was just trying to get rid of Oppert

Oppert’s account of the much criticized third voyage is the most intriguing. The author admits that his previous good will was a failure. He harshly criticizes the Taewongun, calling him a “bloodthirsty tyrant,” advised by an “unscrupulous faction,” who garrisoned all towns, persecuted those with foreign ideas and excluded new ideas because, only by maintaining the status quo, did he feel he could survive.

He provided some information about the elusive Feron. The priest was well-educated, a devoted missionary who had previously entered Korea to spread Christianity but had escaped when he learned that his arrest had been ordered, Feron told Oppert that the Korean people hated the Taewongun and wanted foreigners admitted. The plan to seize the bones of the Taewongun’s[page 154] father was not Oppert’s idea or that of Feron, according to Oppert, but of Feron’s Korean followers, who assured him that the Taewongun would then “accede to anything to have them returned.” The Taewongun could thus be compelled to conclude a treaty that would open Korea and send embassies to western nations. By following the river inland and hiking for only four hours, no more, the followers said, they could reach the tomb and carry out the task.

Feron, in turn, suggested the plan to Oppert, saying it would benefit all nations and especially the Korean people. After several days of reflection and hesitation, Oppert agreed. Thus, it seems that while Oppert’s main motive was to open Korea to trade, albeit largely for his own profit, Feron’s motive and that or his Korean Christian followers was to protect Christians in Korea from the Taewongun’s wrath and persecution. Likewise, it seems certain that the plan could originate only with someone who knew of the Taewongun’s father and where in the countryside his tomb was located. Thus, the idea must have originated with a Korean Christian.

Oppert does not mention any other Europeans, only Feron. He does mention an unnamed American translator, obviously Jenkins, and a crew of Filipinos and Chinese. They reached the mouth of the river in Prince Jerome Gulf at night and started up the river at daybreak, watched by a whole village on the bank of the river. Did the Korean Christians accompany them? He says they left them on board the ship, apparently for their own safety, and hiked inland, but were stopped by a local official attended by a few soldiers. However, the soldiers deserted the official who nevertheless, when one of Oppert’s group fainted from the heat, gave them a palanquin to carry him until he felt better. The kind official even told them of a “short cut” to the tomb! Since they did not arrive at the tomb, near modern Tokson, until about 5:00 p.m., four hours later than expected, it’s quite possible that the official tricked them. Oppert’s party carried “hardly any implements” with them, perhaps expecting only a European type of grave filled with dirt, but managed to get other tools from a friendly village nearby. They found the[page 155]tomb and reportedly broke through the outer wall, while Koreans watched passively, but found the entrance blocked by a huge stone they could not budge. So, in order to return before the changing tide would leave their ship stranded, they gave up and returned to the ship without anything accomplished. No mention is made of their being fired upon by Korean soldiers at the tomb. Upon their return they found the ship surrounded by a curious but friendly crowd.

Oppert did not leave Korea at once. As planned, he still attempted to open Korea to trade. He stopped at the mouth of the Han River on Yongjong Island off Inchon and gave a message to local officials for the Taewongun, asking him to open his country for the good of his people by signing the treaty sent him. While waiting for a reply, he shared their European drinks with local officials, who criticized their unpopular leader. The official reply was polite but protested the attempt to harm the tomb of the Taewongun’s father. It stated clearly that Korea had no need of the West. Korea was self- sufficient and would remain so. It would continue to keep foreigners away.

Defeated, Oppert tried to enter the nearby town to collect his crew and leave. One German,25 however, was caught trying to carry off someone’s calf for food. Korean soldiers, probably acting on orders, opened fire on the retreating foreigners. A Filipino was killed and the culprit wounded. The rest of the crew rushed back to the ship and prepared to fire on the town but Oppert forbid it, he says, and the ship left. “Thus ended the third and last of my voyages to this remarkable country which, to the shame of all western nations, be it said, still remains a forbidden land up to the present day.”26

Was the older Oppert, looking back, telling the whole truth or only part of it? Disappointingly vague, the book nevertheless reveals a country not only full of friendly people but also of friendly officials and soldiers, supposedly free to criticize their government, who remained friendly until ordered to fire upon the foreigners. If this view is correct, the Taewongun could scarcely have been as tyrannical as Feron asserted. Moreover, it seems incredible that neither officials nor soldiers would try to stop a group of foreigners trying to[page 156] break into the tomb of the father of the most powerful leader in the country! It seems that Oppert conveniently forgot in his book events that he didn’t want to remember. Moreover, factual discrepancies such as the number of men killed demonstrate that his book is not a historical work trying to set the record straight, but what an older Oppert wanted his friends and posterity to believe. Thus, mystery remains. Some scholar needs to research the still mysterious Feron for his account. Surely he reported back to his superiors. Was he also reprimanded?

