

TRANSACTIONS



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Korea Branch

Volume 78 - 2003

TRANSACTIONS

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COVER: The logo of the Royal Asiatic Society - Korea Branch. This seal-shaped logo consists of four Chinese characters which have been historically interpreted to mean 'Encourage Education in the Land of the East of Shonan'.

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Horace Grant Underwood

(1917-2004)

Dr. Horace Grant Underwood, a member of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society since 1939, a councillor, and a former president of the Society, passed away on January 15, 2004 following a brief illness. Born in Seoul of missionary parents on October 11, 1917, Dr. Underwood spent virtually his entire life in Korea except for brief periods abroad for education in the United States and for military service in the Pacific Theater. He was born into a well-known Presbyterian missionary family, and his grandfather was one of the first Protestant missionaries who landed at Incheon on Easter Sunday 1885. For over a century the Underwood family has been associated with Korea and its people and institutions.

Dr. Underwood grew up in Korea. Following his college education and military service during World War II, he served in various capacities with the U.S. military in Korea, including that of senior interpreter during the Panmunjon Armistice Negotiations. His lifelong service to Yonsei University began in 1939 when he worked as a missionary volunteer English teacher. In the following years he served as Librarian, Acting President, and as a member of the Board of Directors, a position he held at the time of his death. He was also the founding Dean of Seoul National University during the years of the U.S. military government in Korea. Professionally he was an educator, and his contributions to higher education are too many to mention here. The fact that four universities bestowed upon him honorary doctorates is testimony to the high esteem in which he was held by his colleagues.

He was also a man who lived and worked in two cultures—Korean and American. He served numerous Korean-American organizations including the U.S.O. Council, the Seoul Rotary Club, the Fulbright Commission, the Preparations Committee for the Centennial of Korean-American Relations, and the Korea America Friendship Society. His deep love for the Korean people, and his ability to express that love to others made him a popular speaker on Korean culture and history, and he participated in numerous seminars and symposia on Korean-American relations.

Dr. Underwood was a loyal and active member of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and he was in his own words, "a perennial member of the Council and three terms as President." As President he presided over the centennial celebrations of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 2000. His tours were always in great demand, especially the tour of the churches of Seoul. It is

significant that in December, just a little over a month prior to his death, he spoke to the members of the Royal Asiatic Society. His lecture was so well received that there was talk of scheduling another such lecture in March.

Dr. Underwood was of course a missionary, and served on the boards of numerous church related institutions and organizations. He was a member of the Saemoonan Presbyterian Church in Seoul where he also served as an elder. Throughout his long missionary career he served the Presbyterian Mission and the churches of Korea in just about every possible capacity. One of his final contributions was an informal evening on the Yonsei campus in November with his missionary colleagues during which he shared reminiscences of his long and fruitful life.

It was fitting, therefore, that the tributes given to Dr. Underwood at the Memorial Service in the Luce Chapel at Yonsei University on January 19 were by members of the academic community represented by Dr. Kim Woo-sik, the President of Yonsei University; the American community represented by U.S. Ambassador Thomas Hubbard, and the Christian community represented by the Rev. Kiel Ja-yeon. Dr. Underwood was associated with all three communities, and significantly, members of all three communities are included in the Royal Asiatic Society. The sermon, aptly titled "A Beautiful Life," was delivered by Dr. Underwood's pastor, the Rev. Soo-young of Saemoonan Presbyterian Church. Members of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society are grateful that he shared so much of his life with us.

Dr. Underwood will be greatly missed by all who knew him. The members of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society express our deepest condolences to the family of Dr. Underwood. His contributions to the Society were substantial, and will be remembered for many generations to come.

Dr. Daniel J. Adams
Hanil University
Jeonbuk, Korea

Travel in Korea: Missionary Encounters at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

Elizabeth Underwood, Eastern Kentucky University, Richmond, Kentucky

The image of the traveler depends not on power, but on motion, on a willingness to go into different worlds, use different idioms, and understand a variety of disguises, masks, and rhetorics. Travelers must suspend the claim of customary routine in order to live in new rhythms and rituals. The traveler crosses over territory, and abandons fixed positions all the time (Said 1991).

North American missionaries in Korea at the turn of the twentieth century were not travelers, but resident expatriates. Missionary homes and communities, even when open to Korean coworkers and visitors, represented missionary space American space. Missionaries in those homes and stations lived lives that reflected, in many ways, their political, economic and social distance and relative power vis à vis Koreans. But missionaries frequently became travelers in Korea—for language learning, evangelism and rest—and travel made it possible for them to eliminate, on a temporary basis, much of that distance.

The distance between missionaries and Koreans was more than just a matter of space or life-style, but of culture and attitude as well. Yet the goals and ideals of missionary work required that missionaries find ways to overcome that distance and to identify with the people they wished to reach. Following Christ's example of complete identification with humanity, St. Paul's missionary standard to be "all things to all men" is the benchmark that has been differently interpreted by successive generations of missionaries. The writings of Korea missionaries reflect both the ideal and the difficulties of identification with Koreans. Experienced missionaries challenged newcomers to be open minded and overcome attitudes of superiority. Moreover they advised that only through close contact could missionaries establish the necessary understanding of, empathy with, and "real love" for Koreans necessary for meaningful communication and evangelism. In this excerpt from my forthcoming book, *Challenged Identities*, I examine some of the barriers to meaningful encounter experienced by the early Presbyterian missionaries to Korea, and the ways that travel often served to enable those missionaries to experience and "know" Korea and Koreans.

Initial Impressions

Most missionaries arrived in Korea expecting to serve there for many years, if not a life-time. Moreover, many made an active decision, a priori, to adopt Korea and the Koreans "as their own." Alice Fish, in a letter home after passing through Japan, speculated about what she would find when she reached Korea: "Korea, I know, will be very, very different— more degraded, filthy and repulsive, I expect— yet I am glad, so glad to go on, for it is Korea that has been given to me, and it is the one place where I want to be." Soon after her arrival in Korea in 1888, Lillias Horton wrote Ellinwood, the Secretary of the Board, giving her first impressions of Korea. Like many newcomers to Korea, her description of the conditions she met and the Korean people were less than favorable: "This is par excellence a heathen land...everything in manners and customs (is) outlandish and primitive." Nevertheless, she decidedly asserted that she was beginning to "like the people...because they are mine." Mattie Ingold recorded her introduction to Korea in her diary:

I can never forget my first impressions on landing yesterday and seeing the crowd of wild looking people struggling to get our baggage and who had to be driven off in self-defense, such a hopeless pitiful looking lot of humanity brought the tears to my eyes and gratitude to my heart that God has not allotted me to such a life and that he brought me here to tell of his love and power to bless and save these people.

These early expectations of, and reactions to, Korea clearly reflect the patronizing nature of the commitment that many missionaries arrived in Korea possessing. Most, however, soon realized the inaccuracies of initial impressions. William Baird wrote home in 1891 after several months in Korea:

I should like to give you some idea of this people if it were possible but I am afraid you would have to see them to form any idea of their peculiarities. I suppose they are the most peculiar people on earth. At first they give one the impression of being very dull but that soon wears away. They are not so quick as the Japanese but much, a much more substantial sort of people I believe.

Time in Korea often changed the perspective of new missionaries. Writing after just two months in Korea, Moffett, like Ingold, expressed his "great gratitude to God that he has led me to this work in Korea." Rather than emphasizing the

neediness of the people, however, he wrote instead of the "great possibilities before this country," adding, "the people are intelligent and attractive." Though missionaries could arrive in Korea fully intending to identify, actual identification with Koreans required first achieving contact with and acquiring accurate knowledge of Koreans. In this pursuit, missionaries not only had to overcome their initial impressions of Korea and their culture shock, but also had to acquire some use of the Korean language. Furthermore, many missionaries had to overcome social barriers created by their location in the foreign settlements.

Foreign Settlements and Mission Stations

When Horace Underwood arrived in Korea in 1885, missionaries were not only restricted in their residence options, but in their activities as well. Because the foreign community was at that time very small, and the "foreign settlement" was comprised only of a few homes, the social barrier that later missionaries faced was not yet a problem. Restriction from evangelistic work, however, and the need to secure the good graces of the Korean government meant that Underwood, though eager to begin "real" missionary work, found his days filled with work at the fledgling hospital, teaching English and other subjects at the government school and, by 1886, teaching at the newly founded mission orphanage. This left little time free for language study or social intercourse with Koreans, yet Underwood made rapid progress in learning Korean. Soon after his arrival, Underwood hired a man who had previously worked for French Catholic missionaries as his language teacher. As a bachelor, Underwood was free to spend most of his evenings with Koreans. Making use of a Korean practice of having an open room or "sarang" in the house where men could come and gather for conversation, "he regularly held a reception...for his teacher's native friends, when he sat and drank in the strange sounds, trying to familiarize himself quickly with the language."

In less than a year he asserted to the Board that he was ready and able to begin evangelistic work and also proposed working on writing a Korean language text. Having acquired a working knowledge of Korean, once he was freed of some of the competing mission obligations he not only spent more time in his sarang with visitors, but also began some cautious evangelistic work in the city.

We regularly went out into the lanes and byways and, sitting down under some tree near a frequented highway or beside a medicinal spring, to which the people were in the habit of flocking, we would take out a book and start reading, and when several gathered round us to ask questions, we would attempt to explain to them the book, its truths, and what it meant. But of course in all this it was necessary to find some

common ground on which we both stood and lead them gradually from what was to them the known to the unknown.

Through the friendships he made in his *sarang* and in his government work, Underwood not only was able to learn the language, but also able to begin finding that "common ground," giving him the means of further communication and the beginnings of his own identification with Koreans.

As both mission obligations and the foreign population grew, new missionaries found making progress in language learning and finding contact with Koreans increasingly difficult. Moffett, who arrived in Korea in January 1890, was by November of that year frustrated by the interruptions regular mission affairs made in his attempts to learn Korean. Though the mission soon adopted a policy of freeing up new missionaries for language study, the tendency to assign tedious responsibilities to newcomers was never completely overcome. As late as 1928, in a tongue-in-cheek article, Southern Presbyterian William Parker warned new missionaries about mission distractions to language learning:

In the first place you will find that the new missionary has nothing to do and so he must take over all the odd jobs of the station such as secretary, superintendent of all local Sunday schools for foreigners and others, head of the foreign children's school, all matters pertaining to finance, business, frivolity or entertainment, and sundry other odd affairs for which no one else consents longer to being the goat.

Though the mission and foreign settlement was much smaller in the early years of the mission, as early as 1890 Moffett found it difficult "to learn the language where so much English is spoken and social demands are numerous." William Baird summarized the barriers to language acquisition facing newcomers in the capital in 1892: "they have found themselves enlisted in so many distracting things, building houses, preaching in English, attending to benevolent societies or literary circles, photography and what not, and the language was left in the lurch."

When Eugene and Lottie Bell arrived in Seoul in 1895, they were assigned a home "completely surrounded by foreigners." Living in a westernized home in the foreign settlement, they felt so comfortable they could "almost forget" that they were far from home, "except when we go out on the street and see the strange looking people and so many such queer things." By 1895, many of the foreigners' material needs in Seoul were met by Japanese and Chinese merchants:

I got molasses at a new Jap. store just opened near us, and find they have macaroni, cheese, sardines, salmon etc, and talk good English. Both Chinese and Japanese are pouring into the country at a great rate, so we can hope that many things may be gotten here soon, like they can be in China and Japan.

Lottie wrote that a Japanese "meat man" and a Chinese "vegetable man" made deliveries to the home, and a Japanese laundryman would "do Eugene's collars and cuffs and shirts." While missionaries found it necessary to learn Korean in order to communicate with household servants and for evangelical work, with so many of their needs met by English-speaking merchants and with the social life of a growing English-language community of missionaries and other expatriates, "immersion" in the Korean language was difficult in the foreign settlement of Seoul.

Nevertheless, Lottie and Eugene Bell, like most other Korea missionaries, longed to be able to speak Korean. Learning Korean in the early years of the mission, however, was a difficult task even without the growing distractions missionaries found in Seoul. Lillias Underwood described the methods of language learning she employed in her first years in Korea:

We sat down with an English-Chinese dictionary (most scholarly Koreans know a little Chinese), a Korean-French dictionary, a French grammar and a Korean reader with a small English primer on Korean, the Gospel of Mark and a Korean catechism for textbooks. We were presented to a Korean gentleman knowing not one syllable of English, or the first principles of the constructions of any language on earth, or even the parts of speech, and without the glimmering of an idea as to the best methods or any method of teaching, who yet was called, probably ironically, "a teacher," from whom we were expected to pump with all diligence such information on the language as he was able to bestow. With scanty knowledge of French, more than rusty from long disuse, I labored and floundered, trying now this plan, now that, with continual interruptions and discouragements.

Even for missionaries who were linguistically gifted and knew several languages, learning Korean was a new kind of linguistic challenge. For those like Graham Lee, to whom languages "came hard," it seemed virtually impossible. In a letter to Ellinwood, Lee described the Korean language as "abominable":

I have heard men say they tho't the devil invented the Chinese language to be an obstacle to Christianity. If that is so, I think Korean may be traced to the same source and be considered the last supreme effort of the same author. This may not be a hard language for a #50 caliber man but for a #22 it is hard digging.

The inability to engage in evangelistic missionary work immediately because of the need of language study was viewed by Annie Baird as "one of the greatest trials" facing missionaries in their first years, and it was the desire to begin evangelistic work that pushed most missionaries, including the Bells, to tackle the language.

Neither of us have yet gotten the language well enough to have had much personal experience in real active mission work but every day with an increasing facility to speak confirms us in the opinion that we will have greater joy and pleasure in this than all else combined.

Just weeks after her arrival in Korea, Lottie accompanied veteran missionary Mattie Tate on a visit with the women of a small village outside the city walls. While the visit left her feeling "creepy" and in "need of a bath," the experience of contact with Korean women heightened her eagerness to learn Korean and to be able "to talk to them like Miss Tate does."

As the numbers of not only European but also Japanese foreigners in Korea grew, missionaries found that Koreans were less willing to enter the settlement areas, furthering the difficulties of missionaries in establishing the contact with Koreans necessary for either language immersion or identification. In 1892, despite the resistance of both the Board and the American representatives in Seoul, Moffett started advocating a policy to move the centers of mission work "away from this foreign settlement where Koreans are loth to come." William and Annie Baird moved from Seoul to the port town of Pusan in 1892, but found, even more than in Seoul, that they were virtually unable to associate with Koreans: "Being in Fusan does not mean being among Koreans but among Japanese." Not only did they find that Korean women were "never allowed to enter the Japanese town," but even Korean men "would seldom seek out a foreigner with whom they could not talk and with whom they seemed to have nothing in common." Despite the difficulties Seoul missionaries were experiencing, Baird's troubles in Pusan convinced him that new missionaries were better off in Seoul: "A few months stay in Seoul would give them an insight into Korean life such as they will not get for a long time if they remain in the Japanese quarters."

By 1894 a majority of the members of the Presbyterian mission in Seoul sought to establish both work sites and homes nearer to the Korean population. Graham Lee, struggling in his attempts to learn Korean, wrote of his intention to move "out among the people," where he hoped he would be able to have more Koreans visit with him. Still facing resistance from the Board, Moffett wrote again to plead for permission to move out of the settlement area.

You cannot have failed to notice how nearly unanimous has been the desire of your missionaries here to get away from this section of the city and how impatient most of us have been when compelled to spend our first years here. An exceptional person like Mrs. Gifford is able to live in a foreign settlement and yet come into sympathetic touch with the natives but the majority are forced to reach after the Koreans with a "ten foot pole" and have a pretty hard time impressing the Koreans with the fact that they are in real sympathy with them. Refer to past letters please and see if the constant pleas and plans of Mr. Gale, Mr. Baird, Miss Doty, Miss Strong, Mr. Moore and myself— not to mention others, have not been to get away from this section in order to come into more intimate daily contact with Koreans.

The mission was finally given permission to establish a girls' school several miles away from the settlement area in Seoul, and by 1895 a number of missionaries set up homes in other areas of the city where they found the increased contact they expected.

Late in 1894 Graham Lee and his wife moved to a small house two and one-half miles from the settlement at Cheong Dong. Away from other foreigners they were able to give more of their time and attention to Koreans:

The prospects for work over in this neighborhood are exceedingly good. The people are very friendly and seem to be glad that we came to live among them... We are all a deal more happy over here by ourselves where we feel that we can do some (more) work than when we were in Cheong Dong where we felt as if we were doing nothing.

Lee furthered his acquaintance with his new neighbors by opening up a sarang where, along with his language teacher, he visited with men "who happened in."

Although the Bells and most other married missionaries stayed within the settlement, a number of single women missionaries took advantage of the new freedom to establish homes in Korean communities. In 1895 Linnie Davis and

Ellen Strong moved to a "nice little Korean house...in a part of the city where no other foreigners are." After a visit with Davis and Strong, Lottie Bell commented on how happy the women seemed, adding: "At a house where there are no men the better class of women will sometimes come, and they have other visitors than those that most of us see." Limited in her contact with Korean women by the location of her home, Lottie wrote almost enviously of the closer contact single women could have with Korean women by living near them:

I went with Miss Tate to see some of her Christian Korean friends and we had a very nice time even if I could say almost nothing to them, and understood very little more. The more I see of the women and children the more I find how many of them are lovable and attractive...Miss Jacobson hopes to go soon to live in a Korean house for a while to learn the language and eat and sleep with them. It will be fine for her if she can get off to go.

Though Lottie enjoyed her occasional opportunities to work with the single women, it often seemed to heighten her frustration with the lack of contact she and her husband had with Koreans in their Seoul home.

The Bells were planning to move with fellow Southern Presbyterians and set up a new mission station in the southern provinces, and Lottie was eager to "get down there and among the Koreans with whom we are to work." As new stations were formed, however, many missionaries found that they were still unable to enter as fully into the lives of Koreans as they desired. In port areas, such as the new station in Pusan, social barriers kept the Koreans away. But even in the new rural stations formed in the late 1890s, in towns where the foreign population was almost non-existent, the process of setting up homes and mission work often formed barriers to the contact necessary for language learning and identification. Comparing the prospects of language learning in Seoul with other stations, Baird wrote:

There is no outstation in Korea to which a new missionary, unfamiliar with the language and customs, could go and fail to waste most of his time in the necessary preliminaries to starting a station, not to speak of the probable impossibility of his getting a house at all suitable for a family to live in.

Even with the business of building homes and establishing stations, however, when William Baird traveled from Pusan to Taegu in 1896, he found a welcome

difference. Baird elaborated on his impressions of Taegu in a letter to his brother:

I find the neighbors here very friendly indeed and have access here to a kind of Korean which I never met in Fusan where everything is under the evil influence of the port—and of the wicked port people—Japanese and foreign [presumably Western].

Unlike in Pusan, he found that in Taegu he was able to purchase "Korean things" and live on Korean food. Nevertheless, the Bairds sought even more contact with Koreans than they had living in the mission stations and toyed for several years with the idea of becoming "Korean farmers," living in "Korean style and on a different financial basis." Though they were never able to put this idea fully to the test, even in their homes in mission stations the Bairds immersed themselves in the Korean language by restricting their own English-language reading, inviting Koreans frequently to their homes and visiting with Korean Christians in theirs.

Travel

For the Bairds and most missionaries, trips away from mission stations and into the country proved not only to be of great help to language acquisition, but also provided close contact with Koreans, intimate experience with the culture, and their first moments of real identification with Korean. Although a few missionaries were unable, even in travel, to overcome their attitudinal barriers and prejudices, for most, traveling in Korea involved entering into Korean lives and life-style, thereby removing the social and cultural barriers experienced and erected in their mission homes. Almost all missionaries found such travel experiences not only practically useful, but pleasurable as well, and many spoke of their experiences traveling in Korea as the "best" times in their lives.

Horace Underwood, who had made both progress in the language and friendships with Koreans in Seoul, repeatedly wrote of his desire to travel into the country. In November 1887 he finally made the first of many trips into the "interior," traveling by pony and by foot for one month and living "as a Korean with the exception of tea and coffee."

I had a most delightful time out there. I found the village with a Christian feeling. I spent four days in a Korean farmer's house. They had known that I would be down at some time or other, and had made and put aside a full set of Korean bed-clothes for my especial use. All the people in the village seemed to vie with each other in their efforts to make my stay pleasant. It was so good to be among the people. I think

that I got to understand the Koreans more in those few days than I could have done in months and almost years of any other way.

Underwood returned enthusiastic about the experience, but faced skeptical criticism from fellow missionaries. Concerned with the Korean official restrictions against evangelistic work, John Heron argued against the wisdom of "trips to the country," labeling them "expensive, ostentatious" and "productive of very little good." Underwood, however, experienced little resistance from either officials or local residents. Described in his biography as "social and genial," Underwood in his country trips not only frequently met up with officials he had known in Seoul, but made many friends along the way:

He would get the packs unloaded...all the while making jokes, telling stories, petting the children, saying pleasant things to the housewife and the servants, and chumming up with the inn keeper. Then, after lunch or supper, he would sit down in the men's sitting room with a crowd around him and talk with them by the hour.

Throughout his life in Korea, though he remained centered in Seoul, Underwood continued to make evangelistic "itinerating" (circuit) trips in the country on a regular basis. When in 1903 the mission voted to assign him solely to literary work, Underwood emotionally petitioned the Board for permission to maintain his own evangelistic circuit: "I have been gifted with a good constitution and with a liking for this sort of work and apparently with some adaptability to it...it seems hardly right for me to be withdrawn." In Seoul the Underwood home was noted for being always open to Koreans, but in the country, often staying in the homes of Korean Christians, he enjoyed the opportunity to live in "Korean style" and partake more intimately in Koreans' daily lives.

Sam Moffett took his first trip outside of Seoul less than a year after his arrival in Korea. Hoping that time away from "foreign intercourse" would aid his language study, he gained even more: "I reached Seoul after a journey of some 500 miles having learned something of the language, considerably more of the people, the country and the customs." On this and subsequent trips, Moffett, accompanied by a Korean teacher or evangelist, lived "almost exclusively on Korean food and in the Korean manner," stayed in Korean inns, and met and preached to people along the way, in the villages and in his room. Additional travel only served to increase Moffett's view of the importance of travel for gaining knowledge of Korea and insight into the lives of Koreans. Moreover, Moffett, who found conditions in Seoul a hindrance to identification, enjoyed the opportunity to be away "from the

monotony and strain of attention to innumerable details of mission affairs." By 1894, after years of exploratory travel, Moffett was finally able to settle in a house in P'yongyang. Spending his days "gaining friends and preaching," Moffett wrote: "I am situated just at present as I have long wished to be— in direct contact with the people, living in the midst of them, meeting them every day and all day, entering into their lives and having them enter into mine." Though Moffett was only able to stay in P'yongyang for three months at this time and sometimes missed the company of other missionaries, he found many "advantages in being much alone with Koreans for whom one came" and formed life-long friendships with some of the Christians there. Moffett and other missionaries also formed friendships with and gained new respect for the Korean evangelists who accompanied them on these early trips. Especially before they had learned enough Korean to preach and instruct Christians on their own, the missionaries were dependent upon their "helpers" in their evangelical work. Moffett's three-month stay in P'yongyang in 1894 was shared with Han Su Chin. When Moffett became lonely for Western company after several months in P'yongyang, he "rejoice(d) that the Lord has given me one such helper as Mr. Han, who is a treasure and full of the spirit." So Sang-yun and So Kyung-jo, favorite and much-sought-after companions, worked with Underwood and a number of the other early Presbyterian missionaries. Moffett, who along with James Gale traveled with So Sang-yun from Seoul to Manchuria and back in 1890 and 1891, described him as a "thorough Christian and a man who commands respect and attention everywhere." William Baird became particularly attached to So Kyung-jo, with whom he worked in the areas around Pusan and in early trips to Taegu. In a letter to his brother, Baird likened So to a mutual acquaintance in America, adding: "He seems to be a thorough Christian gentleman and a man of great force of character." Later, he was amazed at how comfortable he had become with So:

Mr. Saw (sic) is such a perfect gentleman that I often find myself turning to him to address him in English. It seems natural to think that he should know it instinctively. If I do so forget myself as to utter a sentence in English he looks at me out of his big eyes with great wonder, and I am brought suddenly back to a realization of the fact that it has been several millenniums since our forefathers were akin.

Baird pleaded with So to stay and continue his work in the south, and later Moffett asked So to accompany him to P'yongyang. On both occasions So declined and returned to his home province of Hwanghae.

Despite Heron's earlier objections, as new missionaries arrived in the 1890s,

travel outside of Seoul came to be viewed as an almost essential element of acculturation to Korea. In 1892 Graham Lee wrote that his planned trip north with Moffett would give him "a fine opportunity to study Korean and Koreans." Similarly, in 1896, O. R. Avison took an extended trip with Underwood, combining his medical work with Underwood's country evangelism. Avison expected that the trip would not only "broaden his knowledge of the country and of the people," but also serve to increase his "usefulness" in his hospital work in Seoul. Missionaries, who in the stations and the foreign settlements, though working with Koreans, lived in Westernized homes and maintained Western life-styles, often had their only experiences in Korean life-style when traveling.

