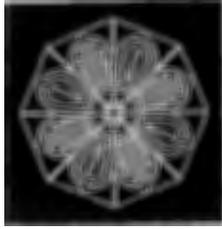


Paper No. 13

**The Writings
of Henry Cu Kim**



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The Writings of Henry Cu Kim:

Autobiography with Commentaries
on Syngman Rhee, Pak Yong-man, and
Chǒng Sun-man

Edited and Translated, with an Introduction, by
Dae-Sook Suh

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TO THE CHILDREN OF
HENRY CU KIM

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INTRODUCTION

HENRY CU KIM (1889–1967) was a remarkable man. He was one of the first Koreans to come to the United States at the turn of the century, seeking an education, and when Korea was annexed by Japan in 1910 he began a fight against the Japanese for the cause of Korean independence that lasted until the country was liberated at the end of the Second World War. He was one of the leaders of the Korean independence movement in the United States, and he headed the Korean Commission for Europe and the United States for three years, from 1926 to 1929. However, unlike some of his friends and colleagues who survived the struggle and returned to Korea to assume leadership positions, Henry remained in the United States and abstained from participating in the politics of a divided Korea.

Henry was a Korean patriot in the most fundamental sense. At the time of the Korean War, he even issued a statement opposing any indiscriminate bombing of North Korea by the United States, because it might result in the killing of women and children. For such expressions of patriotism, Henry was branded a Socialist and a Communist sympathizer, but he was neither. He lived in the United States for nearly half a century, fighting for Korean independence, and when his political rival, Syngman Rhee, returned to Korea to head the government of the southern half of the peninsula, Henry questioned the wisdom of establishing two governments and thereby further solidifying the division of the country for which he had fought so long. Henry was barred from returning to his native land dur-

ing Rhee's tenure as president of the Republic of Korea, and it was not until after Rhee was ousted following the April 19, 1960, student demonstration that Henry was able to return. When he was finally able to visit his birthplace in 1961, Henry was 72 years old and troubled by ill health.

His compatriots, who had shared hard times with him in the United States, included, among others, such leaders as Philip Jaisohn (Sŏ Chae-p'il), Syngman Rhee, Pak Yong-man, Henry Chung, Chŏng Sun-man, and Chŏn Myŏng-un; but unlike these men, Henry wrote down his own story for posterity. He was a learned man. Not only did he serve as president of the Kungminhoe, a rival organization of Syngman Rhee's Tongjihoe, but he also edited various magazines and journals published by Korean organizations in the United States, such as the *Sinhan minbo* and the *T'aep'yŏngyang chubo*. Henry wrote his autobiography primarily for his own children and grandchildren, but he also wrote short biographies of three other men: Syngman Rhee, Pak Yong-man, and Chŏng Sun-man. Henry's autobiography makes up Part I of this volume, and the three biographies constitute Part II. His accounts, though heavily biased, shed much light on the activities of Koreans in the United States and their independence movement.

When I first came to Honolulu in the early 1970s, Henry Cu Kim had already passed away, but I was fortunate enough to meet his wife, Edith Kim, and her children. I was much interested in hearing from her about various aspects of Korean patriotic organizations and the activity of the rival groups in Hawaii. A gracious lady of exceptional quality, she was magnanimous in pointing out how each group worked to promote the cause of Korea in the United States during the Japanese occupation of Korea, and how these groups cooperated toward this goal, minimizing the factional struggles among the rival organizations.

It was shortly thereafter that her son made the writings of his father available to me. When I read the manuscript in Korean for the first time I was completely surprised for a number of reasons, but foremost was the wealth of firsthand accounts of various incidents and persons that it contained. Henry was an educated man, a student of Myŏnam (the literary name of

Ch'oe Ik-hyŏn), a noted intellectual of the late Chosŏn dynasty, and he also studied in the United States, nearly completing his doctorate at the University of California at Berkeley. His three biographies display considerable bias, but they nonetheless serve to present views of some incidents that are totally different from other accounts which have hitherto been accepted as historical fact. I made Henry's writings in English available to his wife Edith before she passed away in 1985, and to their children, and received from them the permission to publish this compilation. I hope the reader will find Henry's accounts as fascinating as I first found them. Although they came to me in the form of a handwritten manuscript in Korean, I thought them significant enough to translate into English so that they might be made available to a wider audience.

To those unacquainted with the remarkable life story of Henry Cu Kim, it may on the surface appear deceptively uneventful. Henry was born in 1889 in Kyŏngsangdo, Korea, to a wealthy literati family. He was tutored in the traditional Korean manner, studying under one of the most illustrious of the Korean literati, Ch'oe Ik-hyŏn. Ch'oe contributed significantly to the downfall of the Taewŏn'gun, but because of his role in supporting Queen Min, he was exiled to the island of Tsushima, Japan, where he died fasting in 1906. At fifteen Henry was married to his first wife, who was fourteen, and when he came to Seoul, he attended the private high schools, Yangjŏng Ŭisuk and Posŏng Hakkyo.

Henry left Korea for the United States in April 1909 by way of Vladivostok, Moscow, and London, arriving in New York in 1910. He went to Denver, Colorado, looking for his compatriots, and later attended Hastings High School in Lincoln, Nebraska, graduating in 1913. He entered Cornell University in 1914, but had to quit after a year and a half because of financial reasons. He went to work, earning enough money to return to school in 1915, this time to Ohio State University, where he graduated in 1917. He later enrolled at the University of California at Berkeley, majoring in philosophy, and fulfilled the requirements for a doctorate in philosophy, except that he did not complete his dissertation.

During his life in the United States, Henry was constantly in

financial difficulty, but not because he was unemployed or indolent. He worked on the railroad in Wyoming, laid tracks in Iowa, became a kitchen helper and an orderly in Nebraska, worked in restaurants in California, was a night watchman in Hawaii, and did just about any other similar type of job throughout his life. During the same period, however, he was editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Sinhan minbo* and the weekly *T'aep'yŏngyang chubo*. He also became president of the Kungminhoe and served three years as the head of the Korea Mission for Europe and the United States. He spent his money not on himself or his family but for the cause of Korean independence and its anti-Japanese struggle.

Henry was not able to return to Korea during the Japanese occupation, and in January 1926 he remarried, a Maui-born second-generation Korean named Edith. They had one daughter and two sons.

While serving as the head of the Korean Mission in Washington, Henry canvassed the Korean community throughout the United States for funds to construct a building to house the Mission, but he did not succeed. After a short stay on the West coast, Henry came to Honolulu to head the Kungminhoe, and he spent the rest of his life in Hawaii. He was an editor of the *Korean Herald*, a Korean-language newspaper. During his time in Hawaii, Henry had much trouble with Syngman Rhee, serious enough for Rhee to bar him from entering South Korea during Rhee's presidency. Henry was naturalized in 1961, and there was a lively discussion at the time of his naturalization hearing about whether his own contributions to his Korean-language newspaper made him fit to become an American citizen.

Henry had a serious problem with his throat, and when it was finally operated on in 1962, he became mute. Throughout his life, he had never enjoyed good health, but by the time of his death in 1967, he had lived to be seventy-eight years of age.

This account of his own life was written during the period when Henry worked as a night watchman, and it took a long time for him to complete. He seems to have begun writing it in 1945, and finished it in the mid-1960s. Except for the historical records of his family genealogy, for which I am sure he used a

reference book, the entire story is told from memory, and Henry had an exceptional recollection of facts, names, places, and times.

Only a minor caution in reading this memoir needs to be mentioned here. Henry wrote chronologically, but there is so much backtracking that it is difficult at times to follow the sequence of events. Another problem is that so many names appear in the text that it is difficult to remember them all. This is further complicated by Henry's practice of mentioning pen names along with given names, at times adding pseudonyms and courtesy names as well. In order to be true to the Korean original, I have left these problems as they are in the text, providing explanations only where necessary.

Henry describes a number of his close friends who were important revolutionaries, such as Chŏn Myŏng-un, Paek Il-gyu, and Chŏng T'ae-un, but he also provides valuable insight into famous Korean political figures, such as Philip Jaisohn. This is a personal account of Koreans in the United States during the first half of the twentieth century, and though it may appear eccentric at times, this account by Henry Cu Kim represents the honest recollections of an important leader of the Korean immigrant community.

In addition to the story of his own life, Henry wrote short biographies of three men: Syngman Rhee, Pak Yong-man, and Chŏng Sun-man. These three men are said to have shared a prison cell in Seoul after the Poanhoe incident of 1904, and while imprisoned to have become sworn brothers. Henry Cu Kim relates that Sin Hŭng-u and Yun Pyŏng-gu also joined their brotherhood, but Henry chose to write about only the first three. He called it a biography of the *samman*, meaning three *man*, because of the same sound occurring in the last character of the first name of the three men: Syngman Rhee (Yi Sŭng-*man*), Pak Yong-*man*, and Chŏng Sun-*man*.

The primary purpose in writing these short biographical accounts seems to have been to explain Henry's relationship with these men, and in this sense, the accounts are an extension of his own biography. The major portion of this section deals with his relationship with Syngman Rhee. Since Rhee was his adversary, Henry's account is extremely biased, and since

Henry wrote entirely from memory without the help of reference works, his information on historical events is at times incorrect. However, the account of his personal dealings with Rhee is most revealing and valuable, both for the study of Rhee and of the Korean community in the United States. In comparison, Henry's accounts of Pak Yong-man and Chŏng Sun-man are quite laudatory, but they also provide insight into the activities of the old Korean revolutionaries who operated in China, the Soviet Union, and the United States.

Henry knew all three men well, and they were all approximately ten years his senior. Syngman Rhee, of course, was the first president of the Republic of Korea and a long-time resident of the United States. Henry worked closely with Rhee for a number of years, but the two parted company and headed rival organizations in Hawaii, engaging in community disputes and even in litigation in the courts. Pak Yong-man was an advocate of militant resistance to the Japanese, and established a military academy to train Koreans for the purpose of taking up arms against the Japanese. For example, Pak used to train the tired Korean workers, after they had finished their long shifts of more than ten hours laboring in the sugar and pineapple plantations in Hawaii, teaching them how to fight the Japanese in combat.

Graduating from the University of Nebraska, Pak became editor of the Korean language newspaper, the *Sinhan minbo*, and advocated a conscription system to encourage all Koreans to fight against the Japanese. Henry succeeded Pak as the editor of the *Sinhan minbo*. When Pak came to Hawaii in 1912 to head the Kungminhoe, a Korean community organization, he continued his journalistic activities, becoming editor of the *Sinhan'gukbo*. After the March First, 1919, uprising in Korea, Pak went to China to join the Korean Provisional Government as its first foreign minister, but he soon left the government to organize a military unit in northern China. Henry relates that Pak joined forces with the Chinese warlord Feng Yuxiang, and trained Koreans and Chinese to combat the Japanese. Pak returned to Hawaii briefly to raise funds for his military programs in China. He was determined to raise a Korean army in China to fight against the Japanese, but was assassinated in northern China in 1928.

The story of Pak Yong-man is well known, and no one would question his dedication, integrity, and devotion to the cause of Korean revolution. Henry Cu Kim sheds some light on Pak's activities in the United States, particularly in Hawaii, and since Henry emphatically endorsed Pak, he describes the interaction among Rhee, Pak, and himself. The most controversial, if not intriguing, aspect of Pak's life is the mystery surrounding his death, but Henry's account does not give much information on that, partly because the death occurred in China.

Pak's assassin, a self-proclaimed Korean patriot, claimed that Pak returned to Korea in 1928 and conspired with the Japanese governor general to undermine the Korean revolution. The assassin also alleged that Pak received funds from the Japanese to train Korean revolutionaries for use against the communist expansion into the Far East. It is true that Pak had entered Korea, and it seems credible that Pak did meet with Japanese officials, but whether he conspired with them and received financial assistance is not known. In his account, Henry defends Pak and states categorically that Pak did not conspire with the Japanese, recalling a personal letter he had received from Pak before Pak ventured into Korea.

While Henry considered Pak a true patriot and endorsed his activities, there is no way for Henry to have known the inner workings of Korean military operations in northern China. Here Henry relates that Pak entered Korea disguised as a Chinese with a Chinese passport, but was uncovered when he encountered a certain acquaintance. However, because of his death, which is shrouded in mystery, and because of the suspicion that he might have conspired with the Japanese to undermine the Korean revolution, Pak's name is removed from most accounts of the Korean independence movement. For example, of the publications that appeared shortly after the liberation of Korea in 1945, none lists Pak as a leader of the Korean revolution. Belated and modest recognition for Pak's contribution to the cause of Korean independence was given by the Republic of Korea in 1962 after Syngman Rhee's ouster.

Without much elaboration, Henry claims that Pak advocated a capitalist democracy for Korea, and also introduces briefly Pak's contemporary and fellow revolutionary, Chŏng

An-nip, who favored a constitutional monarchy. Henry adds a brief note about Chŏng An-nip, who survived the Japanese occupation of Korea but died in an automobile accident shortly after the liberation.

Henry also writes about Chŏng Sun-man, who was thirteen years his senior. Chŏng settled in Vladivostok and founded the local Korean language newspaper, the *Haejo sinmun*. Chŏng brought the famous Korean journalist Chang Chi-yŏn to the Russian Maritime Province. Through these activities, various clandestine organizations were formed, such as the Chagang-hoe and the Choyang, and Henry recounts the activities of these organizations in the Russian Maritime Province. He contends that many Korean revolutionaries who were active in the Soviet Union, China, and the United States used Vladivostok as the center of their operations, and he describes the importance of Chŏng Sun-man's role in helping Korean revolutionaries such as Pak Ūn-sik and Yi Chong-un. In fact Chŏng Sun-man is said to have arranged for Yi Chong-un to come to the United States, escaping the Japanese.

When Japan annexed Korea in 1910, Chŏng decided to commit suicide to end his humiliation at the fall of Korea to Japan. Henry relates that, in a scuffle to prevent Chŏng from killing himself, Chŏng inadvertently shot and killed Yang Sŏng-ch'un, who was trying to wrest the gun from Chŏng. Subsequently Yang's brother, Yang Man-ch'un, assassinated Chŏng Sun-man at the funeral service for his brother. Such were the tragic events Henry recounts about Chŏng Sun-man.

Henry also provides a brief note on Yi Chong-un, who helped F. A. McKenzie write *The Tragedy of Korea*. Falsely accused as an Anarchist, Yi was jailed in Alexeyevsk, but with the help of a certain Polish lady, he was able to come to the United States via Moscow and London. When Yi finally settled in Hawaii, he became a leader of the Korean community and contributed significantly to the development of the community in Hawaii. But here again, Henry relates that unfounded rumors about Yi's affair with a local girl eventually forced Yi to take his own life. Though it is a personal account, Henry's record sheds much light on the Korean community and its struggle for Korean independence.

The most important part of Henry's short biographies is, of course, his account of Syngman Rhee. Henry's story is told in a sweeping manner, and it is not structured or related chronologically, thus making it at times difficult to comprehend. Since Henry was the president of the Kungminhoe, a rival Korean community organization to the Tongjihoe, over which Rhee presided, the two had more than their share of troubles in Hawaii. Henry was fourteen years younger than Rhee and did not tolerate Rhee's eccentric behavior.

Henry's criticism of Rhee is most carping and his opinion extremely biased. Since Henry wrote his story from his recollection of events, there are many errors in dates, numbers, people, and incidents, and I have added notes where necessary to point out the obvious errors. However, Henry's story is important for a number of reasons.

First and foremost is the fact that Rhee's biographers in the past were all hagiographers, praising Rhee for what he had done for Korea. In fact there is almost no objective assessment of his accomplishments and failures during either his revolutionary days or his tenure as president of Korea. Most of the past published accounts are biased in favor of Rhee, praising his notable accomplishments and omitting what is unfavorable. Henry's account is also biased but this one is decisively against Rhee. Not all Henry's accounts are factually accurate, and it does not take much reading to detect his bias. There are many expressions of personal opinion bent on denigrating the man. In this sense, this story should be read with caution, but Henry's account does give his own evaluation of Rhee, as man and leader.

Secondly, Henry's story should not be read simply as a biography of Rhee but rather an account of Henry's relationship with Rhee. There are many incidents which characterize Rhee as a man, but these are told in relation to Henry's dealings with him. Most notable is the controversy between the two men in the early 1930s that ended in a legal battle fought in court. There were also incidents of physical violence, such as the case where Rhee's henchmen attacked Henry's home and knocked Henry's pregnant wife unconscious, resulting in the death of their third child six months after birth.

Henry angrily responds to this sort of hooliganism, and equates Rhee with such mobsters as Al Capone. Henry also points out similar activities by Rhee during the 1930s, together with Rhee's alleged role in the assassination of Kim Ku in the late 1940s. He relates that Rhee idolized such fascist leaders as Benito Mussolini.

Thirdly, in describing his relationship with Rhee, Henry reveals and documents much information that heretofore has only been the subject of unproven rumor and discussion, such as Rhee's business ventures on the island of Hawaii with the money he had raised for the Korean independence movement. Henry recounts the story of Rhee's lumber and charcoal business that eventually ended in bankruptcy. He also discloses Rhee's affairs and his illegitimate children. It is not known to what extent these allegations are fact and what portions of them are fiction, and different opinions abound, particularly in Hawaii, but Henry's writings raise these issues publicly for the first time.

Fourthly, in his description of Rhee, Henry reveals the extraordinary difficulties faced by the Korean independence movement in the United States, involving the creation and operation of Rhee's communal village, known as Tongjich'on, the Korea Mission for Europe and the United States, and the people who headed the liaison office in the United States, such as Yun Ch'i-yŏng and Hŏ Chŏng. Henry also reveals that there was indeed a secret organization known as the Taegwang among the Korean revolutionaries in the United States and discloses its members, including himself.

It is obvious from reading Henry's biography of Rhee that what he relates is a highly opinionated account. It seems to be true that Rhee did lose court cases that he brought against the Kungminhoe in 1930, but that the court ordered Rhee to leave the island seems suspect. It is difficult to imagine that the court would order the people who lost court cases to leave the island. However, it was after this court battle that Rhee left Hawaii and traveled to Europe. It is also difficult to ascertain whether Rhee's second wife, Franchesca, was a married woman with two children from her previous marriage. Regardless of the accuracy of what Henry says, however, this is

the first time such questions about Rhee's marriage have ever been raised in any of his biographies.

Syngman Rhee's dislike for Henry Cu Kim can also be surmised from the fact that during the twelve-year period when Rhee was president of Korea, Henry was barred from entering Korea, and it was only after Rhee was overthrown by the April student demonstration in 1960 that Henry was allowed to return. He visited Korea for the first time in 1961, more than half a century after he had left in 1909. Henry did witness Rhee's death in Hawaii in 1965, and lamented the sorrows of the Korean people who had suffered under Rhee's harsh rule. In this sense, this account is a remarkable story, but it should be read with caution.

PART I

Family History

Chapter 1

Origins of the Kim Clan

THE KIM CLAN is strictly Korean. It is neither derived nor adopted from a foreign origin. It originated in Korea and today includes a multitude of descendants.

In China there are said to be several clans named Kim, or Jin in Chinese. One consists of the descendants of Jin Ritan, and another the descendants of Kim Pan and Kim Sǒng-bal, who went to China during the Chinese invasion of Korea in 1636. Kim Pan was a son of Sagye, the pen name of Kim Chang-saeng of the Kwangju Kim clan; and Kim Sǒng-bal was a great-grandson of Ch'ungam, the pen name of Kim Chǒng of the Kyǒngju Kim clan.

In Korea there are two main Kim clans: the Kimhae Kims and the Kyǒngju Kims. The founder of the Kimhae Kim clan was King Suro of the Kingdom of Karak. An old story has it that this king was born from a golden egg or golden gourd—hence the family name Kim, meaning gold. Then there is the historical claim that the family name derived from the golden color of his hair. In any case, the members of this Kim family are known today as descendants of the old Kimhae Kim clan. The new Kimhae Kims are descendants of the Kyǒngju Kim clan, upon whom had been conferred the principedom of Kimhae for their meritorious services.

The Kyǒngju Kims date back to the Silla dynasty. Their first ancestor was Kim Al-chi, an adopted son of King T'arhae of the Sǒk clan. It is said that when the king heard the crowing of a cock in Sirim, he sent his officials to investigate. They found

a golden container with the cock on top and an infant inside. The king adopted the infant and gave it the family name Kim, or gold, and renamed Sirim as Kyerim. The descendants eventually became so numerous that they were divided into 138 branches, but they all originated from Kyöngju.

The Silla dynasty included ten kings from the Pak clan, eight from the Sök clan, and thirty-eight from the Kim clan—spanning, in fact, twenty-eight generations and 587 years.

KIMS OF THE SILLA DYNASTY

Al-chi. Official position: *taebo** or *t'aeja taebo**¹ Posthumously named Sejo. He was married to Lady Majong, a daughter of a son of King T'arhae. This king's son was known by the name of Kangjo or Kuch'u and his official position was that of *kakkan**. In other words, Al-chi married King T'arhae's granddaughter. They had a son named Sehan.

Sehan (also known as Yölhan). Official position: *kösögan** (or *maripkan*, a dialectal reading referring to a living king). He had a son, Ado.

Ado. Official position: *p'agan**. He had a son, Suryu.

Suryu. Official position: *kakkan*. He had a son, Ukpo.

Ukpo (also known as Ukpu). Official position: *kakkan*. He had a son, Kudo.

Kudo. Official position: *changgun chwagunju**. Posthumously called Kalmunwang* [King Kalmun]. Prior to the practice initiated toward the end of the Silla dynasty of conferring posthumous titles on deceased kings, all deceased kings were referred to as *kalmunwang*. He was married to Lady Sullye, of the Pak clan, a daughter of Ibi, who was also known as Prince Choma. They had three sons and a daughter.

First son: King Mich'u

Second son: Taesö. Official position: *kakkan*. He had a son, King Silsöng.

Third son: Malgu.

Daughter: Lady Ongmo. Wife of King Kolchöng, of the Sök clan.

Malgu (also known as Malgul). Official position: *kakkan*. He was married to Lady Hyurye, of the Kim clan. They had a son, Namul.

Namul. Official position: *maripkan*. In the forty-seventh year of his reign, King Hürhae of the Sök clan vacated the throne in favor of King Silsöng, a cousin of Namul's on the paternal side. He was married to Lady Hürnye (also known as Naerye), of the Kim clan, a daughter of King Mich'u. They had three sons.

First son: King Nulcho, who had two sons, King Chabi and King Soji.