In summary, Oppert was a German merchant in Shanghai from the free city of Hamburg. He was essentially a man of peace. He left the tomb, just as he left Korea, at the first sign of trouble. He never tried to force his way up the Han River to the capital but eventually followed the wishes of local officials and what he considered proper protocol. He was, above all, a businessman. He wanted to open Korea to trade, for what he believed was the good of Korea as well as the West, but also for his own profit. He wanted, like others in his family, to be a success. His third voyage to Korea, financed like the others by a Shanghai firm, and supported by loans from Jenkins, was done under the persuasive influence of Feron and the financial pressure of Oppert’s being bankrupt. America was not directly involved, though one of his crew happened to be American. Oppert had no official backing. He was neither a statesman nor a diplomat. All three of his voyages were limited in time and funds. He had no official position, did not represent any government, had secured no authority from the Chinese government. Thus, it’s not surprising that the Korean government viewed him as an individual of little importance or that, after suffering the French military attempt, the Taewongun did not hasten to do as he wished. Oppert believed that Korea was ready to join the family of nations, which meant to him world trade and Christianity, but the Taewongun was not. The Korean leader preferred to keep things as they were and increasingly saw the West as a threat to Korea. Oppert’s dream would come true later, but by more orthodox means. Korea would in 1882 sign its first commercial treaty with a Western[page 157] power with the United States but by then the Japanese, by using superior force, would already be on their way to eventual domination of Korea.

**Influence of the Oppert Affair**

Oppert’s final attempt to open Korea can only be condemned as an intended sacrilege. However, had he succeeded peacefully in opening Korea to trade - the eternal What if? - he may well have been praised and his means overlooked by the West. Moreover, a Korea opened to the West may well have been stronger and more modern militarily and diplomatically, better able to resist Japanese imperialism when it came. Such friendship and trade may well have prevented decades of suffering under Japanese rule in the twentieth century.

More easily discernable, and perhaps less debatable, what influence did the Oppert affair have on the American attempt in May, 1871, to open Korea to trade with a show of force? Because of the involvement of the American Jenkins, the American government was aware of the Oppert episode, as shown by the correspondence from China of the American consul, George Seward, to his uncle William Seward, then Secretary of State, before and after the incident.

Writing before, the nephew argues that trade with Korea would certainly develop in a few years and that it was desirable for the United States to have, if not a commercial treaty, at least a treaty providing for the kind treatment of shipwrecked American sailors.27 The Shanghai Recorder greatly increased interest in Korea by writing that Korea was militarily weak and undefended, that it was richer in gold and silver than California, and that neither force nor even a show of force would be necessary to have one’s way with her.28 George Seward repeated this view to his uncle, saying that force, even the show of force, was unnecessary to get a treaty of trade with Korea. That country was interested in relations with the West. However, after learning of the Oppert episode and probably speaking with Jenkins, he reversed his advice and told his uncle, often mentioning Jenkins, that Korea was not[page 158] eager for a treaty. He now believed that negotiations, unless supported by a considerable show of force, though not force itself, should be sufficient.29

The correspondence of Low, who represented the American government in its later attempt to open Korea with a show of force, shows that he was not hopeful of the results but thought the goal worth trying,30 that he hoped that a show of force would be sufficient and that actual force would not have to be used.31 Low, consciously or not, tried to follow George Seward’s recommendations in America’s later military attempt to open Korea. Indirectly, the Oppert affair thus helped determine American foreign policy toward Korea. Oppert’s failure, by increasing the resistance of the Taewongun to foreign contact, also helped to ensure the subsequent failure of the American military expedition to open Korea.

Was Oppert really a pirate or satanic devil in search of buried riches? Some writers have wanted to think so. Or, what seems more likely, a merchant in financial difficulties with a grander vision? Although his final means were inexcusable, would Korea have been better off if he had succeeded in opening the Hermit Kingdom then to trade?