Even trips taken out of the city for rest brought some missionaries closer to Koreans than they were able to come in Seoul and gave them a taste of Korean life. Lottie Bell's first summer in Korea was spent at a temple just outside of Seoul with fellow missionaries. There, she became quite attached to some of the women and children:

There are so many (Koreans) up here that we know and that come to prayers and read our books and are with us continually, that when we get back to the foreign settlement I think we will miss it very much. There are a number of children up here that I have made friends with, and I know I'll miss them for I don't think there are any children much in our neighborhood, for we are surrounded on all sides by foreigners.

Lottie returned to Seoul determined to find more ways of meeting with Koreans and with a conviction to "try eating" Korean food.

Not all missionaries were willing to take the steps necessary to get closer to Koreans, however, and were content to stay within the comfortable confines of the settlement areas. Lottie Bell wrote in 1895 of a new missionary who "refuse(d) to go to the interior to live. "Similarly, worried about a fellow missionary's lack of progress in learning Korean after a full three years in the country, Underwood wrote of his concerns in a letter to the Board:

He does not seem to me to be drawn to the Koreans and consequently has not the power to draw them. He does not go out among them and unless a decided change is made in this line I fear that he will never be able to make himself understood.

Underwood hoped that a trip to the country would both change this man's attitude

and jump-start his language skills. Yet not everyone was cut out for the travel experience. Moffett, in thinking about whom in the mission would be suitable for opening up a new station in the north, wrote:

Not every man has tact enough to get along with the Koreans and gain their good will. Not every man has the health and constitution to go into the interior and live several months in a native house upon canned goods and such native food as he can get.

In writing this, Moffett may well have been aware of the problems that So Kyung-jo had experienced in 1890 working with independent missionary Malcolm Fenwick. So, who went with Fenwick to Wonsan, found that he was "unable to reconcile his differences" with Fenwick, whom he described as "disagreeable," hard to work with, and less than fluent in Korean. Even among those who were willing to travel, rather than serving to overcome cultural barriers, the experience sometimes increased the sense of distance between missionary and Korean. Eugene Bell, on one of his first trips to the interior, vented his frustrations in a letter to his brother:

I have been here for about two weeks now out of the sound of anyone who could speak English. And I have not yet become proficient in the use of Korean that it seems anything like my mother tongue. A greater obstacle than that, however, to anything like an interesting conversation is the fact that the Koreans are so stupidly ignorant they don't know anything to talk about. They don't begin to know as much about the world as 10 year old children at home, and worse than that they don't know anything about their own country. They don't think and they don't read anything, consequently it is rather difficult to strike an interest or subject of conversation.

Even Moffett occasionally found living for long periods of time without missionary company a trying experience. But for both Moffett and Underwood, to whom getting close to Koreans, whether through travel or other methods, was synonymous with "the missionary spirit" and most often a source of great pleasure, it was difficult to understand the resistance some members of the mission had to getting close to the Korean people. In 1894 Underwood wrote of his "shock" in finding that some mission members traveled across the country to the annual mission meeting and "never attempted to do any work" or meet with Koreans at all along the way. Furthermore, at the same meeting he learned that some missionaries

refused to take part in a communion service if it included Koreans "for fear of contracting disease." Though he did not name the parties involved, Underwood wrote the Board, saying:

I do not say that (such missionaries) ought to be forced to stay away, but the question arises in my mind as to what good a mission that, as a mission cannot commune with the people among whom they work, can do; of what service can we be if we cannot sit down at the Lord's table with these Koreans.

These experiences, though the exception and not the rule of missionary travel, nevertheless exemplify the difficulties some missionaries had in overcoming their own cultural backgrounds and prejudices.

Although not all missionaries lived "as Koreans" in their travels, and many carried provisions for food and sleep with them, travel required a certain amount of adherence to Korean "custom." In letters to her supporting churches, Mattie Ingold described with great detail her visits to Korean homes and repeatedly stressed the importance of avoiding offense towards the Koreans. Some customs were particularly difficult for women, who chafed under the restrictions put on them in a Confucian society, but even these were carefully followed: "I know you cannot understand why we always strive to avoid meeting with the men in any way, but you would not have to live in Korea in the interior very long to understand it. We always try to be seen by the public as little as possible."

Despite such restrictions, most missionaries, women and men, listed travel and itinerating trips among their greatest joys in Korea, especially as the numbers of Christian converts grew. Margaret Best, who was assigned to the P'yongyang station after her arrival in 1897, wrote the following year that she "thoroughly enjoyed" her three-week trip in the country among the Koreans whom she described as "thoroughly lovable." She found it a "pleasure just to be with" the Korean people, "to become acquainted with them and their needs and to see the growth of the churches." In a letter to her supporting churches in 1924 she wrote:

It may seem strange to our friends at home that the love and appreciation we get from the people of these Oriental lands, makes us happy, and satisfies some of the deep longings of the human heart, but strange as it is, it is true that we do find joy and satisfaction in the love of these people of another race who have come to know the same Savior.

Best spent forty years in Korea, and though educational work eventually replaced

her evangelical itinerating, her years of travel and experiences in the homes of Korean Christians laid the base for a lasting identification with the Koreans, who, she wrote in 1931, became "more dear" to her each year she was with them.

* * *

Travel, then, was one opportunity that encouraged entrance into Korean life and thought. Freed from the routine of home life and regular activities, these temporary travelers were more able to suspend even the cultural restrictions they brought with them to Korea. But the opportunities to travel were not equally available to all. Neither were the routines of home and mission station life equally restricting to all. Travel was only one (albeit a favorite) way that the bridge between missionaries and Koreans was crossed.

In *Challenged Identities* I examine these processes of cultural identification through the case of North American Presbyterians in Korea from 1884 to 1934. Missionaries in Korea, like those in many nations, emerged from a culture sure of its superiority. Like in other nations, their entrance to Korea was made possible by the gun-boat diplomacy of developed nations. Unlike most other Protestant missions, however, Korea missions are seen as a "success story," having participated in the creation of a strong and vibrant church. Unique too, is that Korea missions history has for the most part been spared critical analyses. This is largely attributable to the idea that history afforded them the "right" side of Korea's colonial history; it was Japan, not the West, which held Korea in its control. The Korean case, therefore, presents an ideal opportunity to examine the encounter between missionaries and local culture free of the complications of overt colonial complicity. Locating missionaries within the structural frameworks, institutions, ideologies and relationships from which they emerge in North America and with which they interact in Korea, I uncover and explain the variation in missionaries' experiences in Korea, particularly in their ability to overcome the constraints of their culture, gain cross-cultural understanding and come to identify with Koreans. This examination reveals an ongoing process of negotiation among three often conflicting forces: first, the ideologies of "progress," "civilization," and "Christianization" central to missionary identities; second, the institutional and personal activities and policies of missionaries; and third, the identifications made between missionaries and Koreans through their daily interactions and friendships. Intertwined with these is a narrative of the emergence of "Christian Korea" both in the minds of missionaries and in the activities and structures of Korean Christians.

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L. Kirvan: Accounts of the 1948 Bombing

There were three known survivors of the bombing of Dokdo on Tuesday, June 8, 1948: Gwang Il-sung, Song Hui-sung, and Lee Sang-jong, all Korean nationals. Much of the previous research on the June 8, 1948 bombing of Dokdo is based on the testimony of these survivors and on Korean newspaper articles that were

1) Hwangik Onda [Korea Foreign Language University], *Dokdo issaeng yonguho* [Dokdo Island and Dokdo Island Research Database: Dokdo's Past and Present], (Seoul: Hwangik Onda, 1997), pp. 10-11.

2) For both North and South Korean responses to the bombing, see "Korea Press Reaction to Airstrike Bombing of Dokdo," *Estimate of the Situation*, 4, 17 Jan. 1948-10 July 1948, Headquarters 700 Air Force, Air Force Historical Research Agency, Maxwell AFB, Alabama.

3) *Journal of the Rev. H. G. Underwood*, 16 Jan. 1908, p. 2, 18 Jan. 1908, p. 3.

Further Investigation into the June 8, 1948 Bombing of Dokdo Island

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Introduction

On the evening of Tuesday, June 8, 1948, three Korean fishermen were rescued from a damaged 15-ton wooden boat in the East Sea/Sea of Japan. The men told of a horrifying ordeal they had endured earlier that day. They claimed that aircraft had bombed and strafed them while they and others in up to 80 other boats were harvesting seaweed at the small island of Dokdo. Of all the fishermen present that day, the three badly shaken men were among the few survivors.¹⁾ In the weeks after the incident, the story became national news in Korea, eliciting indignant media responses in both the North and the South.²⁾ U.S. military representatives in the region issued statements to the Korean press, providing their own version of the incident, while admitting that U.S. Air Force bombers had indeed used Dokdo as a practice bombing target that same day.³⁾ Until now, the survivors' testimonies, newspaper accounts and press releases issued by the U.S. military have provided the only explanations of how this bombing incident had taken place. The purpose of this paper is to provide a more detailed accounting of the June 8, 1948 bombing incident, to provide explanations to previously unanswered questions, and to offer challenges to allegations in previous accounts.

I. Korean Accounts of the 1948 Bombing

Three men were known to have survived the bombing of Dokdo on Tuesday, June 8, 1948: Gong Du-up, Jang Hak-sang, and Lee Sang-joo; all Korean nationals. Much of the previous research on the June 8, 1948 bombing of Dokdo is based on the testimony of these survivors and on Korean newspaper articles that were

1) Hanguk Oedae [Korea Foreign Language University], *Dokdo munjae yonguhoe jaryojip: Dokdo ui ojae wa onul* [Dokdo issue research data-book: Dokdo's past and present], (Seoul: Hanguk Oedae, 1995), pp. 16-18.

2) For both North and South Korean reactions to the bombing, see "Korean Press Reaction to Accidental Bombing 8 June," Estimate of the Situation, 6, 27 June 1948-10 July 1948, Headquarters Fifth Air Force, Air Force Historical Research Agency, Maxwell AFB, Alabama.

3) *Joson Ilbo* (Seoul), 16 June 1948, p. 2; 18 June 1948, p. 2.

published in the days and weeks following the incident. The articles themselves were based on the survivor's eyewitness accounts. Having been rescued, these three men were able to return from Dokdo to tell their story the day after the bombing on June 9. As the news of the bombing began to spread among the residents of Ullung Island, the local police were dispatched at 9:00pm on the ninth to look for other survivors and collect the dead.⁴⁾ The next day, the police returned in the evening with the bodies of two of the dead, but with no other survivors. That same day, June 10, reporters from mainland Korea arrived at Ullung Island and the first sketchy reports of the bombing incident started to appear in the daily newspapers of the capital, Seoul, on June 11.⁵⁾ The Seoul daily, the *Joson Ilbo*, ran one of the first detailed accounts of the bombing incident based on survivor testimony in the newspaper's June 12 edition. In this edition, the newspaper reported that on Tuesday, June 8, there were nine aircraft in the sky over Dokdo at around 11:00am when the bombing and shooting from these aircraft started, initially destroying over 20 boats. Soon after the bombing, three aircraft were sighted about 200 meters offshore to the east. Bombs that were dropped from these planes hit around 20 other boats in the area. The account stated that after the area had been bombed a total of four times, a single aircraft circled around the island once and then flew off in the direction of Gangwon Province.⁶⁾ On June 15 and 16, the newspaper also reported that police from Ullung Island had seen the bomber formation that morning, and that at the time, the planes were flying low enough for the police to be able to see the star-insignia of the U.S. Air Force on the underside of the wings.

The news of the bombing incident elicited strong reactions in newspaper editorials in Seoul and from political representatives of the then provisional National Assembly, essentially holding U.S. authorities responsible. U.S. military intelligence noted that although early reportage on the incident mentioned that the aircraft involved were "unidentified", this "did little to temper the statements which appeared in all Seoul newspapers demanding that a thorough investigation, compensation, and punishment commensurate with the crime be effected immediately." Syngman Rhee's political party was quoted as saying that the bombing incident "might worsen relations between the U.S. and Korea," while Kim Goo was reported to have said that the Korea-U.S. relationship would suffer "unless severe punishment is dealt those responsible for the misfortune. The Joson Democratic Party also issued a statement demanding that the "real facts" be reported, adding, "we cannot permit our good fishermen to be used as testing

4) *Ibid.*, 12 June 1948, p. 2.

5) Hong, Sung-gun, "Dokdo p'okkyuk sagon ui jinsang kyumyong kwa juyo-jaengjom [Inquiry and main arguments of the Dokdo bombing incident]," p. 4.

6) *Joson Ilbo*, 2, 12 June 1948, p. 2.

materials."⁷⁾ Despite the indignant reactions, within two months of the bombing, the incident was all but forgotten in the Korean press, and the bombing remained out of the Korean public consciousness for almost fifty years.

Forty-seven years later, in 1995, both Gong Du-up and Jang Hak-sang again went on record to tell what they remembered about the bombing incident. They told of the horrifying sight of fishermen futilely waving Korean flags at the planes, jumping into the sea and fleeing into caves to avoid the bombs. Mr. Jang stated in this interview that he heard the sound of airplanes coming from the direction of Ullung Island and had seen 12 bombers divided into two formations, flying at an altitude of about 600 meters. He claimed the planes bombed Dokdo from Suhdo (West islet) to Dongdo (East Islet) and that bombs and machine-gun fire from the planes destroyed nearly 80 boats of different sizes that were in the area. Mr. Gong concurred, adding that since five to eight people were required on some of these boats, it is more likely that 150 to 320 people were killed at Dokdo that day.⁸⁾ Importantly, it is evident from Mr. Gong's statements that, like himself and Mr. Jang, Korean authorities on Ullung Island were unaware that Dokdo had been a designated bombing range. Together, the survivors' testimonies provide details that can be compared to U.S. Air Force documentation.

II. U.S. Air Force History

In addressing the circumstances of the June 8, 1948 bombing of Dokdo Island, previous research has relied heavily upon the eyewitness accounts of bombing survivors Gong Du-up and Jang Hak-sang, and on Korean newspaper accounts and U.S. military press statements that were published in the days and weeks immediately after the bombing. Other, previously unexamined sources exist that provide substantive evidence that can help further explain how the incident took place. These sources, from official U.S. Air Force records, also corroborate much of the Korean eyewitness testimony.

The 93d Bombardment Group and its 1948 Deployment to Okinawa

The U.S. Air Force's 93d Bombardment Group (93d BG), comprised of the 328th, 329th, and 330th Bombardment Squadrons, flew B-29 Superfortress bombers in 1948. The 93d was the Bombardment Group of the 93d Bombardment Wing, Fifteenth Air Force, which was stationed at Castle Air Force Base near Merced,

7) Headquarters United States Army Forces in Korea, Intelligence Summary #144, 14, 18 June 1948, XXIV Corps, G-2, Historical Section, Record Group 554, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

8) *Dokdo munjae yonguhoe jaryojip: Dokdo-ui ojae wa onul* [Dokdo issue research data-book: Dokdo's past and present], pp. 16-18.

California. In April 1948, the 93d BG was ordered to Kadena Air Force Base in Okinawa, Japan, for a three-month temporary duty deployment.⁹⁾ The specific mission of the 93d BG during this 90-day deployment, as outlined in SAC Field Order No. 16 of April 15, 1948, was to "conduct a series of 21 scheduled bombing missions on targets in this area in order to demonstrate the overall preparedness of one Group of B-29 aircraft assigned to the Strategic Air Command."¹⁰⁾ Being the highest Air Force command in the Far East, the Headquarters of the Far East Air Force (FEAF) designated the mission bombing targets in Field Orders issued to the 93d BG.¹¹⁾ It was for the third mission of the deployment that FEAF issued orders for the 93d BG to use Dokdo as a bombing target.

Mission Number 3

The unit history of the 93d BG for June 1948 reveals the sequence of events that took place on that day from the perspective of bomber group aircrews and unit historians. According to the report for its third mission, the 93d BG was ordered on June 7, 1948 to fly a maximum effort mission, of which the first objective was to bomb Liancourt Rocks (Dokdo). Liancourt Rocks was ordered as the primary target, to be bombed with four 1,000-pound General Purpose bombs per aircraft, while non-bombing missions were scheduled over Ashiya and Kadena Air Force Bases in Japan and Okinawa. At the start of the mission, three aircraft were unable to participate due to mechanical failures, leaving the group with 20 bombers plus a weather aircraft that flew 30 minutes ahead of the group formation on their way to the East Sea/Sea of Japan. The bombing run began at Ullung Island, which was identified as the Initial Point (a well defined spot that fixes the position of a bomber formation before it begins its bomb run), with the formation having arrived over Ullung Island at 11:47 a.m. On their way to the target from Ullung Island, the compass heading for the formation, corrected for wind, was 30 degrees different than was forecasted for that day. Other than the wind discrepancy, the weather over Dokdo was reported as "CAVU" (Ceiling And Visibility Unlimited).

The 93d BG approached Dokdo in a staggered-altitude squadron trail formation, with the 330th Bombardment Squadron in the lead with seven aircraft, the 328th next at a lower altitude with six aircraft, and the 329th in last position and flying higher with six aircraft. The actual altitude at which the B-29s were flying is not mentioned in the mission report. Over the target, the aircraft released their

9) United States Air Force, 93d Bombardment Group History, 7 June 1948, Air Force Historical Research Agency, Maxwell AFB, Alabama.

10) 93d Bombardment Group History, 9 May 1948.

11) United States Air Force, 328th Bombardment Squadron History, 8 June 1948, Air Force Historical Research Agency, Maxwell AFB, Alabama.

bombs on the command of their squadron leaders, with the three individual squadrons dropping their bombs approximately one minute apart at 11:58^{1/2} am, 12:00pm, and 12:01pm respectively. The mission report mentions that three of the B-29s did not drop their bombs with their squadrons. These planes flew over the target, then evidently broke formation, turned around and flew back to the target, relying on their own bomb sights to drop their bombs. One of the planes failed to drop on the first bombing run due to a bomb bay door malfunction, while the other two failed to drop their bombs for reasons not mentioned. A total of 76 bombs were dropped on the island, while the "results as reported at interrogation were superior," with the bombs reportedly hitting within 300 feet of the aiming point. The report also states that "[t]en sightings were made of shipping of all types" during the entire mission.¹²⁾

In the weeks immediately after this bombing mission, the 93d BG's higher command, the Far East Air Force, would provide an account that was somewhat different from the 93d BG's own account of its bombing mission over Dokdo.

III. Analysis of the Evidence

Parallels in the Two Accounts of the Bombing

Previous research has offered up little evidence to substantiate the claims made by June 8 bombing survivors Gong Du-up and Jang Hak-sang in regards to the actual events that took place that day. However, many similarities exist between the events described in the survivors' statements, and the events cited in the official account of the 93d Bombardment Group's bombing exercise at Dokdo. To begin with, Mr. Jang stated that he had heard the sound of airplanes coming from Ullung Island, and that the bombs had dropped across the islets from Suhdo (the western islet) to Dongdo (the eastern islet).¹³⁾ Similarly, the Air Force's official record of the event, the 93d BG's mission report, states that the Group started its bombing run from Ullung Island, flying in essentially the same direction cited by Mr. Jang.¹⁴⁾ Mr. Jang's assertion that he had initially seen twelve aircraft divided into two formations does not exactly match with the number of aircraft mentioned in the mission report.¹⁵⁾ However, since the squadrons were reported to have flown in staggered-altitude formations, as described in the mission report, it is possible that Mr. Jang had only seen the first two squadrons, seven B-29s in one formation and six in the other. Regardless of the exact number of aircraft that Mr. Jang sighted, the significance in the correlation between these two accounts is the fact that both

12) 93d Bombardment Group History, 14-16 June 1948.

13) *Dokdo munjae yonguhoe jaryojip*, pp. 16-18.

14) 93d Bombardment Group History, 14-15 June 1948.

15) *Dokdo munjae yonguhoe jaryojip*, p. 17.

sources describe aircraft that were flying in squadron-size formations, and not single-aircraft bombing runs that would have been more common in practicing bombing accuracy. In another similarity, both the eyewitness accounts and the mission report describe planes bombing the island after the initial bombing run. According to a newspaper report based on survivor testimony, three aircraft appeared and dropped their bombs on the island soon after the initial bombing.¹⁶⁾ The mission report describes a similar event. Having failed to drop their bombs on the initial run, three of the B-29s in the Group formation bombed the island using their own bombsights outside of their squadron formations.¹⁷⁾

Both accounts also seem to agree as to the number of bomb runs that took place. The survivors say they were bombed four times.¹⁸⁾ The 93d BG's mission report states that the three separate squadrons dropped their bombs one minute apart, and that three individual aircraft dropped theirs later.¹⁹⁾ Thus, four individual bombings can be deduced from the mission report. The survivors also testified to horrific destruction and loss of life caused by the bombing. The mission report would seem to back up their claims, since it states that four 1,000-pound General Purpose bombs per B-29 was the mission bomb-load, with seventy-six bombs reported to have hit the target.²⁰⁾ This evidence stands in contrast with FEAF's June 17, 1948 press release that "practice bombs" had been used during the mission.²¹⁾ What FEAF meant by "practice bombs" was not explained. From the *Joson Ilbo* article, it is not clear whether the Air Force meant that the standard M38A2 "blue-devil" bombs (one hundred-pound, blue-painted practice bombs with small explosive charges) were used, or whether 1,000-pound General Purpose bombs were used as "practice bombs". The wording in the *Joson Ilbo* article would make it seem that FEAF was referring to the former type, while the mission report and survivor testimony attest to the latter type.

There are several similarities between the survivors' testimonies and the account written in the 93d BG's mission report. This would suggest that many of the events described by Mr. Gong and Mr. Jang are relatively accurate and, in addition to the available documentary evidence, it also strongly suggests that the 93d BG was the US Air Force unit involved in the incident at Dokdo on June 8, 1948. This is especially convincing considering the fact that the 93d BG was the only B-29 unit operating out of Okinawa from May to mid-August that year, and

16) *Joson Ilbo*, 12 June 1948, p. 2.

17) 93d Bombardment Group History, 15 June 1948.

18) *Dokdo munjae yonguhoe jaryojip*, pp. 16-18.

19) 93d Bombardment Group History, 15 June 1948.

20) *Ibid.*, 14-15 June 1948.

21) *Joson Ilbo*, 18 June 1948, p. 2.

that other than the 19th Bombardment Wing stationed at Guam, the 93d BG was the only other tactical unit in the entire Far East that flew B-29 bombers in June 1948.²²⁾

Dissimilarities in Accounts of the Bombing

Despite the similarities between Air Force records and survivor accounts, some aspects of the available evidence do not correlate. For example, the mission report states that the 93d BG was "ordered to fly a maximum effort mission on 7 June 1948,"²³⁾ while Korean sources and all other American sources cited in this research assert that the incident took place on June 8.²⁴⁾ While this discrepancy cannot be completely accounted for, it can be reasonably assumed that the 93d BG flew its mission over Dokdo on June 8 for two likely reasons. First, the unit monthly histories state that mission Field Orders for this deployment were received one day before a mission began, therefore it is likely that the person or persons responsible for writing the Group historical reports probably had recorded the date on which the Field Orders for the mission were received (June 7), and not the actual date of the mission (June 8).²⁵⁾ Second, information in the monthly history for August reveals that the 93d BG had flown its missions on Tuesdays and Fridays during its deployment.²⁶⁾ June 8, 1948 was a Tuesday. The mission report and survivors' testimonies also disagree as to the exact time when the bombing took place. Gong Du-up's assertion that it happened at ten or eleven in the morning does not match the information in the mission report that places the bombing at around noon.²⁷⁾ While both accounts place the bombing at approximately the same time of the day, the one or two-hour difference between the survivors' accounts and the account in the mission report cannot be explained with the evidence at hand.

One particular item of conflicting evidence that received attention from the Korean press in June of 1948, and in recent research by Hong Sung-gun (2002) and Yoon Han-gong (2001), is the altitude at which the aircraft flew during the

22) United States Air Force, "Strategic Air Command Rotation Program," FEAF 1948 History, 70-71, History Office, Pacific Air Forces, Hickam AFB, Hawaii.

23) 93d Bombardment Group History, 14 June 1948.

24) United States Air Force, "Korean Press Reaction to Accidental Bombing 8 June," Estimate of the Situation, 6-7, 27 June 1948-10 July 1948, Headquarters Fifth Air Force, Air Force Historical Research Agency, Maxwell AFB, Alabama.

25) United States Air Force, 328th Bombardment Squadron History, 8 June 1948, Air Force Historical Research Agency, Maxwell AFB, Alabama.