Second son: King Pokho.

Third son: King Malsahun.

Pokho (also known as Pohae). A *kalmunwang*. He had a son, Suppo.

Suppo (also known as Sabo). A *kalmunwang*. He was married to Lady Osaeng (a daughter of King Nulcho). They had a son, King Chijüng.

Chidaero (also known as Chich'öllo or Chidoro). Posthumously known as King Chijung—with him began the practice of conferring a posthumous name on a deceased king. He was married to Lady Yöngje, of the Pak clan, a daughter of Chünghun (also known as Tünghun). They had three sons.

First son: Wönjung, that is, King Pophüng.

Second son: Ipchong, a *kalmunwang*. He had a son, King Chinhüng, whose royal bloodline continued until the ninth-generation King Hyegong.

Third son: Chinjong.

Chinjong. Official position: *kakkan*. He had a son, Hümün.

Hümün. Official position: *kakkan*. He had a son, Mach'a.

Mach'a. Official position: *sögan**. He had a son, Popsön.

Popsön. Official position: *agan** (or *taeach'an**). Posthumously known as King Hyöngsöng. He had a son, Üigwan.

Üigwan. Official position: *ich'an**. Posthumously known as King Sinyöng. He had a son, Wimün.

Wimün. Official position: *ich'an* (or *hunp'al chapkan**). Posthumously known as King Hüngp'yöng. He had a son, Hyoyang.

Hyoyang. Official position: *kakkan* (or *kilch'an** or *taeagan**). Posthumously known as King Myöngdök. He was married to Lady Kyeo, a daughter of Igi (the pen name of Pak

Ch'ang-do), who was posthumously known as Queen Somun. They had a son, King Wönsöng.

Kyöngsin, the successor of King Söndök. Posthumously known as King Wönsöng. He was married to Queen Sukchöng, of the Kim clan, a daughter of *kakkan* Sinsul. They had three sons.

First son: Crown Prince Hyech'ung, born In'gyöm, who in turn had four sons—King Sosöng, King Höndök, King Hüngdök, and *agan* Cheong, who had a son King Aejang.

Second son: Yeyöng.

Third son: Crown Prince Hönp'yöng, born Üiyöng.

Yeyöng (also known as Hyojöng). Official position: *kakkan* (or *ich'an* or *chapkan**). Posthumously known as King Hyegang. He had two sons and a daughter.

First son: Hönjöng. Official position: *ich'an*. Posthumously known as King Iksöng, who in turn had two sons—King Hügang and King Hyogang.

Second son: Kyunjöng.

Daughter: Lady Kwisöng, who was married to King Höndök.

Kyunjöng. Official position: *kakkan* (or *sangdaedüng**). Posthumously known as King Söngdök. First wife: Lady Chin'gyo, of the Pak clan, posthumously known as Queen Hönmok. Second wife: Lady Soyong, of the Kim clan, a daughter of King Sön'gang, born Ch'unggong. They had two sons.

First son: King Sinmu, born Ujing.

Second son: King Hön'an, born Uijöng.

Ujing. Posthumously known as King Sinmu. He was married to Queen Chinjong, a daughter of Pak Myöng-hae (also known as Lady Chönggye or Queen Mother Chöngjong). They had three sons and a daughter.

First son: King Munsöng, born Kyönggüng.

Second son: Yongwön. Official position: *kakkan*.

Third son: Hünggwang. Official position: *kakkan*.

Daughter: Lady Kwanghwa, who was married to King Hügang.

Kyönggüng. Posthumously known as King Munsöng. First wife: Queen Sosöng, of the Pak clan. Second wife: Queen

Somyŏng, of the Wi clan, a daughter of Hun, an *ich'an*. They had two sons.

First son: *t'aeja* [crown prince]. Died young, his name unrecorded.

Second son: An.

An. Official position: *sangdaedŭng*. He had two sons.

First son: Min'gong.

Second son: Minsŏn.

Min'gong. Official position: *kakkan* (or *sijung**). He had a son, Sirhong.

Sirhong. Official position: *igan** (or *kakkan*). Posthumously known as Great King Ūihŭng, born Sirhong, or In'gyŏng. He had two sons.

First son: Ōkhong. Official position: *chapkan*.

Second son: Hyojong.

Hyojong. Official position: *kakkan* (or *sijung*). Posthumously known as Great King Sinhŭng. He was married to Lady Chua, of the Kim clan, a daughter of King Hon'gang. They had one son, Pu.

Pu. Posthumously known as King Kyŏngsun. He vacated the throne for Wang Kŏn, the first king of the Koryŏ dynasty. First wife: a Pak clan member. Second wife: Princess Anjong (also known as Princess Nangnang or Lady Sillan'gung), a daughter of Wang Kŏn, the first king of the Koryŏ dynasty. They had eight sons.

First son: Il.

Second son: Hwang. Official position: *p'yŏngjangsa**.

Third son: Myŏngjong.

Fourth son: Ūnsŏl.

Fifth son: Prince Ūisŏng, born Chungsŏk. He established the Ūisŏng Kim clan.

Sixth son: Prince Kangnŭng, born Kŏn.

Seventh son: Prince Ōnyang, born Sŏn.

Eighth son: Ch'u.

There were two sons born to King Kyŏngsun and his first queen, of the Pak clan. The first son, the crown prince, born Kyomyŏng, tried to persuade the king to switch allegiance to Koryŏ. Unsuccessful in his effort, the crown prince went to Kaegol Mountain and lived out his life as a hermit, wearing a

suit of hempen cloth and subsisting on roots. Hence he is known as Prince Maüi [a suit of hempen cloth]. The second son, whose name is lost to history, entered Haein Temple, shaved his head, and became a monk. His Buddhist name was Pömgong. He had two sons, Unbal and Kakpal. Unbal's descendants became the Naju Kim clan. Pömgang also had three daughters.

First daughter: became the wife of Hwang Kyöng, a *sijung* of the Silla dynasty.

Second daughter: became Queen Hönsuk, wife of King Kyöngjong of the Koryö dynasty.

Third daughter: became the wife of Yi Küm-sö, *t'aesu**.

Ünsöl. Official position: *sijung sirang**. The title of Prince Taeon was created for him along with the high Koryö dynasty rankings of *p'yöngjangsa* and *poguk**. He had a son, Prince Kangnüng.

T'aehwa, Prince Kangnüng. Official position, *sijung sirang*. He had three sons.

First son: known as Kyebun or Kyesam. A judiciary official who in turn had a son, Han'gong, who founded the Kyöngju Kim clan.

Second son: Suksüng. Official position: a civil engineering official. He was the founder of the Andong Kim clan.

Third son: Yöm. Official position: *siö**. He had a son, P'um'ön, who served as *sobo*, an official of the Office of the Crown Prince, and founded the Suwön Kim clan.

According to another source, there are no records of two generations: the generation immediately following Prince Kangnüng and the generation immediately preceding the *sang-sögong**.

Kyesam (also known as Kyebun). Posthumously appointed *kongbu sangsö**. He had a son, Han'gong (also known as Yön'gong).

Hon'gong. Official position: *kongbu sirang** (or *hyöngbu sangsö**). He had three sons.

First son: Susö, who in turn had a son, Yönggo.

Second son: Kyöngbo. Official position: *sijung* and also *kömgyo t'aeja sobo**.

Third son: Kyöngyong. He had a son, Inböl, whose official position was *p'yöngjangsa*.

Kyöngbo. Official position: *t'aeja sobo** (or *sijung*). He had a son, Pongmo.

Pongmo. He was *p'yöngjangsa* during the reign of King Sinjong. Posthumously named Prince Chöngp'yöng.

Seven generations [should read six] spanning more than 170 years are included between King Kyögsun and *t'aeja sobo* Kyöngbo. From the *t'aeja sobo* to *p'andop'ansö'gong** Chang-yu is more than two hundred years, and eight or nine generations. It is a matter of great regret that there are no historical or genealogical records that could serve as references for that period. This is another indication of the extent to which the traditional policy of the Koryö dynasty, by which the soldier was held in higher esteem than the scholar, affected both public and private affairs.

In addition to the 138 branches of the Kim clan, there is one instance where the clan name Kim changed to Kwön. This family name Kwön was conferred on one Kim for his meritorious military service.

Another Kim clan has nothing whatsoever to do with either original clan branch, Kimhae or Kyöngju. This is the Taegu Kim clan. Following the *imjin waeran* [the Japanese invasion of Korea in 1592], a Japanese general became a naturalized Korean and subsequently rendered meritorious service for which he had conferred upon him the name Kim Sön-ch'ung [commendable loyalty], as a member of the Kim clan hailing from Taegu. He was posthumously named Prince Ch'ungmu, and his descendants are known as the Taegu Kim clan.

Chapter 2

The Beginning of the Kyōngju Kim Clan

IN GENERAL, all of the Kim clans come from Kyōngju, with the exception of the first Kimhae Kim clan and the Taegu Kim clan. Sirim was renamed Kyerim during the reign of Kim Alchi (posthumously named Sejo). Subsequently Kyerim meant not just Kyōngju itself, but was synonymous with Silla. Therefore, it stands to reason that the Kyerim Kim clan would be the origin of the Kyōngju Kim clan. Indeed, the descendants of the Kyerim king would have claimed Kyerim as their clan's place of origin. If there actually were a Kyerim Kim clan, they would not be the descendants of a certain Kyerim king, Kon, who belonged to General Sunŭng's group. The descendants of the Kyerim King Kon have been passing themselves off as members of the Kyōngju Kim clan.

It is a widely practiced custom among authors to take as their pen name the name of the place of origin which they claim for their clan. This is seen in the prefaces and postscripts of engraved eulogies and funeral odes, marriage contracts, tombstone epitaphs, necrologies, and so on. But the people of the Kyōngju Kim clan used the name Wōlsōng instead of Kyerim or Sirim. This, it would appear, was intended to prevent confusion with the Kyerim Kim clan.

The Kyōngju Kim clan historically consisted of three major groups:

1. The group founded by General Sunŭng; that is, the group of Kyerim King Kon;
2. The group with In'gwan, a *t'aesa*, as founder; that

is, the group of Sangch'on, the pen name of Kim Cha-su; and

3. The group with *p'andop'ansō* Changyu as founder; that is, the group to which my family belongs.

After 1874, a movement began to consolidate the genealogical records of the Kyōngju Kim clan. All the branches responded enthusiastically. There was every promise and every indication that this undertaking would be a success. An office was established at the house of Kim Sang-dōk, a *sūngji** and a direct descendant of Ch'usa [the pen name of King Chōng-hūi (1786–1856), an expert in epigraphy and calligraphy, who was also known by the pen name Wandang]. Representatives of all the branches were dispatched throughout the provinces. Needless to say, it was a huge task, and one that would require a long time to accomplish. What added to the sheer size of the undertaking was the fact that most of the branches had lost records covering several generations, making interbranch cross-checks and verifications extremely difficult. Eight years later, with the undertaking yet to be completed, the military coup of 1882 broke out. This caused popular discouragement and disarray, and the representatives of the various branches left Seoul for their native places and ancestral graves. Thus came about the sudden collapse of a commendable plan to consolidate our genealogical records—a great misfortune for the entire Kim clan.

A. THE P'ANDOP'ANSŎ BRANCH OF THE KIMS

1. The Main Group

P'andop'ansō **Changyu** retired to Poŭn during the political turmoil at the end of the Koryō dynasty. He had six sons and six daughters, but only two sons, Chungnam and Chungson, waited on him in retirement. These two sons are the only ones that appear in the genealogies, and there are no records available concerning the descendants of Chungson. Changyu was one of the seventy-two loyal servants of Tumundong who refused to the end to switch allegiance to the Chosōn dynasty. By the royal decree of Chōngjo, the twenty-second king of the Chosōn, their tablets were enshrined because of their loyalty and integrity.

Chungnam. Official positions: *posung chungnang** and, concurrently, *kamch'al kyujong**. He had four sons: Ŭlsik, Ŭldon, Ŭldang, and Ŭlgwi.

Ŭlsik. Official position: *p'an'gun kisasa**. He had two sons: Hō and Chi.

Hō. A *chinsa**. Official position: Governor of P'yōngt'aek Prefecture. The title *tosūngji** was conferred upon him. He had three sons: Ch'ōjung (without heir), Ch'ōyong, and Ch'ō-song.

Ch'ōyong. Official position: *toyōmsōsūng**. The title *hojo ch'amp'an** was conferred upon him. He had two sons: Chūngson and Hyojōng.

Chūngson. Official positions: *chungjik puin** and *saōng-wōn p'an'gwan**. He had four sons: Hwang, Pyōk, Chōk (without heir), and Paek (without heir).

Hwang. He passed the civil service examination. Official position: *sūngmunwōn ch'amgyo**. He adopted as heir Ch'ōnju, third son of his brother Pyōk. Ch'ōnju's official position was *yebinsa pyōlchwa ōmo changgun**, and he in turn had a son, Kajin, who was without heir.

Pyōk. Official position: *pusajik**. The title of *tosūngji* was conferred upon him. He had three sons: Ch'ōnbu, Ch'ōnu, and Ch'ōnju, who succeeded his uncle Hwang.

The line of Hwang, the first main line, continued through the adoption of Ch'ōnju and Kahoe. But as for the other two groups of Chōk and Paek, their descendants did not have much to show in the way of government service, and it is hard to determine their lineages.

2. The Kimje County Magistrate Group

These are the descendants of Ch'ōnbu, a *chinsa* with the official position of Kimje County Magistrate.

3. The Chōnhan Group

These are the descendants of Ch'ōnu, a *chinsa* and a *saeng-wōn** with the official position of *hongmun'gwan chōnhan**, who later had conferred upon him the title of *hongmun'gwan pujebak**.

4. The Chikchang Group

These are the descendants of Ch'osang, whose official position was *chikchang** and who had conferred upon him the title

of *chōnghōndaebu kyōngyōn'gwan taejehak**. He had two sons, Chōm and Hyonūng.

5. The Kamsa Group

These are the descendants of Hyonūng, the second son of Ch'ōsang, and a *saengwōn* and a *chinsa* with the official position of *kamsa** in Chōllado.

6. The Changam Group

Hyojōng, the second son of Ch'ōyong, was a *mun'kwa* with the official position of *chōngōn**, and had conferred upon him the title of *ijo p'ansō**. He had four sons: Kwang, Chōng, Yōk, and Yi. The name of the group is derived from Kwang's pen name, Changam. He was a *saengwōn* and a *chinsa*, with the official position of *ch'angnūng ch'ambong**. He had three sons: Sukpo, Ch'ōlbo, who was adopted as heir by his uncle Chōng, and Inbo. Sukpo adopted Hūiryōn as heir.

7. The Ch'ungam Group

Chōng, a *saengwōn* and a *mun'kwa*, held many official positions: *hyōngjo p'ansō**, *ijo ch'amūi**, *taesasōng**, *hongmun'gwan taejehak**, *yemun'gwan taejehak**, *tongji ch'unch'ubusa**, *chungch'ubusa**, and *ch'ōmji ūigūmbusa**. Two titles were conferred upon him: *taegwangboguk sūngnokdaein** and *ūijongbu yōngūijong*. The title of Prince Mun'gan was posthumously created for him. His pen name was Ch'ungnam and he adopted Ch'ōlbo as his heir.

Ch'ōlbo was offered the position of *kangnūng ch'ambong**, which he did not accept, but had conferred upon him the titles of *kasōn taebu**, *hojo ch'amp'an*, *tongji ūigūmbusa**, and *owi toch'ongbu puch'ongggwan**. He had four sons: Paengnyōn, whose line continued through his adopted grandson; Hūiryōn, adopted as heir by his uncle, Sukpo; Ingyōn, who was in the direct line of the Ch'ungam group; and Taeryōn.

Since Changam's second son, namely Ch'ōlbo, was adopted by Ch'ungam [Chōng], it could actually be said that Ch'ungam's descendants are Changam's descendants. By the same token, since Ch'ungam's second grandson, Hūiryōn, was adopted by Changam's first son, Sukpo, it could be said that Changam's descendants are all Ch'ungam's descendants, except for group 8, Inbo's line.

8. The Ijoch'amūi Group

Inbo, Changam's third son, was frequently offered the position of *chaerang**, but being a virtuous soul, he declined it to the end. The title of *ijoch'amüi* was, however, conferred upon him.

9. The Sigam Group (also known as the Sunnŭng Ch'am-bong Group)

These are the descendants of Hyojöng's third son, Yök, a *hyölllyang* who held the official position of *sunnŭng ch'am-bong**.

10. The Hwi Yi Group

These are the descendants of Hyojöng's fourth son, Yi.

Many more descendants formed separate branches, sometimes living in groups and sometimes scattered in such places as Poŭn, Yöngdong, Hoein, Ch'öngsan, Okch'ön, P'yöng-t'aek, Yesan, Ch'öngju, Hoedök, Kongju, Koryöng, Sönsan, Haemi, Hwanggan, Cheju, Kwangju, Yangju, and Kaesöng. This creates a very difficult situation for cross-checking and verifying the lineages. I heard it said frequently in my childhood that it was sixty-five generations from King Sejo (Al-chi) of the Silla dynasty until the character *ku* [the character denoting the number nine] appeared as *hangnyöl**. Unfortunately proof positive of this is hard to come by.

B. CH'UNGAM'S LINEAGE

Ch'ungam was the pen name of Chöng, whose official position was *hyöngjo p'ansö**. The title of *yöngüijöng** was conferred upon him and the title of Prince Min'gan posthumously created for him. For his direct advice to King Kwanghae on proper administration, he was banished to Kŭmsan, and for his loyal advice opposing the removal of Queen Sin, he was exiled to Cheju. Through a plot by the four leaders of the earlier Chungjong Panjöng [a 1506 coup which restored Chungjong and removed Yönsan-gun] and two others, Nam Kön and Sim Chöng, he was put to death on Cheju Island by royal command. He was a close friend of Cho Kwang-jo, whose pen name was Chöngam and who met a similar fate on the island, having been involved in the *kimyo sabwa* [the purge of literati in 1519]. Ch'ungam adopted Ch'ölbo as his heir.

Ch'ungam's wife was from the Ŭnjin Song clan. Her father was a *chinsa*; her grandfather was Sunnyōn, a *chongnang**; her great-grandfather was Kyesa, a *p'an'gwan**; and her great-great-grandfather was Yu, pen name Ssangch'ōngdang. Her grandmother on her mother's side was Kim Yōng, of the Yōnan clan, who distinguished herself in widowhood by her filial duty to her mother-in-law. On completion of her formal three-year mourning period after her mother-in-law's death, she immolated herself out of a sense of filial duty and chastity, for which she was duly honored at her funeral.

Ch'ōlbo, second son of Kwang (whose pen name was Changan), was adopted by Ch'ungam as heir. His official position, which he did not assume, was *kangnūng ch'ambong*. He had conferred upon him the titles of *kasōn taebu*, *hojo ch'amp'an*, *tongji ũigumbusa*, and *owi todokpu puch'ongggwan*. He had four sons: Paengnyōn, whose line was succeeded by an adopted grandson; Hūiryōn, adopted as heir by his uncle, Sukpo; Ingyōn, the heir of the direct line of the family; and Taeryōn.

Ingyōn. Official position: *ch'albang**. He was known for his filial piety and had conferred upon him the title of *hojo p'ansō**. He had two sons: Sōngjin and Sōngbal. Sōngjin, a *ch'albang*, went to China in 1636, the year of the Chinese invasion of Korea, and died without a son. Sōngbal became the family heir.

Sōngbal, a *mun'kwa*. Official positions: *hongmun'gwan chōngja** and *yemun kōmyōl**. His overly direct advice to the king resulted in his being relieved from duty and expelled from service. Later he held the position of *changnyōng**, but he retired when he incurred royal displeasure at the time that post-humous titles were being discussed for Wōngjong—the fifth son of Sōnjo, the fourteenth king of the Chosōn dynasty and natural father of the sixteenth king, Injo—and his wife, Queen Inhōn, who were buried in the royal tomb, Changnūng. During the Chinese invasion of 1636 he worked with the local governor, Pyōn, pen name Simang, in recruiting loyal troops. Thus he became *sūngmunwōn p'an'gyo** and was honored with the orders of Wōnjonghun and Chinmuhun, and had

conferred upon him the title of *tosŭngji*. His pen name was Ch'anggudang, and he had four sons: Chinhyŏn, Sŏnhyŏn, Muhyŏn, and Okhyŏn.

Chinhyŏn, a *saengwon*. Official positions: *t'ongjŏng taebu** and *kyŏngsan hyŏnnyong**. He had five sons: Che, Chu, Tong, Ch'ök, and Pyök.

Che, a *sŏn'gyorang*. He had two sons: Ikha and Iksang.

Ikha. Official positions: *son'gonggamyök** and *sap'osŏ pyŏlgŏm**. For his opposition to Hŏ Chök, who was then a top official, he was ostracized from government service. He had two sons: T'aek and T'aehyök (also known as Ŭigyŏng).

T'aek. He adopted Ch'angun, the eldest son of Ŭigyŏng as his heir. A few months after Ŭigyŏng's death, he became *ch'ambong** of Wöllŭng. He died young but still had three sons: Ch'angun (adopted as heir by his uncle, T'aek), Hongun, and Hyŏngun.

Ch'angun. Official position: *hyŏn'gam* of Chiksan. He had three sons: Sanghyöp, Sangjip, and Sangjüp.

Hongun. He had four sons: Sanghyŏng, Sangjik, Sanggu, and Sangsil.

Hyŏngun. He was an accomplished scholar, whose pen name was Ch'angnam, and became a close friend of Song Myŏng-hŭm, pen name Yökch'ŏn. He had two sons: Sangjin and Sangsök, who was adopted as heir.

Sangjip. As were his elder brother Sanghyöp and younger brother Sangjüp, he was a disciple of Song Yökch'ŏn. He had two sons: Kyet'ae and Chint'ae, who was adopted as heir.

Chint'ae. He had five sons: Suhyŏng, who was adopted as heir by his uncle, Kyet'ae; Suin; Suryong, adopted as heir by Chit'ae, the second son of his father's cousin, Sanghyŏng; Surin; and Susin. His first wife was from the Kyŏngju clan, a daughter of Kwangnok, a descendant of Ŭn'gyun (whose pen name was Nŭlhyŏn). His second wife was from the Kosŏng clan. Her father was Chehwan. His third wife was from the Posŏng clan and the daughter of Chongsök.