Notes

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6 Nahm, Andrew. A History of the Korean People(1988), 146-50.

7 Hauschild-Thiessen, Renate. “Ernst Oppert( 1832-1903), Ein Hamburger Beschreibt

Korea, “ Hamburgische Geschicht Geschichts und Heimatblatter(Oktober 1989),, 99-114.

8 Ibid. [page 159]

9 George Seward to William Seward(April 20, 1870), US National Archives and Records, Microfilm FM 112, Roll 9.

10 Ibid.

11 Report from the Supreme Court and Consular Gazette(July 11, 1868).

12 Oppert, appendix.

13 Hauschild-Thiessen, 99-114.

14 Griffis, 399.

15 Ibid.

16 Pak, Chehong. “Conflicts with the West from Kunse Choson Chonggaro, “ I,236-76 in Peter H. Lee, ed., Sourcebook of Korean Civilization, II, 306-310.

17 Report(July 11, 1868).

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

20 Hauschild-Thiessen, 105-09.

21 Ibid. Five years before, Oppert published East Asia Wanderings and Memories of a Japanese. A sole copy of the former can be checked out of the university library in Hamburg. No known copy of the latter exists.

22 Oppert, ix-x.

23 Oppert, 178-206.

24 Ibid.

25 Oppert, 319, calls the culprit a “countryman,” thus a German.

26 Ibid, 206.

27 Seward(Nov. 27, 1866), US National Archives and Records, Microfilm FM 112, Roll 9.

28 Shanghai Recorder(Oct. 16, 1866).

29 Cf. Seward(April 24) with(May 25,1868), US National Archives and Records, Microfilm FM112, Roll 9.

30 Low to Fish(Nov. 22, 1870), Ibid.

31 Ibid.,(May 13, 1871). [page 160]

[page 161]

**ANNUAL REPORT Of The ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY-KOREA BRANCH 2002**

**PRESIDENT’S ANNUAL REPORT 2002**

At the end of the year 2002, the Royal Asiatic Society-Korea Branch, had a total of 1,109 members, including 74 life members, 755 members residing in Korea and 280 overseas members. This represents a slight increase from the 2001 figure of 1, 105 members.

Programs during the year included lectures, slide and video presentations, and music and dance performances. Except during the summer months, programs were held on the second and fourth Wednesday of each month at the Goethe Institute.

Some 1,100 persons enjoyed the full schedule of forty-eight tours, which took members ana mends to dozens of places throughout Korea as well as a tour to Japan, Mongolia, China and Cambodia. Tours remain one of the most popular activities of the society.

Publications the year included Volume 76 (2001) of the RAS Transactions and Portuguese-Korean Historical Studies.

The annual garden party was hosted by Ambassador and Mrs. Thomas C. Hubbard, and the officers and Councilors of the Society at the official residence of the U.S. Embassy. A large audience of some 250 members enjoyed food and drink and special book sales. A cultural program depicting Korean traditional Music Performance: Taegum, Kayagum and Komungo Music Performance.

While maintaining a reasonable financial position during the year, it is important for members to be reminded that their support continues to be critical to the financial well being of the Society. Every member of the Council and our General Manager, Mrs. Bae, make every effort to keep operating expenses moderate, while providing members with the best service possible.

I take this opportunity to express sincere appreciation for the selfless efforts of the Council members and officers, who devote many hundreds of hours of voluntary service to the Society throughout he year. I also express my appreciation to Mrs. Sue J. Bae, our General Manager, who has been the mainstay of the office and day-to-day operations for the Society for almost forty years and congratulations on her award. Finally, the Society expresses profound gratitude to the Goethe Institut for providing to the Society, without charge, their auditorium and book storage facilities for our regular lectures and meetings.

Respectfully submitted

Kim Yong Duk

President, Korean Branch, Royal Asiatic Society

**Minutes of the Annual General Meeting 11 December 2002**

The annual general meeting convened at the Goethe Institut, Seoul, Korea and was called to order at 7:30 p.m. by Dr. Kim Young Duk, President. Dr. Kim reviewed his annual report to the society, which will be published in Transaction vol. 77.