26) Henry F. Ellis, 93d BG Photo Officer to Commanding Officer, 93d BG, Kadena AFB, "Photographic Report, TDY Period," 4, 17 August 1948, in 93d Bombardment Wing History, August 1948, Air Force Historical Research Agency, Maxwell AFB, Alabama.

27) *Dokdo munjae yonguhoe jaryojip*, p. 17.

bombing. The June 17 announcement from FEAF stated that the aircraft flew at an altitude of 23,000 feet (7,000 meters) or higher.²⁸⁾ However, survivor Jang Hak-sang stated in 1995 that he remembered that the planes had flown at around six hundred meters (2,000 feet).²⁹⁾ There is also the June 1948 *Joson Ilbo* report that police on Ullung Island were able to see U.S. Air Force insignia on the underside of the planes' wings.³⁰⁾ As such, the two Korean accounts place the planes at a much lower altitude than claimed by FEAF. Yet, the possibility that the B-29s would have been damaged or destroyed by the detonation of their own bombs at such a low altitude is another issue to consider. The available evidence is not sufficient to substantiate either of these accounts, especially since the altitude of the planes cannot be verified from the 93d BG's mission report.

Another unresolved issue is whether strafing took place at Dokdo that day. Korean newspaper accounts reported that the fishermen in their boats were both bombed and machine-gunned, while the June 16, 1948 issue of the *Joson Ilbo* included a photo of a supposedly bullet-ridden storage trunk found at the bombing site.³¹⁾ FEAF responded to the strafing allegation by simply stating that the aircraft had not fired their machine guns during the mission.³²⁾ In this case, one unit history does seem to back up FEAF's response to the allegation. Information in the 329th Bombardment Squadron history states that while the 329th dropped twenty-eight 1,000-pound bombs, the squadron did not expend any rounds of machine-gun ammunition during the entire month of June 1948.³³⁾ The other two squadrons did not record their expenditure of machine-gun ammunition for this month. This machine-gunning allegation is also related to the altitude question. The higher altitude described by FEAF would preclude effective or accurate machine-gun practice for the planes' gunners, while the lower altitude described by the survivors would support their claim that they had been machine-gunned (the maximum effective range of .50 caliber machine guns, the type used on B-29s, is 2,000 meters).³⁴⁾ As with the altitude question, evidence is lacking to further support either claim.

28) *Joson Ilbo*, 18 June 1948, p. 2.

29) *Dokdo munjae yonguhoe jaryojip*, p. 17.

30) *Joson Ilbo*, 15 June 1948, p. 2.

31) *Ibid.*, 12 June 1948, p. 2 16 June 1948, p. 2.

32) *Ibid.*, 18 June 1948, p. 2.

33) 329th Bombardment Squadron History, 9 June 1948.

34) Federation of American Scientists, *M2 .50 Caliber [12.7 mm] Machine Gun*, 20 June 2002, <<http://www.fas.org/man/dod-101/sys/land/m2-50cal.htm>>.

Fishing Boats in the Target Area

The 93d BG's monthly history report for June 1948 makes no reference to boats being in the target area during its bombing run over Dokdo, only that "shipping" was sighted during the mission.³⁵⁾ Two events that were recorded when the monthly histories were written at the end of the month, however, could be of some interest to research on this aspect of the bombing incident, since they may have taken place as a result of what happened on June 8 over Dokdo. In one event described in the monthly history, it was deemed necessary for an officer to be appointed to work with the flight crews on ship and aircraft recognition. This officer was given "silhouettes and position views to aid the men in studying recognition of all nation's surface vessels and airplanes."³⁶⁾ Another incident recorded in a mission report mentions that the 93d BG encountered evidence of human habitation at the target area during its mission on June 23 at the island of Maug in the Philippines. Prior to the bombing run of this mission, the weather aircraft, "[o]n passing over the target...noted two buildings so they dropped to 800' to check for signs of habitation and at the same time taking pictures with a K-17 camera."³⁷⁾ It would seem that the crew of the weather plane had made an extra effort to ensure that no people were in the area.

Even in light of what happened at Dokdo on June 8, it could be a coincidence that either or both of these precautionary measures were taken during the same month as the bombing incident. Nevertheless, it is curious that the precaution taken by the crew of the weather plane on the June 23 mission was also taken fifteen days earlier at Dokdo, where "signs of habitation" were also arguably present. According to information in the June 17 statement from FEAF, the weather aircraft that flew over Dokdo was 30 minutes ahead of the Group bomber formation, had circled the island six times, and had reported the area to be ready for the bombing exercise.³⁸⁾ Yet, it was never explained how the weather plane crew failed to see the Korean fishing boats during their inspection of the island prior to the bombing. One researcher of the bombing incident, Hong Sung-gun, questions the explanation given by the U.S. Air Force in its June 1948 press releases that the B-29 crews 'confused the boats for rocks' at the island.³⁹⁾ Hong argues that the bright colors of the Korean fishing boats were quite different from the color of any rocks at Dokdo, and unlike rocks, boats usually move about in the water.⁴⁰⁾ Therefore, some

35) 93d Bombardment Group History, 16 June 1948.

36) 329th Bombardment Squadron History, 2 June 1948.

37) 93d Bombardment Group History, 22 June 1948.

38) *Joson Ilbo*, 18 June 1948, p. 2.

39) *Ibid.*, 16 June 1948, p. 2; 18 June 1948, p. 2.

40) Hong, Sung-gun, "Dokdo p'okkyuk sagon ui jinsang kyumyong kwa juyojaengjom [Inquiry

uncertainty seems to remain as to why, according to FEAF, neither the weather plane crew nor the bomber crews were able to detect any boats at Dokdo during the mission.

Recollections of a Former 93d Bombardment Group Bombardier

The eyewitness testimony of two survivors of the June 8 bombing has provided much to our understanding of what happened at Dokdo on that day. However, previous research has not provided an account of the incident from any of the aircrew that took part in the mission. In researching the activities of the 93d BG during its time at Okinawa in 1948, it was deemed necessary to gain a better understanding of the situation by contacting former U.S. Air Force personnel who had been on the 93d BG's deployment to FEAF that summer. With the help of Air Force records, a former officer of the 93d BG was contacted and interviewed. While not able to date or name the location of any particular mission on which he flew during the summer deployment to Okinawa, he was able to recall details of a mission that bore many similarities to the Dokdo bombing incident.

John Gibson, 83, retired from the U.S. Air Force as a Lieutenant Colonel in 1965. In 1948, Mr. Gibson was an Air Force Captain and Squadron Bombardier for the 329th Bombardment Squadron of the 93d BG and was with the unit when it was deployed to Okinawa in the summer of that year. In addition to being a member of a flight crew, Mr. Gibson was also a Squadron Bombardier with the 93d BG, and as such, he was in charge of keeping track of the bombing statistics, accuracies and training of the other bombardiers in his squadron. The former bombardier mentioned that during their deployment to the Far East that summer, the 93d BG was engaged in normal training exercises that involved navigation and bombing; both single-aircraft bombing and formation bombing. He could remember only one mission of the deployment that involved formation flying, one in which they bombed a "cove around an island, inside an island tip..."

When told that sources in Korea alleged that Korean fishing boats were present at an island that was used as a bombing target by the U.S. Air Force in June of that year, Mr. Gibson immediately recalled he had been involved in a mission in which there were "boats in the cove" of an island that the 93d BG had bombed. He described the bombing as being slightly off-target. He stated: "We were bombing a spit of land off an island out there and, well, we just missed the target by about twenty feet and [the bombs] went over into the cove, and there were boats in the cove...."⁴¹ When asked if he had seen boats in the cove during

and main arguments of the Dokdo bombing incident],” Online posting, 23 February 2002, Dokdo yoksa wa jiri [History and Geography of Dokdo], 20 May 2002, <http://mydokdo.com/technote/read.cgi?board=1&y_number=5>.

the mission, Mr. Gibson replied, "Yeah, I think I saw small boats, and I think somebody dispatched it off as saying [that] they were on drugs or something there...." He continued, saying, "that was daytime...I was told later on that there probably was boats, but they were drug-running boats, and they used that [island] to hide away in the daytime...I saw them [but] I found out somebody's opinion of what it was."⁴²⁾ Mr. Gibson also insisted that live bombs had not been used during that particular mission, saying that he remembered that the bombs were "one hundred-pound bombs that were smoke bombs," adding: "The only thing I dropped was those blue-devils...so I suppose we messed up somebody's boats. I wouldn't think they'd explode if one of those bombs hit a small boat, [but] it might knock a hole in it." Regarding altitude, he only remembered that they had flown at 28,000 feet during their missions that summer. Mr. Gibson also replied that there had not been any missions over islands involving live gunnery practice.⁴³⁾

If indeed describing the June 8 incident, Mr. Gibson's memories would seem to both support and contradict elements of FEAF's statements and the information in the 93d BG's mission report. First, his recollection that the planes were flying in formation corresponds to information in the mission report. However, his statements would seem to contradict information regarding the use of 1,000-pound bombs, as written in the 93d BG's mission report, while supporting FEAF's claim that practice bombs were used. Mr. Gibson's recollections also back up FEAF's statements regarding both the altitude of the planes and the machine-gunning allegation. Most surprising, however, is his memory of seeing boats at the island during the mission. If actually describing the events of the June 8 incident, Mr. Gibson's statements directly contradict FEAF's assertion in its June 17, 1948 press release that stated that the B-29 crews had mistaken Korean fishing boats at Dokdo for rocks. This testimony again brings into question FEAF's statement that the weather plane crew, upon inspection of the island, reported that the island was ready for the bombing exercise. Considering that a bombardier could have seen boats at the island while presumably flying over the target area only once, it is puzzling why the weather plane crew failed to see the boats while flying multiple circuits over the same island only minutes before the bombing. Another question raised by this testimony is why the bomber crews would not have stopped the bombing exercise upon seeing boats in the target area, regardless of the type of bombs being used. Although Mr. Gibson's statements seem to provide surprising testimony to the research, it must be remembered that the former bombardier was not able to recall such important information as the place and date on which this

41) John R. Gibson, telephone conversation with author, 28 May 2002.

42) John R. Gibson, telephone conversation with author, 23 July 2002.

43) John R. Gibson, telephone conversation with author, 28 May 2002.

mission occurred, only that it was during the three-month summer deployment of 1948; in fact, he claimed to have never heard of any island(s) named "Liancourt Rocks", "Dokdo" or "Takeshima".⁴⁴ Therefore, it is possible that the mission Mr. Gibson recalled was one of the other twenty missions that the 93d BG had conducted during their deployment to the Far East that summer. However, his statements regarding formation flying, the sighting of boats at the target area and his description of the island make for an account that is eerily similar to the June 8 incident at Dokdo.

Conclusion

Based on the above evidence, some aspects of the June 8, 1948 bombing incident at Dokdo can be explained with a fair amount of certainty. The record supports the idea that the bombing exercise conducted by the 93d Bombardment Group resulted in the June 8 tragedy. Additionally, certain allegations from the bombing survivors can be verified in parallels between their testimony and accounts in Air Force records, particularly in regard to the number of times the island was bombed and in the description of the planes' flight patterns. The evidence also strongly suggests that the bombing exercise was conducted with live bombs, since, despite statements to the contrary, there is little reason to believe that the bomb load cited in the 93d BG's monthly histories is incorrect. Again, it seems improbable that the use of practice bombs would have resulted in the deaths of at least thirty individuals and the sinking of numerous boats. Although less certain, information brought forth in this research also brings into question FEAF's statement that aircrews confused boats for rocks at Dokdo.

Other details concerning the bombing incident remain open for debate. How high were the planes flying during their bombing run? Did the B-29 gunners fire their machine guns during the exercise? More evidence is needed to answer these questions with a degree of certainty. They will invariably remain a part of any future discussion about the June 8, 1948 incident. It is hoped that this research will help to raise awareness of this incident and provide a basis for future investigation.

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44) *Ibid.*

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The Imjin War

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It was the year known in Korea as *Imjin*, "water-dragon," 1592 by the calendars of the West. A dense mist hung over the sea off the southern port of Pusan on the morning of May 23, obscuring any sign of activity offshore. Chong Pal, the sixty-year-old commander of the Pusan garrison, left the port early for a day of deer hunting on a nearby island. Emerging from the trees some time in the afternoon, he was the first to sight the danger: a line of ships low on the horizon, approaching from the south. Suspecting that this could be the Japanese invasion that some had been warning of for more than a year, Chong rushed back to Pusan to raise the alarm. By nightfall 400 vessels crowded the harbor, and the Koreans inside Pusan Castle were asking themselves: why had they come?¹⁾

The answer lay 250 kilometers to the southeast, at invasion headquarters on the coast of Kyushu. It was here that Japanese dictator Toyotomi Hideyoshi had amassed his titanic invasion force: 158,800 men earmarked to cross to Korea, plus another 76,200 to protect his headquarters from possible counterattack.

In physical appearance Hideyoshi was unimpressive: aging, wizened, in declining health, probably no more than one hundred pounds and five feet tall. As a conqueror, however, he was a giant. He had been born in 1537, the son of a farmer in the vicinity of present-day Nagoya. He lived at a time known as *Sengoku*, more than a century of civil war when Japan was divided between rival warlords. Hideyoshi's father served part-time in the army of the Oda house, which possessed the region where he lived. When Hideyoshi was old enough, he too entered the service of the Oda, first as a common soldier, then quickly rising to become a top commander and vassal.

In 1582 the head of the Oda house, Oda Nobunaga, was slain in an uprising by one of his vassals. Hideyoshi instantly avenged the disloyalty, laying the head of the rebel before Nobunaga's corpse just days after the event. Then he seized the Oda domain for himself, approximately one third of the landmass of Japan. It would take the farm boy from Nakamura village, nicknamed "Monkey" and "Bald Rat" by Nobunaga, just nine years to conquer the rest of the country. Then, in

1) Yu Song-nyong, *Chingbirok* ("Book of Corrections") (Seoul: Myongmundang, 1987), p. 50; *Sonjo sillok* ("Annals of King Sonjo"), 13/4/Sonjo 25 (May 23, 1592). (*Chingbirok* was written by Yu Song-nyong, the Prime Minister of Korea, circa 1602; the 42 volumes of *Sonjo sillok* were compiled in 1609-1616.)

1592, he set out to extend his conquests overseas. The idea had been in his mind for several years. As he explained in a letter to his wife in 1589, "By fast ships I have dispatched [orders] to Korea, to serve the throne of Japan. Should [Korea] fail to serve [our throne], I have dispatched [the message] that I will punish [that country] next year. Even China will enter my grip; I will command it during my lifetime."²⁾

Hideyoshi thought he could conquer China because he believed it was weak, and in this he was not entirely mistaken. In the late sixteenth century Ming China was weak, with nowhere near the two million men under arms recorded in the outdated military rosters in Beijing. In reality it was having difficulty scraping together even 100,000 men to deal with an endless parade of threats: Mongol incursions across the Great Wall, rebellious Jurchen tribesmen in the east, pirate raids along the coast, trouble with its vassal Burma.³⁾ As for Hideyoshi, he possessed the most powerful army that then existed in the world, a quarter-million men and more, battle hardened, superbly armed and led, the Darwinian end product of more than one hundred years of civil war. By way of comparison, the Spanish armada that attacked England a few years before consisted of roughly 30,000 men; the entire army of Queen Elizabeth I was not much more than 20,000. Had he been able to transport his forces to Europe, Hideyoshi could have ground them both into dust.

Starting on May 23, 1592, this is what he would do to the Koreans. It was the first contingent of Hideyoshi's invasion force that arrived at Pusan that day, 18,700 men under Konishi Yukinaga. They remained aboard their vessels on through the night. Then, at 4:00 the next morning, the landings began. As the Koreans inside Pusan Castle watched this fearsome army march their way, garrison commander Chong Pal turned to his men and cried out: "I expect all of you to fight and die bravely! If any man attempts to flee, I will personally cut off his head!"

The ensuing battle was fierce but short, providing the Koreans with their first taste of the stunning power of the musket. The defenders of Pusan were felled by the hundreds by the flying slugs of lead that these strange "dog legs" spit out, a deluge of death that "fell like rain." The garrison fought until all their arrows were gone. Then Chong Pal himself was killed, and with that, at around nine o'clock in the morning, all resistance ceased.⁴⁾

2) Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Hideyoshi* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 91.

3) For more on Ming China's military weakness in the late 16th century, see Ray Huang, *1587. A Year of No Significance: The Ming Dynasty in Decline* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1981); and Albert Chan, *The Glory and Fall of the Ming Dynasty* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982).

4) Min Jong-jung, *Nobong-chip*, in Yi Nae-ok et. al., eds., *Saryoro bonun imjin waeran* (Seoul:

Upon entering the fortress, "[w]e found people running all over the place and trying to hide in the gaps between the houses," samurai chronicler Yoshino Jingozaemon would later record. "Those who could not conceal themselves went off towards the East Gate, where they clasped their hands together, and there came to our ears the Chinese expression, 'Manō! Manō!', which was probably them asking for mercy. Taking no notice of what they heard our troops rushed forward and cut them down, slaughtering them as a blood sacrifice to the god of war...."⁵⁾ Among the dead was Chong Pal's eighteen-year-old concubine, Ae-hyang. Her body was found lying beside the fallen commander. She had taken her own life.

In the days that followed, two additional units arrived at Pusan: the 22,800-man second contingent under Kato Kiyomasa, and Kuroda Nagamasa's 11,000-man third. Konishi's first contingent had already departed for the Korean capital of Seoul, traveling up the center of the peninsula. Kato, chagrined at the prospect of being beaten to the prize, began racing up his own pre-assigned eastern route. Kuroda followed to the west. The three contingents moved with such speed that the Koreans were scarcely able to position their forces before being overrun.

The most significant stand the Koreans made was at Chungju, halfway between Pusan and Seoul, on the northern border of Kyongsang Province. General Sin Ip, sent down from Seoul to stop the enemy advance, managed to assemble an 8,000-man army, mainly officers and soldiers who had evacuated the south, augmented by units that Sin himself had led down from Seoul. Sin's original intention was to position this force at Choryong Pass to the south of the city, where the rocky terrain and the narrowness of the pass would work to his advantage. He changed his mind upon receiving word of the annihilation of General Yi Il's small army at Sangju, less than 100 kilometers to the south. With Sangju fallen and the Japanese already nearing Choryong, General Sin decided to remain at Chungju. One of his lieutenants urged him to take up a position in the surrounding hills, but Sin brushed the advice aside. "Our cavalry is useless in the rough terrain of the hills," he replied. "So we must make our stand here, in the field."⁶⁾

At midday on June 6, as the Japanese were descending the mountain road from Choryong and drawing near Chungju, General Sin Ip accordingly arrayed his forces outside the town on a stretch of flat ground beside a hill called Tangumdae. In hindsight it seems a dreadful choice, a deathtrap offering no chance of retreat, hemmed in by the South Han River behind and Tangumdae hill to the right. Sin

Hye-an, 1999), pp. 39-40; Homer Hulbert, *Hulbert's History of Korea* (New York: Hillary House Publishers, 1962), vol. 1, pp. 351-352.

5) Yoshino Jingozaemon oboegaki, in *Zoku gunsho ruiju*, quoted in Turnbull, p. 51. That it was assumed Koreans spoke Chinese is an indication of how little the Japanese knew of their foe.

6) *Sonjo sujong sillok*, vol. 3, pp. 238-239, 4/Sonjo 25 (May 1592).

has been generally reviled ever since for choosing to make his stand here. His decision is regarded as a fatal symptom of his overconfidence, and of his misguided determination to use his much-vaunted cavalry units. Perhaps so. There is, however, another dimension to the Battle of Chungju that needs to be understood before Sin Ip's measure can be fairly taken.

That Tangumdae offered no possibility of retreat would not have been lost on General Sin. Indeed, this may have been why he chose it. Placing troops in a hopeless situation with no avenue of escape was a long-established Chinese strategy which had over the millennia resulted in a number of victories against seemingly insurmountable odds. It worked on the principle that a man with no hope of escape will instinctively fight for his life with the ferocity of a cornered beast, and in so doing become an unbeatable warrior. As one of the few seasoned generals the Koreans had, and as a literate man, Sin would have known of this tradition from the military classics and ancient histories of China. He would have known that in certain desperate situations, the strategy called "fighting with a river to one's back" was sometimes the only option a general had.

One of the earliest recorded examples of "fighting with a river to one's back" occurred in the second century B.C., when the Han Chinese commander Han Hsin positioned his troops in the bottom of a gorge with their backs to a river to meet the opposing army of the Chao. With no possibility of retreat, his men were forced to fight for their lives, and in the end won a great victory. After the battle, Han's officers asked him to explain his unusual strategy, observing that in *The Art of War* Sun Tzu clearly stated that battles should be fought with hills behind and water in front.

"This is in *The Art of War* too," replied Han Hsin. "It is just that you have failed to notice it! Does it not say in *The Art of War*: 'Drive them into a fatal position and they will come out alive; place them in a hopeless spot and they will survive? Moreover, I did not have at my disposal troops that I had trained and led from past times, but was forced, as the saying goes, to round up men from the market place and use them to fight with. Under such circumstances, if I had not placed them in a desperate situation where each man was obliged to fight for his own life, but had allowed them to remain in a safe place, they would have all run away. Then what good would they have been to me?'⁷⁾

7) Burton Watson, trans., *Records of the Grand Historian of China. Translated from the Shih chi of Ssu-ma chien* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), vol. 1, p. 217. ("Grand Historian" Ssu-ma ch'ien (c.145-c.90 B.C.) was the first major Chinese historian whose work has survived until today.)

General Sin Ip was in a similar situation. His force consisted for the most part of green troops and drafted peasants, poorly armed and terrified and apt to run when the fighting began. And yet a victory had to be won. The alternative was unthinkable, for beyond Chungju nothing stood between the Japanese and Seoul. The coming battle would therefore have to be a do-or-die struggle, and General Sin positioned his forces to achieve that end. At Tangumdae. With a river to their backs and no avenue of retreat, they would not be able to break and run as General Yi Il had reported his own men had done from the hills behind Sangju. With the cavalry leading the way and the mass of untrained recruits forced to fight for their lives, Sin's rabble might just be able to stop the Japanese advance.

The Japanese traversed Choryong Pass and began marching down towards Chungju late in the evening of June 5. They had learned by this time from a captured Korean that a sizable army lay ahead. After passing the night a few kilometers south of the city, Konishi Yukinaga separated his force into three main groups, central, left, and right. Then, with musketeers at the front and swordsmen and spearmen to the rear, they advanced on the Koreans crowded in a mass at Tangumdae. Flying lead instantly decimated General Sin's disorganized army, sowing panic in the ranks and sparking a retreat. Sin managed to lead his cavalry forward in a single desperate charge, but musket fire stopped his mounted warriors before they could break the enemy lines. Soon the ground was littered with bloodied Koreans and writhing horses, and the future of warfare was made clear to Sin Ip. Had the battle been fought at close quarters with traditional weapons, like Han Hsin's second century B.C. stand against the Chao, Sin and his men might have prevailed with their swords and flails and arrows and spears. But against muskets they had no chance at all. When the day was done General Sin and his army of eight thousand had ceased to exist, and the strategy of "fighting with a river to one's back" had been proven invalid in the face of technological change.⁸⁾

After coming together briefly at Chungju, Konishi's first contingent and Kato Kiyomasa's second separated again for the push to Seoul. Konishi again was the first to arrive. His forces reached Tongdaemun, the East Gate, in the early hours of June 12; Kato reached Namdaemun, the South Gate, a few hours behind. They entered the city to find it deserted. Soldiers and civilians had fled. King Sonjo and his government had evacuated as well.

The Japanese rested in Seoul for the next two weeks as additional units arrived in the south. Then they resumed their inexorable advance. They crossed the Imjin River in early July, scattering a 10,000-man army under Commander-in-Chief

8) *Sonjo sujong sillok*, vol. 3, pp. 238-239, 4/Sonjo 25 (May/June 1592). Sin Ip managed to spur his horse away from the battle. He drowned himself in a nearby spring to atone for the loss. Two of his officers followed suit. *Sonjo sillok*, vol. 5, p. 202, 27/4/Sonjo 25 (June 6, 1592.)

Kim Myong-won. By the end of the month they had taken Pyongyang. Kato Kiyomasa in the meantime led his second contingent into Korea's far northeast, traversing 1,000 kilometers from Pusan and at one point crossing into Manchuria, ostensibly to test the fighting prowess of the Jurchen.

But that was as far as the Japanese got.

In August 1592, China decided to send military assistance to Korea. King Sonjo and his government, now based at Uiju on the Yalu River, had initially been reticent to ask their suzerain for help, for it would mean relinquishing control of their own affairs to Ming commanders and officials. There was also the burden to consider of feeding Ming troops once they arrived in Korea, a drain that would leave that much less for the maintenance of the nation's own troops. The continuing Japanese advance, however, left the government no other option: without significant help from China, it seemed their kingdom would be swallowed up whole.