Suin. He had two sons: Sökhŭi and Tökhŭi, who was adopted as heir by his uncle, Surin. He also had a daughter who married Song Chong-sik, a descendant of Kuk-t'aek, pen name Saudang. His wife was from the Hansan Yi clan. Her

father was Wönhu, a descendant of Saek, whose pen name was Mogün.

Surin. He adopted Tökhüi as heir. His wife, from the Yönan clan, was the daughter of T'an, a descendant of Sijik, whose pen name was Chukch'ang.

Sökhüi. He had a son, Kiwön, and a daughter who married Yi Hwi-süng, the son of Injae and grandson of Hüi-ik, a *chinsa* and a descendant of Chonggu, pen name Wölsa. His first wife was from the Hansan Yi clan. Her father was Simdök, a descendant of Saek, pen name Mogün. His second wife was from the Chinju Kang clan, a daughter of Togu. His third wife was from the Koryöng Sin clan, and her father, Kwanghyu, was a descendant of Sukchu, pen name Pohanjae.

Tökhüi. He had two sons: Kimyön and Kiman. His wife, from the Yangju Cho clan, was the daughter of Chimnyöng.

Kiwön. He adopted me, Hyön-gu, as heir. His wife was from the Yönan clan. Her father, Sunik, was a descendant of Chonggu, pen name Wölsa. She is known for her act of loyalty in saving her husband's life by cutting her finger and feeding him the blood.

Kimyön. He was a disciple of Yi Ch'oe-su, pen name Odang, a *munhak**. He had two sons: Chin-gu and Se-gu, who was later renamed Ch'ung-gu and adopted as heir by his uncle, Kiman. He also had a daughter who married Song Tobin, a *chusa**, whose father, Kisun, was a great-great-grandson of Naehüi, pen name Kümgo, a descendant of Chun'gil, whose pen name was Tongch'un. Kimyön's wife was from the Ünjin Song clan. Her father was Iksu; her grandfather, Hüm-sök, was a *munhak* descended from Siyöng, pen name Yaün. For her scholarship and propriety she won respect and love from all quarters.

Kiman. His son Hyön-gu (myself) was adopted as heir by his father's cousin Kiwön, and his second son Se-gu became his own heir. His first daughter was married to Song Mühön, a younger brother of Mu-hön, who was the oldest grandson of the main family of Ponggok. His second daughter married a Han, whose given name is unknown. His wife was from the Yönil Chöng clan. Her father was Haesu; her grandfather, U, was a descendant of Ch'öl, pen name Songgang, a *kamyök*.

Sweet in nature and an able housekeeper, she won admiration from all quarters.

Hyŏn-gu, that is, myself. I have two sons: Hong-u and Hong-ŭi; and a daughter, Hong-ju, who is married to Chŏng Yŏng-bok, a colonel in the U. S. Army. My first wife was from the Ūnjin Song clan. Her father was Yŏn-su, a descendant of Siyŏl, pen name Uam. My second wife, from the Sunhŭng clan, is the daughter of Si-t'aek.

Segu. He has three sons: Hong-yu, Hong-u, and Hong-gi; and two daughters: Ūnja and Ūn-suk. His wife is from the Pannam Pak clan. Her father is Haeyang.

Hong-u. Vice-chairman of the personnel committee of the U.S. Internal Revenue Service. He has two sons: Wŏn-sik and Ch'ŏn-sik; and a daughter, Wŏn-suk. His wife, from the Kyŏngju Yi clan, is the daughter of Yŏng-ch'un. Her grandfather was Sang-t'aek.

Hong-ŭi. He has two sons: Han-sik and Kan-sik; and a daughter, Han-suk. His wife is from the Sangdang Han clan. Her father is Sŏng-p'yo.

Hong-ju, my daughter, has four sons: Chŏng Yun-sik, Mun-sik, Chun-sik, and Ch'un-sik. Her husband's father is Chŏng Yong-bok (Man-sŏ).

Chapter 3

Our Most Outstanding Ancestors

WHAT IMPRESSED ME most in my childhood and boyhood were the outstanding deeds and character of my ancestors:

The *p'andop'ansö* Changyu, my ancestor twenty generations back, and *posung chungnangjang* Chungnam, my ancestor of nineteen generations ago—faced with the irreversible political confusion of the end of the Koryö dynasty, they decided to retreat deep into Tumudong with other leaders, rather than switch allegiance and serve the new king of the Chosön dynasty;

Kwang, pen name Changam, my direct ancestor fourteen generations back, renowned for his lofty will; and Yök, pen name Sigam, known for his profound scholarship, another of my fourteenth generation ancestors;

Chöng, pen name Ch'ungam, one of my forefathers fourteen generations back, known for his high morality and scholarship, for his direct advice to the throne, and his close friendship with Cho Kwang-jo, pen name Chöngam—he commanded the admiration of contemporary as well as later Confucian scholars;

Ch'ön-u, pen name Chönhan, of particularly high reputation and honor, one of the more outstanding of my ancestors;

Among my other ancestors, Tök-min, pen name Kansö; Hak, pen name Changjol; and Pong-su, pen name Kisan, all were known for their deep religious faith and loyalty;

At the time of Japan's invasion of Korea in 1592, Söngwön, together with Cho Chung-bong, recruited volunteers and died fighting the invaders at Kūmsan;

Söng-bal, pen name Ch'anggudang and cousin of Söngwön, my ancestor eleven generations back, known for his rectitude in government service, but he rose to meet the Chinese invasion of Korea in 1636;

The service of Wöllyang, known as Prince Kangmin, in the restoration of King Injo in 1623;

The skillful handling of the rising and falling markets of 1637 by Yong, known as Prince Sijik, and *pyolgom** Kwa;

The erudition of T'ae-hyön, pen name Chukhön, and Sang, pen name Nongjae;

The loyalty and filial piety of *kamch'al* Kujong and *hojo p'ansö* Ingnyön, my ancestor twelve generations back;

The act of *kamyök* Ikha, my ancestor eight generations back, who directly questioned and denounced Hō Chök to his face;

The act of the three brothers—Ch'ang-un, Hong-un, and Hyöng-un, my sixth generation ancestors—who befriended and followed Song Yök-ch'ön;

The three brothers of five generations back—Sang-hyöp, Sang-jip, and Sang-jüp—who became the disciples of Song Yök-ch'ön;

The fidelity and chastity of Prince Mungan's wife, who was from the Ünjin Song clan, my ancestor fourteen generations back; and of my great-grandmother from the Hansan Yi clan; and of my stepmother, from the Yönan Yi clan;

The filial piety and brotherly love of my natural father's father, Tök-hüi, and his benevolent character and consummate art in accumulating wealth;

The brotherly love, benevolent character, readiness to accept hardship for the public good, and utter refusal to accept credit for good work of my natural father, Ki-man, pen name Kapkye;

The lifetime devotion of my uncle, Ch'ogang, to teaching and guiding youth, refusing to accept public office;

The conduct of two cousins of my father—Ki-t'aek, pen name Soch'ang, and Ki-jong—heirs to the main family of the clan, who never sought public office, living lives of seclusion;

The conduct of Tojöng, a cousin of my great-grandfather

who, never intimidated, directly questioned the wisdom of the Taewŏn'gun;

The conduct of Chŏng Hae-do, a *tosa**, the grandfather of a cousin on my mother's side, who made a public criticism of Queen Min;

The scholarship and propriety of my aunt, from the Ŭnjin Song clan;

The lofty filial piety, love for her husband and children, and consummate art in housekeeping of my natural mother, from the Yŏnil Chŏng clan;

The selfless, vigorous activities for their country of Yi Hwi-sŭng, husband of a paternal aunt; of Yi Kyo-sŭng, an elder cousin on my mother's side; and of Kim Kyu-hŭng, pen name Pŏmjae, an elder cousin through my maternal aunt.

Chapter 4

Grandfather Tök-hŭi

KIM TÖK-HŬI was born on September 18, 1822, during the reign of King Sunjo of the Chosŏn dynasty, at T'apsan-ri, Chuan-myŏn, Ch'ŏngju, Ch'ungch'ŏng Province (later renamed Tong-myŏn, Taedŏk-kun, Ch'ungch'ŏng Pukto). He died in Seoul in 1877 at the age of fifty-five. His wife was from the Yangju Cho clan; her father was Chin-myŏng. She was born in 1817, during the reign of King Sunjo, and died in 1869 at the age of fifty-two.

Tök-hŭi was the second son of Su-in but was adopted by his uncle, Su-rin. Su-in, born in 1801 during the reign of King Sunjo, died in 1825, only twenty-four years old. His wife was from the Hansan Yi clan; her father, Wŏn-hu, was a descendant of Saek, whose pen name was Mogŭn. When she was widowed, their first son, Sök-hŭi, was six years old and their second son, my grandfather Tök-hŭi, only three. She also had a newborn baby girl, who was later married to Song Chong-sik.

With three children to rear, she found housekeeping very difficult. Essentially a poor country squire's family, they had barely been able to raise enough crops to make ends meet, and then only through sheer, painstaking hard work. To add to her housekeeping difficulties, Su-in's one elder and three younger brothers—Su-hyŏng, Su-rin, Su-ryong, and Su-sin—had grown up and established their own separate households, taking their shares of the family land.

Since Su-hyŏng was adopted as heir by his uncle, Kye-t'ae,

Su-in became the heir to Chin-t'ae. Consequently upon his death the family estate descended to his widow. After the "three-year" mourning period for her late husband, which was actually twenty-four months, she gave all of her family land to Su-in's four brothers and, with her three children, returned to her own parents' home to live.

Her parents' family was no better off, but without ever becoming a burden to either relatives or neighbors, by hard work alone she ably managed her household, using to advantage her extraordinary skills in cooking, sewing, and weaving. For this she was widely admired. During the fifteen years he lived in the home of his mother's parents, Tök-hüi was always obedient to his mother, correct in speech and behavior, industrious, and prudent, and looked after his mother, elder brother, and younger sister with selfless devotion. This won him the admiration of all around, near and far.

Sök-hüi attended a village school, but Tök-hüi could not, for he was too busy looking after his mother and family. Despite these handicaps, he learned to read and write well by watching his elder brother study and by teaching himself at night and during the winter. Through inborn intelligence and industry, he was already quite adept in farming by the time he was fifteen or sixteen years old, and his well-developed farming skills astounded even older, more experienced farmers.

When all her children were grown and married, Su-in's widow returned to her late husband's home, along with her two sons and their wives. Both sons showed great promise, and their filial piety and brotherly love was so uncommon that all their relations from near and far respected and loved them. Upon returning to his native village with his mother and elder brother, Tök-hüi decided to try farming, and to this end went to seek permission to till the family fields from both the family and the oldest family member of his generation. Both readily gave their permission. Tök-hüi's filial piety, brotherly love, and farming skill had already become known, and he was given twenty *turak* or *majigi* [approximately five acres] of family land. This piece of land was a little too much for him to till all by himself, but known as he was for his innate willpower and perseverance, he worked night and day, and even in

the first year reaped a bumper harvest that was way beyond expectation.

Tök-hŭi and his wife made some firm pledges. For twenty-four months, they would subsist on gruel to save grain; and they would strive to make money and save every penny, taking advantage of every available minute, for example, at night and during the winter, to sew, weave, and make straw bags and footwear. Then, to his elder brother, who was looking after their mother, he turned over all of the harvest except for enough grain to use as seed and for gruel until the next farming season.

At this time both Tök-hŭi's adopted parents were living. His stepfather, Su-rin, was born in 1811 during the reign of King Sunjo, and died in 1876. Su-rin's wife, from the Yŏnan Yi clan (her father was T'an, a descendant of Si-jik, pen name Chukch'ang), was born in 1810 during the reign of Sunjo, and died in 1896.

In his second year's effort, Tök-hŭi expanded his fields and once again reaped an extraordinary bumper harvest. At the same time, he saved no small amount of money and bought two cows, of the kind which bears a calf every year. He kept one at home for his own farm use, and loaned the other to a farmer in a neighboring village, in return for which he got one calf out of every two. Thus within fifteen years he came to possess over a hundred cows.

Meanwhile, after the second year's harvest, Tök-hŭi bought a sandy field in T'apsan, at a cheap price. People wondered what good a sandy field could be. But Tök-hŭi, having plowed lightly just before winter, covered the field with cut-up stalks of grain after threshing. Then in early spring, just before the thaw, he plowed the field once again and planted willow saplings. Such saplings take hold easily and grow fast, reaching over ten feet in height in a year. So Tök-hŭi sold them as raw material for wicker trunks, and in one year made a profit five times the price paid for the land.

Furthermore the sandy field was always being washed away by the annual floods, but after the willow trees were planted, the silt brought down from upstream was caught by the willows and settled in the sandy field, making it fertile. This also

expanded the surface area of the field. The expansion was so great that at one point it was feared that the nearby villagers might claim it as their own, inasmuch as the expansion was caused by the erosion of their own soil, and that this might result in litigation. Fortunately the people believed that even though their sandy fields were diminished by the washout, this was not the case with their regular fields, so there was no trouble.

Tök-hŭi continued planting willow trees for three years, after which he turned the new land into a paddy field, and thereafter planted willows only along the riverbanks. This new field was so fertile that the paddy yield exceeded eight *sŏm* [approximately forty bushels] per *turak*. This meant that some 350 *sŏm* of rice was harvested from a little over forty *turak* of the new field.

Everything he undertook produced good results. His wealth increased like wildfire, and in the first fifteen years his annual harvest approached nearly three thousand *sŏm* of rice. Public opinion already regarded him as a *mansŏkkun* [millionaire].

Of course, a variety of extraordinary incidents occurred while he was making his fortune. For example, when his eldest son Ki-myŏn, born in 1849, was three and then four years old, there was a tobacco crop failure, and tobacco was worth its weight in gold. So everyone who wanted to make a quick fortune planted tobacco, with the result that the 1854 harvest was a dozen times greater than normal and the price of tobacco fell sharply. At that time Tök-hŭi had no small savings of his own and his credit rating was high, so he was able to borrow money to an amount a dozen times greater than his cash on hand. Utilizing all the available cash, he bought six or seven empty houses in Kŭmsan and Hoein. Then he bought up tobacco leaves in many places such as Kŭmsan, Ch'ongsan, Muju, Yongdam, Chinjam, Yŏnsan, Hoein, Ch'ŏngsan, Poŭn, Yŏngdong, Okch'ŏn, and Hwanggan and stored the leaves in the empty houses he had already purchased.

The following year saw another bumper tobacco crop, but the tobacco acreages were much smaller. Again Tök-hŭi bought up all the tobacco leaves he could, and stored them. But the next year saw a tobacco crop failure, at the same time

that the tobacco acreage was sharply reduced. Thus tobacco was again worth its weight in gold. Tobacco leaves mature better and gain aroma when stored for a long period. Tök-hŭi put on sale his stores of cured tobacco leaves and made a profit that was a dozen times the cost.

Tök-hŭi's business philosophy was to take what others discard. In his tobacco venture, one sees a wonderful practical application of this philosophy. Of course it was speculative, but the profit was high.

Tök-hŭi now expanded his areas of operation, appointing his relatives—both close and far removed—as his managers, stationing them throughout the country. He had his managers act as merchant bankers, financing transactions in everything that could be found, in the mountains or the sea, such as ginseng, paper and paper products, fabrics, bamboo ware, fish and fishery products, and furs and fur goods. He also had his managers buy and sell directly in accordance with his motto: to take what others discard. In this manner he rapidly increased his wealth.

On one occasion, Tök-hŭi received an extraordinary request from one of his managers, a cousin of his father who was stationed in Sögang, a suburb of Seoul: a Mr. Song, of Sach'ön Kwangju, wanted to borrow money to buy up cows and oxen at a time when the cattle plague was prevalent. Tök-hŭi went and met Song. Instead of lending money, Tök-hŭi proposed a partnership on the following terms: buy up so many head of cattle, loan them out to farmers everywhere for one calf out of every two, and sell the balance of the cattle after the plague tapered off. Mr. Song was to keep one-third of the proceeds as his share.

The cattle plague usually begins at the end of July, according to the lunar calendar, a period of transition from rainy, sultry weather to cold wind and frost. It lasts about twenty or thirty days and ends with the advent of the cold and frost. Every cow or ox infected during the first ten days dies; after that, the death rate decreases. Under the partnership, Song bought some 3,500 head of cattle. Some seven hundred of them became infected and died. But by the following spring the price

of cattle had soared, as so many head had died in the epidemic. Despite the loss of seven hundred head, a four or fivefold profit was made.

After this joint venture, Tök-hŭi went into anonymous partnership with Song in many enterprises. A native of Suwŏn, Song was a womanizer and a man of the world, and in his wide travels throughout the country, he made friends with many government officials as well as civilians. Thus he had ready access to the necessary resources for all his business ventures. Through his good offices even trade with China was initiated, in wild ginseng, steamed red ginseng, salt, silk, and satin.

After the death of his wife, Tök-hŭi's properties were inventoried. One record shows an annual income of some 11,200 *sŏm* of rice. This record does not include the outstanding current accounts scattered throughout the country. In addition to the recorded annual income in rice, there were numerous other incomes from such things as wheat, barley, millet, corn, dates, chestnuts, persimmons, paper, ginseng, walnuts, ginkgo, pine nuts, Korean radish, mugwort, salt, fish, fabrics, and so on.

Tök-hŭi distributed his annual harvest among his family: three thousand *sŏm* to his elder brother's household; seven thousand *sŏm* to his eldest son, Ki-myŏn; five hundred *sŏm* to his second son, Ki-man; two hundred *sŏm* to his niece's husband, Yi Hwi-sŭng; and one hundred *sŏm* each to the households of his three uncles. In this even-handed way he saw to the needs of his relatives and the division of the farm fields for their livelihood.

Tök-hŭi was so distraught following the death of his wife that he neglected his business for five or six years. Finally pulling himself together, he decided to readjust his entire assets, especially the operating funds outstanding throughout the country. To this end, he ordered all his managers to put their books in order and report to Seoul, bringing the books with them. Tök-hŭi went to Seoul for the meeting, only to die of the plague on the very day of his arrival there. The managers in Chŏlla province and Sŏgang, especially those handling large sums of money, turned in neither the books nor the money, on the excuse that the books had been burned in a fire. Other

managers did not report. As Tök-hŭi's two sons were familiar with none of the details of their father's accounts, all the assets involved were completely lost.

Mr. Song, by now holding the title of *owijang**, was the only one who turned in both the books and the money. Again it was he who bought a burial plot at Sach'ön, Kwangju, for Tök-hŭi. He was a gentleman and a true friend indeed.

At the time that Song decided to make Sach'ön his home, he was about forty years old. Through his industry, trustworthiness, and resourcefulness, he increased his annual income in rice within four or five years to some one hundred *sŏm*. After making a huge profit in the joint cattle venture, he continued to work in partnership with Tök-hŭi and steadily increased his wealth, so that before he reached the age of sixty his annual income in rice exceeded two thousand *sŏm*. He never forgot his indebtedness to Tök-hŭi.

Tök-hŭi, who had lost his father at an early age, started from scratch and built up a millionaire's fortune in just his own working lifetime, that is, in the short span of no more than thirty years. Indeed, he must be given credit for this uncommon success. His motto of taking what other's discard was admirably applied with great profit in the ventures of the sandy field, the tobacco stores, and the cattle plague. This goes to show his uncommon insight and ability. However, he deserves credit for more than just the wealth that he created. It is common for one who has acquired wealth to become known for his stinginess and crassness, thus losing the esteem of all around him, but this was not the case with Tök-hŭi. Even as he was building his fortune, he won the esteem of his relatives and fellow villagers, and his filial piety, brotherly love, and kindness are worthy of respect and admiration.

Chapter 5

The Accomplishments of Ch'ogang

CH'OGANG, the pen name of Kim Kimyŏn (my elder uncle on my father's side), was the eldest son of Tŏk-hŭi. His other name was Yun-myŏng, and he also used the names Ki-ju, when in his first attempt he passed the *tae'gwa** examination, and Kimyŏng, when he sat at the *ch'aekmun** examination.

His pen name, Ch'ogang [the grass river], was taken from the name of a river near his birthplace, T'apsan-ri. At first his pen name was Ch'anggang [cold river] or Ch'ogang [serene river]—Ch'ogang the grass river is homonymous with Ch'ogang the serene river. It was Pak Yŏng-ju (pen name Maedang), his classmate and the husband of his wife's sister, who made the traditional presentation to Ki-myŏn of this pen name Ch'ogang, the grass river.

Ch'ogang was born on August 29, 1849, during the reign of King Hŏjong, at T'apsan-ri, Chuan-myŏn, Ch'ŏngju, Ch'ungch'ŏngdo (now T'apsan-ri, Tong-myŏn, Taedŏk-kun, Ch'ungch'ŏng namdo). His mother was from the Yangju Cho clan, the daughter of Chin-myŏng. Ch'ogang died on February 12, 1912, at Tongsan-ri, Sŏ-myŏn, Okch'ŏn-kun, at the age of sixty-three.

His father, Tŏk-hŭi, set up a private tutoring school at T'apsan-ri and employed two renowned teachers. As literary teacher, he engaged Sin Yak-u, a *chinsa*. Sin was a younger paternal cousin from the Koryŏng Sin clan, and wife of his elder brother Sŏk-hŭi. For calligraphy, another renowned tutor was engaged. This school was set up to provide for the

intensive teaching and indoctrinating of his own sons, his nephews, and his younger relatives.

Among the students at this school, Ch'ogang, his elder second cousin Ki-t'aek (pen named Soch'ang), and his younger paternal cousin Ki-wŏn were known far and wide for their talents and attainments. Later his younger brother Ki-man and his younger second cousin of the head family, Ki-jong, also distinguished themselves as men of letters.

Yu Kil-chun, a *p'ansŏ** and the husband of Ki-jong's sister, studied at the school for about two years. His scholarship and personal character commanded extraordinary respect and affection. Later, when Ch'ogang went to Seoul, the friendship between Ch'ogang and Yu Kil-chun matured and became very close.

Ch'ogang's wife, from the Ŭnjin Song clan, was a descendant of Si-yŏng, whose pen name was Yaŭn. Her father, Ik-su, and her grandfather, Hŭm-sŏk, were both known for their scholarship and personal conduct. As an outstanding scholar, Hŭm-sŏk had conferred upon him the position of *chip'yŏng**. Madame Song, a lady of uncommon intelligence and gifted in absorbing what she heard and saw at home, became fluent in reciting from memory many classics such as the *Sasŏ*, *Samgyŏng*, *T'onggam*, *Saryak*, *Komun chinbo*, *Sohak*, and *Hyogyŏng*.² Even though she could not read or write the Chinese classics like an expert, she had a keen grasp of their meaning. She also read a hundred novels in Korean, of both Korean and Chinese origin. She was thus widely known as a woman of letters.