A slate of nominees for officers for the calendar year 2003 was presented, [page 163] and the floor was opened for additional nominations from the membership at large. There were no additional nominations. Dr. Kim moved that the nominees for officers and council members be elected. There was a second. The following officers and council members were elected by acclamation:

President, Dr. Kim Yong-duk Vice President, Ms. Renate Kostka-Wagner Treasurer, Mr. Peter Born Secretary, Rev. Graeme J. Webb Librarian, Mrs. Lee Yung-joo

Councillors, Peter Bartholomew, Dr. Choi Uhn-Kyung, Amb. Denis Comeau, Amb. Hein de Vries, Mary-Louise Heseltine, Joan Hubbard, Enid W. Humfrey, Jang Song Hyun, Charles Jenkins, David A. Mason, John Nowell, Uwe Schmelter, Fred Jeremy Seligson, Dr. Maria Seo, Rev. Steven L. Shields, Dr. Horace G. Underwood

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 7:45 p.m. and was followed by the scheduled lecture for the evening.

Respectfully submitted,

Renate Kostka-Wagner [page 164]

**2002 Library Report**

The RAS Collection, housed in the Korea Social Sciences Library at Sajik

Park, Seoul, contains a total of 1864 books and journals.

-

During 2002, six new titles were added to the RAS Collection.

New Titles Added:

Seoul (Focus on living in Seoul)

Writing Across Boundaries

The Spirit of Independence (Syngman Rhee)

Stories of Twentieth Century Korea (new)

Lying Claim to the Memory of May

Generals and Scholars

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2002 RAS-KB Lectures

January 9 A Look At Korean Traditional Music

Ms. Kolleen Park

January 23 Assessing the Brand: Problems with Int’l Perception of Korea

Mr. Michael Breen

February 27 King Sejong’s Royal Observatory

Prof. Nha Il-Seong

March 13 Introducing Chinese & Japanese, a text on Sino-Japanese war in Korea by Portuguese author, Eca de Queiroz.”

Mr. Pedro Vieira de Moura

March 27 Iconographic Representations of Korean Judy Van Zile

April 10 Anti-Americanism in South Korea Dr. Katharine H.S. Moon

April 24 The Spirit of Chosun Period Painting Dr. Kim Chang-soo

May 8 Going Home - An Oral History of Korean Adoptees Returning to Korea Ms. Elizabeth Mackie

May 22 The Mystery of a Seven-Branched-Sword in Search of Japan’s origin Dr. Kim Young-Duk[page 166]

June 26 The Imprints of Confucianism on the Korean Rural Landscape: Cultural Geography

Dr. Je-Hun Ryu

August 28 Sodo Folksongs Residence of Portuguese Ambassador Fernando Machado11

Ms.Yu Ji-Sook (National Cultural Asset in Sodo folksongs)

September 11 Korean Birds

Dr. Sooil Kim

September 25 Early Period of German - Korean Relations

Dr. Sylvia Braesel

October 9 Korea at the World’s Fairs: Chicago (1893) and Paris (1900)

Mr. Daniel Kane

October 23 Toegye’s Philosophy : Part II

Dr. Kim Young-Duk

November 13 Isang Yun - Korean Spirit as Mediator in Germany

Dr. Uwe Schmelter

November 27 What is Alternative Medicine? How should we apply it to daily life?

Dr. Mison Chun

December 11 Buddhism in Korea

Dr. Kernaleguen Herve[page 167]