The Chinese for their part were initially confused, for it was not immediately clear what was happening in Korea. Had an invasion occurred as the Koreans were reporting? Or was Seoul overreacting to a larger than usual pirate raid, the sort that had plagued both countries for centuries past? After this was cleared up, there arose the suspicion that the Koreans were secretly in league with Hideyoshi. How else could one account for the rapidity of the Japanese advance? Eventually trust was restored, and the decision to send help was made. It would be limited help to start, for with a Mongol uprising to contend with in the north, few troops were available to dispatch east to Korea. The initial expeditionary force thus amounted to only 5,000 men, led by a supremely confident general named Zhao Chengxun. When he arrived at Uiju and heard firsthand of the power of the Japanese, General Zhao assured the Koreans that, "To me...the Japanese robber army will be but a group of ants and wasps. They will soon be scattered to the four winds."⁹

General Zhao arrived at Pyongyang with his army in a pouring rain near dawn on August 23. The darkness and weather had masked their approach; the Japanese inside the city were caught completely off guard. Deciding to make the most of this, Zhao sent his men charging at the undefended Chilsongmun, the Seven Stars Gate, and got his army inside the city before the startled Japanese could mount a defense. What followed began for Konishi's men as a fight for their lives. They soon realized, however, that the attacking Ming army was in fact quite small. They thus started falling back and spreading out, encouraging the Chinese to split up and chase them down the city's narrow streets. When Zhao's concentrated attack had been dispersed in this manner, the Japanese then turned to counterattack. The

9) Yu Song-nyong, p. 125; Yoshi S. Kuno, *Japanese Expansion on the Asiatic Continent* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1937), vol. 1, p. 156; Hulbert, vol. 1, p. 400.

Chinese, badly outnumbered and facing increasingly disciplined musket fire, were soon sent fleeing back towards the Seven Stars Gate and along the road to the north.¹⁰⁾

With it now evident that Hideyoshi posed a threat to China itself, Beijing at last decided to send an army of considerable size to Korea. Thirty-five thousand men were raised and placed under General Li Rusong, recently returned to Beijing after distinguished service fighting the Mongols. Li would lead his force across the Yalu River and enter the Imjin War in late January of 1593.

In the meantime the Japanese were becoming bogged down in Korea. In order to continue their northward advance, reinforcements and supplies had to be amassed at Pyongyang. The plan had been to transport these by ship north via the Yellow Sea. When Japanese ships began probing west from Pusan in June, however, searching out a route through the myriad islands and channels, they ran into Korea's diminutive navy under the command of Yi Sun-sin. In a series of campaigns Yi called "Slaughter Operations," he destroyed 200 Japanese vessels at a cost of not even one of his 50 warships. Yi's fleet proved so dominant throughout the summer of 1592 that in October he led it straight into the lion's den, attacking the bulk of the Japanese navy anchored at Pusan, an astounding conglomeration of 500 ships. The Japanese, no longer eager to fight the Koreans at sea, left their vessels and took cover on land, where they tried in vain to drive off Yi's force with musket fire. Their bullets, so effective against human flesh, were useless against the thick sides of Yi's ships. By the end of the day 130 more Japanese ships had been burnt or otherwise sent to the bottom.¹¹⁾

The Koreans were so effective against the Japanese at sea because they had stronger, better-armed ships. The mainstay of Yi Sun-sin's navy was the *panokson*, or board-roofed ship, a stoutly built vessel, powered mainly by oars, with an additional deck to separate the oarsmen below from the fighting men above. It was much heavier than anything the Japanese possessed, and was armed with cannons, whereas the Japanese had none. Admiral Yi also had a vessel called a *kobukson*, or turtle ship, a floating tank of a ship like the *panokson*, with the top fighting deck covered with a spiked roof resembling the shell of a turtle. He did not have many: just one in the early months of the war, and later no more than three to five. The

10) *Sonjo sillok*, vol. 6, p. 35, 20/7/Sonjo 25 (Aug. 26, 1592); Yu Song-nyong, pp. 124-126; Turnbull, pp. 135-136.

11) Yi Sun-sin's war diary and battle reports to the government are available in English translation: Ha Tae-hung, trans., and Sohn, Pow-key, ed., *Nanjung Ilgi. War Diary of Admiral Yi Sun-sin* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1977); Ha Tae-hung, trans., and Sohn, Pow-key, ed., *Imjin Changch'o. Admiral Yi Sun-sin's Memorials to Court* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1981).

kobukson was so impervious to Japanese attack that it could be sculled into the midst of vastly superior enemy numbers to level cannon broadsides from point blank range.

While Yi Sun-sin's navy was attacking the Japanese at sea, Korean resistance to the invasion was building up inland as well. Two separate groups began to emerge in the summer of 1592: the *uibyong*, or "Righteous Armies" of civilian volunteers, and the monk-soldiers, answering a call to arms from the revered Buddhist leader Hyujong. These two groups, together with units of government soldiers, would with their harrying attacks force the Japanese back into the strongholds along their initial line of march, depriving them of freedom of movement, and making it increasingly difficult for them to find food.

One of the most famous of these guerrilla leaders was an upper-class scholar known as Kwak Jae-u, the "Red Coat General," who raised and outfitted with his own money a small army in the southeast province of Kyongsang. He was known as the "Red Coat General" ostensibly because he wore a coat dyed in the first menstrual blood of young girls, which he believed suffused the garment with *yin* energy that would repel the *yang* energy of Japanese bullets. It evidently served him well. Kwak would die of old age long after the war.

On February 5, 1593, an army of nearly 60,000 Chinese and Koreans arrived at Pyongyang, the northernmost point of the stalled Japanese advance. Hyujong's monk-soldiers were the first into the fight, attacking a Japanese unit holding Moranbong Hill commanding the approaches to the city. It took two days and nights, but they achieved their objective, at a cost of 600 men. Then, early on the morning of February 8, Pyongyang itself was surrounded and the main attack launched. The allied army, so much larger than the Japanese force holed up inside, overwhelmed the outer defenses and stormed over the walls. But Konishi's forces were not yet done. They fell back inside a fortification previously constructed in the center of the city, and gave every indication of intending to fight on.

With his losses mounting, Li Rusong signaled for his troops to withdraw. In the lull that followed he sent a message in to Konishi. "My army is sufficient to annihilate you," it said. "But I don't not want to kill so many. I will therefore leave a way open for you to withdraw."¹²) It was an offer Konishi could not refuse. He had already lost more than 2,000 men, and could not afford to lose any more. He accepted the offer and retreated from Pyongyang to Seoul. General Li gathered his army and followed ponderously behind.

Li had just crossed the Imjin River when he ran into unexpected resistance: the sixth contingent of the Japanese army under Kobayakawa Takakage, encamped

12) *Sonjo sillok*, 11/1/Sonjo 26 (Feb. 11, 1593); Sin Kyong, *Chaejo bonbangji*, in Yi Nae-ok et. al., p. 161.

at Pyokje, fifteen kilometers north of Seoul. Kobayakawa, the oldest of Hideyoshi's commanders serving in Korea, had ignored the entreaties of his comrades to fall back inside the city walls. "You have always been under Hideyoshi, who has been ever victorious," he said. "You know nothing of defeat, and consequently nothing of how to turn defeat into victory. But that's an old experience with me, so leave it in my hands.... Unless it is a life-and-death fight, these fellows won't be cowed. We have gone back far enough. Now is the time to seek life in the midst of death."¹³⁾

In the Battle of Pyokje on February 27, old Kobayakawa was nearly as good as his boast. With 20,000 men plus reinforcements sent up from Seoul, he crushed the advancing Chinese army in an epic clash involving 61,000 combatants. With such a mass of humanity crowded into the narrow valley, there was not enough room for the Japanese to employ their musketeers to full effect. And with the mud that was soon stirred up, the Chinese cavalry were forced to dismount. The outcome of the battle was determined instead by hand to hand fighting, the straight, double-edged Chinese sword against the gently curving, single-edged Japanese *katana*, sharp enough to cut through bone. Li Rusong's forces in the end were forced to retreat, leaving behind, by one estimate, 10,000 dead.¹⁴⁾

Seoul by this point was a smoldering ghost town, with hundreds of corpses lying unattended in the streets. In the early hours of February 24, local citizens had started fires in an attempt to assist with what they hoped was their imminent liberation. The Japanese garrisoning the city had responded with terrible ferocity. Prior to marching north to join Kobayakawa, they massacred every Korean man they could lay their hands on, and burned large areas of the city.¹⁵⁾ Returning to this scene of death and devastation, the elation the victors of Pyokje felt could not have lasted long. The Chinese, after all, would almost certainly be back.

And in the meantime Korean resistance was growing. Indeed, although the Ming army had retired to Pyongyang, the Japanese in Seoul were now surrounded by hostile Korean forces: government troops and civilian volunteers at the Imjin River, Paju, and Haeyu Pass to the north; monk-soldier at Surak-san to the northeast, Chasong to the west, and Ichon to the south.¹⁶⁾ And at Haengju to the

13) James Murdoch, *A History of Japan During the Century of Early Foreign Intercourse (1542-1651)*, (Kobe, Japan: published at the office of the "Chronicle," 1903), p. 345.

14) Yu Song-nyong, pp. 163-164; *Sonjo sillok*, 5/2/Sonjo 26 (Mar. 7, 1593); *Sonjo sujong sillok*, 1/Sonjo 26 (Feb. 1593); L. Carrington Goodrich, ed., *Dictionary of Ming Biography* (New York & London: Columbia University Press, 1976), vol. 1, pp. 833-834.

15) *Sonjo sujong sillok*, vol. 4, p. 9, 1/Sonjo 26 (Feb. 1593); Turnbull, p. 143.

16) Samuel Dukhae Kim, "The Korean Monk-Soldiers in the Imjin War: An Analysis of Buddhist Resistance to the Hideyoshi Invasion, 1592-1598" (unpublished PhD dissertation:

west lay the biggest thorn of all: 2,300 Koreans under Cholla Province army commander Kwon Yul, holed up in a wooden stockade on a bluff overlooking the Han River.

Kwon Yul was a fifty-five-year-old civil servant from a family of note in Andong in northern Kyongsang Province. Upon the outbreak of war in May 1592, he led a body of troops north in a failed attempt to halt the Japanese advance before it reached Seoul. He then returned south and participated in the defense of Cholla Province, which the sixth contingent of the Japanese army under Kobayakawa Takakage was threatening to overrun. Kwon distinguished himself by defeating Japanese units in two engagements, the Battles of Ungchi and Ichi, in the second week of August. Recognizing his ability, the government appointed him Army Commander of Cholla Province in the following month.

Early in 1593 Kwon Yul led a small army north to Seoul in preparation for the anticipated allied offensive. Incorporating a unit of monk-soldiers under the priest Choyong into his ranks, he set to work strengthening a dilapidated fortress ten kilometers west of the capital, on a hill outside the village of Haengju on the north bank of the Han River. It was a highly defensible position, protected at its rear by a steep drop-off down to the Han. If an attack came, it would have to be made uphill and from the north, straight into the Koreans' concentrated fire.

With the retreat of the Ming army, Kwon Yul's fortress at Haengju emerged as the greatest immediate threat to the Japanese in Seoul. On March 14 they decided to do something about it. Some hours before dawn, the west gate of the city opened and a long line of troops filed out and turned towards Haengju. The 2,300 Korean troops and monk-soldiers within Haengju fortress, crowded together with thousands of civilians who had fled their villages to seek shelter within the walls, watched the approach of this multitude with growing trepidation. When the Japanese arrived at the base of their hill at dawn, the Koreans observed that each soldier had a red-and-white banner affixed to his back, and that many wore masks carved with fierce depictions of animals and monsters and ghosts. Panic was now hovering just beneath the surface, held in check by the calm authority of Kwon Yul. As the Japanese busied themselves below with their pre-battle preparations, he ordered his men to have a meal. There would be no telling when they would have a chance to eat again.

The battle began shortly after dawn. The Japanese, so numerous that they could not all rush at the ramparts at once, divided into groups to take turns in the assault. Their strength must have seemed overwhelming to the Koreans. For once, however, the muskets of the Japanese were of only limited use, for in having to fire uphill they were unable to effectively target the defenders holed up within. The

advantage was with the Koreans, firing down upon the attacking Japanese with arrows and stones. They had a number of gunpowder weapons as well, including several large cannons and a rank of *hwacha* ("fire carts"), box-shaped devices built onto wagons that fired up to one hundred gunpowder-propelled arrows in a single devastating barrage. Alongside these more traditional weapons was an oddity that employed a spinning wheel mechanism to hurl a fusillade of stones. It was called the *sucha sokpo*, the "water-wheel rock cannon."

Konishi Yukinaga's group led off the Japanese assault. Kwon Yul waited until they were within range, then beat his commander's drum three times to signal the attack. Every Korean weapon was fired at once, bows, cannons, *hwacha*, and rock cannons, raking Konishi's ranks and driving his men back. Ishida Mitsunari was the next to attack. His force too was driven back, and Ishida himself was injured. Third contingent leader Kuroda Nagamasa followed and likewise failed.

The Japanese had now attacked Haengju three times, and had not even penetrated the fortress's outer palisade of stakes. Young Ukita Hideie, determined to make a breakthrough in his, the fourth charge, managed to smash a hole in the obstacle and got near the inner wall. Then he was wounded and had to fall back, leaving a trail of casualties behind. The next unit to attack, Kikkawa Hiroie's, poured through the gap Ukita's forces had opened, and was soon attacking Haengju's inner wall, the last line of defense between the Japanese and Kwon Yul's troops. The fighting now went hand-to-hand, with masked warriors attempting to slash their way past the defenders lining the barricades, while the Koreans fought back with everything they had — swords, spears, arrows, stones, boiling water; even handfuls of ashes thrown into the attackers' eyes. As the fighting reached its peak no sound came from Kwon Yul's drum. The Korean commander had abandoned drumstick and tradition in favor of his sword, and was now fighting alongside his men. At one point the Japanese heaped dried grass along the base of Haengju's log walls and tried to set the place ablaze. The Koreans doused the flames with water before they could take hold. In the seventh attack led by Kobayakawa Takakage, the Japanese knocked down some of the log pilings and opened a hole in the fortress's inner wall. The Koreans managed to hold them back long enough for the logs to be repositioned.

As the afternoon wore on the Korean defenders grew exhausted, and their supply of arrows dwindled dangerously low. The women within the fort are said to have gathered stones in their wide skirts to re-supply the men along the walls. This traditional type of skirt is still known as a *Haengju chima* ("Haengju skirt") in remembrance of this day. But stones alone were not enough to repel the Japanese for long. Then, when all seemed lost, Korean naval commander Yi Bun arrived on the Han River at the rear of the fortress with two ships laden with ten thousand

arrows. With these the defenders of Haengju were able to continue the fight until sundown, successfully repelling an eighth attack, then a ninth.

Finally, towards sunset, the attack was called off. The Japanese had suffered too many casualties to continue. They had in fact been dealt a terrible defeat, the most serious loss on land so far at the hands of the Koreans. Throughout the evening the survivors gathered up what bodies they could, heaped them into piles, and set them alight. Then they turned around and walked back to Seoul. One Japanese officer in the disheartened assembly would later liken the scene beside the Han that day to the *sanzu no kawa*, the "River of Hell." When they were gone, Kwon Yul's men came out and recovered those bodies that the Japanese had been unable to retrieve, cut them into pieces, and hung them from the walls of their fort.¹⁷⁾

In Pyongyang, meanwhile, Chinese general Li Rusong was ignoring Korean entreaties to march towards Seoul a second time and destroy the Japanese once and for all. He had already fought Hideyoshi's army twice and suffered heavy losses both times, and was not eager to risk a third, possibly catastrophic engagement. He decided to talk them out of the capital instead, through Ming negotiator Shen Weijing. The Japanese were only too willing to parlay: their supplies were getting desperately low, and retreat had become their only practical option. With tensions rising between the Chinese and the Koreans — who vehemently opposed negotiation with the enemy, and in any case were allowed no part in the process — Shen Weijing hammered out a settlement and the Japanese agreed to withdraw. On the morning of May 19, 1593, they filed out of the capital and began a leisurely march back to the south.

By mid-summer of 1593 the Japanese were confined to an 80-kilometer-long chain of fortresses around Pusan. The Koreans continued to urge the Chinese to attack them and drive them into the sea. The Chinese for their part continued to demure. After the losses they had suffered at Pyongyang and Pyokje, and with the Japanese no longer posing a threat to Beijing, they were now committed to ending the war through negotiation. The Japanese were equally willing to talk; to see what face-saving concessions could be pried out of the Chinese for presentation to Hideyoshi.

17) *Sonjo sujong sillok*, vol. 4, p. 14, 2/Sonjo 26 (March 1593); Sin Kyong, pp. 170-171; Kang Song-mun, "Haengju daechop-eso-ui Kwon Yul chonnyak-gwa chonsul," in Chang Chong-dok and Pak Jae-gwang, eds., *Imjin waeran-gwa Kwon Yul changgun* (Seoul: Chonjaeng kinyomgwan, 1999), pp. 110-113. The Battle of Haengju, together with Yi Sun-sin's triumph in the Battle of Hansan-do and Kim Sin-min's victory in the First Battle of Chinju, are known in Korea as the *sam daechop*, the "three great victories," won by Koreans in the Imjin War.

By mutual consent the fighting thus died down for nearly three years, but only after the Koreans had been dealt a final, terrible blow. In July 1593 the Japanese marched on the southern city of Chinju to seek revenge for their defeat there the previous November, when the city's garrison under Kim Si-min had held out against a force four times its size. This time Hideyoshi's commanders returned with an army usually cited as numbering 93,000.¹⁸⁾ They would be faced by between 3,000 and 4,000 Koreans under such notables as Chungchong army commander Hwang Jin, Kyongsang army commander Choi Kyong-hoe; and government-official-turned-guerrilla leader Kim Chon-il who assumed overall command, much to the aggravation of city magistrate Seo Ye-won. There was no way this small group of defenders could stand against such overwhelming numbers, the largest single enemy force so far assembled in the war. "Red Coat General" Kwak Jae-u saw this clearly, and urged his friend Hwang Jin not to throw his life away trying to defend the place. Hwang agreed that Chinju was probably doomed. He had already given his word to Kim Chon-il and others, however, that he would stay and fight. As Kwak Jae-u rode sadly away, knowing he would never see Hwang again, the defenders of Chinju raced to stockpile food and arms in preparation for the coming fight. Then the gates of the city were closed and barred.¹⁹⁾

In the second week of July a tidal wave of Japanese troops began marching west from the chain of forts encircling Pusan, burning and looting as they went. The ferocity of the advance drove thousands of terrified civilians to join the defenders holed up inside the city. By the nineteenth Chinju was surrounded "in a hundred layers," and looked like "a small, lonely boat in the middle of a sea." The assault began the following day, foot soldiers peppering the ramparts with musket fire, keeping the Koreans down while their comrades filled in portions of the moat that had previously been dug outside the north wall. With this obstacle overcome, a unit of sappers advanced to the wall itself and began prying stones out from the base. The effort came to an abrupt halt when a cascade of stones fell down on them, killing some and driving the rest back.

The fighting continued day and night from July 21 to 24, the Japanese taking turns assaulting the ramparts and removing stones from the walls, keeping up an unrelenting pressure on the Korean defenses. Then, around the twenty-fifth, it started to rain. It began for the Koreans as a welcome relief, for they were able to snatch a little rest when the Japanese, unwilling or unable to use their muskets in the wet, were forced to call off their assault. (By the late sixteenth century the

18) This figure of 93,000, which is the one commonly quoted in accounts of the battle, is taken from Japanese sources, and may be too high. According to *Sonjo sujong sillok*, the attacking Japanese army totaled only 30,000. (vol. 4, p. 24, 6/Sonjo 26 (July 1593).

19) Sin Kyong, p. 179.

Japanese had invented a cover for their arquebuses that allowed them to fire them in the rain, but it was an imperfect solution for keeping a taper lit and powder dry.) The downpour, however, soon turned into a curse, for it began washing away the soil at the damaged portions of the walls, weakening them further.

During the respite the Japanese sent a message into the beleaguered city demanding its surrender. "The Chinese have already given up," it read. "Why do you dare continue to resist?" Korean commander Kim Chon-il sent a reply flying back over the walls: "Three hundred thousand Chinese soldiers have been sent to help us. When they arrive you will all be destroyed." The Japanese scoffed at this bravado, hoisting their trouser legs above the knee and miming effeminate Chinese officials running away.²⁰⁾

From his camp outside the city, Kato Kiyomasa was making preparations for a renewed attempt to undermine the walls. This time he had his men fashion four *kame-no-kosha*, or "turtle wagons," heavily built carts with stout wooden roofs. These crude vehicles were wheeled up to the base of the walls, and parties of men went to work with crowbars on the lower courses of stones, prying them out one by one. The Koreans could see what was happening below, but were unable to stop it, their arrows and musket balls and stones bouncing harmlessly off the roofs of the wagons. Someone finally had the idea of dropping oil-soaked cotton down onto the contraptions and setting them alight. Kato, perceiving the weakness, promptly ordered more carts built, this time with fire-retardant ox hides nailed to the roof.²¹⁾

While this was going on, Japanese forces were applying pressure at many other spots all around the city. Elevated firing platforms were erected in front of the east and west gates, and a bamboo palisade was constructed along one side, allowing Kato's musketeers to take up positions close to the walls. Inside the city, Hwang Jin, Kim Chon-il, and Kimhae magistrate Yi Chong-in fought desperately to repel these various advances, but their men were growing exhausted. During a lull in the fighting Hwang Jin leaned over the wall to assess the situation. "The trench out there is full of enemy dead," he observed. "There must be more than a thousand..." At that moment a Japanese soldier hiding at the base of the wall aimed his musket straight up at Hwang's exposed head and fired, sending a ball clean through the Chungchong Army Commander's helmet and into his skull.

On July 27 the repeated forays by the Japanese to pry stones away from the fortifications succeeded in collapsing a portion of the wall. For the Koreans sheltering inside the end had come. They cried out to Kim Chon-il: "Commander!

20) *Sonjo sujong sillok*, vol. 4, pp. 26-27, 6/Sonjo 26 (July 1593).

21) William Griffis, *Corea. The Hermit Kingdom* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894), p. 125; W. G. Aston, *Hideyoshi's Invasion of Korea* (Tokyo: Ryubun-kwan, 1907), p. 36; Turnbull, pp. 158-159.

The enemy has breached the walls! What should we do?" There was nothing that Kim could tell them. He did not have enough men to resist the Japanese troops now pouring into the city, everyone was exhausted after a week of battle, every arrow had been fired, every stone had been thrown. And now there was no way to escape. Those who chose to die fighting did so with swords and spears and bamboo staves, no match for the muskets and swords of the Japanese. The rest abandoned their positions and raced from one wall to the other, searching in vain for a way to get out. As the Japanese proceeded to tear the city to pieces, Kim Chon-il and his eldest son Kim Sang-gon, accompanied by army commander Choi Kyong-hoe, guerrilla leader Ko Chong-hu, and a few others, retreated to the Choksongnu pavilion on the south wall of the city overlooking the Nam River. After bowing to the north, towards the capital and their king, the men embraced and, with tears streaming down their faces, bid one another farewell. Then they joined hands and threw themselves into the water below.

Yi Chong-in continued to resist until the bitter end, fighting off the attacking Japanese in a rearguard action that took him onto the rocks at the edge of the Nam River. Here he is reported to have seized two Japanese soldiers in his arms and shouted: "Kimhae Magistrate Yi Chong-in is dying here!" He then cast himself into the water, carrying the two soldiers down with him.

At least 60,000 Koreans lost their lives in the Second Battle of Chinju. Most were killed in the massacre that followed the taking of the city, an orgy of destruction that has been called the worst atrocity of the war.²²⁾ The Japanese under Kato, Ukita, and Konishi had no mercy. They did not leave a cow or dog or chicken alive. In a frenzy of revenge against a nation that refused to be conquered, they pulled down the walls and burned all the buildings. They filled the wells with stones. They cut down every tree. When the destruction was finished, Chinju ceased to exist. Since the beginning of the war, the Korean annals would later record, no other place had been so thoroughly destroyed—nor had loyalty and righteousness been so magnificently displayed.²³⁾

The negotiations between China and Japan, meanwhile, were degenerating into fiasco. To keep the game alive and secure a settlement, Hideyoshi's envoys altered

22) James Palais, *Confucian Statecraft and Korean Institutions* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996), p. 83.

23) This account of the second battle of Chinju is based mainly on: *Sonjo sujong sillok*, vol. 4, pp. 26-29, 6/Sonjo 26 (July 1593); *Sonjo sillok*, vol. 9, pp. 61-64, 16/7/Sonjo 26 (Aug. 12, 1593); Yu Song-nyong, pp. 187-190; Sin Kyong, p. 177-180; Hong Yang-ho, *Haedongmyong jangjin*, in Yi Nae-ok et.al., pp. 186-187. According to the Japanese account in the *Taikoki*, 25,000 Koreans were killed in the battle. Most of these "fell from the cliffs and were drowned." (Turnbull, p. 160.)

his demands so profoundly that in the end Beijing was led to believe that all the would-be conqueror desired was to be accepted as a vassal of the Emperor of the Ming.