Ch'ogang, after coming of age, studied under Yi Ch'oe-su, whose pen name was Odang. For his fluent recitation of a Chinese classic, known in Korean as *the Samunyuch'wi*, Odang was nicknamed Samnunyuch'wi. Ch'ogang, too, learned to recite the *Samunyuch'wi*, and was praised highly by Odang for his poems and essays. Later, when he went to Seoul, Ch'ogang also won the praise of *sungji** Yu Ch'o-hwan. While studying under Odang, Ch'ogang became a particularly close friend of *sŭngji* Yun Pyŏng-su. Ch'ogang also became close friends with *chinsa* Yu Ch'i-gi, the eldest son of *sŭngji* Yu Ch'o-hwan, and *sŭngji* Yun Ch'ang-sŏp, both known for their high-minded spirit and pithy eloquence.

In 1871, on completing the three-year mourning for his mother, who died on February 12, 1869, Ch'ogang went to the capital, seeking his place in society. Through Odang's introduction, he came under the guidance of *sŭngji* Yu Ch'o-hwan, who acted as his mentor. *Sŭngji* Yu was known especially for his memorials to the king and for his *p'albun**, and was a close literary friend of Odang.

This was a time when the relatives of the royal family on the maternal side were predominant, and bribery and graft were rampant among the lower-level court officials. So there was no way that men of integrity could get civil service appointments. True to his belief that it was not the way of a gentleman to fall in line with such a trend and live off an ill-gotten government position, Ch'ogang lived a life of integrity, highly selective in the offices he sought during the eleven years from 1871 to 1882. This period included an interruption for two years of mourning when his father died, in 1877, so actually he actively sought office for nine years.

Meanwhile, Ch'ogang improved his scholarship and ultimately succeeded, on the first attempt, in passing the *tae'gwa** with flying colors. It so happened at that time, in the year 1882, that the power struggle between the Min and Yi families erupted in a military clash. Following the family precept to move forward in peace and to retreat in times of chaos, Ch'ogang decided to give up the position of *kamsi** and go into seclusion and devote the remainder of his life to educating and indoctrinating youth, as did Sajae and Mojae.

While Ch'ogang was staying in Seoul, catastrophe struck his family and relatives back in his native place. In 1872, his younger paternal cousin Ki-wŏn died suddenly. In 1879, an epidemic struck, and in less than six months altogether twenty-one of his relatives died. Among them was the Koryŏng Sin clan wife of his father's elder brother. Subsequently all the houses at T'apsan-ri, considered houses of calamity, were burned, and the families moved to Mojŏng, Sŏmyŏn, Hoedŏk (now Taejŏn-myŏn, Taedŏk-kun). The family of the wife of his younger paternal cousin Ki-wŏn was assigned to a straw-thatched house at the upper end of the village, a house with servant quarters; Ch'ogang's family got a tile-roofed house with guest parlors, a study, and servant

quarters; and the family of Ch'ogang's younger brother (Kiman, pen name Kapkye) a straw-thatched house at Munjōng-dong, Sō-myōn, Kongju (now Yusōng-myōn, Taedōk-kun), on the other side of the hill, a new house built on the site of the old home of the Kim who was known as Prince Munjōng.

Ch'ogang returned to his native village in 1882, and lived in the new house at Mojōng for ten years. Villagers young and old and from near and far, as well as relatives, used to gather at his house. Literary pursuits in the village and its vicinity were greatly stimulated. Meanwhile, the story spread far and wide that his family was wealthy and generous. So, many travelers would drop in and stay at his house, and even beggars used to congregate in front. This was a big drain on his purse. In 1892, his home was hit by robbers and the family was in danger of losing their lives. Fortunately, *owijang* O Ch'i-sam happened to be with the family. A man of great courage, O Ch'i-sam climbed up to the roof and fought off the robbers by throwing tiles at them. Even though the material loss was minimal, this traumatic experience was not something that could easily be forgotten.

So, Ch'ogang sold the house to *tosa** Song To-hōn, who was the elder brother of *p'ansō* Song Se-hōn, the oldest grandson of the main family of Uam. Ch'ogang moved his family to Pang-tong, Kuch'uk-myōn, Kongju, and continued his task of educating and indoctrinating youth. For a while he adopted another pen name, Panggok.

In 1893, the news reached the village that bandits were running amok throughout the country, that the Tonghak rebellion had broken out, and the villagers became very apprehensive. At this time, Chōng-dong, Sō-myōn, Munūi, and three or four villages to the north were the domain of the Posōng O clan. A gifted youth of Chōng-dong, O, whose pen name was Hanjun and whose given name is unknown, sponsored the establishment of a private school and invited Ch'ogang to be teacher in charge. So, Ch'ogang moved his family to Chōng-dong.

For generations, the O clan was known for scholarship; in particular, *chōngōn** O was gifted in *pu* [odes], to the extent that his reputation was high both locally and nationally, as

“*Sin si O pu*” (meaning the poems of Mr. Sin and the odes of Mr. O).

Chǒngŏn O was a close relative of Ch'ogang's grandmother. Ch'ogang's grandfather Chint'ae had married three times. His first wife was from the Kyǒngju Yi clan; his second wife, from the Kosǒng Yi clan; and his third wife, from the Posǒng O clan. In view of this tie, Ch'ogang could not very well turn down the invitation to come and teach. Moreover, he was persuaded that the Tonghak rebellion would not reach the villages of the O clan domain, and thus he moved to Chǒng-dong. With the O clan youths in the villages of Somyǒn and Munŭi attending, the school flourished.

The old name of Chǒng-dong meant a flag or a memorial gate. Originally, it was named after the two gates that had been erected earlier in the village in honor of the filial piety of sons and the virtue of women.

After the incident with the robbers at Mojǒng in 1892, Kapkye was in the habit of traveling around the country every year for three or four months, at the completion of the autumn harvest. While he was away on these annual trips, Kapkye assigned me to the care of Ch'ogang. Thus, I came to live at Pang-dong and Chǒng-dong and studied at the Chǒng-dong school.

Ch'ogang had no sons but he did have one daughter, and in 1895, she was married to *chinsa* Song To-bin. His father was Kisun, a great-great-grandson of Nae-hŭi (pen name Tongch'un). After marrying off his only daughter, Ch'ogang moved the family back to Mojǒng; this was to better educate me, Hyǒn-gu, his nephew and the only male in the family.

Altogether the youths who studied under Ch'ogang at Mojǒng numbered a little over a hundred. For a long time, Ch'ogang was assisted by P'il-hǒn, the second son of *ch'amsŏ** Song Pyǒng-yǒn. P'il-hǒn was selected as the student monitor because of his seniority and excellence in scholarship.

Ch'ogang schooled his students in personal conduct and propriety, and encouraged the students to use their initiative in studying in order to grasp both the meaning and the spirit of the subjects, instead of having them merely recite the texts. Thus, within a year all the youths studying under Ch'ogang

developed initiative and the ability to understand what they studied.

Ch'ogang's constant advice to his students was that it was not the way of a gentleman to seek a government position by taking advantage of a chaotic situation, but rather to retire and strive to improve his scholarship, for the real man should be sought outside officialdom. While citing the examples of a legendary premier of the Yin dynasty of ancient China and Hwang Hui, pen name Pangch'on (1363-1452), a renowned premier in the early days of the Chosŏn dynasty, he also provided his own living example. He truly practiced what he taught: that a high-minded gentleman of integrity should move forward in peacetime and retreat in times of chaos.

Ch'ogang himself sat at the last civil service examination under the new system following the reform of 1895. After the reform, especially in the years 1898, 1899, and 1900, King Kojong conducted a nationwide recruitment of outstanding Confucian scholars for appointment to royal service. Ch'ogang's seniors, such men as Ch'oe Ik-hyŏn, Kwak Chong-sŏk, Kim T'aek-yŏng, Chŏn U, and others, received royal appointments to high offices, and many more outstanding people of special talent also received extraordinary royal appointments to *pyŏngnyŏk* positions. In this connection, a type of civil service examination was held nationwide. Questions on government policy matters were sent to scholars throughout the country, with orders for them to send back their answers. Those who passed the examination were appointed *sŏnggyun'gwan paksas**.

Even though he did not want an actual government position, Ch'ogang nevertheless felt compelled to state his far-reaching ideas on the running of the country and the eliminating of deficiencies. He sent in his answer, but he used as his return address that of *sŏngji* Song T'ae-hŏn and *sŏngji* Yun Ch'ang-sŏp, who were then residing in Seoul. His essay was accepted but he declined to the end to accept the title of *paksa*. He kept this matter strictly confidential, and no one except for two or three of his friends knew about it.

I studied under Ch'ogang and his wife for a dozen years. Through their strict and precise teachings on the ethics and

integrity of a gentleman, I was able to develop rules for my own conduct in this world, to which I dedicated myself with lifelong respect and gratitude.

Ch'ogang was survived by two sons and two daughters: sons Chin-gu and Ch'ung-gu (who was originally named Se-gu and adopted as heir by his uncle, Ki-man); the first daughter, who was married to Song To-bin; and the second daughter, who was married to a Mr. Yi of the Chŏnju Yi clan.

Chapter 6

Kapkye

KAPKYE is the pen name of Kim Ki-man, my natural father, born the second son of Tök-hŭi on September 11, 1860, at T'apsan-ri, Chuan-myŏn, Ch'ŏngju (now Tong-myŏn, Taedök-kun). He died on July 17, 1911, at Tongsan-ri, Sŏ-myŏn, Okch'ŏn-kun, at the age of fifty-one. For many years he traveled anonymously throughout the country and overseas, and used many aliases, such as Ki-man, Ki-mun, Mun-sam, and so on.

His wife was from the Yŏnil Chŏng clan. Her father was Hae-su and her grandfather was U, a descendant of *kamyŏk* Ch'ŏl (pen name Songgang). She was born in Chinch'ŏn on April 13, 1857, during the reign of King Ch'ŏljong, and died on March 11, 1936, at Yongjŏn-ri, Naenam-myŏn, Hoedök (now T'aejŏn-myŏn, Taedök-kun), at the age of seventy-nine. She was survived by two daughters and two sons. Her first daughter was married to Song Mun-hŏn and her second daughter to a Mr. Han, whose given name is unknown. Her first son, Hyŏn-gu (myself), was adopted as heir by my uncle Ki-wŏn, and her second son, Ch'ung-gu, was the second son of my uncle Ki-myŏn, but was adopted as heir by my father, Ki-man.

Ki-man's pen name, Kapkye, was taken from the name of the river Kapch'ŏn, which flows by Mojŏng. The river was so named because various streams originating on Mt. Sikchang and Mt. Kyejok in the east, Mt. Sŏdae in the south, and Mt. Pomun in the west converge in the river Kapch'ŏn, in the

shape of the letter *kap* [armor or first]. So my father's pen name first was Kapch'ŏn, but later developed into the derivative, Kapkye.

Kapkye also used the pen name Munjŏng at one time. When the main and branch families moved to Mojŏng in 1879, Kapkye moved to Munjŏng-dong on the other side of the hill to the west of Mojŏng. So he made Munjŏng his pen name. Munjŏng-dong is the birthplace of a Kim, Prince Munjŏng, whose exact identity is unknown, but the villagers claim that his old home site is still there. This old site is where Kapkye built his new house and resided until 1892. It was during this period that his second cousin from the main family, Ki-jŏng, made the traditional presentation to my father of the pen name Munjŏng, while Pak Yŏng-ju (pen name Maedang), who was the husband of the sister of his elder brother Ki-myŏn's wife, made the traditional presentation of the pen name Kapkye. My father yielded the pen name Munjŏng to a certain Mr. Yu, a *chuso**, who was the husband of my father's younger female second cousin, and adopted Kapkye as his own.

Displaying at an early age his budding talent in scholarship and calligraphy, Kapkye studied under Yi Ch'oe-su, whose pen name was Odang, as did his elder brother Ki-myŏn (pen name Ch'ogang), and his elder male second cousin Ki-t'aek (pen name Soch'ang). Among his fellow students were Chŏn'hŭi, a younger male cousin of his father, and Ki-jong, his younger male second cousin from the main family.

Kapkye went to Seoul in 1875, accompanied by his elder brother. He was then fifteen. Sitting at the civil service examination, he showed outstanding talent in the memorial, the interpretation of the Confucian classics, and the transcription of books—all of which were praised as gems, the work of a genius. Impeccable in his personal conduct, he won the respect and love of his friends. Handsome and correct, he was known far and wide as a winsome young gentleman.

While staying in Seoul, Kapkye observed proper behavior, keeping in mind certain aphorisms and family precepts. High-minded and of excellent character, he always maintained his integrity, despising the lowly behavior of others who pursued personal interests while displaying servility to the powers that

be, and he exercised care not to permit himself to be associated with powerful families. Kapkye was related by marriage to certain such families. The grandmother of his wife, from the Yōnil Chōng clan, was the wife of Chōng U, a *kamyōk*, who was a cousin of the wife of Yi Si-ūng, the Taewōn'gun, and an aunt of Queen Min (the Empress Myōngsōng).

It was the common practice of the day for any scholar with such family ties to go to great lengths to seek a government position—but not Kapkye. His family was wealthy enough to be known as millionaires, and he himself was known for his lofty character, scholarship, winsome face, and impeccable personal conduct. So from time to time he received invitations from both the Yi and Min families. Protocol demanded that he accept once or twice, but he was adamant in declining any more of these invitations. It was his belief that it was improper for a gentleman to obtain a government position by wielding that kind of power.

Even though his high intelligence and engaging countenance won the admiration of friends young and old, Kapkye never allowed himself to keep company with the powerful, and this won the approval of *sūngji* Yu Ch'o-hwan. *Sūngji* Yu himself was known as a man of integrity. It is said that when Yu first became a *chinsa*, his family fell on hard times. So the then premier Kim Pyōng-dōk advised *chinsa* Yu to restore the family fortune by conducting a money-lending business through the merchants in Sōgang, and proposed to lend him several thousand wōn as seed money. But *chinsa* Yu declined, claiming that profit-making was not a fit occupation for a gentleman. It is not difficult to understand why *chinsa* Yu praised the gentlemanly integrity of Kapkye.

Some two years after his arrival in Seoul, Kapkye's father died. His cousin Ki-wōn had died five years earlier, and as there was no other male old enough to take charge of the family business, Kapkye had to return home. Immediately he assumed his filial duties and managed the family properties, and his brotherly love, benevolence, and thrift brought considerable public recognition from near and far.

As the story of Kapkye's family's wealth and generosity became widespread, there was a constant stream of friends from

everywhere coming to visit and staying in the guest rooms at Kapkye's home. It usually requires assistants to manage a large family fortune. There were three assistants who had helped his elder brother Ch'ogang after the clan families moved to Mojöng: Kim a *söndal** (given name Hyön-dal, pen name Hyön-dal); Yi, a *sa'gwa** (courtesy name Sun-baek, given name unknown); and Song, a *saengwön* (given name Yöng-man). Kim Hyön-dal, though lacking in scholarship, was correct in speech and behavior, and quite capable of receiving guests; *sagwa* Yi, though unlettered, was eloquent in speech and resourceful and skilled in managing the servants and other employees; and *saengwön* Song was accomplished in practical farming techniques.

Kim Hyön-dal originally hailed from Haeju and used to frequent the guest parlor of Ch'ogang in Seoul. When Ch'ogang returned home to Mojöng, Hyön-dal came to stay at the guest house there. Even though barely literate, Hyön-dal was intelligent and adroit, and was versed in occultism. He was a self-styled geomancer, and skilled in the art of *saju*, or the telling of fortunes by the four pillars of the year, month, day, and hour of one's birth; *t'aekil*, or choosing an auspicious day; the *yukhyo* or *si* ways of fortune-telling; *tansi*, or telling a fortune by means of such things as pine needles; *kwansang*, or physiognomy; *kwanjang*, or palmistry; *wich'i*, or location or position; and *pangmyön*, or direction. Insufficiently lettered as he was, Hyön-dal frequently made mistakes in his reading. At his request, Kapkye read and paraphrased books on occultism for him. Gifted with the ability to memorize in one reading, Kapkye familiarized himself with such books as the *Ch'öngo-gyöng*, *Ch'öngnang-gyöng*, *Maüisangsö*, and *Poksö*, of the Book of Divination. Not that Kapkye himself believed in these books, but he gained insight into phenomena during his frequent trips throughout the country and overseas, and people regarded him as an authority on these matters.

Among the many guests staying in Kapkye's guest rooms at Mojöng was a Mr. O, an *owijang* (courtesy name Ch'isam, given name unknown). Although completely unlettered, Mr. O could recite many military books, fluently and perfectly, without error, among them the *Yuktosamnyak*, the *Sonmuja*,

the *Oja*, the Biography of Hyöngga, and the Biography of Kurwön. He won the praise of knowledgeable people for his spirited eloquence and his ability to quote so many Chinese phrases. Kapkye himself came to read military books because of his relationship with *owijang* O.

Still another scholarly gentleman frequented the guest rooms at Mujöng. He was a Mr. Yi, a *ch'albang** (given name unknown), who hailed from Changsu, Chollado. Well versed in writing, calligraphy, poetry, and arithmetic, he also had a substantial knowledge of oriental medicine. With the help and guidance of *ch'albang* Yi, Kapkye familiarized himself with arithmetic and medicine to such an extent that even government officials well skilled in mental arithmetic and counting with the abacus did not dare challenge him. Having learned mathematical theory, Kapkye further familiarized himself with modern differential calculus, integral calculus, trigonometry, and the art of surveying. Kapkye also set up a pharmacy in the guest quarters so as to take care of the members of his family, relatives, and neighbors, and dispensed the medicine himself. Essentially a generous man, Kapkye dispensed medicine night and day, rain or shine, to patients from his village and the vicinity, free of charge, and won the gratitude of people near and far. He read such medical books as the *Tong'ui pogam*, *Pangyak happ'yön*, and *Yaksöngga*, as well as volumes on Chinese medicine and pharmacology. Based on his learning he also wrote a number of scrolls containing his own prescriptions of medicines consisting of single and mixed ingredients.

Saengwön Song also originally hailed from Haeju and came to stay as a guest at Mojöng through the introduction of Kim Hyön-dal. Industrious and modest, Song got along with others without the slightest friction. Also an accomplished farmer, Song never once erred in overseeing the annual harvest of several hundred bushels of rice. Kapkye learned practical farming techniques from *saengwön* Song and was second to none even among the old, experienced farmers. His bold innovations in irrigation, preventing frost damage, and burning crops as a means of killing insects became models for farmers near and far.

When in 1892 bandits hit the family at Mojǒng, it was *owijang* O Ch'i-sam, an intrepid man capable of jumping more than twenty feet, who climbed up to the roof and threw tiles at the bandits, causing them to flee. Although the property damage was minimal, this traumatic experience created a lasting sense of fear in the family. So Ch'ogang sold the tile-roofed house at Mojǒng and moved the family to Pang-dong, Kuch'ük-myǒn, Kongju. Kapkye, giving up the house at Munjǒng-dong, joined the family of the wife of his elder paternal cousin. The same year, joining with Kim Kyu-hǔng, a son of his wife's sister, and other relatives and friends, Kapkye made a financial contribution in response to the request of the Yusin party in Japan, especially *p'ansǒ* Yu Kil-chun. The contribution consisted of the proceeds from the sale, arranged by Kyu-hǔng, of farm fields sizable enough to produce a hundred bushels of rice.

Starting the following year, that is 1893, Kapkye began annual trips throughout the country, for three or four months at a time between autumn after the harvest and spring before plowing. This annual trip was undertaken anonymously both for personal safety and for a more accurate survey of public sentiment and morale. On the eve of his 1893 trip, after the autumn harvest, Kapkye sent his four-year-old son, Hyoch'ang (my childhood name), to Pang-dong to the care of his elder brother Ch'ogang.

In 1898, Sun-gu, of the main family and a son of Kapkye's second cousin, went to Seoul in search of a government position. He too did not want to stay with any powerful family. Instead, at the earnest request of *ch'ampan* Min Yǒng-man, an elder cousin by a maternal aunt—a request motivated by the educational needs of Min's sons and nephews—Sun-gu was persuaded to stay with them for about two years. But he never changed his original conviction not to stay with a powerful family, and realizing that a time of chaos was not a time to seek government position, Sun-gu finally, in 1900, embarked on a tour of the country. One year later he interrupted his tour and returned home to look after his parents, but shortly thereafter, he resumed the countrywide tour. For the next four or five years there was no news about Sun-gu, and his family was very

much worried. But Kapkye, on his own tours, would unexpectedly run into Sun-gu from time to time and report back home about him. It is said that Kapkye and Sun-gu ran into each other unexpectedly in many places, including Yongbyön, Ch'osan, Wönsam, Hongch'ön, Haenam, and Cheju.

It is not known if Sun-gu was touring the country on a secret royal mission. Anyway, at the time of the coup of 1895, *p'ansö* Yu Kil-chun asked his brother-in-law Kim Ki-jong (Sun-gu's father) to serve as Home Minister, but Ki-jong firmly declined the offer. This refusal became widely known. King Kojong welcomed this news and used it to his advantage. So it is not difficult to see that there was no small opportunity for King Kojong to use Sun-gu for a secret mission.

Kapkye, in his countrywide tours, met in person many outstanding Confucian scholars, among them Chön U, Yu Suk, Yu In-hyök, Ki U-man, Kwak Chong-sök, Yi Kye, Kim Pokhan, Yi Pyöng-hun, Song Pyöng-jik, Song Pyöng-jun, Song To-sun, Kim Chi-su, Kim Ch'öl-su, Min Kyöng-ho, Chöng Sun-man, and Kim Wön-sik.

After becoming a disciple of Ch'oe Ik-hyön (pen name Myönam), I renewed a friendship with Yi Ch'ik, a *chinsa*, and Song Pyöng-jik, a *süngji*. While in mourning, I studied under Kim Kyöng-hwan (pen name Ch'osan), who was at the time staying at the Kwön family household at T'anbang, Yuch'önmyön, Kongju. Ch'osan was of the Kimhae Kim clan. Born in Kyöngju, he had lived at Andong. He was a disciple of Kwak Chong-sök, and had undertaken a countrywide tour wearing wooden shoes with clogs. Through Kapkye's introduction, Ch'osan came to T'anbang, about one *majang* from Mojöng, and decided to stay with the family of Mr. Kwön, a descendant of T'anong. While living in T'anbang, Mr. Kwön made himself known as a member of the Namin [one of four factions], and Ch'osan, being of the same faction, decided to stay with the Kwöns at T'anbang in support of the faction.