2002 R.A.S TOURS

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Date | Destination | Attend | Leader |
| Jan. 5 | Pugak Skyway and In-wang San Hike | 9 | S.J. Bae |
| Jan. 19 | Traditional Art Studio Tour | 11 | B. Barry |
| Jan. 20 | Sobaek-san National Park Tour | 9 | S.J. Bae |
| Feb. 2 | Snowflower Train Tour | 20 | S.J. Bae |
| Feb. 3 | Winter Break Tour | 9 | J.P. Buys |
| Feb. 8-14 | Vietnam Tour | 16 | S.J. Bae |
| Feb. 17 | Bird Watching Tour/ Chorwon Tour | 16 | S.J. Bae |
| Feb. 23 | Embroidery Tour | 20 | S.J. Bae |
| Mar.2 | Traditional Music Institution Tour | 8 | A. Heyman |
| Mar. 3 | Popchu-sa & Songnisan National Park Tour | 12 | S.J. Bae |
| Mar. 9 | Exotic Shrine Tour | 10 | A. Heyman |
| Mar. 11 | Walking Tour of Chosun Seoul | 43 | P.Bartholomew |
| Mar. 16 | Kumsan-sa and Hansol Paper Museum Tour | 11 | D.Adams |
| Mar. 23 | Suwon Tour | 25 | P.Bartholomew |
| Mar. 31 | Cheju-do Tour | 21 | S.J. Bae |
| Apr.6-7 | Camelia Tour / Namhae-do&Dolsan-do | 29 | H. Noh / Bae |
| Apr. 7 | Kyonggi-Do Cherry Blossom Tour | 22 | J.P. Buys |
| Apr. 19-22 | Honshu, Japan Tour | 17 | Y.D. Kim |
| Apr. 20-21 | Maisan & Muju Kuchon-Dong Valley Tour | 15 | Drs. Adams |
| Apr. 27- 28 | Magnolia: Chollipo Tour | 39 | S.J. Bae |
| May 4-5 | Kyong-ju Tour | 29 | D.Adams |
| 04-May | Kanghwa-Do Tour | 11 | Y.D. Kim |
| 19-May | Buddha’s Birthday Tour | 58 | D. Mason |
| May 25-26 | Andong Tour | 16 | D. Adams |
| 26-May | Tong Gang Rafting Tour | 25 | S.J. Bae |
| 08-Jun | RAS Garden Party | 250 |  |
| June 13-14 | Cholla-do tour | 8 | S.J. Bae |
| June 22-23 | Wan-Do &Chin-Do Tour | 14 | S.J. Bae |

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| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| July 8-15 | Molgolia Tour | 27 | S.J. Bae |
| 20-Jul | Chawol-Do Tour | 9 | S.J. Bae |
| Aug. 3 | Pugak Skyway & In-Wang San Hike Tour | 14 | S.J. Bae |
| Aug. 3 | Market Tour | 5 | S.J. Bae |
| Aug. 15 | Liberation Day Tour | 8 | S.J. Bae |
| Aug. 24 | Klin Tour | 13 | S.J. Bae |
| Aug. 25 | Kanghwa Island Tour | 11 | Y.D. Kim |
| Sept. 1 | Tong Gang River Rafting Tour | 20 | S.J. Bae |
| Sept. 14 | Mallipo Beach /Chollipo Arboretum Tour | 11 | S.J. Bae |
| Sep. 15 | Chong-pyong Boat Tour | 12 | S.J. Bae |
| Sept. 19-23 | Mainland China Tour | 14 | Y.D. Kim |
| Oct. 6 | Walking Tour of Choson Seoul | 42 | S.J. Bae |
| Oct. 15 | Andong Tour | 15 | D. Adams |
| Oct. 14 | Embroidery | 12 | R. Kostka-Wagner |
| Oct. 13 | Tanyang Tour: Kosu Care | 12 | S.J. Bae |
| Oct. 19-20 | Sorak-San National Park Tour | 24 | S.J. Bae |
| Oct. 26-27 | Chiri-San National Park Tour | 28 | D.Adams |
| Nov. 3 | Yongmunsa Tour | 15 | S.J. Bae |
| Nov. 9-10 | Tongdo-sa & Haeinsa Tour | 11 | D. Adams |
| Nov. 24 | Chorwon Tour | 10 | S.J. Bae |
| Nov. 30-Dec. 1 | Inner Sorak Tour | 6 | S.J. Bae |
| Dec. 15 | Kyeryong-san Tour | 7 | S.J.Bae |
| Dec. 28-Jan 2 | Cambodia Tour | 16 | K.Y. Bae |

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**MEMBERS**

**(As of December 30, 2002)**

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| Leiss, Mr. & Mrs. Erik | Mc Call, Ms. Vickie L. |
| Lessard, Ms. Claire A. | Mc Dougall, Mr. & Mrs. David S. |

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| Schroeder, Mr. Shad | Springwell, Mr. & Mrs. Lawr |
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| Shaw, Mr. Po-Wen | Swiss, NNSC |
| Shaw, Mr. & Mrs. Vincent G. | Talbot, Mr. Tom |
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