And so we arrive at Osaka Castle in the fall of 1596, where Hideyoshi is receiving the envoys sent from Beijing. His eager-to-please advisors have led him to believe that the Chinese have come to convey to him their government's subservience and contrition. The Chinese, conversely, believe they have come to make Hideyoshi subservient to China by proclaiming him a vassal king. The charade finally ended when Hideyoshi had one of his scholar-monks translate the edict the Chinese had brought. "You, Toyotomi Hideyoshi," the document concluded, "are...instructed reverently to conform with the imperial desire and to maintain your everlasting existence by...cheerfully obeying our imperial command!"²⁴⁾

Hideyoshi reportedly flew into a rage. He ripped off the silk robe presented to him by the Chinese; he tore the crown off his head and dashed it to the ground. The Ming envoys were sent packing, in fear for their lives. The second invasion of Korea would be the result.

The second invasion of Korea, called *chongyu jaeran* by the Koreans, the invasion of the fire-rooster year, unfolded more slowly and methodically than the first. Troop movements began in March of 1597 and continued on into the summer, until 141,490 soldiers were encamped in the south. Then they waited. They would not march inland until September, when Korean fields would be ready to harvest and a sufficient supply of rice assured. By September, moreover, the Korean navy would be virtually destroyed, removing from southern waters the impediment that had so hampered the first invasion.

During the years between the two invasions, the reputation of Korean naval commander Yi Sun-sin had been tarnished by accusations that he disobeyed orders and was unwilling to fight. A good deal of the trouble stemmed from Yi's own mastery of naval warfare: after his stunning successes in the opening months of the war, the government came to expect victories from him as a matter of course, victories he could no longer deliver once the Japanese began avoiding engagements and hiding their ships. The Korean government appears not to have understood this fundamental dilemma. Spurred on by scurrilous reports from Won Kyun, commander of the defunct Kyongsang Right Navy and an arch-rival of Yi's from the start of the war, the government began pressing Yi to attack an enemy that was no longer there. When Yi failed to comply, he was accused of disobeying orders. Finally, in March of 1597, he was dismissed from office and ordered to Seoul to

24) Imperial patent of investiture from the Wanli emperor to Toyotomi Hideyoshi, in Kuno, vol. 1, pp. 335-336.

face trial. After a month in prison and interrogations that likely involved torture, the death sentence hanging over Yi's head was commuted to loss of position alone. He was released on May 16 and sent south under guard to serve as a common soldier in the army of Kwon Yul, recently appointed Korea's Commander-in-Chief.

On June 26 Yi Sun-sin consulted the Book of Divination to discover what the future held for his rival Won Kyun, who had replaced him as supreme naval commander. "The first sign," he recorded in his diary that day, "came out as 'water, thunder, and great disaster.' This means that the Heavenly wind will corrupt and destroy the original body. It is a very bad omen."²⁵⁾

Two months later, on August 20, 1597, Won Kyun, forced into battle by orders sent down from Seoul, led the Korean navy in a mismanaged attack on the Japanese navy at Pusan. His ships were easily beaten back, and retreated to Chilchon Strait on the northern coast of Koje Island. One week later the Japanese counter-attacked, annihilating the Korean navy and killing Won Kyun. When the news reached Seoul, Yi Sun-sin was hastily re-appointed. He would soon discover he had only thirteen ships left.

September 1597. The fields of Korea were ready to harvest. It was time for Hideyoshi's commanders to launch their second offensive. They moved inland in two great armies, the "Army of the Left" swinging west then north into Cholla Province, the "Army of the Right" taking a north and then westerly course. The first objective was the town of Namwon, where 3,000 Chinese troops and 1,000 Koreans were garrisoned to block any northward enemy advance. The Left Army wiped them out in the last week of September, then proceeded to lay waste to the countryside around. Wandering about Namwon in the wake of the battle, the priest Keinen, who was serving with the Japanese army as a physician and chaplain, recorded in his diary that "the only people to be seen were those lying dead on the ground. When I looked around the fortress at dawn the next day I saw bodies beyond number heaped up along the roadside."²⁶⁾ He would later encapsulate the trauma of the scene in a poem:

*Whoever sees this
Out of all his days
Today has become the rest of his life.²⁷⁾*

This was just as Toyotomi Hideyoshi had wanted. His second invasion of

25) Diary entry for 12/5/Chongyu (June 26, 1597), Yi Sun-sin, *Nanjung ilgi*, p. 269.

26) Keinen, *Chosen nichinichi ki*, quoted in Yang jae-suk, *Imjin waeran-un uri-ga igin chinjaeng iottda* (Seoul: Garam, 2001), pp. 324-325.

27) Quoted in Turnbull, p. 196.

Korea was more about saving face than conquest: he wanted to demonstrate to the Chinese that he did not fear them or feel subservient in any way. He also wanted to punish the Koreans for resisting him. In the first invasion he had had hopes of winning them over, and thus had ordered his troops to treat civilians well so long as they were compliant. There would be none of this in the second invasion. Hideyoshi wanted the Koreans killed, soldiers and civilians alike, and evidence of the slaughter sent back to him in Japan. It was not practical because of the distance to collect severed heads, the usual trophies of war. Hideyoshi's troops instead collected noses, possibly more than 100,000. These were submitted to nose collection stations set up across southern Korea for packing in salt in barrels and shipment back to Japan.²⁸⁾

While the Japanese army was cutting a swatch through Cholla Province and into Chungchong, the Japanese navy was advancing along the southern coast, confident that the way was now clear to the Yellow Sea. It was not. With a fleet of only thirteen ships, Yi Sun-sin was preparing to make a stand in Myongnyang Strait, the gateway to the Yellow Sea between Chin Island and the mainland on the extreme southwestern tip of the Korean peninsula. On the eve of what would be the most astonishing battle of the war, he gathered his commanders and said: "According to the principles of strategy, 'He who seeks his death shall live, he who seeks his life shall die.' Again, the strategy says, 'If one defender stands on watch at a strong gateway he may drive terror deep into the heart of the enemy coming by the ten thousand.' These are golden sayings for us. You captains are expected to strictly obey my orders. If you do not, even the least error shall not be pardoned, but shall be severely punished by martial law."²⁹⁾

On October 26, in the Battle of Myongnyang Strait, thirteen Korean ships stood against an enemy fleet of at least 130 vessels — and won. By the end of the day, 31 Japanese ships had been destroyed without a single Korean vessel being lost. After that Hideyoshi's navy fell back towards Pusan and did not venture west again. This stunning victory would mark the pinnacle of Yi Sun-sin's naval career, the point where his leadership rose from the extraordinary to the sublime, and from there entered into legend. In the centuries that followed, no one would praise him more than his former enemy, the Japanese themselves. At a party honoring Togo Heihachiro's victory over Russia's Baltic fleet in 1905, for example, Togo took exception to one eulogy comparing him to Lord Horatio Nelson and Yi Sun-sin. "It may be proper to compare me with Nelson," he said, "but not with Korea's Yi

28) Receipts were issued for every cache of noses Japanese commanders submitted to "nose collection stations." More than twenty of these "nose receipts" are reproduced in Cho Chung-hwa, *Tashi ssunun imjin waeran-sa* (Seoul: Hakmin-sa, 1996), pp. 116-125.

29) Diary entry for 15/9/Chongyu (Oct. 25, 1597), Yi Sun-sin, *Nanjung ilgi*, p. 311.

Sun-sin. He is too great to be compared to anyone."³⁰

The furthest north the Japanese advanced in 1597 was to within seventy kilometers of Seoul. Here, at the Battle of Chiksan, they clashed with an advance unit of Chinese troops. With it evident that the Chinese had returned to Korea, Hideyoshi's forces made no effort to hang on to the ground they had covered, leaving themselves exposed to counterattack with winter coming on. Instead they retreated south once more and established themselves again in a long chain of forts. The allied Chinese and Koreans soon hemmed them in, nowhere more so than at Ulsan, where forces under Kato Kiyomasa withstood a siege that saw many of his men starve and freeze to death. By reserving the bulk of the food and water for his crucially important musketeers, Kato was able to maintain an effective core of troops to repel the Chinese assault when it finally came. Similar defeats were inflicted on Ming forces later that year in October, when they tried to dislodge Konishi Yukinaga from his fort at Sunchon at the opposite end of the Japanese fortress chain, and Shimazu Yoshihiro from his Sachon stronghold at roughly the center.

After that the Chinese wanted nothing more of fighting. Word had recently been received of Hideyoshi's death in Kyoto on September 18, 1598, and it was evident that his army in Korea was preparing to leave. The Chinese, now under the supreme command of Yang Hao, thus ignored Korean urgings to attack, and instead gave the Japanese time and space to depart. This was easily done for Kato Kiyomasa and his colleagues at Ulsan, Pusan, Ungchon, and points between. On the western end of the fortress chain, however, Konishi Yukinaga at Sunchon was unable to leave: the allied Korean-Ming navy was blocking him in. The final clash came on December 16, when a fleet from Shimazu Yoshihiro's neighboring Sachon enclave sailed west to attack the blockade. In the ensuing Battle of Noryang Strait, at least 200 of Shimazu's ships were destroyed and an "uncountable number" of his men were killed or drowned. For the Koreans, however, the victory was costly: they lost naval commander Yi Sun-sin. He was felled by a stray bullet in the chest while pursuing the retreating enemy fleet back towards Pusan. His last words, spoken to his eldest son and nephew, were: "Don't let the men know...." Struggling to maintain their composure, the two young men carried their commander's body into his cabin before the calamity could be noticed. It was only after the battle was won that word of Yi's death was allowed to spread through the fleet.³¹

30) Kim Tae-chun, "Yi Sun-sin's Fame in Japan," *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, no. 47 (June 1978), p. 95.

31) Yi Pun, "Biography of Admiral Yi Sun-sin," in Yi Sun-sin, *Imjin changch'o*, pp. 237-238; Yu Song-nyong, p. 225; *Sonjo sujong sillok*, vol. 4, pp. 159-160, 11/Sonjo 31 (Dec. 1598); *Sonjo sillok*, vol. 25, pp. 187-188, 27/11/Sonjo 31 (Dec. 24, 1598); Park Yune-hee, *Admiral*

By then Konishi's forces had got cleanly away. There was talk amongst the Chinese of marching on the exposed heart of the enemy perimeter at Pusan. Before any serious movement was made, however, the Japanese there had evacuated as well. The last of their ships departed on December 24, 1598, bringing to an end the seven-year-long war.

Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea clearly ended in failure. His troops took back to Japan a long list of spoils: thousands of books, scrolls and paintings, religious artifacts, stone pagodas, movable type invented in Korea two centuries before — and 50,000 slaves or more, including potters with advanced skills the Japanese lacked. But it was scant compensation for the 70,000 or 80,000 soldiers that died.³²⁾

Chinese casualties easily ran into the tens of thousands as well. For Beijing, however, the impact on its treasury would be the more serious loss. According to one estimate, between 20 and 26 million *taels* of silver were spent to send expeditionary forces to Korea to counter the first and second invasions, in weight of metal nearly one thousand metric tons.³³⁾ This expenditure would substantially weaken the Ming government at the very time when a serious threat to its existence was emerging, the rise of Jurchen power on its eastern frontier. These Jurchen, soon to be renamed Manchus, would capture Beijing in 1644 and replace the Ming with a dynasty of their own, the Qing.

But of course it was Korea that suffered the most in the war. Its economy was shattered. Towns and cities were destroyed. And Koreans died in uncountable numbers. Soldiers and civilians who were killed outright, who starved to death in famines, and who died in the epidemics brought about by the war, conceivably totaled two million or more, roughly twenty percent of the kingdom's entire population.³⁴⁾

And what became of those severed Korean noses sent back to Japan? They were buried in a mound later misnamed the *mimizuka* ("ear mound"), in front of

Yi Sun-shin and His Turtleboat Armada (Seoul: Hanjin, 1978) pp. 243-246; Jho Sung-do, *Yi Sun-shin. A National Hero of Korea* (Chinhae: Choongmoo-kong Society, 1970), pp. 224-228; Yang Jae-suk, pp. 259-262.

32) It is from these spoils of war that the Japanese would derive such names for Hideyoshi's Korean invasion as "The War of Abduction," "The Pottery War," and "The War of Celadon and Metal Type."

33) Edwin O. Reischauer and John K. Fairbanks, *East Asia: The Great Tradition* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), pp. 332-333. (1 *tael* = 1.3 ounces, or 36.855 grams.)

34) These figures are suggested by Tony Michell, "Fact and Hypothesis in Yi Dynasty Economic History: The Demographic Dimension," *Korean Studies Forum*, no. 6 (Winter-Spring 1979/1980), pp. 77-79. By way of comparison, some one million Korean civilians died as a result of the Korean War of 1950-53.

Toyokuni Jinja, the shrine where Toyotomi Hideyoshi's spirit now resides. The mound remains there to this day, tucked between a playground and an alley. It is not marked on many city maps. Few tourists to Kyoto ever visit the place.

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I. Buddhism Comes to Wa Japan

Introduction

According to *Kibonji*, Buddhism was officially introduced into Wa Japan from the Korean kingdom of Paekche in A.D. 552, but had to struggle for over fifty years before being firmly established, while the Shintōist Monmucho clan and the Buddhist Soga clan fought over its introduction. This article will describe some of the most interesting historical events involving the two clans. As I have described in a previous article on the seven-headed sword, the Monmucho clan arrived in the Yamato area early in the middle of fourth century with Yori II or Nigihaya as its leader to establish the Wa court, only to fall to the later conqueror An Dōshō or Oja of the great Wa-U Soga court to join great Wa Japan. Therefore both the Monmucho clan and the Soga clan served both Wa courts and eventually acquired power in the 6th court.

Since I have already described in some detail how the Monmucho clan became powerful in Shintō practice, this essay will begin by outlining the clan history of the Sogas and their conversion to Paekche and to great Wa Japan. The second section will examine the fifty-year struggle between the Soga and Monmucho clans, culminating in the downfall of the Sogas and the subsequent flourishing of Buddhism. The third section will describe Buddhist culture in Wa Japan and the downfall of Paekche. In the fourth section, the influence of Unified Silla's Buddhism in Japan will be discussed.

The Soga Clan

According to the Chinese chronicles, Paekche had eight powerful aristocratic families: Sab, Yon, Hyon, Pa, Jong, Gak, Mok, and Bak. The Soga clan is believed to have been an offshoot of the Mok family. Its family lineage thus needs careful examination.

As was discussed already in the article on Paekche's Taewon, the campaign

1) Kim Yong-uk, "Japan's Conversion to Islam: A Study of Three Essays," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* - Korea Branch, vol. 17 (2007), pp. 11-44.

Japan's Connection to Korea (Part II): A Series of Three Essays

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Introduction

According to *Nihongi*, Buddhism was officially introduced into Wa Japan from the Korean kingdom of Paekche in A.D. 552, but had to struggle for over fifty years before being firmly established, while the Shintoist Mononobe clan and the Buddhist Soga clan fought over its introduction. This article will describe some of the more interesting historical events involving the two clans. As I have observed in a previous article on the seven-branched sword, the Mononobe clan arrived in the Yamato area early in the middle of fourth century with Yeo Ji or Nigihayal as its leader to establish the Wa court, only to fall to the later conqueror Jin Nyeh or Ojin of the great Wa.¹⁾ Soga came to join great Wa later. Therefore both the Mononobe clan and the Soga clan served both Wa courts and eventually exercised power in the Wa court.

Since I have already described in some detail how the Mononobe clan became powerful in Shinto practice, this essay will begin by outlining the clan history of the Sogas and their connection to Paekche and to great Wa Japan. The second section will examine the fifty-year struggle between the Soga and Mononobe clans, culminating in the downfall of the Sogas and the subsequent flourishing of Buddhism. The third section will describe Buddhist culture in Wa Japan until the downfall of Paekche. In the fourth section, the influence of Unified Silla's Buddhism in Japan will be discussed.

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1) Kim Yong-duk, "Japan's Connection to Korea: A Series of Three Essays," *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society — Korea Branch*, vol. 77 (2002), pp. 117-142.

by Paekche against seven Kara states along the Namgang river took place in A.D. 369. This campaign involved Paekche general Mogura Geunja, provided we interpret properly the records in *Nihongi*. We believe Mogura was appointed governor or feudal lord of the Imna area some time after the successful campaign, since the entry in *Nihongi* for the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Ojin (A.D. 420) records that Mok Manji, a descendant of Mogura Geunja, was mentioned as being very powerful in the Paekche court of young king Kunishin.

According to the same entry, Mok Manji married a native lady of Silla. The lapse of fifty years between 369 of the seven Kara state campaign and 420 of Mok Manji in *Nihongi* suggests that Mok Manji was perhaps a grandson of Mogura Geunji. The name Mok is thought to be a shortened version of Mogura. Mok Manji is recorded to have traveled between Paekche and Imna. In the same passage in *Nihongi*, it is indicated that Mok Manji came to Wa Japan in 420, during Ojin's reign.

In the October entry of the second year of Richu's reign in 431, *Nihongi* records that Soga Manji served the state with three other ministers. There are several versions how the family name Mok was changed to Soga. One version says that Mok Manji had the title Kosoga or prime minister as in Koguryo or Paekche court since one of three ministers in the same record had the title of minister of the Koguryo court. Now Soga became the name of the river near the Soga's homestead. The same Mogura Manji is recorded in *Samguk Sagi* to have moved the Paekche capital with the future king Munju from Kanaguru (Seoul) to Komanaru (Kongju) in 475, after Paekche was defeated by the Koguryo army and the royal family put to death. Mogura Manji returned to Paekche at this time of crisis, probably at an advanced age. This is the last time the family name Mok or Mogura is mentioned in the history of Paekche.

Some trace the geneology of the Sogas differently. By studying such sources as the "new compilation of family register" and the "chronicle of prince Shotoku," it has been suggested that Mogura Geunja was related in succession to Mok Manji, Soga Ishikawa, Katsuragi Sotsu, and to Soga Manji, the minister in Richu's reign. Most probably the change of family name from Mok or Mogura to Soga took place after the family settled near the Soga river in Yamato.²⁾ In the vicinity is a temple built for Soga Iruka, as well as cemeteries bearing Soga remains. The Sogas were financiers for the Wa court since Yuriaku's reign. They were joined by ten or more Mok families from Paekche in the sixth century.

According to archeological studies, the Sogas initially settled near the Soga river, and later moved south to Asuka in Yamato, where they left cemeteries. The

2) Katowaku Teiji, *Quarterly Sanzenri*, Aug. 1976; Kim Dal-soo, *Ancient History of Japan and Korea* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1976).

most famous tomb is that of Soga Umako, which incorporated a huge rock burial chamber with a side opening in typical Paekche style. This area is suited for dry land rice farming, in which the Sogas were skilled. The Sogas had several branch families, including the famous prince Shotoku, and occupied strategic places in the ancient capital area of Yamato.

It is interesting to observe that the names of some of the Sogas are related to such Korean kingdoms as Kara-ko or "Man of Kara," and Koma or Koguryo. Soga Koma was succeeded by Iname, who became Tomi or grand minister. His son Umako and grandson Yemishi and grand grandson Iruka all served as grand ministers. Soga Iruka is also known as Hayashi Taro Kuratsukuri. According to an entry in the new register compilation, the Hayashi clan claimed their ancestry to be Paekche's Mok, which supports the claim that Soga is similarly derived.³⁾

Proliferation of Soga branch families meant that the Sogas prospered. This was due not only to their political power, but also to the efforts they made to introduce Buddhism into Japan from Paekche. This brought in not only religion but also new technology which the Sogas were perhaps eager to take advantage of.

The Mononobe clan, on the other hand, was adamantly opposed to Buddhism, which was not only alien but also against their invested power in preserving Shintoism, which was the foundation of the Royal Family's legitimacy as the descendants of heaven-sent gods. The Mononobe, as Muraji in the family classification of Wa Japan, were followers of the royal family, who were obviously reluctant to accept the new religion.

King Senka appointed Soga Iname to the powerful position of minister. King Kinmei, who succeeded Senka, had a mother who was the daughter of king Muryong of Paekche. Kinmei appointed 7,053 immigrant descendants to various posts around the country, while retaining Soga Iname as minister. Kinmei was married to the daughter of Soga Iname. He also had five concubines. Eventually he had fifteen sons and ten daughters, of which four became kings and queens.

As recorded in *Nihongi*, King Kinmei militarily supported Paekche king Sung, albeit minimally. In a battle against Silla, for example, King Sung lost 30,000 men, while only 1,000 Wa Japanese took part. So Wa military support cannot be the reason why King Sung was prompted to transmit Buddhism to Japan. This introduction of Buddhism led to a clash between pro-Buddhist and anti-Buddhist groups that lasted for more than a generation.

The Clash Between the Mononobes and the Sogas

There are two views on the date of the official introduction of Buddhism from Paekche to Wa Japan. One view insists it was 538, citing the date in the chronicle

3) Lee Jin-hee, *Japanese Culture and Korea* (Tokyo: NHK Books, 1995).

of Genkoji temple, when its Buddha image was sent by Paekche. This is the year when Paekche moved its capital, located at Komanari since 475, to Buyeo, due to mounting pressure from Koguryo. The other view is 552, when king Sung sent king Kinmei a gilded Buddha image, plus astronomers and scholars in Chinese classics. At any rate 552 is the date of the introduction of Buddhism as recorded in the official chronicle *Nihongi*. King Kinmei was pleased by the gifts, but had misgivings and called a council meeting to decide whether to accept the new religion. This was the beginning of the controversy surrounding Buddhism.

The Mononobes pointed out that Wa had hundreds of Shinto gods to whom religious services were directed throughout the year. If other divinities were to be accepted, these gods would be offended and punishments sure to follow. Caught in a predicament, Kinmei suggested that the Sogas should try the new religious practice first by themselves. The Sogas were delighted by this and brought the Buddha image to their residence at Koshi, Nara and built a temple at Asuka, Koshi. At this time, unfortunately, there was a plague that resulted in many deaths. Because of this, the Mononobe told Kinmei that all the predicted evil happenings were caused by Buddhism, and that the new religion should therefore be forbidden. So the Sogas were ordered by Kinmei to get rid of all Buddhist things. The temple and Buddha image as well as other Buddhist items were subsequently destroyed. However, in the following year, a report was received by Kinmei of a bright object discovered in the sea, which turned out it was a huge camphor tree. The king had a Buddha image made out of it.

The struggle between pro- and anti-Buddhist groups continued for some time until the succession issue upon the assassination of king Yomei heated up the clash between the Mononobes and the Sogas. In 587, Soga Umako assembled his followers to strike the Mononobes at their home ground in Kawachi. At first the Sogas were not able to overpower the Mononobes. But then the fifteen-year-old Umuado, the future prince Shotoku, who vowed to build pagodas and temples, struck down the Mononobe leader with an arrow, and the battle turned to the Soga's advantage.

Even during these controversial years, Buddhism was gradually gaining ground in Japan with the introduction from Paekche of monks, sutras, temple builders, image sculptors, and bell makers. But it was only after the victory by the Sogas that large missions of novice monks and nuns were sent over to Paekche for intense cultivation of Buddhism. Soga Umako now built the large Shitenoji temple in Osaka in 588. Interestingly, the descendants of one of the three Paekche carpenters who worked on the temple still live nearby, and are still engaged in the family trade of building temples and shrines.

Soga Umako managed to make her sister's daughter to become queen Suiko in

592, and his son-in-law Umayado appointed as her regent the famous prince Shotoku. The Hokoji temple was built on this occasion. In the second year of her reign, Suiko proclaimed that the Buddhist Triptica should be promoted. This act prompted many powerful families to build temples and to support Buddhist activities. In the ninth year of Suiko's reign (507), the famous Horyuji temple was built. After that, Buddhism flourished in Japan alongside Shintoism, ushering in the so-called era of Asuka Buddhist culture.

As for the Sogas, their power kept growing. Now Umako demanded and was given Katsuragi county as his fiefdom, where his son Emishi built a palace and was now called prince. So people began to suspect the hidden ambitions of the Sogas. Suiko was succeeded by Jomei in 628, and his consort succeeded him on the throne as Kogyoku in 642.

In the first year of Kogyoku's reign, Umako's grandson Iriko was assassinated in her presence by another power contender, ostensibly because the Sogas were abusing their power in disrespect toward the royal family. This ended the political power of the illustrious tradition of the Soga family. The year was 645.