Kapkye also had family ties with the Kwön family, factional differences notwithstanding. Kapkye's uncle, Sök-hüi, was married three times: his first wife was from the Hansan Yi clan, the daughter of Sim-dök; his second wife, from the Chinju Kang clan, was the daughter of To-gu; and his third wife

was from the Koryŏ Sin clan, the daughter of Kwang-hyu. Now there had been considerable intermarriage between the Sandong Sin family and the T'anbang Kwŏns. The relationships that Kapkye maintained in these instances demonstrate the broad outlook of a widely traveled gentleman. Kapkye communicated by letter and messenger with a good many friends in both north and south, such as a Mr. Ha, a *ch'am-bong* of Chinju; Mr. Chŏng, a *tosa* of Hamyang; Mr. Pak, a *kyori** of Sangju; Mr. Chang, a *tojŏng* of Indong; Mr. Yi, a *kamyŏk* of Cheju; Mr. Chang, a *kŭpche** of Chŏngju; and Mr. Yi, a *chinsa* of Hamhŭng.

At the time of the government reform in 1895, *p'ansŏ* Yu Kil-chun made a special request to Kapkye to take the position of Suwŏn *Yusu**. But Kapkye declined the offer to the end because he believed that it was wrong to carry out any government reform with the backing of the treacherous Japanese.

When Tŏk-hŭi set up a private school at T'apsan-ri, its fame spread far and wide due to the high scholarship of Sin Yak-u and Mo Si-myŏng. *P'ansŏ* Yu, who was staying with his wife's family at the time, studied at the school for about a year and a half. He showed uncommon talent in scholarship, and was especially kind to Kapkye and Ki-jung, his younger second cousin from the main family. Because of his seniority and excellence in scholarship, Yu acted as monitor. Later, when Kapkye was staying in Seoul, he maintained daily contact with *p'ansŏ* Yu. He also extended financial help to Yu in 1892. It would appear that all of this was what was behind Yu's special offer to Kapkye, but Kapkye declined the offer without explanation and kept it strictly confidential.

Needless to say the Yusin-dang was formed by a handful of Young Turks. The people at large, as ignorant as ever, were still clinging to a government by monarchy, and regarded revolutionaries as traitors. The Young Turks received some moral support for their cause from relatives, Korean students studying in Japan, and government ministers and their retinues traveling abroad. But upon returning home, none of them would take any meaningful action, perhaps out of forgetfulness or fear. Anyway, it would appear that in 1895, *p'ansŏ* Yu and other leaders of the Yusin party tried to enlist as many

people as possible from among old friends and relatives, and anyone with any ties to them.

The revolution of 1895 itself, which failed to bring about government reform, and the murder of Queen Min evidently caused King Kojong to harbor a grudge against the Yusin party and anyone associated with it. The king came to trust those who had rejected the Yusin party and appointed them to responsible positions. Among those whom King Kojong regarded as his confidants were: Min Kyöng-ho, Cho Min-hüi, Yi To-jae, Hong Süng-mok, Yun Wön-gu, Mrs. Yi Kyöng-sik, Mrs. Cho Tong-yun, Ha Sang-gi, Han Ch'i-yu, Ö Yun-jung, Ku Wan-sik, Kil Yöng-su, Yi Yong-ik, and Öm Chun-wön. It is said that through them the king obtained intelligence on the genealogies and personal histories of certain people.

After 1895, secret royal orders were regularly issued to investigate public opinion and sedition, and these orders were given more frequently after 1898. One particular secret order concerned itself with suspected sedition by *ch'amp'an* Yi (given name Süng-uk, alias Ik-sam, the husband of the sister of Ch'ogang's wife), Yi Hwi-süng (alias Söng-sam, the husband of Kapkye's female younger cousin), and Kapkye. The order was also concerned with checking on their morale.

Ch'amp'an Yi was at that time a royal inspector for the Chölla provinces. Kapkye had been appointed a councillor of internal affairs with the temporary rank of third class, first grade, but he never accepted this position, nor did he conduct himself as the holder of such a title. At one time he pretended to be an itinerant peddler of writing brushes, and at other times engaged in land surveying, but mostly he concentrated his energies on tours of the provinces in both north and south. Yi Hwi-süng was also appointed councillor with the rank of third class, first grade, but he, too, declined the appointment and did not conduct himself as the holder of such a title. But acting like a *samnam hansan tojöpchang**, he toured the three provinces of Ch'ungch'öng, Chölla, and Kyöngsang, as well as other places.

All three men had declined the offers of *p'ansö* Yu. It seems that behind the secret royal investigation in this case was *p'an-*

sŏ Min Kyŏng-ho. At the time that Kapkye was acting as a land surveyor, the chief of the Office of Surveyors was *p'ansŏ* Min Ch'i-sun, the natural father of Min Kyŏng-ho. On one occasion, when Kapkye was touring a part of the north around Yŏngbyŏn, *p'ansŏ* Min was the Yŏngbyŏn inspector. Later, when I went to Seoul, he wanted to see me. For this purpose, he sent a special messenger, his cousin Min Sŏng-ho, a *tosa*, and subsequently, in 1908, *p'ansŏ* Min advised and supported me in sitting at the examination for the position of a tax official, and he prepared me to be a member of the retinue of Yi Kyo-sŭng (pen name Wŏnnam), who had been commissioned through a secret royal order. All this, then, was no accident.

The secret royal orders continued for six or seven years. In 1900, an envoy visited the Korean residents in Russia and China. By that time *ch'amp'an* Yi had already retired, and only Kapkye and the husband of his female younger cousin were touring China and Russia, on passports issued by the Foreign Office. When I was about to come to the United States, Kapkye gave me that passport. The date of issue was July 1900, and the bearer's name was Kim Mun-sam. When I boarded the *Ch'ŏngnyong-hwan*, owned by Ch'oe Pong-jun, at Wŏnsan bound for Vladivostok, I had that passport in my possession, but my father had ordered me to keep its existence strictly confidential. Therefore, to avoid arousing the suspicion of my fellow passengers, I kept it secret and purchased another passport. This new passport was also in the name of Kim Mun-sam—the Kim Mun-sam who had been involved, along with Yi Yong-ik and Min Chong-muk, in the loyal troop incident. The date of issue on this passport was 1901. The old passport gave the age of the bearer as forty-one, but the new one gave the bearer's age as thirty-three. This mix-up in the two passports later caused confusion for me in the United States.

Kapkye kept up his annual tours between the autumn harvest and spring plowing for twelve years, from 1893 through 1904. He traveled far and wide, not for remuneration, not for glory, but for the cause of the country and the people. While on tour in 1905 he caught cold, returned home, and was laid

up for nearly two months. It was before the autumn harvest that he heard of the shameful five-article agreement with Japan. Beset by vexation and despair, he gave up the idea of making any more extensive tours.

In 1906, my father accompanied me to Seoul, instructing me on how to conduct myself. In autumn of the same year, he again came to Seoul, accompanied by his sister-in-law, and selected a house there for the purpose of looking after me. He came to Seoul for the third time in 1908, to offer his condolences to the family of Yi Kyo-sŭng (pen name Wŏnnam), who had been murdered. After delivering his condolences, Kapkye closed down the house in Seoul, and his sister-in-law returned home to her native village. My father put me in the care of *ch'ambong* Chong Mun-hyŏn, a son of the sister of his sister-in-law. In the same year he moved all the families of the clan from Mojŏng to Tongsan-ri, Sŏ-myŏn, Okch'ŏn-gun.

By this time the once enormous wealth of all the families of the clan had been spent, and Kapkye was barely making ends meet by teaching and dispensing medicine. Upright, honest, and benevolent, he always placed public good above his personal interests, only to encounter political corruption and a ruined country. His lifelong dedication to service in the cause of the country and the people without any seeking of personal fame and fortune is indeed a model for the world.

PART II

Autobiography

Chapter 7

My Name and Age

MY CHILDHOOD NAME was Hyo-ch'ang. All four children in our family had this character "hyo" in their childhood names: Hyo-sun, my oldest sister, born in 1880, nine years my senior; Hyomyōng, my older brother, born in 1882, seven years my senior, but who died when he was three years old; and Hyo-suk, my older sister, born in 1888, one year before me.

When my stepmother died in 1902, it fell upon me to serve the twelve enshrined tablets of the last four generations. To this end, it was imperative that I be given an official adult name. The name given to me was Yun, with the courtesy name Sa-yun. After two years of mourning, I married, and the name that I used on my marriage papers was Yun.

It was not long, however, before the head of the clan conveyed the disapproval of my paternal great-great-uncle Su-sin and of Ki-wōn of the main family, who was the second cousin of my father; they questioned the wisdom of deviating from the established rule of order, because this would invite criticism as being an outlandish practice. So, following the order according to the letter nine, "*ku*," I was renamed Chōng-gu, with the courtesy name of Ch'un-u. Here again, the clan objected on the grounds that the use by a descendant of a name homonymous with the name of an ancestor was disrespectful. It was claimed that Kim Chōng-gu was similar in pronunciation to Kim Chyōng, the name of our ancestor Ch'ungam—that the pronunciation of Chōng and Chyōng was close enough to be identical. So, once again I was renamed, this time

as Yong-gu, with the courtesy name Sǒng-sa. But this new name, too, ran into difficulty, for one of my three cousins had already been named Yong-gu. So it was back to renaming again, and this time the new name was Hyǒn-gu, with the courtesy name of Sa-ok.

I stayed at Kosan Temple for about a year when I was seven years old. During this stay the abbot of the temple, Pyǒktam, bestowed much love upon me. He gave me the Buddhist name Hyǒn'gu [homonymous with Hyǒn-gu] jokingly claiming that I was his eldest son. While I was studying the Book of Changes at the temple, I came across this phrase:

Nine at the top means:
The *ting* has rings of jade.
Great good fortune.
Nothing that would not act to further.

My name is derived from this phrase, that is, Hyǒn-gu, and my courtesy name was made this time to read Sa-ok.

Later, at the time that I came to the United States, I changed my name to Sǒng-jin. At that time, I told myself that it was time to remove all of the narrow-minded old customs and cleanse myself of the harsh treatment meted out by the Japanese officials back in the homeland. Apart from this, there was a kind of self-admonition behind my new name, Sǒng-jin, lest I should forget the disgrace that my country and my people suffered when I and my fellow passengers, after boarding the *Ch'ǒngnyong-hwan*, were compelled to hide in the ship's hold to escape the inspection by the Japanese police before setting sail, and to hide again in the ship's filthy latrines to avoid detection when the ship called at the port of Sǒngjin for about three hours.

At Vladivostok, with Sǒ Sǒng-gun of Namyang acting as interpreter, I went to the Russian naval headquarters and purchased my identification card. I used Sǒng-jin as my name on this card. After arrival in the United States, I wrote to my father and uncles respectfully requesting that my name be changed to Sǒng-jin. I received a reply of rejection on the grounds that Sǒng-jin was a homonym of Sǒng-jin, the post-humous name of an ancestor eleven generations back, a *ch'al-*

bang who had died without a son. So I reverted to Hyŏn-gu, and ever since that has been my name. When filing my petition with the U.S. government for permanent resident status in 1960, I put down Sŏng-jin as my name because I thought I had used that name at the time of entry. Actually, it turned out to be Mun-sam, not Sŏng-jin, and this caused me no small difficulty.

On the eve of my departure for the United States, I reported to my parents at Tongsan-ri, Sŏ-myŏn, Okch'ŏn-gun. At that time, my father gave me a passport, instructing me to keep it strictly confidential. It was the passport he had used earlier in visiting China and Russia on secret royal missions. The passport was issued to Kim Mun-sam, forty years of age. The date of issue was October 1, 1899.

When I boarded the *Ch'ŏngnyong-hwan* at Wŏnsan for Vladivostok, I had this passport with me. The ship was a beef-carrying freighter owned by Ch'oe Pong-jun, a wealthy Korean residing in Russia, and my two companions and I purchased from the ship's captain, Pak Ŭng-sang, passports which had been issued to other people. I bought the passport because I did not dare reveal the passport given me by my father. It so happened that the passport I bought was one issued to a Kim Mun-sam, 33 years old, and the date of issue was February 3, 1901. According to Pak Ŭng-sang, this passport had belonged to a special official who had had access to the king in private audience and had been executed on trumped-up charges of forging a royal order in 1905, while recruiting loyal troops on royal orders.

In any case, through special consideration by the U.S. government, I obtained the status of permanent resident about half a year after filing my petition.

I was born in 1889, but my second oldest sister, born in 1888, was only one year senior to me. Her husband, that is, my elder brother-in-law, was born in 1890. What this means is that even though he was junior to me in terms of age. I nevertheless had to treat him as an elder brother. In the winter of 1903, we two brothers-in-law happened to be studying at Mo-jŏng at the same time, and this relationship of a younger one being an elder brother and the elder one a younger brother

became an object of jokes among our fellow students. So, to avoid being the butt of a joke, I tried to pretend that I was a child of 1890 or 1891. Anyway, it was a humiliating experience.

In 1909, following my arrival in the United States, I had difficulty in enrolling in school because of inadequate knowledge of English. For this reason, I was admitted to a fifth-grade class. As to my age, it was entered in the register as eighteen at the recommendation of the principal, Madame Maffording (?), because by law no one over eighteen years of age could be enrolled. I was actually twenty years old, and thus began the history of my age being shown in all school transcripts as two years below my actual age. Later, when I applied for permanent residence, my age was called into question. Ultimately, for purposes of Social Security, my age was registered as two years below what it actually was. Normally, one would have no difficulty, nor would any questions be raised concerning name or age, and it is strange that only in my case should these questions have been raised.

Chapter 8

My Health

BORN HEALTHY AND STRONG, I also possessed unusual eyesight, and on a clear day I could see and recognize a person a considerable distance away. In children's games, too, perhaps because I was so strong, I naturally became the leader. Five months after my birth, I was able to walk, and at ten months I could speak. I was consequently known for my precocity.

But at the age of two, I suffered from smallpox, and at six, measles. Especially after having measles, my health was in serious trouble. As the fever from the measles subsided, I suffered from excessive nosebleeds, resulting in a great loss of blood. This, in turn, caused eye trouble and coughing, and for the four years from age six through ten, I suffered from dacryosolenitis, with tears flowing incessantly from early evening till about midnight, making it impossible for me to see anything clearly. Then, there was the coughing that could come on at any time without warning, often throwing me into convulsions.

At the age of seven, I entered Kosan Temple and stayed there for two years, for the dual purpose of keeping my ailments under control and doing some serious studying. Perhaps because of the fresh air, the simple, natural food, and the exercise of climbing up and down the mountain, my stay at the temple proved highly beneficial to my health.

When I was ten, I had the benefit of medicines prescribed by a renowned doctor, Song Chu-yök. Even though my eye dis-

ease was cured and the coughing mitigated, my eyesight became extremely myopic and my coughing turned into a consumptive asthma. Song Chu-yök, a descendant of Uam, was a scholar with a good background in Chinese literature, especially in the Book of Changes. He was well versed in various arts, including *saju*, *t'aekil*, *panghyang*, *yukhyo*, *tansi*, *üiyak* (medical practice and pharmaceutical dispensing), *kwansang*, and *kwanjang*. His retreat was located in Hoedök-Sojön, a district consisting of clusters of hamlets, the upper half in Kūmsan and the lower half in Hoedök. His retreat was in the Hoedök part of the district.

At the age of ten, I was taken by my father to see Song Chu-yök at Sojön. Receiving father and son with kind hospitality and sincerity, the doctor read my *saju* [fortune] and *kwansang* [physiognomy], in addition to dispensing medicine. My *saju* and *kwansang* were read as follows:

The boy suffers many diseases
 But will overcome them and live a long life,
 And will not go after the small
 Nor run from difficulties encountered.
 Gifted with talents and character both,
 He can look forward to great success.
 Many will be his trials but
 He will be rewarded with surprising fame and fortune.
 Unless you venture into a tiger's lair,
 How else can you get a cub?
 Try hard with all your heart
 And your toiling will be rewarded.
 Planning and working is up to man but
 Final achievement is up to Heaven.
 Claiming success must come later;
 Working diligently must come first.
 To be undaunted and indomitable,
 Always with uprightness and benevolence
 Is precisely the way to be a gentleman,
 To be a great man.

Also at the age of ten, as late winter was advancing into early spring, I proposed a game of *kyökku* and it was a success. *Kyökku*, originally a kind of polo played in former times by the military, later became a civilian game akin to soccer. In

organizing the two sides for the game, the Kapch'ŏn river flowing by Mojŏng was used as the dividing line, and the villages east of the river formed one side while the villages west of the river, formed the other. Toward the end of the game, I was struck by a ball in the lower abdomen, hurting my bladder. The pain persisted for over a month, but Song Chu-yŏk cured it.

When I was twelve, of my own volition and without being urged by others, I devoted myself in wintertime to reading the Chinese classics, such as Mencius, Zhuangzi, the Book of History, the Book of Odes, and the Book of Changes. Early the following spring, I contracted a disease similar to the plague and hovered on the brink of death for seven or eight days, but once again Song Chu-yŏk saved me from near death.

Because of these ailments, suffered one after another, I became extremely thin, and for a boy of thirteen I was very tall: five feet eight inches. So it was that I earned from my playmates such nicknames as "old silkworm," or "barley straw grown in the shade." My way of responding to this name-calling was to announce myself as "old silkworm" or "barley grown in the shade."

At nineteen, that is, in the year 1909, I left my country in the month of November, and in route spent several months at Pusan, Wŏnsan, and Vladivostok before arriving in New York City on or about April 10 of the following year. I proceeded to Denver, wishing to meet Pak Yong-man, pen name Usŏng, only to miss him because he had already moved elsewhere. About a month later, through the good offices of an extraordinarily kind man, Nam Chŏng-hŏn, I proceeded to the Green River district in Wyoming, with Chŏn Myŏng-un, Nam Chŏng-hŏn, and Hong Sŭng-guk, where we were to work as laborers laying track for a new railroad line. After some four months of hard work, I proceeded to Lincoln, Nebraska, where Usŏng was now living.

I and my fellow students, four or five of them, came down with stomach trouble, perhaps because the climate did not agree with us. O Han-su suffered more than any other and passed blood in his stool. It was very similar to dysentery. In his eagerness to cure the disease, O took excessive doses of a

painkiller derived from opium, which almost killed him but still cured him of his illness, removing its root cause.

I too suffered from stomach trouble, which caused my hands and feet to swell, and the swelling eventually spread to my face and stomach. Slattery and Cumm, two of the best doctors in the state, declared that there was no hope for my recovery and that I could only wait for death. Pak Yong-man, Chŏng T'ae-ŭn, and Yu Ŭn-sang, three close friends of mine, were worried about me; they got together and, after discussing the situation, recommended that I return home to Korea—they would somehow come up with the necessary money to cover expenses. I thanked them but insisted that there was no need for me to go home: It would be a commendable thing to return home after achieving what I had set out to do but it would be a wasted effort for them to try and send a doomed friend home only to die after getting there, for a dead man is useless. To be sure, it behooves friends to try to save another friend at the point of death, but it would not do to spend their energies on a friend who was either doomed or already dead.

As a last resort I obtained quinine of the best quality and took in one gulp four times the normal dosage. This caused dizziness, ringing in my ears, and acute diarrhea. But the diarrhea seems to have succeeded in washing everything bad out of my system and completely reversing the swelling. That summer I went to Hastings, accompanied by several friends who had been living with me, and enrolled in the Korean Military Academy there. Perhaps through exercise and change of place, I regained my good spirits and physical strength.

For forty years or so afterwards, I did not suffer any serious ailments except for three operations: once in 1938 and again in 1946 for hemorrhoids and, in 1949, for appendicitis, which was very dangerous because the appendix had already ruptured. In 1961, that is, when I was seventy-two years old, I had a throat tumor surgically removed and also received radiation treatment. I thought this completely cured the disease.

The following year, 1962, I traveled to Korea, the expenses paid by my eldest son, Hong-u. Originally, the plan was for me to stay in Korea at least two years to visit relatives and

friends whom I had not seen or communicated with for over fifty years. Unfortunately, in less than two months I passed blood in my saliva. Beset by worry over a relapse of the throat tumor, I hurried back home. For six or seven months I was sick and ultimately underwent three operations, major and minor. With my vocal cords removed, I became mute.