Asuka Era Buddhism

For convenience, the cultural history of Wa Japan in the sixth and seventh centuries is divided by some art historians into two eras: the Asuka era (552-670) when the Horyuji burnt down, and the Hakuho era (670-710) when the capital was moved to Nara.⁴⁾ In this section we will describe some important developments in Buddhism and Buddhist culture in Wa Japan during the Asuka era.

King Muryong (501-523) of Paekche was born and grew up in Wa Japan, ruled for a time as king, then returned to Paekche at the age of forty. When he returned to Paekche he would have seen the kingdom's highly developed culture, where Buddhism flourished with magnificent temples, pagodas, paintings and officials versed in Chinese classics, astronomy, and medicine. It is no wonder king Muryong wanted to help build a better state in Wa Japan. I believe this is why he decided to send a mission of scholars, officials, and artisans to Japan.

As previously mentioned, king Sung sent a mission to Wa Japan in 552 to propagate Buddhism. Two years later another mission of monks and temple builders, together with government officials, was dispatched to Wa Japan. They returned home at the completion of Hokoji or Asukatera temple.

In 513, king Muryong sent the scholar Tan Yangni, who was well versed in the five Chinese canons: the Book of Change, the Book of Records, the Book of Poetry, the Book of Spring and Autumn, and the Book of Propriety. These five classical works were the foundation of Confucianism, cultivation of which was

4) Tamura Encho, *Ancient Korea and Japanese Buddhism* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1990).

deemed essential in managing a state in Asia. Three years later, another scholar, Koh Anmo, was sent to replace Tan Yangni. These scholars were probably sent to educate young government officials. In 522, as recorded in *Nihongi*, Sama Taldeung was dispatched to Wa.

Since king Muryong returned to Paekche at the age of forty, during his stay in Wa he must have already married and had sons. It is not difficult to imagine that king Sung, who succeeded Muryong in 523, shared his father's sentiments toward Wa and continued his policy of sending missions there. In 552 king Sung sent to Wa high officials, a bronze Buddha image, and Buddhist sutras. This was the first event in officially introducing Buddhism to Wa as recorded in *Nihongi*. Some claim this act by king Sung was promoted to seek the military support of Wa Japan,⁵⁾ while others believe it was part of a policy by Paekche in continuing by proxy to rule her vassal state.⁶⁾ Perhaps more persuasive is the argument that this was expedited by the Sogas who wanted to gain power by initiating and inculcating a new elite, versed in statecraft as well as new technology. In any case this marked the beginning of a new era in Wa Japan. These cultural exports from Paekche to Wa continued for some time.

In 554 king Sung sent scholars in Chinese classics, experts in the *I-Ching*, astronomy and medicine, together with a Buddha image and sutras. The Buddha image was placed in the residence of Soga Iname in Asuka. The controversy now flared up and continued while cultural missions kept arriving from Paekche.

In 554, the newly crowned king Widok dispatched high officials, scholars, and nine monks to replace the previously sent contingent. In 577 he sent sutras, monks, nuns, chanters, Buddhist sculptors, and six temple carpenters. In 584, upon the visit by the emissary Kafuka from Wa, Paekche sent to Japan a stone image of Maitraya and a Buddhist image. The stone image of Maitraya was eventually placed in a temple built near the Soga's residence. A Koguryo monk was put in charge and a young girl was recruited to become a novice nun. An outbreak of smallpox occurred soon afterwards and king Bitatsu died of the disease. He was succeeded by king Yomei, who resurrected the question of whether or not to accept Buddhism. As the controversy became heated, the Sogas and the Mononobes came into serious conflict. Upon the downfall of the Mononobe, the pro-Buddhist Sogas immediately set about building Hokoji temple, which later became Asuka temple. In 587 an envoy was sent to Paekche to request monks and temple builders. In 588 monks, carpenters, steeple builders, tile makers, and painters were dispatched to Wa. Now the powerful leader Yamatonoaya was appointed as the head builder of the temple, and many artisans who were the descendants of Paekche immigrants

5) *Ibid.*

6) Choi Jae-suk, *Buddhism in Ancient Korea and Japan* (Seoul: Ilyisa 1998).

gathered to build the temple together in cooperation with artisans from Paekche.

In 593 the core stone foundation had an enclave ready to enshrine the Buddha's sarira, whereupon the mighty Soga Umaka and other delegates attended the dedication ceremony attired in Paekche style. The temple's five-story pagoda was completed in 593, and the gilded Buddha image was dedicated in 609. This image was made by Shiba or Sama Taldeang Kuratsukuri Tori, who was a grandson of Paekche immigrant Shiba Tatto of 522. Shiba was a Paekche family name and Kuratsukuri ("saddle maker") a Japanese name. This was the first building in Wa Japan to incorporate a Paekche-style stone foundation and tile roof.

The Asuka temple subsequently burnt down. It was rebuilt and moved to Nara in 716, where it was renamed Genkoji temple. In 1956 the original Asuka temple site was excavated to confirm that the layout (three worship halls around a pagoda surrounded by corridors with a lecture hall outside) was in the Koguryo style, while the roof tiles were similar to Paekche's.

In 593 Suiko, a niece of Soga Umako, became queen, while his nephew Shotoku was appointed as the regent prince who exercised great political power in Wa. It is believed that in 607 the famous Horyuji temple in Nara was built by this same Shotoku, who became just as avid a Buddhist as his father Yomei, the first Wa king to profess belief in Buddhism. (It is interesting to observe that Silla ceased to observe the Shaman tradition with the adoption of Buddhism in the middle of the sixth century, while Japan preserved both Shintoism and Buddhism together.) With strong support from Suiko and Shotoku, Buddhism gained momentum in Wa Japan, as evidenced by the fact that a total of 46 temples were in existence by 624. Some of these temples call for special attention.

Horyuji, one of seven temples built by Shotoku, is well known for its graceful pagodas and edifices as well as treasures such as Buddha images, Kudara Bodhisattva, and other national treasures. The mural painting of Buddha by Koguryo monk Tamjing in the worship hall is considered one of three masterpieces of art in ancient Asia. (The other two are the Silla dynasty stone Buddha in Sokkuram grotto in Kyungju, Korea, and the sculpture in China's Tunhuang cave temple.) Shotoku allegedly also built the Shitenoji temple in Osaka, which has the typical layout of the gate, pagoda and worship hall built along a north-south axis. The temple was built near the ancient waterfront of Osaka harbor, symbolizing the cultural achievements of the time and attracting the attention of people passing through the harbor. No wonder people of Osaka still celebrate it with an annual festival.

These cultural activities involved a lot of people. It is said that 99.5 percent of Buddhist monks and nuns at the time originated from the three kingdoms on the Korean peninsula, or from immigrant communities from that region. We wonder

what sort of language these people would have spoken.

Horyuji temple in Kyoto also deserves attention since it enshrines a Maitraya Buddha image, National Treasure Number One in Japan. This temple was built by the Hata family to enshrine a Buddha image sent by Silla to prince Shotoku. It turned out the Maitraya was carved from a single Korean pine tree; similar Maitraya images in metal in the Korean National Museum were found near Kyungju. It is usually thought that the Maitraya image of Koryuji was brought from Silla. This image has one leg crossed and the right arm raised with a finger pointing towards the cheek in a meditative pose. Originally this sort of image was carved to represent Siddhartha or Buddha as a prince pondering the suffering of man in birth, age, illness, and death. Later it was associated with Maitraya the future Buddha. The belief in Maitraya was fashionable in the three kingdoms, particularly in Silla. The famed elite of militant youth corps or Hwanrang of Silla were thought to be an incarnation of Maitraya. They were usually in the vanguard of the Silla army that eventually unified the three kingdoms. This belief in Maitraya Buddhism also became fashionable in Wa, and the seven temples built by Shotoku are said to have enshrined the Maitraya images.

In the early Asuka period Paekche officially had a dominant influence on Buddhism in Wa. Silla influence increased during the later regency of Shotoku (602 to 622) as evidenced in the number of missions exchanged by Silla and Wa. However, in this period there was no official Buddhist mission from Silla to Wa. Only some Buddha images and Buddhist items were sent. In the case of Koguryo, no state Buddhist missions were sent either, but, as recorded in *Nihongi*, numerous monks privately came to Japan and contributed greatly to Wa culture.

Hakuho Era Buddhism in Japan

After the downfall of Paekche in A.D. 660, there was an exodus of Paekche refugees to Japan. Their contribution to Japanese culture is well documented. We are now interested in Silla's influence on Japanese Buddhism in the Hakuho and Nara eras of the eighth century. To present the matter properly, we must understand the historical events that shaped relations between Silla and Japan at that time.

After the defeat of the united forces of Paekche and Wa Japan in 663, Tang China set up a governor at old Paekche and also at Kyushu, Japan, by dispatching a commander with 254 soldiers in 665. A second commander with 2,000 soldiers was sent to Kyushu without consultation with Silla in 669. Tang China set up a governor at Pyongyang after the defeat of Koguryo. But then Tang China insisted on appointing the Silla king as the governor of Silla. This naturally upset Silla, and led to battles between Silla and Tang both on land and at sea. Silla won most of the battles over a period of seven years, forcing the Tang Chinese to retreat first

from Kyushu, and then from the Korean peninsula by the end of 676. In 672, Tenmu became king of Japan after a coup that had clandestine Silla military support. It is no wonder that Tenmu was pro-Silla, and indeed there was a very close relationship between Silla and Japan in the years that followed.

Samguk Sagi began to refer to Wa as Japan beginning in 670. It recorded that eleven missions were sent from Silla to Japan between 668 and 679, and thirteen missions between 680 and 701. During this period Japan sent envoys to Silla twelve times. In this 33-year period, no ships from Japan were permitted by Silla to travel to China. Japanese monks thus came to Silla to learn about Buddhism and to obtain sutras and other cultural artifacts. For instance, the monk Jinyei of Genkoji temple in Nara studied the teachings of the Pobsang sect in Silla, and transmitted these to Japan, while the monk Shinjo of Taianji temple transmitted the teachings of the Whaom sect from Silla to Japan. It is not easy for both Korean and Japanese to read a sutra in Chinese mainly due to different grammar. So Silla Buddhists employed annotations by making use of a version of Chinese characters as an aid to understand texts. These annotations were eventually transmitted to Japan and inspired Japanese monks to develop the Japanese writing system known as kana.

It is interesting to observe that the layout of temples and design of roof tiles and other features were now influenced by Silla. For example, the Horyuji temple, which was rebuilt in 670 after the original structure burnt down, had the double petal lotus design roof tiles of Silla, while the original Horyuji had a single petal lotus design of Paekche.

In the early Asuka period, roof tiles and the layout of temples had the Paekche style with one pagoda, worship hall, and lecture hall aligned along the north-south axis, while Silla style had the feature of two pagodas as reflected in temple buildings of the later era. Numerous Buddhist books and commentaries written by Silla monks such as Wonnyo were brought over to Japan by Japanese scholar monks. There are still extant today hundreds of hand copied versions of these books.

Not only books but also social welfare activities of Silla monks like Wonhyo had great influence in Japan through works of monks like Kyogi. Kyogi was born in 668 to Paekche immigrant parents, and became a monk and went through ascetic discipline on a mountain. In 710 the capital was moved from Asuka to Nara and many people were mobilized to work on its construction. Hard labor and poor working conditions faced many people who suffered a lot begging for compassion and help, which was offered by Buddhist evangelist Kyogi. As a result, throngs gathered around him to follow his words and works. But these Buddhist activities were forbidden by the government since monks were supposed to confine their

work to within Buddhist institutions. Kyogi survived the persecution with the support of student monks in high positions who had been to Silla and witnessed the activities of the Silla monk Wonhyo, who practiced Buddhism among the masses rather than in a temple.⁷⁾

Kyogi was a compassionate feminist as well, since he preached and converted many women. He built bridges, reservoirs and irrigation ditches with these people, providing shelter for men and women alike. Kyogi's activities were eventually tolerated, and he became the supreme Buddhist monk and even helped raise funds to build the great Todaiji temple in Nara in 740. It was king Shomu who heard a series of lectures and sermons on the Avatamska sutra by the monk Shinjo, with its teaching that everything in the world is interconnected as illustrated in a network of beads that reflect the rest of the world and king depends on people and people depends on king for protection and prosperity. This was a popular sect in Silla and it was brought over to Japan by the Silla monk Shinjo, who studied in Tang China and Silla before settling at Daianji temple in Nara.

King Shomu was moved and wanted to build a great temple that embodied the ideal of the Avatamska or Kegon sect that houses a great image of Viracina, the supreme Buddha. Some say that Shomu was inspired by the Buddha image of Viracina at the Chishikiji temple in Kawachi, where many immigrants settled. The temple itself was built with the financial support and labor of the common people.

When the Buddha image of Viracina was cast at the time of the construction of the Todaiji, there was in shortage of gold to gild it. Shomu wondered whether to get the gold from China or not. At this time the oracle of the god Hachiman in Usa, Kyushu was negative. Soon after, gold was found by Paekche royalty settled in the northeastern part of Japan, to the delight and relief of the Todaiji builder. So the prestige of Hachiman shrine was enhanced, and it was invited to move its head shrine to Nara. The Hachiman Shinto sect prospered greatly after that.

On the occasion of the dedication of Todaiji temple, king Shomu and royal members as well as ten thousand monks gathered with seven hundred guests from Silla, while some Silla people remained behind in Naniwa (today's Osaka) to trade in precious goods from Silla with rich aristocrats of the Japanese court. In the treasure house of Todaiji temple today, one can see many Silla goods treasured by the royal court, including wooden utensils, lacquer ware, cutlery, textiles, pigments, musical instruments, and carpets.

The Todaiji temple had a sign board declaring it the great Kegon temple in the early days. The temple burnt down twice after that. The present structure was rebuilt in 1692. The dais and lotus screen of the great Buddha are the only items remaining from the original temple. This great Todaiji temple epitomizes Buddhism

7) Tamura Encho, *Ancient Korea and Japanese Buddhism* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1990).

in the Nara era and reflects the great influence of Silla.

Conclusion

When Paekche was sacked by Koguryo in A.D. 475, much of the royal family was put to death. According to *Samguk Sagi*, one member, Munju, escaped and moved the capital from Kanaguru (Seoul) to Komanaru (Kongju) with the support of general Mogura Manchi. Curiously, the name Soga Manchi appears in *Nihongi* at about the same time, while the name Mogura Manchi is not subsequently mentioned in *Samguk Sagi*. Based on ample evidence, Soga Manchi is identified by many with Mogura Manchi.

With this background, the Sogas took an active role in introducing Buddhism from Paekche to Wa Japan. They were probably exposed to Buddhism in Paekche during a diplomatic visit. Perhaps the Sogas were eager to secure this cultural advance as well as new skills and technology that could be used to their political and financial advantage. Matching the enthusiasm of the Paekche kings at Buyeo, the introduction of Buddhism into Wa Japan was very successful.

Since Paekche king Muryong was born in Wa Japan, and ruled there for over twenty years as Wa king Bu until his return to Korea at the age of forty in A.D. 501, it is understandable why he was anxious to send delegations of high officials and scholars regularly to Wa. According to *Nihongi*, the succeeding king Sung was also eager from 552 onwards to send missions of monks and other artisans under the leadership of high officials to promulgate Buddhism in Wa Japan. These efforts by Paekche to promote Buddhism in Wa continued during the reign of king Widok, when Buddhism at Buyeo reached its peak. Buddhist culture in Wa flourished in the Asuka era. After the downfall of Paekche in 660, the kingdom of Silla in turn exerted its influence on the Hakuho era. After this period, Japan continued on its own cultural evolution.

2. King Muryong

Introduction

It was a great sensation when king Muryong's tomb was discovered on July 5, 1971 at Kongju, the second capital of Paekche. We know now for certain that Muryong died at the age of sixty-two in the year A.D. 523 and was buried three years later. This was recorded on the tombstone that was unique among all the Paekche king's tombs. The queen's tombstone in the same burial complex stated that she died in 536. These tombstones also recorded that they were officially buried three years after their deaths in accordance with the custom of Paekche's

royalty. These dates confirm the records in *Samguk Sagi*, the earliest Korean chronicle. Three thousand items were excavated from the tomb, providing valuable clues to various aspects of Paekche history, which were not well known.

In this article we will try to find the significance in these tangible and intangible clues.

There is one Chinese character "bung" (崩) on the tombstone which is of particular interest. As Soh Jin-cheol has pointed out, this character refers to the death of an emperor or a great king, which king Muryong was. In both *Samguk Sagi* and *Nihongi*, Muryong's death is referred to as "hung" (薨), which indicates the death of a king. Paekche had twenty-two "tamro" or feudal lands, each of which was ruled by a lord or a royal family member, according to Liang China's chronicle.⁸⁾

For one, there was a tamro, ruled by Lord Hukchi Sangji, whose great grandfather according to his tombstone was dispatched to rule this feudal land in China around the middle of the fifth century. It is amazing to learn of the existence to this day of the descendants of this feudal land in Guangshi Province in southern China.⁹⁾

For that matter, *Nihongi* proclaims that Wa Japan was founded on a Tamuro.¹⁰⁾

King Muryong's name in life is recorded as Sama. Sama means an island and the account in *Nihongi*¹¹⁾ that Sama was born on the island Kakara off the coast of Kyushu and how he got the name Sama becomes very convincing. According to *Nihongi*, his uncle Konji, the young brother of then reigning King Kaero, was accompanying the king's consort when Sama was born on their way to Wa Japan in 461. Konji is said to have had five sons in Wa Japan, and now the mystery deepens as to why Konji went to Wa Japan at this time. King Muryong's name Sama shows up in an inscription on one of the most important bronze mirrors excavated in 1834 in Japan. This bronze mirror and its historical importance have been already dealt with by Soh Jin-chol.¹²⁾ It suffices to say that the mirror's inscription indicates that king Muryong was in a position to order the governor of Osaka, Kauchi Atai, to fabricate the mirror for king Ohoto, the future king Keitai, the twenty-sixth ruler of Wa Japan.

What happened to Muryong's corpse during the three-year mourning period

8) Soh Jin-chol, *The World of King Muryong in Metal and Stone Inscriptions* (Wongwang University Press, 1994).

9) Soh Jin-chol, "Travel to a Paekche Village in Gwangsi Province, China," *Baeksan Journal*, no. 64 (2003), p. 325.

10) *Nihongi*, Book one, Gods era.

11) *Nihongi*, entry of the 4th year of King Buretsu's reign.

12) Soh, *King Muryong*.

that preceded his burial? Nothing is recorded about it, but during the recent construction of a road, a shrine site was found as well as remains of a shrine at Kyeonchisan hill a few hundred meters from the king's actual tomb. The practice of building a temporary shrine for a deceased king was also observed in Wa Japan, according to *Nihongi*. What happened to the corpse during the three years before preparation for formal burial?

We know from the inscription on one of the bricks used in the tomb that it was already under construction in the eleventh year of Muryong's reign. The Paekche practice of three years for mourning has important implications, for instance in understanding the true identity of the author of the letter sent to Liang China by king Mu of Wa Japan. In the epistle, written to Liu Sung in 478, Mu stated that he was ready to avenge the death of his father and brother at the hands of Koguryo now that the three-year mourning period was over. It so happened that king Kaero and the crown prince were put to death along with other royal family members in 475 by the invading Koguryo army, as confirmed by both *Samguk Sagi* and *Nihongi*. No record of a king and a crown prince dying at the same time can be found at this time in *Nihongi*. So the only conclusion is that king Mu must have been the son of king Kaero, who was named Sama and born in A.D. 461 on an island off the shore of Kyushu.¹³⁾ Nothing can be found in *Samguk Sagi* about the birth of Sama or other facts about him until Sama's return to Paekche to ascend to the throne as the twenty-fifth King of Paekche. All these inferences could be made with assurance only because of the discovery of the tomb stone of king Muryong.

Curiously, there was found in the tomb a piece of wisdom tooth that turned out to be the only piece of bone in it. This tooth was determined to be a wisdom tooth of an approximately sixteen-year-old girl. Sometimes, a wisdom tooth will stay put in the gum without maturing. So it was guessed to belong to a queen of advanced age, possibly about sixty years.

This queen had one silver bracelet among golden and silver bracelets¹⁴⁾ with an inscription indicating that it belonged to a "grand lady," or second consort. It was made by an artisan named Tari. Why would a grand lady instead of a queen be buried there? It is certain that she was the mother of the succeeding king Sung who must have overseen the burial of his father, the king and his own mother.

As to king Muryong's first consort in Wa Japan, there is no record at all. But his son from the first consort is guessed to be prince Saga, who is mentioned in *Nihongi* in the sixth year entry of Buretsu's reign (505).

Prince Saga, alias Junta, died young, but he had a son named Hohshi, who is recorded as the ancestor of the Yamato-no-Kimi clan, according to the new register

13) *Ibid.*

14) Korean National Museum, *Catalogue of King Muryong's Relics*, 2001.

of family records. This is about all that is known of king Muryong's family in Wa Japan. It is certain, though, that young Sama must have been well taken care of, since he had an uncle and probably in-laws of his mother. His mother probably had in-laws in Japan. Otherwise, being pregnant, she would not have been sent there. So young Sama had many relatives in high positions in Japan and had a happy childhood, which is shown in the depiction of a happy family on the famous Sudahachiman bronze mirror¹⁵⁾ which was made for king Ohoto (later king Keitai) of Wa Japan by order of the new king Muryong in 503. Most likely it was the occasion of the enthronement of king Ohoto.

No written records exist regarding the life of king Muryong in Wa Japan until 478 when, at the age of eighteen, he sent an epistle to Liu Sung as king Mu of Wa Japan. In *Nihongi* king Mu is not mentioned at all as such, nor are the other four preceding Wa kings with names consisting of a single Chinese character, who sent state messages to Chinese states. Why did *Nihongi* not record these important historical events?

King Mu of Wa Japan returned home to ascend the Paekche throne in 502 as the kingdom's twenty-fifth ruler, following three previous kings, two of whom were assassinated after the capital was moved to Komanaru from Kanaguru in 475, after Koguryo sacked Kanaguru and put to death all members of the royal family who fell into their hands.

King Kaero's uncle on his mother's side, Mo Do or king Munju, moved the capital from Kanaguru to Kongju, but was assassinated after four years on the throne. His young son king Samgeun died after reigning for three years. In *Samguk Sagi* there is only one line recounting that Konji (incorrectly identified as a brother of Munju), was appointed interior minister under Munju and died the next year. However, *Nihongi* records Konji as the brother of Kaero, and Konji's second son as Tongsung, the twenty-fourth king of Paekche. This seems consistent with the fact that king Muryong or Sama was the nephew of Konji and was born on an island offshore from Kyushu in 461. Konji is recorded in *Nihongi* as having five sons in Wa by this time.

Tongsung ruled Paekche for twenty-three years, from 479 to 501. In his tenth reign year a mysterious statement was recorded in *Samguk Sagi* that Wei China attacked and was repulsed by Paekche. Nothing further is recorded. The powerful kingdom of Koguryo was located between Wei in northern China and Paekche in southern Korea, and so there is no way that the two states could have clashed on the peninsula. The puzzle is solved by the chronicles of Liu Sung and Liang China, where it is recorded that Paekche occupied and set up two colonies, one of which was located between Liuchung and Beijing, and the other near the Yangtse river in

15) Soh, *King Muryong*.

southern China. In 490, invaders of Wei China were repulsed by Paekche generals Sa Beobmyeong, Chan Suryu, Hae Ryegeon, and Mok Una, who were eventually appointed as lords in the territories of Paekche, as recorded in the chronicle of south Sai China (495).

In the chronicle of Liang China (502-554) Paekche is recorded as having twenty-two "tamno" or territories, which is convincing in light of other records in Chinese chronicles. I have described some historical facts to show that Paekche was strong and prosperous during the reign of Tongsung, before Muryong came to the throne. King Tongsung's tomb is located most likely in Tomb Number Six at Songsangri. Next to this tomb one finds Muryong's tomb, which was built of bricks. The wall and funeral chamber were all covered in brick. This was said to be a copy of brick tombs in Liang China, with which Paekche was on good relations diplomatically and culturally. It so happens that Tomb Number Six was better built in brick than Muryong's, and was located in a prominent place among the tombs that included Muryong's. During the colonial period, however, Tomb Number Six was robbed, and the identity of the tomb's owner thus cannot be known with any degree of certainty. At any rate the structure, location, and style make the tomb the most probable resting place of Tongsung.

After king Tongsung was assassinated in 501, king Muryong ascended to the throne and lost no time in quelling the rebellious Baek clan, who were responsible for the assassination, and restoring peace to the state.

There is one clue that links Muryong to Wa Japan. Microscopic examination of the cell structure of the wooden remains of the coffins in Muryong's tomb show them to be those of the evergreen tree koyamaki native to hillsides of Miyazaki prefecture in Kyushu and Fukushima prefecture in Honshu, at an altitude of between six hundred to twelve hundred meters. These trees can grow to heights of thirty or forty meters, and have an average trunk diameter of sixty to eighty centimeters. They are known for having a nice cone tree crown as well as producing wood of good waterproof quality. Since the Yayoi and Kofun periods rulers' coffins in Japan were often made from koyamaki wood.