Healthy as I was, I was known from childhood for my extraordinary power of memory and earned the nickname *illam ch'öpki* [extraordinary power of recall]. My reading was wide-ranging: the *Sasö ogyöng* [the Four Books and the Five Classics]; the *Söngni taejön* [Complete Collection of the Principles of Human Nature and the Universe, in 70 volumes, compiled by Hu Kuang during the Ming period]; the *Kangmok* [Classified History, by Zhuxi, in 59 volumes]; the *Sagi p'yöngnim* [Collection of Commentaries on the Historical Records, by Sima Qien]; the *Kugö* [History of the Spring and Autumn Period, by Zhou Guoming, 21 volumes]; the *Chön'gukch'aek* [Record of the Warring States, by an unknown author, 33 volumes]; the *Yölgukchi* [Story of Various Countries at the Time of the Spring-and-Autumn and Warring States Periods, author unknown]; the *Tonghan yönüi* [a novel based on the history of the Later Han]; the *Söhan yönüi* [a novel based on the history of the Former Han]; the *Samgukchi* [Annals of the Three Kingdoms, compiled by Chen Shou, 65 volumes]; the *Sudang yönüi* [a novel based on the History of the Sui and T'ang dynasties]; the *Myönggi kangmok* [Classified History of the Ming Dynasty]; the *Changja* [Zhuangzi]; the *Hanbija* [Hanfeizi]; the *Yukto* [Six Books of Military Strategy]; the *Samnyak* [Sanlüe, in three volumes]; the *Sonmuja* [a volume on military strategy, edited by Sun-mu]; the *Sanggunsö* [Book of Lord Shang]; the *Söngt'an samgukchi* [a novel about the Three Kingdoms, Söngt'an version]; the *Suhöji* [a novel about incidents in the Song dynasty]; the *Söyugi* [a story about a Chinese Buddhist monk who traveled to India to acquire the sūtras]; the *Hongunmong* [Dream of the Red Chamber]; the *Yuksangsan chip* [Collection of Lu Shangshan's Writings]; the *Wangyangmyöng chip* [Collection of Wang Yangming's Writings]; the *Kaö* [Teachings of Confucius]; the *Tongnae paküi* [Collection of Poems by Donglai, in the Song period]; the *Sobi*

maengja [Mencius, Critically Annotated by Su Dongpo]; the *Sōngt'an p'altaega munsōn* [Selected Writings of the Eight Great Scholars, edited by Shengtan]; the *Tujamisi* [Poetry of Du Fu]; the *Yukopangōnsi* [Poetry of Lu Fangeng]; the *Yi T'aebaek si* [Poetry of Li Bo]; the *Paek Nak-ch'ōn si* [Poetry of Bai Lodian]; the *To Yōnmyōng si* [Poetry of Dao Yuanming]; the *Hoerye pyōllam* [Compendium of the Four Rites]; the *Taejōn hoet'ong* [Final Complete Compilation of Laws, compiled by Cho Tu-sun et al. at royal command in the second year of the reign of King Kojong, 1865]; the *Samguksa* [History of the Three Kingdoms]; the *Koryōsa* [History of Koryō]; the *Munhōn pigo* [Encyclopedia Koreana]; the *Imjinnok* [a fictitious military novel by an unknown author with the Japanese invasion of Korea in 1592 as the background but not based on historical fact]; the *Pyōngja-rok* [a book written by Na Man-gap in diary form centering on the court at the time of the Chinese invasion in 1636]; the *Samgwan-gi* [properly known as *Samgwant'ong*, by Yun Tong-sōk, 1722–1789]; the *Aarok* [a story about factional strife during the reign of Sōnjo; also known as *Yōngmun mundap*, by Nam Ki-je]; the *Ch'ang-sōn kamūi-rok* [a Confucian didactic novel, date and author unverified but probably by Cho Song-gi, from the latter half of the Chosōn dynasty]; the *Hong Kil-tong chōn* [a first novel written in *hangūl* by Hō Kyun about the life and times of Hong Kil-tong, a Korean Robin Hood—a biting satire on defects in the social system and the status of legitimate and illegitimate sons, from the reign of the fifteenth king of the Chosōn dynasty]; the *Ch'unhyang chōn* [a representative Korean period novel, author and date unknown]; the *Simch'ōngga* [a song, author and date unknown, that tells of the filial piety of a daughter, Sim Ch'ōng]; and the *Yōngbilsil munjip* [Collection of the Writings of Liang Chichao]. I was known for my ability to recite from memory all or part of any one of these works, but by the time I was fifty years old, I was alarmed by my rapidly fading powers of memory.

In 1945, because my family finances could not meet our living expenses, I resigned from the position in which I was serving the Korean community and took up a job as night watchman at a local cannery. The job left me with much time on my

hands, and partly as a way of preventing myself from falling asleep on the job, I began jotting down what I could recall from my own earlier writings and from what I had studied.

In the beginning it was very difficult to recall long-forgotten works and events, but I began jotting down what I could remember. In any case, it was during this time that I again put into writing my *Wangmang-non* [an essay on Wang Mang, a politician of the Former Han who usurped the throne, taking advantage of his being a king's in-law only to fall within fifteen years] and another essay of mine on human follies prevalent during my childhood days. This later proved to be a very useful undertaking. If the rewriting had not been done at this time, it would have left my memory forever.³

Before I reached the age of fifty, I was able, while carrying on a conversation with four or five or even a dozen people, to do my reading or composition simultaneously. But as my faculties faded, even minor noises became such a distraction that I could do neither intelligent reading nor writing. It must be old age! But, weak in body and beset by ailments as I have been, I have lived to reach the age of nearly eighty, a heavenly blessing.

Chapter 9

My Education

1. FAMILY EDUCATION

IN 1893, the country was thrown into chaos and the people into misery. Kapkye, for his own safety and in order to survey the general social conditions, left home after the autumn harvest and traveled from one corner of Korea to the other, returning home before the spring plowing. For the duration, I was sent to live with my uncle at Pang-dong, Kuch'ik-myŭn, Kongju. This was done to enable me, young as I was, to learn by watching and listening. At the time my uncle had taken charge of Chŏng-dong private school, at the request of the young members of the O clan at Chŏng-dong, Sŏ-myŏn, Munŏi.

The O clan members happened to be close relatives of the members of the maiden home of my great-great-grandmother. Moreover, my uncle in his childhood frequently went to see O Chŏng-ŏn, a man known throughout the country for his poetry. My uncle, therefore, had a long-standing friendship with Mr. O's sons and nephews.

It was against this background that I was sent to live at Chŏng-dong. I remember one day toward the end of October—it was cold the whole day and at sunset it began snowing. My older female cousin happened to have a compact with a mirror, which she had had her maid buy from a Chinese traveling salesman. Demanding the compact, I cried continuously, and seeing me crying upon my return from the school, my uncle expressed his displeasure by talking to himself, saying that while the sons and nephews of other families

were doing their reading, composition, and calligraphy, this child alone, the only son among the three families of our clan, should be indulging in such a childish tantrum—that this was indicative of the future of the family.

Ashamed, I crept silently out of the house, went to the private school, and asked O Han-jun, the young master of the school, for permission to enroll. It was then that I was given the Thousand Character text. I learned the first sixteen characters and continued to recite them, showing no signs of wanting to go home. So the young schoolmaster gave me supper. Meanwhile, snow kept falling until it was several inches deep. The family was surprised to find me missing and began to search the neighborhood for me. When it was learned that I was doing my reading at the school, a male servant was dispatched and brought me home on his back.

Thus began my studies at the old-style private school. I was four years old at the time.

In one month I completed the Thousand Character text, and was able to read, recite, and understand all one thousand characters. The following month, I reread the thousand characters, this time memorizing the structure of each character. At the same time, I mastered the numbers from one to a trillion; the sixty-year cycle consisting of the Ten Celestial Stems and the Twelve Earthly Branches and compass bearings; the characters describing the internal and external organs of the human body; and the distinctions between such similarly constructed characters as the ones for man, enter, and eight, and the ones for self, already, and snake.

Normally, one would then proceed to study a primer, the *Tongmong sŏnsŭp*, but as the text was not available, I studied the *Hyogyŏng*, or Book of Filial Piety. After reading a third of the book, I was able enough to study the rest of it on my own, and on completing it, I mastered and was able to recite even the annotations. Moreover, in order to learn the commentaries, I also had to master the *ŏnmun* or *han'gŭl* in which they were given. In addition, I learned traditional rules for supplying Korean grammatical elements such as particles and auxiliary verbs to clarify the structure of a text in classical Chinese.

It took me about one month to master the Book of Filial Piety. I received widespread, and unduly excessive, acclaim at that time. Subsequently, in about two months I completed the *Sohak* or Small Learning. At this point, my family and relatives discussed the question of whether or not I should advance to the *Sasŏ samgyŏng* [the Four Books and the Three Classics] or to some general histories and works of the masters.

It so happened at the time that *ch'ambong* Kim Kyu-hŭng, an older cousin by a maternal aunt, presented me with a complete series of the *Chach'i tonggam kangmok* [a history of China]. The question thus settled, I began reading the books, books that at one time had been my cousin's most treasured possessions. At first, I was accustomed to reading ten or twenty pages each day, but toward the end I was reading at the rate of one book a day. And at times, I tried my hand at writing historical essays. Altogether, I completed the whole series in about four months.

At the same time, in the spring I practiced calligraphy; in the summer I read and recited the prose section of *Komun chinbo* [a collection of poems and prose of old China], old poetry of the Han and Wei periods, and the poems of Du Fu and of Lü You; and in the winter I diligently studied the Analects, the Great Learning, the Doctrine of the Mean, and the Works of Mencius.

I continued to study in this way, and time flew by until it was the year 1895, when I reached the age of six and a half. At the age of six, I had written my essay on Wang Mang, one of a number of historical essays which received a great deal of praise as well as criticism. In any case, my fame spread far. In retrospect, it would appear that I owe my precocity up to that time to my aunt, the wife of my father's elder brother, a famed intellectual, who when I was still a young boy would give me continuous oral instruction in the Thousand-Character text, the children's primer *Tongmon sŏnsŭp*, the *Saryak* or Condensed History, the *Sohak* or Small Learning, the *T'onggam* or Compendium of History, the *Komun chinbo naeoejip* or two-part collection of poems and prose of old China, and the

Sasŏ or Four Books. If only on a subconscious level, all of this seems to have taken hold of me when I was quite young.

From the time I was six I began, on my own, to take on such tasks as letter-writing for my family and the people of the neighborhood, both in *ŏnmun* and in Chinese characters, as well as any writing having to do with *saju*; *t'aekil*; *honsŏji*, or marriage letters from the bridegroom's family to the bride's family; *ch'ukmun*, or written prayers; *chojang*, or eulogies; and *ipch'un*, or the first day of spring. Also, every time there was a gathering for poetry-writing, I was the one who wrote down the poems dictated by the participants.

Early in the spring of 1896, I had no sooner finished my intensive wintertime study than I succumbed to an epidemic of measles. Fortunately I recovered, but I had almost died. My uncle stopped organizing and supervising my study as he had been doing, for he was conscience-stricken by a suspicion that my illness had resulted from studying too hard. In any case, because of my eye disease and coughing, I was in no condition to continue with my studies.

From that time on, the supervision by my elders ceased, but I nevertheless continued to study, stopping and starting under my own self-discipline. That winter, either by paternal order or my own volition, it was decided that I should resume serious study. To this end, and as a way of keeping my illnesses under control, an effort was made to find a quiet place with fresh air for my wintertime study, and Kosan Temple at Namsikchang-san, Hoedŏk-gun, was selected.

Led by my uncle, altogether more than thirty students went to the temple, but unfortunately in less than a month, my uncle suddenly came down with a skin condition characterized by itching, commonly known as *chŏkchŏnp'ung* (red coin wind). So he had to leave the mountain and return home, and with him went all of the students except the two youngest—myself, aged eight, and Chang Kap-ch'ul, aged seven.

We, the two youngest students, continued to study under the watchful eye of abbot Pyŏktam and his eldest son, Chŏng-gak. My fellow student, Chang Kap-ch'ul, having entered school at age six, was under my guidance. A very bright pupil,

Chang was already capable by age seven of reading and comprehending the *T'onggam* on his own.

Abbot Pyöktam had under his charge seven temples, including those at Sikchang-san, Södae-san, Pomun-san, and so on, and commanded no small respect and trust from the ecclesiastical and lay worlds alike. A leading scholar of the Chinese classics, the abbot was well versed in the books of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism, as well as the works of and commentaries on other masters, including writings of a nonreligious and historical nature, and he was especially outstanding in his sermons and lectures.

I learned a great deal from the abbot. I learned especially about the Lotus Sutra, the Avatamsaka Sutra, the Vimalkirtinirdesa Sutra, and the Diamond Sutra, to the extent that I could chant prayers to the Buddha, hold worship in front of the Buddha, offer a Buddhist mass, and conduct rites in front of the thousand-armed Kuan-yin. Pyöktam held me in such esteem and affection that he treated me, a young boy, as his own son, giving me the Buddhist name Hyön'gu [a homonym meaning the Seeker of the Infinite].

With the utmost delight, I read through many books, such as the *Sagi p'yöngnim* (Book of History with Full Commentaries); the *Songt'an pip'yöng p'aldaega munsön* (Selected Writings of the Eight Great Writers with Commentary by Söngt'an); the *Sobi Maengja* (Works of Mencius); the *Tongnae paküi* (Book of History); the *Yegi* (Book of Rites); and the *Chwajön*. These were books presented to me by Ki-t'aek (pen name Soch'ang), a second cousin of my father, and Ki-jöng, a second cousin of my father from the head family.

After one full year, that is, in 1897, I returned home to pursue wintertime study there. Under my uncle Ch'ogang's tutelage, the private school bustled with more than thirty students from near and far. P'il-hön, second son of *ch'ambong* Song Pyöng-yön, acted as the monitor, and I had under my guidance students twelve years old and under. Among my fellow students was Song Mun-hön, husband of my eldest sister. Song was the second son of *ch'ambong* Song Pyöng-jön, who in turn was the oldest grandson of the main family of Pong-gok. Song Mun-hön's love for his brothers and sisters was re-

markably warm; and when I visited the home of my married sister on several occasions, I was quite impressed by the commanding presence of both the senior in-law, *ch'ambong* Song, and his eldest son, Mu-hön.

The following year my eldest sister gave birth to her first child, a boy. Her mother-in-law forbade heating the room where the mother and child stayed, and both mother and baby died from the cold. This caused tremendous grief and resentment among my family and relatives. Instances of ill-treatment of daughters-in-law by mothers were on the increase at this time among upper-class families. Such ill-treatment was also prevalent among the royal household, royal families, aristocratic families, local governors' families, and families of landed gentry in the countryside. There were also internecine homicides, not to mention homicides committed by robbers. Indeed, murder was so prevalent that human lives were worth nothing.

My brother-in-law, Song Mun-hön, distraught and filled with resentment at the deplorable death of his beloved wife and son, could not hold back his sharp tongue and caused turmoil in the family. Even though he remarried a woman from the Hwang clan, a daughter of Hwang U-hyön (pen name Yön'gi), the tragic death of his first wife was too much for him to bear and he eventually died of grief. When I returned to Korea in 1962, I had an opportunity to look over the Song clan genealogical registry. The registry showed that Song Mun-hön's family line ended with him and was without heir. I intended to do research to correct the record but had to return home to the United States unexpectedly because of a relapse of my throat trouble. It is a matter of great regret that I could not fulfill my original intention. Even in the old days, when injustice was committed in the royal household, the highest family in the country, there were procedures to bring about a person's reinstatement and clear his name. So it was my deep conviction that there must be ways to make necessary corrections, to clear a person's name, even in the case of a private family, and that it would be adding insult to injury to make any attempt to cover up any shameful, unethical family conduct in the past.

Occurrences like my sister's death moved me to write essays on human follies, orthodox precepts, and ethics. Such direct criticism of social evils was resented by a minority but won wide praise from Confucian scholars. At my uncle's suggestion, I combined the three essays into a collection titled *Insöl*, or human folly.

In 1899, Min Pyöng-söng, a cousin of *p'ansö* Min Pyöng-sök, became the magistrate of Hoedök County. The magistrate organized a poetry and prose competition after the fashion of state examinations. This was the first and last such competition after the abolition of state examinations. All boys in the county aged ten to fifteen were asked to participate, and over a hundred came to take part. I, too, went to participate, accompanied by my father. My chosen subject was the Code of Yao, the first book of the Canon of History. I passed the competition with flying colors, coming in first in the interpretation of both the text proper and the major and minor commentaries, and also first in minor ancient classics.

The competition, which began in the afternoon, lasted late into the evening, and I spent the night as a special guest at the official guest house. The following day I observed the daily rituals of opening and closing the county office and the procedures for handling official business, such as appeals, and so on, and I also made a field trip to the Confucian mausoleum and its school. In addition, I enjoyed special hospitality at the home of a fellow pupil under my uncle Ch'ogang: Pak Ki-sön, the eldest son of Pak Chang-hwan, a local officer. For what I considered to be a minor achievement, I thought much too much praise was heaped upon me. As a special prize, I was given a copy of the *Sohak* [Small Learning], an authoritative edition published by the government. This added to my fame throughout the county.

When I reached the age of ten, the big question among my family and clan was whom to select as my teacher. A group that included my uncle Ch'ogang; my natural father, Kapkye, and adoptive father, Ki-wön; Ki-t'aek, pen name Soch'ang, my father's second cousin; Ki-jong, my father's second cousin from the main family; and Chön-hüi, my grandfather's second cousin, were all disciples of Yi Ch'oe-su, whose pen name was

Odang, and they were therefore all of the opinion that I should study under one of the disciples of Odang. This opinion was the dominant one.

Among the Confucian scholars who were Odang's disciples were Pak Mun-go, pen name Hosan; Song Yak-cha; and Pak Yŏng-ju, pen name Maedang (the husband of my aunt). Maedang in particular twice visited my family, the second time to express his condolences to me when I was in mourning. There was a groundswell of opinion that I should study under him.

Then the opinion was advanced that I should study under Song Pyŏng-sŏn, pen name Yŏnam. The reason behind this opinion was that Yŏnam, a *chwaeju**, was related to my adopted family, that is, he was a third cousin of my aunt.

Still another opinion was voiced by Yim Kae-jae (the eldest son of Hŏn-hoe, pen name Kosan). Yim was a *chinsa*, and had twice come to visit me—a great honor for a young boy like me. *Chinsa* Yim recommended that I study under Chŏn U, pen name Kanjae. He was a disciple of Kosan, and in turn had many disciples in Ch'ŏngju, Mokch'ŏn, Chinch'ŏn, Onyang, Yesan, Tŏksan, Asan, and P'yŏngt'aek.

Yet another opinion was advanced by Kim Mun-su, a very close friend of my uncle and my father. Kim, a great-great-grandson of Kim Hŭi, minister of Kangwŏn province, was a *saengwŏn*. He suggested that I study under *saengwŏn* Kim's two relatives—his cousin Kim Chi-su, pen name Chip'yŏng, and his distant relative Kim Ch'ŏl-su, pen name Kyesa.

Still another close friend of my uncle and my father recommended that I study under Kim Chi-p'yŏng. This friend was *tosa* Song To-hŏn, the eldest grandson by the eldest son of *chwaeju* Yŏn-su, pen name Chŏngjae.

Anyway, I was greatly moved that so many outstanding scholars should have been so interested in me as to be concerned about who my teacher should be. Again, it was a matter of great honor to me that the outstanding Confucian scholars of that time, such as Pak Hosan, Pak Maedang, and *chinsa* Yim should have taken the trouble to pay visits on the matter of my studies—especially Yun Ha-yŏng. Yun was a *chikkak*,* and hailed from Onyang. He was gracious enough to write a long

personal letter to me, containing an essay claiming me as his junior friend. This was a great honor to me indeed.

Despite all the advice and recommendations, I wanted to study under Ch'oe Ik-hyŏn, pen name Myŏnam. I wanted to study under him because I was deeply impressed by this great patriot who was giving his all, daring to offer his direct advice to the throne and risking punishment in order to remove the corruption in domestic politics, while driving back external enemies and seeking to build up the morale of the people.

My father, who began touring the country in 1893, and who especially after 1898 traveled on secret royal missions, gained keen insight into the general situation. He met and held discussions with outstanding Confucian scholars such as Ki U-man, Yi Chun, Kim Pok-han, Song Pyŏng-jik, Yu In-hyo, Chŏn U, Kwak Chong-sŏk, and many others. In particular, the scholars who belonged to the schools of Yi Hwa-sŏ (pen name Pyŏkkye) and Yi Hak-no, pen name Sarim, struck a responsive chord in my father. Therefore, he granted my wish forthwith to study under Myŏnam; as a matter of fact, he recommended it.

Also agreeing with his choice for my teacher were Song Ton-hŏn, pen name Kyŏlsŏng, who was the husband of my adopted family's aunt; and my cousins on my mother's side, Chae-sŏk and Chae-gyŏng. Chae-gyŏng was adopted as heir by *p'ansŏ* Song Se-hŏn, the eldest grandson of the main family of Uam. They agreed with my choice of a teacher because Myŏnam was loyal to the theories of Uam, with whom he identified.

Chikkak Yun Ha-yŏng, and Pŏmjae, the pen name of Kim Kyu-hŭng, who was a cousin on my natural mother's side, both wrote special letters agreeing with my choice of a teacher. *Chikkak* Yun was already known in his youth for his calligraphy and writing. While in Seoul, he was in clandestine contact with the Yusin political party, and for a time was a member of the Independence Association. In his capacity as a member of this association, *chikkak* Yun strove to reconstruct the government, but, frustrated by the influence of the Japanese authorities, he retired to his native village. So it was only natural for him to identify himself with what Myŏnam stood for. Pŏmjae,

too, well-grounded as he was in both the old classics and the currents of the new learning, shared the same ideas as Myōnam.

Early in the spring of 1902, accompanied by my father, I went to Changgwi-dong, Chōngsan, and made the prescribed courtesy call on Myōnam, paying the tributes of a disciple. I was thirteen years old.

For about one month I stayed at the home of Kim Sun-nyō, a retired maidservant of my family who was now widowed. During this sojourn I was attended with loving care; nevertheless, I had difficulty because the water that flowed in the foothills of the Rose Mountains contained elements that affected my lungs, and the air was filled with the odor of rotten fish.

Because of his courageous directness through the years in giving advice to the throne, at the risk of his life, I thought that Myōnam would be a stern person, but on seeing him, I found him to be a man of kindness and warmth, a man who never once raised either his voice or his hand in admonishing his children or servants. He was also known for his filial piety to his mother, and his deeds made a vast impression on me. There was a constant stream of disciples from near and far to Myōnam's home, but using his old age as an excuse, he put his eldest son, *ch'ambong* Ch'oe Yōng-jo, in charge of both receiving guests and monitoring the students.

During the short time that I was there as a student, I saw many Confucian scholars of the northwestern schools coming to visit, and thus I had the opportunity personally to meet Myōnam's leading disciples. Myōnam was a friend of my father. Among the leading disciples were *sūngji* Song Pyōng-jik, *sūngji* Yi Pyōng-hun, and *chinsa* Yi Ch'ik. Later, I was greatly moved when *chinsa* Yi personally came to express his condolences to me while I was in mourning.

At that time *chinsa* Yi, desiring to study the Japanese language at a private school in Nonsan, asked Myōnam, who at once gave his approval, saying that study was essential, be it the old or the new learning. I was impressed by Myōnam's uncommon vision.

This was a time when Myōnam, entrusting his eldest son,

ch'ambong Ch'oe, with the guidance and monitoring of the students and the receiving of arriving guests, devoted himself to collecting and editing the writings of Hwasŏ, and he was about to complete the mimeographing of the writings from his personal transcriptions. The younger students at the time consisted of *ch'ambong* Ch'oe's eldest son, who was twelve, and second son, who was seven; *sŭngji* Song Pyŏng-jik's eldest son, thirteen (the same age as me); and a neighborhood boy, who was sixteen. I was particularly close to *ch'ambong* Ch'oe's sons and *sŭngji* Song's son. Later I heard it said that *sŭngji* Song's son had married a daughter of *ch'ambong* Ch'oe.

In less than a month after becoming Myŏnam's student, I had to return home on account of the death of my adoptive mother. It was my intention to return and continue my studies under Myŏnam after three years' mourning (actually twenty-four months). It so happened that the following year the Kyŏngju Ch'oe clan decided to put the clan register in order, and following the opinion of the Ch'oe clan, it was decided to establish the genealogical headquarters in Kyŏngju, with Ch'oe Myŏnam as supervisor at large. Thus, in order to express his personal condolences on his way to Kyŏngju, Myŏnam came to visit me. Even under the restrictions of mourning, I was keeping up with my studies on my own. Glad to see me doing this and as a sign of encouragement, Myŏnam presented me with a pen name, Hangjae, promising that later he would give me the presentation poem. This promise Myŏnam did not fulfill, perhaps because of what soon happened. Anyway, it was a great personal honor for me. As this news spread throughout the neighborhood and among family members, it was said that this was a sign of the esteem in which Myŏnam held me as his foremost disciple.

Ch'oe Myŏnam became the target of a joint denunciation by the leading Confucian scholars of the three southern provinces, namely, Kwak Chong-sŏk of Kyŏngsangdo, Chŏn U of Chŏllado, and Song Pyŏng-sŏn of Ch'ungch'ŏngdo. The reason behind this denunciation was that Ki Chŏng-jin, pen name Nosa, had written an essay questioning the theories of Yul-gok, and Myŏnam had written a biography of Nosa. According to the three Confucian scholars just mentioned,

Nosa's essay denigrated Yul-gok—the act of a traitor to the theories of Yul-gok—and by the same token, Myōnam, who had written Nosa's biography, was charged with the same traitorous offense. Beset with these charges and denunciations, in less than a year before completing the task of putting the clan register in order, Myōnam left Kyōngju and returned home.

In the following year, 1905, denouncing both the foreign enemy and the traitors who had signed the so-called five-article agreement, Myōnam went up to the capital city only to be arrested and expelled, and in the following year, 1906, he lost his wife. When the so-called seven-article agreement was forced upon Korea by Japan, Myōnam sent out a call to his five thousand disciples. In spite of such short notice, seven hundred of them came. Without wielding one sword or firing a single shot, Myōnam led his seven hundred disciples to the capital. Unfortunately, the party was intercepted at Choch'i-wōn by the Japanese police, which included military police. The party was then sent on to the capital under guard. All but three of them were sent back to their respective home villages. The three who refused to be separated from Myōnam were Song Pyōng-jik, Yi Pyōng-hun, and Yi Ch'ik. After holding the four of them in jail for a few days, the Japanese military police exiled them to the remote Japanese island of Tsushima.

On the island, Myōnam refused to eat any of the food supplied by the Japanese and went on a hunger strike until he died. Yi Ch'ik and Yi Pyōng-hun followed suit. Song Pyōng-jik alone remained alive to take care of the remains, that is, to see to the funeral rites, and he accompanied the coffins back to Korea. So it was that these men set the first example in world history of nonviolent resistance, starving themselves to death for their cause.

Thus, I was unable to fulfill the original intention that I had when I returned home in 1902 that is, to go back and study under Myōnam after completing my mourning. In search of new learning, I went up to the capital. Subsequently, I had an opportunity to meet Myōnam in person twice for a very brief moment: the first time was during the summer vacation of 1907 when I visited Myōnam to express my condolences on the

death of his wife; and the second was quite an unexpected chance meeting with Myŏnam early in the autumn of the same year. The second meeting came about in this way: Early one morning I left home at Sogyŏk-tong to meet my four schoolmates from Yangjŏng Ŭisuk— Mun Ki-jŏng, Sŏ Pong-gi, Ku Cha-uk, and Chŏng Kyu—as had been previously arranged. I was hurrying in the direction of Kongjohu-dong, when I was intercepted by the Japanese military police in front of Kŏnch'un Gate, and was sent to the Japanese military police station under guard in a covered ricksha. They told me that I was being escorted to Myŏnam at the latter's request, but this was hardly credible. In any event, I was glad to see him. On seeing me, Myŏnam told me repeatedly that he was counting on me to study hard and save the country and the people in accordance with the will of heaven and humanity. I wanted to remain with him but he did not permit it. I was sorry at the time that I was unable to meet *sŭngji* Song, *chinsa* Yi, and *sŭngji* Yi.

After returning home for mourning in 1902, I decided to study on my own. Joining me in winter study were a dozen others, in addition to Kwŏn Yŏng-jo (eight years my senior), Kim Yong-guk (five years my senior), Song Ki-hŏn (one year my senior), Chang Kap-ch'ul and Ch'ae Nam-sik (both three years my senior), and Kim Yong-gu (a third cousin of mine three years older than me.) The following spring and summer we all studied under Kim Kyŏng-hwan, pen name Ch'osan, who was a disciple of the leading Confucian scholar of Kyŏngsang-do, Kwak Chong-sŏk, pen name Sallim.

Kim Ch'osan, born in Kyŏngju, and now living in Andong, was a scholar of renown. Ch'osan traveled widely throughout the country, wearing wooden clogs. My father Kapkye, during his autumn and winter travels over the years, met Ch'osan frequently, and they became very close friends. Thus Ch'osan was invited to Mojŏng to teach. But in order to avoid factional disputes, the private school was set up at the home of Kwŏn Yŏng-jo (a descendant of T'anong). Kwŏn belonged to the same faction as Ch'osan, the *namin* or southern faction. It was at this school that I studied with the other youths.

Behind my decision to study at this school was my personal determination to break down the factional line, a line laden

with time-honored prejudices. There was also a family consideration: The third marriage of Sök-hŭi, grandfather of my adopted family, was to a woman of the Koryŏ Sin clan, a third-ranking Sin clan. She was a descendant of Pohanjae. Now, the Sandong Sin clan and the T'anbang Kwŏn clan had intermarried, contributing to close family ties, and it was only natural that I should have developed a close relationship with the youths of the Kwŏn family.

At that time, Ch'osan was engaged in a major enterprise. He was compiling histories of China and Korea, including anecdotes, and was putting them into verse. He had completed five volumes, and was now four-fifths of the way through the sixth, which dealt with the history of the Chosŏn dynasty. The manuscripts were personally written by Ch'osan, and were a gem of calligraphy. I assisted in the collection of the materials. As part of this effort, I went through the family library of *ch'amsŏ* Song Pyŏng-hŏn. Song's grandfather Hŭm was the magistrate of Sinnyŏng and a renowned scholar, who maintained contact with his friends in both the capital and the countryside. In the library were the literary collections of modern scholars, in addition to the works of Ch'oe Ko-un, Chŏng P'o-un, and Hwang Pang-ch'ŏn. There were also such reference materials as the *Oktang chahwi*, the *Wangssi sŏlmun*, the *Samgwan'gi*, and the *Imjin-nok*. I went through the writings of Kwŏn Yŏng-jo's fellow scholars of the *namin* or southern faction, as well as the works of the late scholars of the *pugin* or northern faction. I also went through the *Aarok* and *Munhŏn pigo*.

Ch'osan was of course a scholar of the *namin* faction. Nevertheless, he frankly spoke his mind, stressing the need to do away with factional distinctions and conflicts. Perhaps what made him do this was the fact that he was not only very well read but also observant of people and their morale during his wide travels, and this both broadened his vision and strengthened his spirit.

About October of that same year Ch'osan left for his home and I came to study under an old man, a Mr. Chang (pen name Ch'wigŭm, given name unknown). Mr. Chang originally hailed from Indong; he moved to Tugye, Yŏnsan, following

his father, and moved again to T'anbang. He was a man of uncommon scholarship in Chinese literature and was especially gifted in writing both poetry and prose. After many years in the capital, Mr. Chang returned home, following the Kapsin coup, to live in seclusion, and he began teaching. Born a conscientious, strong-willed man, Mr. Chang was incisive in his opinions, and he commanded the respect and affection of the public.

At the time Mr. Chang, too, like Ch'osan, was compiling the histories of Korea and China and putting them into verse. His eldest son, a talented youth then twenty-three, was doing the copying work. His calligraphy was extremely neat and elegant, comparable to the cabinet publishing office printing standards of the day.

About this time I was trying out five-character and seven-character verses, and one time I came up with this couplet:

mae-sok-yu-in-ch'wi
yang-min-ch'a-jo-sŏ

which may be loosely rendered:

Buy rice just to keep people drunk on
Plant trees just to lend birds a nest

Mr. Chang praised this couplet and also my essays on the usurper Wang Mang and on people's follies. This praise caused my fame to spread far and wide, a fame I personally thought excessive.

Mr. Chang's compilation of histories in verse form coincided with Ch'osan's. Both scholars had undertaken the task four or five years earlier, but this was a pure coincidence because neither knew of the other's work. The coincidence does not end here, for both scholars transcended factional distinctions, and Mr. Chang's work, too, consisted of six volumes.

In 1904, my period of mourning ended. Several months later, I came of age. I was fifteen and my wife, from the Ūnjin Song clan, fourteen. I continued my study of the classics on my own. I reread such works as the Four Books, the Three Canons, the *Chwajŏn*, the *Yegi*, the *Sarye Pyŏllam*, the *Changja*, the *Yŏlgukchi*, the *Sagi pyŏngnim*, and the *Kang-*

mok. In particular, I perused such books as the *Sonmuja*, the *Samgukchi*, the *Suhōjōn*, the *Soyugi*, and especially the *Sōng-t'an piju* with keen interest.

It was on the advice of my cousin Pōmjae (the pen name of Kim Kyu-hūng) that I moved from the old classics to the new learning. It came about this way: It was in the summer of 1902 that Pōmjae came to Mojōng to express his condolences on the death of my adoptive mother. At that time, he presented me with many books, including the *Myōnggi kangmok*, the *Tongguk t'onggam*, the *Koryōsa*, and the *Samguksa*, and the two of us discussed the deplorable situation confronting the nation. The following year Pōmjae came to Mojōng again, this time in connection with a dispute over the Kapch'ōn River levees. The dispute involved *ch'amp'an* Kang Hong-dae on one side and Pōmjae on the other. Pōmjae's purpose was to negotiate a compromise, and the negotiations were set to take place in my family's guest room. Representing Kang Hong-dae was his elder brother, *tosa* Kang Hong-do; representing the Pōmjae side were Pōmjae himself and Min Chun-sik, on behalf of his younger brother Tong-sik. With the agreement of both sides, an elder of Mojōng, *ch'ambong* Song Pyōng-yōn, was chosen as arbitrator. With Song as arbitrator, the negotiations proceeded smoothly; and with concessions on Pōmjae's side, a compromise settlement was finally reached.

At this time, Pōmjae presented me with such books on modern knowledge as the *Ŭmbingsōn munjip*, the *Chasō chot'ong*, the *Ta'aesō yōksa*, the *Manbōp chōngni*, the *Pugungnon*, and the *Man'guksa* by Chung Ya-an. In giving me these books, Pōmjae stressed the danger confronting Korea as a result of the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars, and he strongly advised me to acquire modern learning. I agreed with him, and my father gladly permitted me to pursue this knowledge.

In any event, upon my coming of age, I spent a very busy year, what with visits to members of my family's clan, to scholars in the vicinity, and to ancestral tombs. It was about this time that Myōnam suffered the concerted criticism from scholars of the three southern provinces, and he went up to the capital, following the so-called five-article agreement of 1905, in an effort to denounce the traitors and the foreign enemy. He

sought an audience with Emperor Kwangmu, but the emperor, obstructed by both the traitors and the foreign enemy, could not receive him. Myŏnam was sent back to his native home at Chŏngsan under the guard of the Japanese military police. Thus it became impossible for me to resume my study under him.

Immediately following my coming of age—it was at the time when Myŏnam was criticized by the scholars—there were strong hints to me from my wife's family that I study under Yŏnam. These hints were understandable because my wife's father, Song Yŏn-su, happened to be a second cousin of Yŏnam (the pen name of Song Pyŏng-sŏn), a *chwaeju*; and also of Song Kun-su, a *chwauijŏng*,* who was concurrently *yŏnggyŏngyŏnsa** and *kamch'unch'ugwansa** and teacher of the crown prince, and also of *chwaeju* Song Yŏn-su (homonymous with Yŏn-su, who was Hyŏn-gu's father-in-law).

I responded to these strong hints by stating that it was my wish to go to the capital to pursue modern knowledge. At that time, I received quiet and timely assistance, which I greatly appreciated, from *sŭngji* Song Pyŏn-hak. Behind this quiet assistance from *sungji* Song was his opinion that the tyranny of the disciples of Confucius in our country had gone too far. *Sŭngji* Song was a trusted son of my father-in-law's cousin.

2. MY PURSUIT OF MODERN KNOWLEDGE

Early in the spring of 1906, my father Kapkye took me to the capital and entrusted me to Pŏmjae for schooling. Pŏmjae arranged for my room and board in the home of an old friend, *saengwŏn* Cho Pong-sik, across the street from his own home at Pyŏk-tong. My roommate was Kim Yong-guk. Through Pŏmjae's introduction I met Nam Kye-hong of Suwŏn. An extremely talented man, Nam was well educated in both the new and the old knowledge, and I received from him private teaching in history, geography, and arithmetic. Pŏmjae helped me enroll in the Kyesan School, a private school established by *p'ansŏ* Min Yŏng-hwi and run under the direct supervision of his second son, *sŭngji* Min Tae-sik. The dean and the teachers were Yu Kŭn, Wŏn Yŏng-ŭi, and Sim Ŭi-sŏng. They were all close friends of Pŏmjae's from the days of the Independence

Association. Sim Ūi-sǒng, a *ch'amnyǒng**, happened to be a relation of Pǒmjae's. I learned a great deal, especially from teacher Wǒn, who held that service for the public good and patriotism with few words were the attributes of a gentleman. This precept of "service for public good" in words and deeds I also heard frequently from Pǒmjae and Chǒng An-nip. I was very much impressed by the fact that those who shared the cause were all of the same mind.

Pǒmjae, along with Wǒn Yǒng-ŭi and Chǒng An-nip, were members of an organization called the Chaganghoe. But to make himself less conspicuous in his secret project, Pǒmjae made me attend the Chaganghoe meetings on his behalf. Thus my contact with the trio became even more frequent.

In autumn of this same year, under the guidance and aegis of teacher Wǒn, I enrolled in Posǒng Middle School. Under *sǔngji* Yǒ Kyu-hyǒng, *sǔngji* An Chong-hwa, and Wǒn, I studied the Chinese classics, composition, geography, and history. Yi Chǒng-nae and *ch'amnyǒng* Chang Sǒng-wǒn taught English and physical training. *Sǔngji* Yǒ was known from boyhood for his lofty spirit and scholarship. When the Japanese settlement was created at Chin'gogae in Seoul, he climbed Namsan and recited a seven-character couplet:

sǔng-p'yǒng-chae-sang-kan-hwa-maek
t'ae-p'yǒng-ho-a'mok-ma-chang

which may be loosely rendered:

The prime minister sees flowers in the streets
An innocent child plays peacefully in the pasture

This couplet was a barb directed at those who were afraid of the Japanese and a reminiscence of the old capital of Seoul. But it was twisted by the authorities to mean an insult to the throne, and on this charge, *sǔngji* Yǒ was exiled. Later, when he attended a banquet given by Min Yǒng-ik, he recited another poem, the first stanza of which read:

chu-yak-sǔng-ji-yuk-sa-rim

which may be loosely translated:

Wine flows like a river and the meat is high as a mountain

For this recitation, *sŭngji* Yŏ was once again exiled. Thus his fame was widespread, and I thought it was my good fortune indeed that I had been able to study under him.

In 1907, the Japanese Governor General instituted a new school system under the supervision of an inspector. In this connection, the middle school at Honghyŏn in Seoul was downgraded to a higher common school. *Sŭngji* Yŏ was appointed principal, looking resplendent in a uniform with a gold-rimmed cap. It is a matter of great regret that this became the object of sneers by the local leaders at that time. These sneers notwithstanding, while studying the Chinese classics and composition under him, I learned a great deal about the new ideas of the old scholars in the last days of the Chosŏn dynasty, for *sŭngji* Yŏ used as his lecture materials the works of modern Korean leaders, in addition to the works of Chŏng Yak-yong, Pak Chi-wŏn, and Yi Kŏn-ch'ang.

In the course of attending the Chaganghoe meetings, I got to meet many leaders of the time such as Chang Chi-yŏn, Pak Ūn-sik, Kim Sang-ch'ŏn, Chun Nam-gung, Pyŏn Yŏng-il, O Se-ch'ang, Yi Hae-jo, Yi In-sik, Sŏk Chin-hyŏng, Yu Sŏng-jun, Yi Myŏn-u, Kang Yun-hŭi, An Kuk-sŏn, and Kim Chun-wŏn. At school I made friends with Kim Yong-jun (a second cousin on my mother's side), Kim Yong-dal, Chŏng T'ae-guk, Chŏng T'ae-ch'ae, Kim Yŏng-sŏn, Pak Kwang-hŭi, Pyŏn Yŏng-t'ae, many relatives, and many others. In addition, upon my arrival in the capital I met Kang Hong-bin, the younger brother of *ch'amp'an* Kang Hong-dae, and maintained daily contact with him. At the time he was a policeman; later he was transferred to Hamhŭng. Then I met Yi Myŏng-gu, of Hansan, also a policeman.

Some of my friends suspected these two policemen of being counterintelligence agents. But I insisted that even if they were agents, there was no way to denounce them as such; for given the situation in Korea at the time, mutual suspicions were rampant. I never allowed myself to be accusatory or suspicious, maintaining that it was better to trust and be deceived than to cheat oneself through distrust.

While cousin Pŏmjae frequented my family's guest room in connection with the Kapch'ŏn River levee dispute, there were

many other visitors. Through Pömjae's introduction I met many people of high learning and position, including: *sŭngji* Yi Pyöng-ho, *sŭngji* Yi Pyöng-so, *ch'amp'an* Kim Chöng-jin, *ch'amp'an* Min Hyöng-sik, *ch'ambong* Min Sung-bom, *ch'ambong* Song Kyöm-sun, *ch'ambong* Song Su-hön, *chusa* Sin Chwa-hüi (the husband of Pömjae's sister), Pömjae's younger brother Kyu-sön, Min Tong-sik (son of *ch'amp'an* Min Yöng-suk), *ch'ambong* Yun Hong-sik (brother of Pömjae's wife), *chusa* Yun Pong-sik (another brother of Pömjae's wife), *ch'ambong* Yi Yöng-wön (cousin Kyu-sön's brother), *ch'ambong* Chöng Paek-wön (my maternal uncle), and *chusa* Chöng Chong-wön (a cousin on my mother's side).

They were all involved in the levee dispute. My maternal uncle *ch'ambong* Chöng, represented the family of *sŭngji* Yi Söng-gyu, and *chusa* Chöng, cousin on my mother's side, represented the family of Min Yöng-hwan, pen name Ch'ung-jöng. I also attended the negotiations as a party to the dispute. But because of our youth, Yi Wön-yöng, Min Tong-sik, and I were present at the negotiations merely as observers. Min Tong-sik was represented by his elder brother Chun-sik. The proceedings at this stage consisted of a pro forma meeting for reporting on the settlement already reached through the concession made to the side of *ch'amp'an* Kang Hong-dae. But this effort was made pointless because the levees were eventually taken over by the Japanese under an agreement signed between Korea and Japan. Still, I have these disputes to thank for my good fortune in being able to meet such renowned elders.

Through the introduction of *tosa* Kang Hong-do, I met *chunggun** Ma (personal name unknown), of Hamhüng. He was living at Sogyök-tong at the time. Known for his phrenological interpretations, *chunggun* Ma was endowed with tremendous physique and vigor. In the era of Kwangmu, Ma had served as *hyöpp'an** of the Ministry of the Royal Household, with access to the throne. But he was not really interested in a new government job, so he reverted to his old title of *chunggun*, and was known as *chunggun* Ma.

Chunggun Ma was also in his own right an accomplished scholar of the old classics. He presented me with the writings

of Confucius and Zhuzi and frequently gave me long lectures on the *Samnye* and *Samjŏn* classics. This broadened my horizon. He also gave me many explanations of the book of physiognomy. It was his belief that good or bad fortune in one's life is ultimately brought on by one's own thoughts and actions and that it would be wrong to rely too much on phrenological interpretations. I was quite impressed by this.

Through the introduction of *saengwŏn* Cho Pong-sik, I met his younger brother Ch'un-sik and his fourth cousin Tong-sik, and we became close friends. Later, I lived with Cho Tong-sik in the same house at Sogyŏk-tong.

In 1906, I enrolled in Posŏng Middle School and my scholastic achievements were good. But about the middle of the second term, that is, about March, the question arose among the students as to whether or not to do away with the topknot. My parents and Ch'oe Myŏnam were dead set against doing away with it, and rebels in the countryside, who considered those with short-cropped hair to be members of the Ilchinhoe, that is, traitors, frequently beat them up and even killed them. Under the circumstances, had I cut the topknot, it would have been impossible for me to return home. Voluntarily stopping my going to school, I inquired of my father whether I should or should not cut my topknot. Several months passed without an answer, and it became impossible for me to return to school.

Early in the autumn of the same year my father and aunt came up to Seoul to attend to such matters as setting up and running a household. Through the good offices of Cho Tong-sik, a big house at Sogyŏk-tong was rented. Cho lived in a back building known as Hogyŏngdang and I lived in the main building. Soon my aunt released her maid to marry and personally ran the household, primarily to take care of me. In the autumn of 1907, I passed the entrance examination for Yangjŏng Ŭisuk and majored in law. Yangjŏng Ŭisuk was one of several schools set up by Queen Ŭm with the financial backing of the Royal Household.

Between 1905 and 1906, cousin Pŏmjae visited China disguised as a ginseng and paper merchant. The trip came about in this way: In 1906, Pŏmjae reported on the ensuing debacle

of the levee dispute at a meeting of the parties concerned, and he also advocated that it would be the best measure for national salvation to join hands with China in commerce and diplomacy. Everyone present agreed with Pömjae and entrusted him with conducting necessary surveys and carrying out the project. At the time, he was planning to use, in addition to contributions from Chinese and Korean residents in China, forty million wŏn worth of credit held in Shanghai by the Royal Household, under quiet arrangements made by my mother's second cousin from the Yŏnil Chŏng clan (she was the wife of *p'ansŏ* Yi Kyŏng-sik), and by *p'ansŏ* Cho Min-hŭi and *p'ansŏ* Min Kyŏng-ho.