But then a question arises: why was wood from Japan used to make a Paekche ruler's coffin? This may be answered by the historical fact that Muryong was born and lived in Wa Japan until his return to Paekche at the age forty-three. We know he had a son and perhaps a daughter in Japan, as well as cousins and other relatives there, and he was Wa king from 478 to 501, if one accepts the evidence presented by Soh Jin-chol.¹⁶⁾ So it must have been in respect to Wa Japanese customs that his coffin was made from koyamaki wood as the expression of the deep mourning by his family still in Wa Japan.

16) *Ibid.*

It is surprising to learn that many of the royal coffins in Paekche after Muryong were also made of koyamaki wood. The coffins of other members of the nobility in later Paekche were found to be made from local nutmeg wood and pine.

Muryong's coffins were nailed together with golden studs of differing design. Ring holders of the coffins and other decorative metal pieces were very elaborate and must have demanded many hours of work by a skilled craftsman. By studying the design of nail heads and other decorative designs of coffins in old tombs of Japan, one can find some clues to the connection between Paekche and Wa.

Portraits of Envoys to Liang China, A.D. 542

Samguk Sagi records, in a few lines without any elaboration, the dispatch of envoys from Paekche to Liang China in 514 and 523. Fortunately, Liang China published a collection of portraits of envoys to Liang to commemorate the fortieth year of the reign of emperor Wu (502-548).¹⁷⁾ This portfolio was painted by Yuan, the brother of emperor Wu. It originally contained thirty-five portraits, but the copy in the Nanjing National Museum contains only twelve portraits, including one of the envoy from Paekche. The portraits are accompanied by historical commentary providing valuable information on Paekche. The complete text on the Paekche envoy's portrait may be summarized as follows:

"Paekche belonged to Mahan. Since later Jin, Koguryo occupied Liaotung, while Paekche ruled Jinpeng province in Liaoshi. Since Jin, it became a tributary state to China. In the era of Uihi, King Yeo Jeon (Paekche) sent envoys. In the Wonga era of Sung, King Yeo Bi sent envoys. In the Yeonming era of Sai, King Yeo Tae sent envoys. All these kings sent envoys to China and were in turn offered titles by Chinese emperors.

"In the early period of Liang China, Yeo Tae was given the title General Jeongdong upon defeating Koguryo. In the Botong era, King Yung sent an envoy to report a victory over Koguryo. Its capital is called Koma. Its territories are called Tamuro, which may be compared to a Chinese prefecture. It has twenty-two Tamuro, where members of the royal family were appointed to rule. It has friendly relations with such small states as Banpa, Tak, Dara, Jeonra, Sara, Jimi, Maryeon, upper Gimun, and lower Tamura. The language and customs are similar to Koguryo's. They walk with clasped hands. Greetings are made with feet together. They wear hats and short jackets. Their language is similar to those of the southern countries. They share other customs with Jinhan."

From this we note that Paekche's neighbors included Silla (Saro), Imna (Jeonra), Kaya (Banpa) and Dasagi (Gimun). The revelation of there being twenty-two Tamuro of Paekche at the time of king Muryong or earlier is

17) *Ibid.*

astounding, since neither *Samguk Sagi* nor *Nihongi* mention the existence of Paekche's territories. Even more surprising in this connection is the recent discovery of the existence of a community of Paekche descendants in the place called Paekche Ruins, Guangsi province in southern China which is suggested to be one of the probable Tamuro, where the Blackteeth¹⁸⁾ family of Paekche royal lineage ruled. We learned about the Blackteeth family from the epitaph of a tomb of the Blackteeth Sangji in the cemetery near Luyang, the Tang's capital.

Five Wa Kings

There were five Wa kings who sent envoys to various states in China as recorded in Chinese chronicles, although none of these events were recorded in *Nihongi*. These five Wa kings were San, Jin, Sai, Kou and Mu. They sent envoys to Liu Sung in 421, 425 (San), 438 (Jin), 443, 451 (Sai), 462 (Kou), and 478 (Mu) respectively.

Among these five rulers, Wa king Mu merits special attention. As recorded in the Liu Sung chronicle, Mu sent an epistle to Liu Sung in 478. According to Soh Jin-chol, it could have been written only by a son finishing the three year mourning period after the sudden death of his father and brother.¹⁹⁾ This event can be related to the invading Koguryo army putting to death the whole royal family of King Kaero and his crown prince. There is no mention in *Nihongi* at this time of such sudden simultaneous death of king and crown prince. So the bereft Sama was eager to take up arms against his mortal enemy Koguryo and asked for the Chinese emperor's support in his efforts to avenge the deaths of his father the king and his brother the prince.

In the same epistle, King Mu writes about his ancestor Nyeh conquering various regions of Wa Japan.

In 501, upon the death of his predecessor king Tongsung, Muryong returned home to become the twenty-fifth king of Paekche. There have been many efforts without conclusive success to identify these five Wa kings with kings in *Nihongi*. There are so many embellishments and falsifications in *Nihongi* that one will probably never be able to make a definite identification.

Events Relating Wa to Paekche

According to the inscription on a bronze mirror at Sudahachiman Shrine,²⁰⁾ in 503 Muryong ordered the governor of Kawachi (Osaka) to produce a bronze mirror with pictures of nine people and an inscription wishing a long life to Lord Ohoto,

18) Soh, "Paekche Village," p. 325.

19) Soh, *King Muryong*.

20) *Ibid.*

who eventually became king Keitai, the twenty-sixth King of Japan in 507 in our view. This bronze mirror is not mentioned in *Nihongi*.

In 505, *Nihongi* records that the prince Saga, a son of the Paekche king, was dispatched to serve at the Wa court. Prince Saga had a son named prince Hohshi who became the ancestor of the Yamato clan. Later records in *Nihongi* state that Prince Saga (alias Sunta) died young. This entry seems to suggest that Muryong already had a son named Saga in Wa before returning to Paekche. This is persuasive since, as discussed earlier, Muryong was succeeded by his other son from the second consort in Paekche.

King Muryong was successful as he began his rule in suppressing rebellion and stabilizing royal power in the country. He was also able to repel Koguryo's aggressions and secure the former capital Kanaguru in the vicinity of present-day Seoul.

In 512, *Nihongi* records that in April, forty excellent horses from Kyushu were sent to Paekche with an envoy, while in December Paekche sent an envoy to Wa asking for the return of four territories in Imna, which was granted. According to Cheon Gwan-u,²¹⁾ the correct interpretation of this record is that Muryong's army advanced to occupy the upper regions of the Naktong River such as Dari (today's Uisong), Sata (Chilgok) and Muro (Yecheon), as well as the lower Naktong regions of Daisa (Habin) and Komomu (Kammun).

Silla felt threatened by the advance of Paekche so close to their border, and launched a counter-attack in 514 and eventually occupied most of the smaller Kaya states along the Naktong River, escalating the tension between Paekche and Silla. This statement may also be related to records in *Samguk Sagi* that vagrant farmers in Silla were returned to their old country Paekche.

More importantly, *Nihongi* records that in 513 two generals and a scholar of the five classics, Dan Yangni, were dispatched to Wa from Paekche. There is no such record in *Samguk Sagi*. This is an important record indicating that Muryong was anxious about education and administration in Wa as his former feudal land. According to *Nihongi*, Dan Yangni was replaced in 516 by another Paekche scholar, Hango Anmo. Muryong was very interested in cultural affairs in Wa, so what could have been his motivation?

Samguk Sagi records that in 512 and again in 521 Paekche envoys were sent to Liang China. These were occasions not only of diplomacy but also cultural exchange and trade. On these occasions, Paekche obtained various cultural treasures such as bronze mirrors, ceramics and perhaps the ring pommel sword as a titular general in the official recognition by the Liang emperor.

As discussed in the reference,²²⁾ copies of the bronze mirrors from Muryong's

21) Cheon Gwan-u, *Study on Kaya History* (Seoul: Iljogak, 1993), p. 211.

tomb have been found in various ancient tombs in Japan, suggesting cultural links between China, Paekche, and Wa Japan. Ceramics from China also influenced Paekche ware, which in turn influenced Sueki products and others in Wa Japan.

Conclusion

The reigns of king Tongsung and king Muryong was the most glorious time in expanded territories and high culture in the history of Paekche. The kingdom had twenty-two tamuro and its territory extended to the north of Seoul and to the border of Silla in the east, and had tamuro in two areas of China, as well as in the Yamato and Kyushu regions of Wa Japan. It is no wonder that even today the residents of Paekche ruins in Guangshi province, China are proud of being descendants of great Paekche, while people in Nangoson village in Kyushu celebrate annually the arrival of Paekche royalty ages ago.

Paekche was eager to import culture from China and willingly exported culture to Wa Japan. In fact, Muryong ruled Wa Japan for over twenty-four years as king Mu (or Bu), as all the evidence indicates.

We have learned that the tombstones alone reveal a great deal about Muryong's life: his birth date, his death date, and his name. Varieties of the tiles with differing designs and inscriptions used in his tomb show that perhaps tile makers came from Liang to Paekche to help build it.

Samguk Yusa records that the first Buddhist temple Daetongsa was built at Komanoru (Kongju) in 521. Excavation of the site has shown that tiles with lotus design were similar to those used for Muryong's tomb. An actual brick kiln site was found in Puyeon, the later capital of Paekche. This indicates a great demand for tiles for many temples and palaces, and shows, in turn, the prosperity and cultural development of the kingdom. It is interesting to note that the first temple Asukatera in Japan produced tiles of similar lotus design as the Daetongsa temple.

Bronze mirrors from the tomb are known to be copies of original Chinese bronze mirrors. Similar copies are found in Nintoku tomb, Miuyeyamashita tomb, and Kannonsan tomb in Japan, which may be related to the possessors of the tombs of the Hisa family and Kens Ason or Karayatabe Muraji,²³⁾ who are believed to be Paekche descendants. Furthermore, golden crowns, golden shoes, golden earrings, bracelets, silver cups and jades may be compared to similar artifacts from old tombs in Wa Japan to confirm the ever closer relation between Paekche and Wa Japan.

Muryong was right when he declared in his state epistle to Liang China in 521, on the occasion of his sixtieth year of life and twentieth reign year, that

22) Gunma Historical Museum, *Kannonsan Tomb and East Asian World*, 1999.

23) *Ibid.*

Paekche had once again become a strong and prosperous nation. On this occasion he was offered the highest title by Liang China: "great general Yeongdong."

3. Further Study on the Inariyama Sword

Introduction

We identified further the names in the list of Ho's ancestors in the inscription of the Inariyama sword. Counting one generation to be about twenty-five years, we tried to check the time frame of eight generations against historical events in Paekche and Wa Japan. We additionally tried to understand the historical implications and significance of our findings that the owner of the Inariyama sword was a faithful Paekche military commander, whose ancestors moved from Kara²⁴⁾ in Korea to Kasabara in Wa Japan at the turn of the fifth century.

The second name Dagari used by Ho's ancestors may be identified with the Korean word for "head." It is now used as a pejorative, but in old Korean it was a respectable word. So we find the Dagari Sukunie to mean "Lord Head," just like Kim Suro the founding King of Bon Kaya where Suro means a head person.

The fourth name Daga Bisi is problematic. Bisi is known to be the old name of a place called Changnyeong²⁵⁾ in Gyeongsang, Korea. Doga or Dagu is the ancient name of a small state in the vicinity of Bisi.²⁶⁾ Therefore, our guess is that Daga Bisi may refer to an area which includes both Dagu and Bisi. This is part of the land which fell under the influence of Paekche after the war of conquest over the seven Kaya states along the middle Naktong river during the middle of the fourth century.²⁷⁾

Since we understand the word Hoekgeo in the inscription to mean a ruler of an occupied territory, we think those of Ho's ancestors with the title Hoekgeo after their names to signify the ruler of the land associated with the given place name. Those ancestors without the title Hoekgeo were understood to be in no position to rule a territory. Most likely they were engaged in battles or in transitional occupation.

We recall that Mogura Manchi, a descendant of Paekche general Mogura Geunja, who took part in the seven state conquest, was in a powerful position in Bon Kaya, which was subjugated in the above war. In a similar manner, it is plausible that the military commanders among Ho's ancestors were appointed to

24) Seo J., *Dictionary of Korean Etymology* (Seoul: Bogosa, 2000).

25) Cheon G., *Study on Kaya History* (Seoul: Iljogak, 1993), p. 90.

26) Kim Tae-sik, *History of the Kaya States* (Seoul: Iljogak, 1993), p. 196.

27) Cheon, p. 90.

rule some newly occupied area by Paekche.

According to *Nihongi*, the names of people were sometimes associated with the place-name of their original residence.²⁸⁾ If we assume this was the practice of Ho's ancestors, we are justified in associating the place-names of their residence in their names. So the Dasagi Hoekgeo is now identified with the ruler of the ancient port Dasagi in the estuary of the Seomjin river in southern Jeolla province under the rule of Paekche. Similarly, the next names Bara Gobi and Kasa Bara may be associated with place-names in the vicinity of the Inariyama tomb in Wa Japan. In Korean Kasa Bara means "New Land," which is appropriate since we believe Ho's ancestors moved from Dasagi to the 'new land' of Wa Japan.

The Location of Sagi Palace

Here we attempt to identify the location of "Sagi Palace" referred to in the sword inscription. According to *Samsuk Sagi*, a dyke was built in the twenty-first year of the reign of king Kaero which stretched from the east of Saseong castle to the north of Mt. Sungsan. Saseong in our view is an Idu transcription of the Paekche word "sagi", where "gi" means a castle, or "seong" in hanja. Therefore it is plausible that "Sagi Palace" refers to Kaero's palace at Sagi, or Saseong in Kanaguru, as Seoul was known in Paekche times.

Time Frame of the Appointments of Ho's Ancestors

If we take the year of the fabrication of the Inariyama sword to be 475, and if we assume one generation to span a period of twenty-five years, we can construct the following timetable for Ho's ancestors:

Oho Biko	A.D. 295
Dagari Jokni	A.D. 320
Lord Gori Gari	A.D. 345
Lord Daga Bisi	A.D. 370
Lord Dasagi	A.D. 395
Bara Gobi	A.D. 420
Kasa Bari	A.D. 445
Lord Ho	A.D. 471

According to *Samguk Sagi*, the Korean Chronicle, battles took place between Paekche and Silla sixteen times during the period 167 to 283, mostly in northern Gyeongsang province. Most likely Ho's ancestors took part in these battles and

28) *Nihongi*, entry in the third year of Keitai's reign; King Jinheung's steles, inscription on King's border tours.

eventually settled at Gori Gari around 345.

It is recorded in *Samguk Yusa* that the Kaya state Gori Gari at Seongsan moved to this area from the vicinity of Sangju, although the exact date is not given. It is also known, according to the Gyeongsang geography, that the people at Bisi moved into the area from Andong.²⁹⁾ Could these records reflect the moving of Ho's ancestors into Gori Gari and Daga Bisi from northern Gyeongsang province? There is a high probability of this, and the historical records reflect the migration of Ho's ancestors. They finally moved from Dasagi in Paekche to Kasa Bari in Wa Japan, leaving behind the record of the amazing saga in the Inariyama sword.

Conclusion

It is generally agreed by historians that the inscription on the Inariyama tumulus sword provides an important record for understanding the history of Wa Japan. Our new interpretation of the inscription sheds light on the amazing historical connection between Wa Japan and Paekche by understanding correctly the names and titles of the ancestors of lord Ho, who moved to Wa Japan from the Kaya region under Paekche influence at the turn of the fifth century, together with the Ojin people who fled Koguryo's assault in 496 and in turn conquered Yamato in Wa Japan.

29) Cheon, p. 90.

Emily Brown: The American Empress of Korea

Robert Neff, Seoul, Korea

On October 24, 1903, Americans were surprised to discover how much influence the United States had gained in Korea. A newspaper in Chicago first broke the news that a fellow American, Emily Brown, the young daughter of the late Dr. Peter Brown, had married the Korean Emperor, Kojong, in an elaborate wedding in August of that year.

According to the story, Emily Brown was an only child who was born in Ohio in 1879 and spent most of her early childhood there, but at some point moved to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Her father, a successful doctor, was forced to raise her himself after his wife died at an early age. He was a devout Presbyterian, and like many of his generation, the desire to go abroad and witness to 'the heathens' took hold. Missionaries were badly needed in Korea, and so when he volunteered to serve there in 1894 he was readily accepted. His daughter was to accompany him on this adventure and he would gain the distinction of being the first Protestant to settle in Korea. He was considered a brave man.

Korea in 1894 was a dangerous place. The Tonghak Movement had swept through the southern provinces and threatened to engulf the entire country. There were daily reports of Korean army defeats at the hands of the Tonghak rebels, and of government soldiers who threw down their weapons and joined the rebel ranks. Rumors circulated that the Tonghaks would take Seoul and massacre all foreigners, an event that was rather common in China. Adding credibility to these threats, circulars were found on the gates of the city and even on the Japanese legation's door, and the foreign population pleaded for protection.

These events led the Korean government to ask for the assistance of the Chinese military in putting down the insurrection. The Chinese promptly sent troops to Korea. Japan quickly denounced the Chinese action and sent even a greater number of troops to occupy Seoul and Chemulpo (Incheon), ostensibly to protect the lives of Japanese citizens living there. Hostilities broke out between these two countries, resulting in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95, with much of the combat taking place within Korea and in the surrounding waters.

In 1895 an unheard of atrocity occurred. Japanese *soshi* (ruffians), working with members of the Japanese consul, orchestrated an attack on the palace in the middle of the night and assassinated Queen Min, leaving the badly frightened King

Kojong and the Korean government in the hands of the Japanese. Eventually Kojong and his son, disguised as women, escaped to the Russian legation and Kojong was able to re-establish control over his kingdom.

It was into this environment that Dr. Peter Brown brought his beautiful 15-year-old daughter. She graced his church's choir in Seoul with her beautiful voice and her sparkling character, and soon caught the attention of the grieving Kojong, now Emperor, who sought solace in her presence. He commanded that she attend him at his palace but she, a virtuous woman, demurred. A king's attention, however, could not be avoided for long, and she soon found herself at the palace. One can only imagine what she was thinking as she was brought before the Emperor of a nation of 17,000,000 people. What their first conversation was about has not been recorded, but it was probably light banter considering the number of attendants listening and whispering amongst themselves about this strange match. Fortunately for the Emperor, who wasn't able to speak any English, Emily could speak Korean, having learned it while assisting her father, and quickly won over the court with her obvious intelligence and wisdom, becoming one of Kojong's most-trusted confidants. As she spent more and more time within the walls of the vast palace, their relationship grew stronger until finally the Emperor did something unimaginable—he professed his love for her and proposed marriage.

The wedding took place in Seoul in August 1903 and was witnessed by representatives of the United States, England, and Japan. It was the social event of the year and had been planned several months in advance. Gifts filled the treasure vaults of the kingdom. No expense was spared by Emperor Kojong to show his American bride his love. As the day drew near, noblemen and coolies alike from all points of the empire dressed in their finest clothing and made their way to Seoul to witness their Emperor's marriage to the American beauty.

Even though the wedding took place in August, it was not reported in the United States until October. The first full account of the wedding was published in the *Boston Sunday Post* on November 29, 1903:

At the entrance to the palace were stationed a great squad of the imperial guard, who, armed with hatchets at the end of poles, prevented the throng from crowding in too close. All along the proposed line of march similar guards were placed. In the narrow streets immediately surrounding the palace the Emperor's army awaited a signal to march.

The signal was finally given. At the head of the procession moved the generals of the army and the most favored troops. When a thousand or more soldiers had passed, trumpets blared, the palace gates were thrown wide open, and in glittering helmets and armor of five hundred

years ago out marched the Emperor's bodyguard.

Following the bodyguard came the attendants in dazzling silks and waving plumes. Finally with a deafening din of drums, two chairs emerged. In one of these chairs sat the Emperor Yi Hi [Kojong] and in the other Emily Brown, Empress of Corea. Never before had a civilized being been appareled as she was. From head to foot she was covered with gems and silk so thick that they fell in folds like heavy woolen cloth.

Above the royal chairs waved a banner with a flying dragon fourteen feet long. Under the banner was an immense red parasol, indicating to the people that their monarch had shared his power and throne with the woman by his side.

The instant Yi Hi and his Empress appeared every back was bowed until each head bumped upon the ground, and not one eye looked up until their Majesties had passed. In the rear of the royal pair marched other nobles and richly appareled guards. When all had emerged the great gates clanged shut, and the rest of the army swung into line.

Through all the principal streets of Seoul the great procession swept, and then back into the palace gates. This, so far as the public was concerned, ended the ceremonies, but within a great feast had been prepared. There, covered with royal jewels and wearing a crown, Emily Brown sat at the Emperor's right.¹⁾

Emily Brown's wedding was witnessed by more than 50,000 people. Once the crown was placed upon her head, she became known as Empress Om: Dawn of the Morning Light. She would live but another six years before passing away — the first American Empress.

* * *

Of course, the events above never actually happened because Emily Brown never existed. A great deal of the story comes from the *Boston Sunday Post*, one of the first American newspapers that carried the story which originated in Vienna, Austria.²⁾ Other parts were added by me to make it more readable. The Austrian newspaper that began all of this was the *Neve Freie Presse*, which had published

1) *Boston Sunday Post*, Sept. 29, 1903.

2) Recently an Austrian friend informed me that he found a reference citing a German newspaper as being the first to report this story. He has not been able to find the actual newspaper, but once he does, it should give us another clue as to the source of this story.

a long article entitled "Empress Brown." It read in part:

The Almanach Gotha, that immutable text of Royal pedigrees, must have had an inkling of it [the proposed marriage between Brown and Kojong] when it broke its sternest rules this year and inserted a note under the chapter on Korea to say that Yi Ho Hoang, the thirteenth of his dynasty, having been left a widower in 1895, has raised a favorite to the rank of an empress.

It is known that Edla Hensler has been a morganitic queen of Portugal, that Lady Curzon is the American queen of India, but Miss Brown is the first American to wear an imperial crown over 17,000,000 subjects.³⁾

Americans were shocked to hear of the event, but many readily believed it. One newspaper stated: "It seems incredible almost, that in this day that news of such widespread interest should be so delayed in reaching the native home of the young American woman." What is even more incredible is that this story is still viewed by some people as fact. Checking the internet I was surprised to see several sites that are dedicated to listing and giving facts on the Korean nobility with Emily Brown Om prominently displayed. There was a concubine Om that Emperor Kojong did raise in social stature and then later married, becoming his second wife—but she was Korean.

The reason that this story seems so captivating is because of the half-truths and outright lies that it contains. First, there were two American missionaries from Pennsylvania, a Dr. Hugh Brown and his wife, both from Union Gap, Pennsylvania, and they arrived in Seoul in 1891 much too early for this story. Second, the story claims that Dr. Peter Brown was the first American Presbyterian in Korea, but the first Presbyterian missionary and doctor to settle in Korea was Horace Allen (later the American Minister to Korea) in 1884. Third, the story claims that Emily Brown was born in Ohio, which coincidentally is the birthplace of Horace Allen. Perhaps another coincidence was that Allen's niece, Mabel, had spent over a year in Korea and had certainly made a favorable impression on everyone she met. She was from Toledo, Ohio. Fourth, as stated above, Emperor Kojong did marry his concubine Om, who became his second wife, but she was a Korean woman. The idea that a Korean, let alone the Emperor, would marry a westerner at this point in Korea's history is absurd. There was one Korean who did marry an American, a former nobleman of the Korean court who fled the country to the United States in

3) From a newspaper/magazine clipping titled "Vol. XXXVI No. 114," October 24, 1903, New York Public Library, Allen Archives.

December 1884 after a failed coup against Kojong. This man was So Chae Pil, better known as Philip Jaisohn, who graduated from medical school in the United States and became a citizen of that country. He married George B. Armstrong's (father of the U.S. railroad postal system) second daughter, and brought her to Korea when he returned in 1895, but they returned to the United States several years before this marriage occurred. Finally, the representatives of three of the major powers in the region, Japan, England, and the United States, were said to be present at the alleged wedding. In fact, Minister Horace Allen was in the United States with his wife and did not return until after the 'supposed event.' Later the United States legation denied the reported American wedding, and Allen wrote to his family complaining of newspaper reporters making up stories while waiting for the Russo-Japanese war to begin.

There are several possibilities as to how this story originated.

Some people who are familiar with the tale have suggested that Horace Allen might have been the source of this story in an attempt to generate support for the Koreans with his own government and with President Roosevelt. He most certainly possessed the knowledge to do so. However, knowing who was in Korea and what events were unfolding, why would he risk a scandal like this, especially as he was already fighting a smear campaign launched against him by Raymond Krumm.⁴⁾ Allen knew that there were many missionaries in Korea from the Pennsylvania area, and many of the leading American businessmen and their employees were from Ohio, so why would he choose these locations for his fictitious protagonist's home when they could be so easily disproved?

A newspaper man — probably European-based in Korea, wrote about Emperor Kojong's wedding to Om. Several mistakes appeared in his report, made either by

4) Raymond Krumm was also from Ohio and came to Korea with his half-brother William to work as an engineer with the American mining concession and the American-owned Seoul-Chemulpo Railroad. Raymond fell in love with Allen's niece and proposed marriage to her, but was rejected. He was convinced that Allen was responsible for it and swore to get revenge. In addition, he thought that Allen was the cause of a delayed payment from the Korean government for land that it had purchased from him. The relationship between Allen and Raymond grew steadily worse until it cumulated in a physical attack by Raymond. Allen was forced to defend himself with his umbrella. When Raymond's contract was not renewed with the Korean government, he felt that Allen was behind it. When one of the Korean members of court, Yi Yong-ik, offered to pay for his ticket and renew his contract if Krumm would return to the United States and level charges against Allen and the Collbran and Bostwick Company, he readily accepted. Some of these charges were meddling in the affairs of Korea, graft, bribery, and the unlikely charge of murder. Krumm did manage to get a congressional investigation started, but Allen was found innocent and Krumm was warned to quit causing trouble or he would be committed to an insane asylum.

himself or by the editor at the *Neve Freie Presse* in Vienna. He might have used several sources and accounts and mixed them up. During the summer of 1903 Horace Allen and his wife were in Europe on their way to the United States, having crossed Russia via the Trans-Siberian Railroad. It is possible that Allen could have mentioned the names of certain individuals in Korea, and the editor or reporter got them mixed up while writing the story.

Another possibility, of course, is a reporter in Korea deliberately wrote a false report. But why? What was there to gain? The story could easily be checked, and the foreigners residing in Korea quickly denounced the story as mere fiction.

Was this story a deliberate hoax, or just a horrible mix-up? And who was the author? We will probably never know. The passage of time tends to distort facts and hide secrets.

* * *

Part of this article appeared previously in *The Korea Times*, but because of space constraints I was not able to include it in full.⁵⁾ I have submitted it to the RAS in hopes that its members might find some enjoyment in one of these strange incidents that occurred in Korea's colorful past that are generally glossed over in history books.

5) Robert Neff, "The Tale of Korea's American Empress," *The Korea Times*, January 3, 2004.

The Jennie Lovatt Letter: An Early View of Pusan in 1885

Robert Neff, Seoul, Korea

On December 13, 1882, Paul George von Mollendorff, a German, arrived in Seoul, Korea, to serve as an advisor to the Korean court. He would play an important role in the opening years of Korea's involvement with the west, both good and bad.

One of the first things he did was to establish the Korean Customs Service, patterned after the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs Service. In early 1883 he recruited some thirty westerners, Chinese, and Japanese to come to Korea and help form the service. Four offices were created. The main office presided over by Mollendorff was in Seoul, while the other three offices were in the three open ports of Chemulpo (Inchon), Wonsan, and Pusan. These offices were to regulate trade into the country, collect tariffs and taxes, and help prevent smuggling.

Among the group that Mollendorff brought to Korea was William Nelson Lovatt.¹⁾ Lovatt, unlike most of the other men recruited, had some experience, having worked previously in the Chinese Customs Service, and was accordingly selected to serve as Commissioner at Pusan, Korea's main port. The other Commissioners were Wright²⁾ at Wonsan, and Stripling³⁾ at Chemulpo. These three

1) William Nelson Lovatt (1838-1904) is often mistakenly referred to as a German, but he was an Englishman by birth and eventually became a naturalized American citizen. His history is an interesting one. He lied about his age to get into the military and served in China, where he rose through the ranks and eventually achieved the rank of colonel. After finishing his military service, he joined the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs Service until Mollendorff recruited him in the early spring of 1883 to help establish the Korean Customs Service. Prof. Wayne Patterson is currently writing a book based on the journals of William Nelson Lovatt and the correspondences between him and various family members. This book will be a valuable asset as well as enjoyable reading for those interested in the daily life of a western family in Pusan in 1883-1886.

2) The Englishman T.W. Wright first came to the Far East in 1878 to take up a position with the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs Service. He was recruited by Mollendorff in early 1883 and was offered the position of Commissioner at Wonsan. The customs service in Wonsan was opened in October 1883, and soon afterwards T.W. Wright brought his wife and mother-in-law to live with him in a small house that he had renovated. These women were probably the first Western women seen by Koreans in the Wonsan area. The family remained in Wonsan until May 1886, when Wright was relieved of his position in the wake of

men spent a great deal of their own money (this may have been one of the factors in their selection) to get operations going, and hoped to eventually turn a profit after a few years at their posts. After nearly two and a half years of service, however, three were fired after Mollendorff lost his position within the Korean government.

The records of the daily operations of the early Korean Customs Service have been lost, most of them destroyed in a fire in 1885. It is for this reason that the following letter written by Jenny Shaw Lovatt, the wife of William Nelson Lovatt, is so important. It sheds light on the early operations and financial difficulties experienced by the Korea Customs Service, and affords a rare glimpse into the daily life of the first Western woman to live in Pusan.

I would like to thank Mrs. Dorothy Shaw Gillette, a distant relative of Jenny Shaw Lovatt, for providing me with a copy of the original letter, and for granting permission for it be published in *Transactions*. Jenny's handwriting was difficult to read, and in some parts there are words that were illegible and thus have been left blank.

Fusan, Corea

April 8, 1885

My dear Mother,

We expect the little steamer Hever⁴) here tomorrow and as she will

Mollendorff losing his own position in 1885. Wright was later given a position as a clerk in the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs Service in Shanghai, China, by Mr. Robert Hart, the Chief Commissioner. This was probably out of compassion for him and his family, and punishment for having left the service and joining Mollendorff, a man Robert Hart did not like.

- 3) Alfred Burt Stripling (1838-1904) was an Englishman recruited by Mollendorff to come to Korea and help establish the Korean Customs Service at Chemulpo in 1883. Prior to coming to Korea he served with various departments of the Shanghai Police Department for nearly 19 years. After Mollendorff was relieved in 1885, Stripling remained in Korea to work with the Korean government as a gold mine prospector, and then later as an advisor to the police department. His health failing, he later retired and lived comfortably on the wealth that he had acquired through land speculation.
- 4) This was a German steamer that operated along the coast of Korea and was eventually bought by the E. Meyer and Company in Chemulpo. It traveled the Nagasaki-Pusan-Mokpo-Chemulpo route and on to Chinese ports. Even though Mokpo was not an open port, the German company had a contract with the Korean government to transport tribute rice from

probably be just in time to meet the Shanghai Mail Steamer in Nagasaki we are anxious to get all our letters ready to go by her. I am very glad we are to have her coming for the next three months our way and if she gets enough business to make it pay her she will probably keep on this line and will likely come twice a month. I have told John⁵⁾ about our missionary friends and think that there is not much more to say about them. Mr. Appenzeller⁶⁾ came from some place not far from York, Penn. Possibly Mr. Nesbit⁷⁾ may have heard of him. They seemed very nice people and you can imagine how much I enjoyed seeing a country woman of my own again and tried [sp.] to convince them this was the best place for them to stop but they said they had been sent to Seoul by the Society at home so they must go there.

Mr. Mollendorff again wished Will to come to Chemulpo when he was here but Will would not say that he would do so. I hope Mr. M. will not insist upon it as one should like to stay here as long as we have to stay in Corea. Will can manage this office very well but up at Chemulpo they are always nearly in debt. This month Mr. Stripling send down to see if Will would not let him have \$1,000 from this office to help pay his staff. When they get any money it is taken on to Seoul so then they can not manage very well. How Will always looks out to keep enough around to pay the staff for a month or two. We do not feel very secure about the Customs Service in Corea but if it holds out for another year Will will not be the worse for coming here. But for the good name of the service we should like to see its affairs a little better managed then they seem to be at present.

Mrs. Mollendorff will be here next month. Mr. M. has made a new house at Pukchong⁸⁾ his place in Seoul and I suppose Mrs. M. will bring

the various ports, and was thus able to enter ports closed to other western ships. Karl Luhrs, an employee of E. Meyer and Company, wrote about his trip from Nagasaki to Korea aboard this ship in July 1886 and mentioned them loading rice at Mokpo.

- 5) Jennie Lovatt's brother.
- 6) Appenzeller arrived at Pusan on April 5, 1885 with his two-month pregnant wife. He was a large man for the times, nearly six feet tall and weighed about 200 pounds and was muscular with gray eyes and brown hair. They left Pusan shortly after arriving and proceeded to Seoul with Rev. Underwood. Rev. Appenzeller would later drown after his Pusan-bound steamship, the *Kumagawa Maru*, collided with another steamship (*Kisagawea Maru*) of the same company on June 11, 1902.
- 7) Jennie Lovatt's brother-in-law.
- 8) This is probably spelled incorrectly and should have been "Pakdong". "Two days after returning from China, he moved into a large, newly remodelled [sp.] house, attractive

out new families for it, and they will make themselves comfortable.

But still I think Mr. M. does not always find his position a pleasant one. The King's favorite is one that generally incites the envy of many and always stands in danger of being displaced by some new favorite. Mr. M. gave me a very good picture of himself in his Corean dress. The *Suruga Maru*⁹⁾ came in this morning. She is on her way to Waldevostock [Vladivostok] and is making her first trip this season. The harbor of Waldevostock is frozen over for about five months of the year. Captain Hussy says Waldevostok is quite different from any other city in the East. They drive horses in wagons and carriages there and have wide roads all through the country and have cows and other stock on the farms around the city and plenty of milk and butter are for sale¹⁰⁾ and the place looks much like a western town in U.S. but the place does not yet work as a city but only as a military post and is governed by a Russian military officer.

Mabel¹¹⁾ is not feeling very well and I expect will end up by having the measles.

I have been sewing some lately. I have finished my black basque. I trimmed it with the remains of my black velvet jacket and it looks quite well. It is quite a long job to make a basque without a machine to sew

according to Oriental style and standards, located in Pakdong, not too far from the royal palace. The house was rumored to be haunted by 'a ghost-appearance,' inasmuch as it used to belong to Min Kyom-ho, who had been tragically killed in the *Imo* Revolt of 1882; it had remained vacant since then. Actually, the king had arranged for this house for von Mollendorff even before his arrival in December 1882, but he was worried about the ominous gossip. Von Mollendorff, however, laughed at the rumor and was more than glad to make the house his residence." (Yur-bok Lee, *West Goes East: Paul Georg Von Mollendorff and Great Power Imperialism in Late Yi Korea* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), p. 51.)

9) The *Tsuruga Maru* was a Mitsubishi Mail Steamship that operated from Kobe-Nagasaki-Pusan-Gensan-Vladivostok. It was later moved to the western coast of Korea and served Chemulpo and China. Captain Hussy was the same captain that brought Mrs. Denny and her party to Chemulpo from Shanghai on June 1, 1886.

10) She seems to be interested in the milk and butter because it was difficult to come by in Korea. The Koreans did not believe in milking their cows because they thought that it was cruel to the calves. One of the reasons for the 'Baby Riots' in 1888 was a misunderstanding over canned milk and photographic equipment. The missionaries had no milk cows, and the Koreans could not fathom the idea of milk in a can. So rumors got started [some claim Yuan Shih-K'ai, the Chinese Resident Minister, was behind them] that the missionaries were kidnapping Korean women and chopping off their breasts for milk.

11) The Lovatt's daughter. Later that year and the following year Pusan was stricken with cholera to such an extent that the open port was quarantined.

up the seams. I got a very pretty easter [hard to make out] pattern by last mail. I suppose Bessie¹²⁾ must have sent it. I am very obliged for it. I shall have a look around the Japanese shops some day and see if I can find some materials to make me a dress. Nellie¹³⁾ says she has got for a spring dress and got it early so as to have it to wear to a concert at which she expects to take part in the singing. I am glad to hear that she can sing.

April 9

At last we have a bright morning and the storm is over I think. The Hever is not in yet, but I hope she will come today so as to be in time for the mail. Mabel seems much better this morning and she may escape the measles after all. Miss Yamada¹⁴⁾ says that Sato and F.... [unreadable] are having them very light. The Coreans are trading here much more this year than last and the customs house is doing much better.

If England and Russia go to war¹⁵⁾ it will probably make wheat very higher next year so that means [hard to read] will have a good year for business but it is hoped this affair will be settled peacefully between England and Russia. Cap. Creighton¹⁶⁾ said when in Nagasaki an English

12) Jenny Lovatt's sister.

13) The daughter, Helen, of William and Jenny Lovatt.

14) This might have been the daughter of Mr. S. Yamada, the agent for the Mitsubishi Mail Steamship Co. in Pusan, the company that owned the *Tsuruga Maru*. It is probably not stretching the imagination too much to say that the employees of the company and the Customs Department had a good relationship with one another. The two names that are mentioned afterwards might be family members or employees. "Sano" might be the father and employer of the company, or he might be S. Shimaoochi the accountant while "F..." might be the interpreter F. Enomoto.

15) England and Russia were at odds over central Asia, particularly the Afghanistan region. War looked imminent and the British on April 15, 1885, entered into the harbor of Komundo (known to the British as Port Hamilton) with their heavy ironclads the *Agamemnon*, *Pegasus*, and *Firebrand*. Thus began a two year occupation that the British government claimed was a pre-emptive move to keep the Russians from claiming the islands. The two countries were able to resolve their central Asian problems without going to war, and England eventually removed its presence from Komundo after receiving assurances that Russia would not occupy any part of Korea.

16) Probably a steamship captain on one of the Japanese steamships, possibly the *Chitosa Maru* or the *Tamura Maru*.

man of war was watching every Russian man of war in this harbor so that if war should be declared they would probably do some fighting out here on the high seas. We hear that the Japanese are not succeeding in their agreement with China and there is a rumor that the French are getting very friendly with the Japanese.¹⁷⁾ If all the rumors of war that we hear are to prove true I think there would be fighting nearly all over the world.

In my last letter I enclosed a check for \$20 which I hope reached you safely. Did John get the \$17 and will find him all right? I fear the children are sending money for spring clothes but Will says he can only send Willie a check until he sends Jane more money to her bank which he will be able to soon. I hope to hear that Mr. Nesbit has got his school for another year. I trust you have got better of the pain in your back and that father's rheumatism has all gone and that you are all very well. Mabel sends lots of love and many kisses to Grandpa and Grandma. Will sends love to all at home. I am as ever your affectionate daughter J.S. Lovatt

17) The French and Chinese had fought a war the previous year in which the Chinese were badly beaten and forced to negotiate with the French and give up their claims to Indo-China.

ANNUAL REPORT

of the

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY — KOREA BRANCH

2003

President's Annual Report

It is my pleasure to report on the annual activities of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 2003.

At the end of the year 2003, we have a total of 919 members, including 75 life members, 601 members residing in Korea, and 243 overseas members. This represents a twenty percent decrease from the 2002 figure of 1,109 members. This decline has affected our financial situation, and our committees are therefore working to reverse this adverse tendency in membership.

Programs during the year included lectures, slide presentations, and musical performances. In commemoration of the 350th year of the Dutchman Hammel's arrival in Korea, we additionally held a special panel discussion, a tour to Kangjin, and an exhibition of Dutch art that included works by Rembrandt, sponsored by the Dutch Embassy. It was an occasion for us to ponder the contrast in how contact with the West affected Korea and its neighbor, Japan, which recently celebrated the 400th anniversary of contact with the Dutch.

The year 2003 also saw the publication of Volume 77 (2002) of the Society's annual journal *Transactions*, and the beginning of the publication process for Dr. Elizabeth Underwood's book *Challenged Identities*, due out in 2004.

The annual garden party was hosted in June by Ambassador and Mrs. Charles Humfrey and the Councilors and Officers of the Society at the British Ambassador's official residence. A gathering of some 220 members enjoyed food and friendship, plus a book sale and a cultural program featuring traditional Korean music.

During the year we suffered a slight shortage of funds due to a decline in membership, tour participation, and book sales. We are confident, however, that the financial situation will improve since we are working hard through various channels to encourage greater participation in the Society's cultural activities. This will hopefully serve to raise additional funds. We also hope some of us can make

donations to the Society to initiate and promote more effectively our cultural and scholarly activities.

As I reflect on this year and look forward to the next, I would like to make special mention of the devotion of the staff, the officers, and my fellow council members. Here I must pay special tribute to Dr. Horace G. Underwood, who passed away on January 15, 2004, after serving the Society for many decades, including two terms as President. We would like to remember also Mrs. Gertrude Ferrar and Mr. C. Ferris Miller, both wonderful friends of the society and council members who recently passed away. I should additionally like to thank council members who are retiring from Council, those who are continuing in office, and those who have been elected to serve during the following year.

Finally, on behalf of the Council I would like to pledge ourselves to work together with our members to ensure that we, the successors of our Society's founders, remain true to their commitment to promote knowledge and understanding of Korean culture.

Respectfully submitted,

Kim Yong-duk

President, Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch

Minutes of the Annual General Meeting

10 December 2003

The annual general meeting convened at the Daewoo Foundation Building, 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 *Transactions*, Vol. 78.

A slate of nominees for officers for the calendar year 2004 was presented, 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 Young-duk

Vice President: Mr. Jang Song Hyon

Treasurer: Mr. Peter Born

Secretary: Ms. Renate Kostka-Wagner

Librarian: Ms. Lee Joo-Ho

Councillors: Mr. Peter Bartholomew, Dr. Choi Uhn-Kyung, Amb. Denis Comeau, Amb. Carlos Frota, Amb. Michael Geier, Mr. Samuel Hawley, Mrs. Mary-Louise Heseltine, Mrs. Joan Hubbard, Mr. Charles Jenkins, Mr. Kim Young-Hoon, Mr. David A. Mason, Mr. John Nowell, Dr. Uwe Schmelter, Mr. Fred Jeremy Seligson, Rev. Steve L. Shields, Dr. Horace G. Underwood, Rev. Graeme J. Webb

Article 17 of the Constitution of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society will be amended as following:

Duties of the Secretary

Article 17. The Secretary shall:

- a) Be in charge of the office of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- b) Attend every General Meeting and every Meeting of the Council, or, in the case of absence, depute a Member of the Council to perform the duties.
- c) Keep minutes of General Meetings and Meetings of the Council.
- d) Provide the Office Manager with a written copy of all minutes for reproduction and distribution to the Council.

- e) Ensure that the Reports of Committee Chairs are circulated to Council Members before the next Council Meeting.
- f) Carry on correspondence as needed with members of the community.

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

[The following text is extremely faint and appears to be bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. It is largely illegible but seems to contain a list of names and possibly a section header.]

2003 RAS-KB Lectures

Date	Destination	Topic	Leader
January 8		"Korean Monk & Shaman Dance"	Dr. Lee Seung Hee
January 22		"Hamel's Journal: A Panel Discussion"	Dr. Jeroen P. Lamers, Dr. Lew Young-ik, Dr. Kim Young-duk
February 12		"Saga of Rafting from Shanghai to Incheon and from Koje to Kyushu"	Prof. Yoon Myeong Chul
February 26		"Seen Through Its Architecture: Views of Chosun Dynasty Korea" (Part 1)	Mr. Peter Bartholomew
March 12		"Buddhism in Korea" (Part 2)	Dr. Kernaleguen Herve
March 26		"Westerners & Crimes in the Late Chosun Dynasty"	Mr. Robert Neff
April 9		"Contemporary Korean Theatre: Where is it Headed?"	Dr. Richard Nichols
April 23		"Seen Through Its Architecture: Views of Chosun Dynasty Korea" (Part 2)	Mr. Peter Bartholomew
May 14		"Rediscovery of the Hamel Trail"	Br. Jean-Paul Buys
May 28		"Preserving Kaesong for the Future"	Dr. Tony Michell
June 11		"Birds in the Korean Environment"	Dr. Yoon Moo-Boo

- June 25 "Women in Korean History and Their Art"
Mr. Huh Dong-hwa
- August 27 "Kangwon Province Korean Traditional Music Orchestra
Performance"
Kim Yerin / Park Su-jin / Jang Yun-jeong
- September 3 "Filial Piety as a Universal Phenomenon of Korean Culture and
Society"
Dr. Sergey O. Kurbanov
- September 24 "Chingbirok May Be the Story of Our Times"
Dr. Choi Byonghyon
- October 8 "The Imjin War"
Mr. Samuel Hawley
- October 22 "Religion and the Korean Mind"
Dr. Kim Ai Ra
- November 12 "The Origin of Sericulture and History of Silk Textiles in Korea"
Dr. Sim Yeon Ok
- November 26 "The Activities of Ernst Oppert to Open Korea"
Dr. Sylvia Braesel
- December 10 "Old Days of Korea through Pictures"
Dr. Horace G. Underwood

2003 RAS-KB Tours

Date	Destination	Attendance	Leader
Jan. 5	Changdok Palace (Piwon) Tour	8	S.J. Bae
Jan. 12	Sojung-sa, Tongu-nung, & Kungok-nung	9	S.J. Bae
Jan. 18	Tour	12	S.J. Bae
Jan. 25-26	Traditional Art Tour	9	B. Berry
Jan. 30-Feb.3	East Coast Sunrise Tour	19	S.J. Bae
Feb. 8	Vietnam Tour	16	S.J. Bae
Feb. 15	Snow Scenery Train Tour	17	R. Kostka Wagner
Mar. 2	Bukchon Tour	9	S.J. Bae
Mar. 9	Popchu-sa & Songnisan	26	P. Bartholomew
Mar. 16	Walking Tour of Chosun Seoul	10	S.J. Bae
Mar. 22	Tanyang Area Tour	24	P. Bartholomew
Mar. 29-30	Suwon Tour	12	S.J. Bae
Apr.5-6	Cheju-do Tour	9	H. Noh / Bae
Apr. 12-13	Camelia Tour / Namhae & Chinhae	14	Drs. Adams
Apr. 12	Chikjisa & Haeinsa Tour	12	S.J. Bae
Apr. 13	Kingdom of Paekche	20	J.P. Buys
Apr. 18-21	Kyonggi-Do Cherry Blossom Tour	20	Y.D. Kim
Apr. 26-27	Honshu, Japan Tour (Kyoto & Nara)	19	S.J. Bae
May 3-4	Magnolia: Chollipo Tour	28	D. Adams
May 8	Kyong-ju Tour	42	S. Shields
May 10-11	Buddha's Birthday Tour	11	D. Adams
May 17-18	Andong Tour	40	Br. J Buys & D.
May 24	Land of Exile Tour	9	Clark
May 25	Soyosan Tour	12	S.J. Bae
May 31-June 1	Chongmyo Ceremony Tour	9	A. Heyman
June 14	Chungmu and Keje-do Tour	220	Drs. Adams
June 28-29	RAS Garden Party	6	
July 27	Inner Sorak Tour	13	S.J. Bae
Aug. 10	Chawol-Do Tour 1	6	S.J. Bae
Aug. 9	Chawol-Do Tour 2	16	S.J. Bae
Aug. 16-17	Pugak Skyway & In-Wang San Hike	5	S.J. Bae
Aug. 24	East Coast Sunrise Tour	12	S.J. Bae
Sep. 7	Tong Gang River Rafting Tour	16	S.J. Bae
Sept. 10-13	Chong-pyong Boat Tour	14	S.J. Bae
Sept. 20	Tokyo Japan (Chusok) Tour	14	S.J. Bae
Sept. 21	Ceramic Tour	20	Y.D. Kim

Date	Destination	Attendance	Leader
Sept. 27	Nanjangsa Tour	24	S.J. Bae
Sept. 28	Bukchon Tour	22	R. Kostka-wagner
Oct. 5	Kangwha Island Tour	24	Kim Y.D.
Oct. 11-12	Walking Tour of Choson Seoul	17	S.J. Bae
Oct. 12	Andong Tour	9	D. Adams
Oct. 19-20	Odae-san Tour	30	S.J. Bae
Oct. 19	Sorak-San National Park Tour	20	S.J. Bae
Oct. 25	Tanyang Tour	17	S.J. Kim
Oct. 25-26	Sognisan Tour	27	J.Y.Yoon
Oct. 25-26	Chiri-San National Park Tour	17	D. Adams
Nov. 1-2	Cheju-do Tour	14	S.J. Bae
Nov. 8-9	Kyoungju Tour	7	S.J. Bae
Nov. 22	Tongdo-sa & Haein-sa Tour	10	S.J. Bae
Nov. 29-30	Chorwon Tour	9	S.J. Bae
Dec. 6	Inner Sorak Tour	11	S.J. Bae
Dec. 13	Shopping Spree Tour	16	S.J.Bae
Dec. 14	Magok-sa Tour	10	S.J. Bae
Dec. 14	Kut: Shaman Ritual Tour	11	A. Heyman

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