So in 1906, Pömjae visited China once again, and as a result obtained the financial backing of wealthy Chinese and Korean residents, such as Min Yŏng-ik and Sŏ Sang-jŭp. Pömjae also obtained the agreement of the United States, Great Britain, and Chinese military personnel and scholars to teach at the academy without pay. Immediately upon return home, he received a secret royal mission from Emperor Kojong and traveled again to China as a special emissary.

At that time, scores of students had gone to China ahead of Pömjae. I was to be one of those students, but I was unable to join the group until the household set up in Seoul under the care of my aunt was dissolved. However, in preparation for my eventual trip to Manchuria, Pömjae introduced me to a Chinese man, a Mr. Cho. I don't know his personal name but he was treated as a *chinsa*, and I studied Chinese language and customs under him.

Chinsa Cho, of Anhwei Province, was a scholar who had passed the provincial examination. He had come to Korea in 1895 as a soldier in the Sino-Japanese war, but he remained in Korea without returning to China, following the old Chinese code of honor forbidding a defeated soldier from returning home. An upright man of virtue, he was well versed in the theories advanced by Liang Chichao; yet he leaned toward the democracy of Tang Shaoyi rather than Liang's constitutional government. Out of kindness to me, *chinsa* Cho presented me with rare books by Han Fei and Shangzi.

Before Pömjae could proceed to China, his plan was dis-

covered by the Japanese military police, and he was arrested and jailed for one hundred days. At that time, *chinsa* Cho advised me that since he had relatives and friends in a number of provinces, I would have an opportunity to study in China, Britain, or the United States. I was very grateful for this gracious gesture. But reluctantly I had to decline his offer, because it so happened that I was one of those selected to accompany my maternal cousin, Yi Kyo-sŭng, pen name Wŏnnam, who was to go abroad on a royal mission.

After his one-hundred day incarceration, Pŏmjae was released, but he was restricted to his house for one year. So the Japanese military police came daily to check on him, and officials from the office of the Resident General also came from time to time. Their purpose was to persuade Pŏmjae to proceed to Shanghai on the royal mission, collect the Royal Household's credit, and turn it over to the office of the Resident General, for which Pŏmjae would be generously rewarded with a large bonus and a high office. Pŏmjae turned this down every time. Meanwhile, through me he endeavored to transfer his royal mission to Wŏnnam.

Wŏnnam was my cousin on my mother's side. The third son of my uncle Injae on the maternal side of my adoptive family, Wŏnnam was adopted by my maternal uncle Kyŏngjae. Thus he was my maternal cousin. Pŏmjae's native home was Okch'ŏn-ŭp; Wŏnnam's was Iwŏn, Okch'ŏn. Not only were their native homes close to each other, but the two were related and were very close friends. Through Pŏmjae's introduction, Wŏnnam came to live at my house at Sogyŏk-tong. But Pŏmjae avoided direct contact with Wŏnnam and used me as a medium in his contact with Wŏnnam.

Born intelligent and handsome, correct in speech and bearing, Wŏnnam won the respect and love of his relatives and friends. Since taking up his duties as a secretary of the Ch'un-ch'ŏn Tax Office in 1903, his performance had been judged very high, and on the recommendation of all concerned, he was to be promoted to tax director of Kangwŏndo in 1905. But as a mark of private protest against the shameful five-article agreement of 1905, he firmly declined the position of tax director and continued as secretary until 1907, in order to

maintain his clandestine liaison with the rebels active in Kyönggido and Kangwöndo. Early in the summer of 1907, he resigned and came up to Seoul, and came to live in the back building of my home at Sogyök-tong.

After his arrival in Seoul, Wönnam completely broke contact with all elements of that time who were pro-Japanese. And on the excuse that they were relatives, Wönnam from time to time visited *p'ansö* Kim Söng-gün, *p'ansö* Yi To-jae, *ch'amp'an* Yi Ch'in-ik, *ch'amp'an* Kim Kap-su, *ch'amp'an* Yun Wön-gu, *p'ansö* Cho Min-hüi, *p'ansö* Min Kyöng-ho, and other leaders. While in Ch'unch'ön, Wönnam had become a Christian, and after his arrival in Seoul, he went every Sunday to Yöndong Church, a Presbyterian church. Frequently I accompanied him there, and Wönnam took me into his confidence.

It was through the good offices of Cho Tong-sik that the renting of the house at Sogyök-tong was arranged, and Cho, too, came to live in the back building of the house. At the time, among the frequent visitors to my guest room were Pömjae's fourth cousin Kim Kyu-chöl and *saengwön* Cho Pong-sik's younger brother, Cho Ch'un-sik (Cho Tong-sik's fourth cousin). Both Kim Kyu-ch'öl and Cho Ch'un-sik were well read, and they were then copying the classic *Munhön pigo* for a living. This copying work was done in my guest room.

Kim Kyu-ch'öl used to live, attending his mother, in Chech'ön near the home of his maternal family (*p'ansö* Chöng Hae-ryön). Soldiers who had been disbanded in 1902 and 1905 had been gathered together by Yi Kang-nyön, and were active in the mountainous areas of the three provinces of Ch'ung-chöng pukto, Kyönggido, and Kangwöndo. Known for his scholarship, young Kim Kyu-ch'öl served for about one year as secretary of the Yi Kang-nyön rebels. In 1906, the rebel leaders were arrested and all the troops disbanded. So for his personal safety, Kim came up to Seoul.

At the time, Cho Tong-sik was in mourning for his late father. His father had assumed the office of Yangsöng County magistrate in 1905, only to be murdered by the rebels. The rebels were quite fragmented, and there were a good many bandits posing as rebels. There was no way to identify which

rebel faction the culprits belonged to, if they were indeed rebels, or whether they were bandits posing as rebels. Broad-minded as he was, Cho Tong-sik never showed even a trace of enmity toward Kim Kyu-ch'öl, but the relationship between the two men became awkward and strained. So, Cho Tong-sik moved away from Sogyök-tong.

After Cho Tong-sik moved away, *siö* Chang Chi-han and his wife's brother, *ch'ambong* Sin Hyön-gap, moved in to fill the vacancy. I became close friends with *siö* Chang's younger brother, Chi-ho. *Siö* Chang was well versed in the Japanese language and was a clerk in the office of the Japanese lawyer Takahashi Shonosuke. Takahashi was in turn a close friend of Ogaki Takeo, a supporting member and adviser to the Korean organization, the Chaganghoe. It was through the introduction of *ch'amnyöng* Sim Ŭi-söng, a Chaganghoe member, that *siö* Chang came to live in my house. But in a few months *siö* Chang moved out to live in a house he had purchased in Nam-ch'ön.

It was at this time that my cousin Wönnam resigned his position in Ch'unch'ön and came up to Seoul to live in the back building of my house. Wönnam was very kind to me, and informally designated me the third member of a three-man special delegation which planned to slip out of the country on a secret royal mission. Following the secret plan, Pömjae and Wönnam suggested I enroll in the night class of Tonmyöng Ŭisuk. This school, set up in Kwanhyön Palace by Yi I-yong, who was in charge of the palace, offered intensive courses in law, economics, politics, Japanese language, surveying, and so on. It seemed to me that Yi was the head of the special delegation about to slip out of the country.

The wife of *p'ansö* Yi Kyöng-sik extended an invitation to me to come and see her, through her eldest son *süngji* Yi Söng-gyu (who was adopted as heir by his eldest uncle). Meanwhile, *p'ansö* Min Kyöng-ho extended a similar invitation to me through his younger brother Söngho. The purpose of both invitations was identical: to advise me to sit for the examination for tax officials. Pömjae and Wönnam advised me to do likewise. The reason behind the advice was this: Normally, a special delegation of Emperor Kojong would consist of three

persons—the head of the delegation, a man of the rank of *ch'amp'an* or above, and the two other members, men of the rank of *sŭngji* or the equivalent. Previously, such delegation members would have received temporary appointments to the necessary rank, but such temporary appointments were no longer possible under the five-article agreement. Thus, their advice to me was motivated by a desire to get me to pass the examination and obtain the necessary rank. This decision had been made several months before Wŏnnam was murdered, but it was not until two months after the murder that I actually sat for the examination. The decision was more for the purpose of cloaking my anti-Japanese identity than for acquiring the necessary rank to be a member of the special delegation.

I was successful in passing the examination, which made me eligible for immediate employment in government service, but for me to take up such employment was out of the question, as I was busy, along with three of my friends, Song Chin-hŏn, Hong Sŭng-guk, and Kim Kyu-sŏng, making preparations to leave the country. It seemed that someone else, using my name, took up the employment made available as a result of my successful examination.

Anyway, what helped me a great deal in sitting for the examination was that in the summer of 1907 I had received intensive courses in Japanese language and in mathematics in the night class of Tongmyŏng Ŭisuk, a school established by instructor Chŏn Sŏn-guk in Samch'ŏng-dong, and that I had also received intensive courses in law, economics, and so on at the Tonmyŏng Ŭisuk in Kwanghyŏn Palace [not to be confused with the Tongmyŏng Ŭisuk just mentioned], in autumn of the same year.

My aunt, an old-fashioned lady, at first would not allow me to study abroad on the grounds that it was improper that I, heir to both my natural and adoptive families, should study all alone in a foreign land. But in the one year that she was looking after me in Seoul, she came to grasp the social situation and the change in direction that was the current of the times. She also had opportunities to discuss the situation with her elder sister's son, *ch'ambong* Chŏng Mun-hyŏn. In the process, she came to lean toward reform.

Having heard and witnessed herself the incidents involving Pömjæ and Wönnam, my aunt gave her wholehearted approval to my going abroad. She closed up the household and returned to her native village and I went to live with *ch'ambong* Chöng. During my stay with his family, I became close friends with his eldest son Chöng Suk-ok, his son-in-law Kim Sang-ok, and his third cousin Chong Sun-kwak.

During my three years' stay in Seoul, it was at Posöng Middle School that I became close friends with Pyön Yöng-tae, Chöng Tae-guk, Chöng T'ae-ch'ae, Kim Yong-jun, Kim Yong-dal, Kim Yöng-sön, Pak Kwang-hüi, and others; and at Yangjöng Üisuk, I became friends with Ku Cha-uk, Mun Ki-jöng, Chöng Kyu, Min Pyöng-gi, and others. Also I learned a great deal from the Yangjöng Üisuk teachers, among them Chang To, Sök Chin-hyöng, Yi Myön-u, An Kuk-sön, Yi Chin-u, Yu Mun-hwan, Yu Süng-gyöm, and Pak Man-sö. In particular, Chang To, a man of lofty spirit and speech, frequently emphasized patriotism, and this particularly impressed me. I am especially grateful to teacher Chang for his profound guidance at the time that I was preparing for the tax official examination. Also the principal, *ch'amp'an* Öm Chu-ik, a magnanimous man, deeply impressed me.

In my three years' stay in Seoul, I was much too busy with attending school and forming clandestine organizations to have a social life of any kind. But busy as I was with such activities, I had opportunities to visit the wife of *p'ansö* Yi Kyöng-sik, my natural mother's second cousin, who was my childhood playmate and like a real sister. I visited her several times upon invitations that she extended through my maternal uncle, *chinsa* Chöng Chong-wön. Later she extended similar invitations to me, this time through her eldest son, *süngji* Yi Söng-gyu; so again I visited her several times.

P'ansö Min Kyöng-ho—with whom my father Kapkye had frequent personal contacts while secretly touring the country on a royal mission during the time when *p'ansö* Min Kyöng-ho was Inspector of the Yöngbyön area, and also while my father was working as a land surveyor under *p'ansö* Min Ch'i-sun—extended invitations to me to come and see him. So I

met him, too, several times. The invitations came through his cousin, *tosa* Min Sǒng-ho.

It was indeed Mrs. Yi, the wife of *p'ansǒ* Yi Kyǒng-sik, and *p'ansǒ* Min Kyǒng-ho who provided their good offices in arranging for Wǒnnam's secret mission, in making me a member of the mission delegation, and in arranging for me to sit for the tax official examination. So I am especially grateful to them.

My other contacts were with my schoolmates of Posǒng Middle School and Yangjǒng Ŭisuk, and those circles were extremely small. I also frequented Chaganghoe and, subsequently, Taehanin Hyǒphoe [The Society of Koreans] meetings, where I became acquainted with the leaders of the day. I was among the sponsors organizing the Hosǒ Haksǎeng Ch'in-mokhoe [Student Friendship Association of Ch'ungch'ǒng Provinces], and I was elected chairman of the first board of trustees.

At that time, as the ship of state was sailing into increasingly dangerous waters, various kinds of clandestine patriotic organizations were formed. Many of these clandestine organizations were moved by a do-or-die spirit—the time-honored, old tenet, especially in the old Korean Confucian teaching, to face death calmly and die for the cause. Suicide was common. And there is no denying that the insular custom of suicide in Japan, which had recently infiltrated Korea, had something to do with this trend.

Itō Hirobumi, a disciple of Yoshida Shōin, won fame for a couplet he wrote on the eve of his departure for the United States to study, expressing his resolve:

To pursue study abroad a man leaves home,
Failing which he would rather die than return home.

After arrival in the United States, Itō was enrolled at Yale University at the same time as Tang Shaoyi. Tang Shaoyi completed his studies and earned his doctorate.⁴ But Itō returned home to Japan before completing his own studies. He was called back to take part in the government reform movement, the so-called Meiji Restoration. How does this square with his eloquent couplet?

Syngman Rhee, pen name Unam, while on board a ship in

the Pacific on his way to the United States as a member of a royal delegation, and also to study there later, wrote a quatrain. This poem, for which he achieved renown, reads:

Someone with a dull knife of a pen
 Dissected my intestines.
 Can a man's infinite grudge
 Be washed off in the Pacific?

Did Unam, born so timid, really have such a spirit of righteous indignation that he was ready to die for the cause?

I was steeped from my childhood in the teachings of Yi Hwasŏ and Ch'oe Myŏnam that it is better to strive for the public good by risking one's life than by committing suicide for the cause. So I formed a group called Kyosaeng-dan, or a group of people ready to risk their lives. The central cell of this group was three persons, who in turn each organized a cell of three persons, who in turn did the same thing, and so on. There was vertical communication among the cells but no horizontal, that is, intercell, communication. In Seoul, there were twelve primary cells and over seventy secondary cells. The movement spread to the provinces, and the response was especially good in Hwanghaedo, P'yŏngando, and Hamgyŏngdo.

During my stay in Seoul, it was through Yi Tal-yŏng's introduction that I met *ch'amsŏ* Yi Chong-un, who was older than I, and Yi Sang-ik, who was my age. Through Yi Sang-ik's introduction, I met Sin Ku-yŏng and Sŏ Sang-p'il. At the time, Sin and Sŏ were each holding some kind of job in Seoul, but to this day I do not know what the jobs were. Through Chŏng Sun-kwak's introduction, I met Yi Se-ho.

Among the students with whom I became close friends were Yi Pyŏng-hun and Yi Chong-yŏng, both of Chŏnju, and Chŏng Myŏng-sŏp, of Changsŏng. Then there was policeman Kang Hong-bin (younger brother of *ch'amp'an* Kang Hong-dae), with whom I was in contact from my first days in Seoul. After Kang Hong-bin was transferred to Hambŭng, policeman Yi Myŏng-gu (of Hansan, and a distant relative on my father's maternal side) used to frequent the guest room of my house, and we became close friends. At the time, some of my

friends thought Kang and Yi were spies, and advised me to be careful. But who would know the truth? Even if the allegations were true, there was no way I could denounce them, and I told myself that the only way was for me to behave naturally. In any event, during their incarceration, Pömjae and Wönnam were held incommunicado, and it was from Kang and Yi that I was able to get detailed reports on the course of events.

At Pömjae's home I met Chin-yöng, the eldest son of Pömjae's eldest brother. After the death of Wönnam, I met *ch'ambong* Yi Ton-süng (Wönnam's eldest brother) and his eldest son Yi Kün-yong. I also met Song Ton-hön, pen name Kyosöng, my aunt's husband, and his second son Song Chae-kyöng, pen name Sidök (adopted as heir by *p'ansö* Song Sehön, Uam's oldest grandson of the main family), and his oldest son *ch'ambong* Song Chae-hyöp. When I met him, Sidök was staying at his wife's home in Seoul on his way to Kangwön in search of ginseng and antlers as medicine for his illness. Later I heard it said that the medicine did not work and he died at an early age. It is a matter of great regret that it was not possible for me to express my condolences at the time.

My natural mother was one of ten children, nine girls and one boy. Pömjae's mother was the first-born, and my mother was the second born, followed by seven girls, and the last-born was my uncle Chöng Paek-wön. When I went to Korea in 1963, my original plan was to stay there for about two years, during which time I was to call on these relatives and friends, and their children. But within two months I had to return suddenly because my throat trouble flared up again. It is a matter of great regret indeed that I could not realize my plan.

Cho Tong-sik engaged in his educational work with lifelong dedication. Pyön Yöng-t'ae was also engaged in educational work but advanced into the political world after liberation. An upright man, he could not stand corruption and so retired from politics, but he continued his criticism, which, I heard, won public acclaim. I also heard it said that Chang Chi-ho was stirring up the press with his satirical short stories. I regret very much that later I was not able to meet any of these three friends of mine.

It was my special intention to visit Yi Kŭn-yŏng or his children to make a detailed report on the life of Wŏnnam, but I could not do so because of my busy itinerary. I regret this very much, too. There were only four or five people who know the facts behind the untimely death of Wŏnnam, and among them I am the only one who was directly involved with him and who daily followed the course of events in detail. Immediately after Wŏnnam's untimely death I met Yi Kŭn-yŏng several times, but on every occasion the meeting place was not conducive to this kind of conversation, and there was also the fear of unwittingly leaking the secret. After my arrival in the United States, I made no attempt to contact my relatives and friends at home, out of fear that this might trigger Japanese suspicion against others.

To be sure, I was very busy during my visit to Korea in 1963. Still, to this day it is a matter of great regret that I could not even once visit the families on both my paternal and maternal sides. My plan to visit the family on my mother's side was not to be realized either. With my maternal cousin's sons Kim Chin-yong and Chin-hong acting as my guides, I visited the home of my maternal cousin's husband, Yi Myŏng-gu, in Ch'ŏngju-myŏn. A renowned physician, Yi Myŏng-gu had earlier served for two years as governor of Ch'ungch'ŏng pukto under President Syngman Rhee, and was now running the Sinmyŏng Clinic. It so happened that, at that time, my maternal cousin was away from home, visiting her grandson Tae-wŏn, who was an army captain in Seoul. So I missed seeing her, again to my regret.

At that time, it was also in my schedule to visit another maternal cousin, Chŏng Un-jik. But an unexpected heavy rainfall washed out the mountain road, so I had to postpone the visit, and later things happened that made the planned visit impossible. Another regret.

My maternal uncle *ch'ambong* Chŏng Paek-wŏn had only a daughter and no son, and his son-in-law was Yi Myŏng-gu. My second cousin *ch'amp'an* Chŏng To-wŏn's second son Un-jik was adopted by another family and was now living at Chinch'ŏn, the adoptive family's ancestral home. I also told myself that I must visit the grandchildren of my earlier teacher

Ch'oe Myŏnam, but this too was not to be realized. I heard it said that one of Myŏnam's grandsons became Chŏng Un-jik's son-in-law. I was also given to understand that when my maternal great-uncle, *tosa* Chŏng Hae-do, was accused of treason for his opposition to Queen Min, it was Myŏnam who came to his aid and straightened him out with persuasive preaching. What a strange turn of events! For this reason alone, if for nothing else, I wanted so much to meet Chŏng Un-jik and Myŏnam's grandson. To this day, I cannot help feeling ashamed of my failure to meet them.

When I arrived in Korea, Syngman Rhee had already been driven out of the country, but public indignation was still running high against him. Rhee had once been a feared and dominant figure, and was naturally inclined to resort to assassination intrigues and had had the quasi-wartime activities of the military, police, and youth organizations behind him. But his Liberal Party had by this time shrunk to a mere five or six hundred members, who were now, it was said, under the baton of Pak Sun-ch'ŏn (a personal female friend of Franchesca, wife of Syngman Rhee).

I heard Yi Myŏng-gu and Cho Ri-ho defend Syngman Rhee. According to Yi Myŏng-gu, the responsibility for corruption and misconduct rested with those who were under Syngman Rhee, not with Syngman Rhee himself. Cho Ri-ho's line of defense was more or less similar. Anyway, both of them said that it was praiseworthy of Rhee that he did not use military force to crush the opposition. When Yi Myŏng-gu was the governor of Ch'ungch'ŏng pukto under President Rhee, Chŏng Un-jik's eldest brother Un-gap was minister of home affairs. I regret I did not have an opportunity to hear what Chong Un-gap had to say in defense of Syngman Rhee.

During my earlier stay in Seoul before I came to the United States, I was acquainted with both the new and the old learning, but not in depth, to my chagrin. In my first year at school, I used to rank first or second, and certainly not below third in my class. But in subsequent years I slipped to fifth or sixth, distracted as I was by the deteriorating national situation and because I was also busy trying to clear Pŏmjae's and Wŏnnam's names and with the forming of secret organizations. But

I acquired a great deal of extracurricular knowledge from Pömjae and from the aforementioned Chinese gentleman and scholar, Mr. Cho, in history, scientific theory, and the general current situation. They taught me for many hours on these subjects, and we also held discussions on such works as the *Collected Writings* of Liang Chichao, *Western History* by Yi Un-rim, and *World History* by Chöng Ya-an.

The opinions held by both Pömjae and Mr. Cho were more or less the same except that Pömjae argued for socialism and Mr. Cho for capitalist democracy. Mr. Cho argued in favor of laying the groundwork for constitutional principles in order to move gradually on to democracy. In other words, he argued that a second revolution was essential for the improvement of politics in the East. Pömjae's rebuttal was that inasmuch as every revolution is violent and bloody, it is better to have only one revolution to accomplish the necessary reforms; furthermore, contemporary democracy is confined to politics, whereas it is essential to reform the economy—and for this, socialism is best.

Pömjae held the theory that historically, democracy was born to shatter the class system and establish universal equality, but politically, democracy had thus far only removed the peerage and its feudalistic succession, smashing only the political class system, and economically, it had failed to eliminate the classes; therefore, socialism was essential to achieve economic equality, smashing the division between rich and poor classes as it did the division between nobility and the common people. He argued that the first step toward smashing the division between rich and poor classes was to do away with the system of inheritance.

Where Pömjae and *chinsa* Cho agreed was on the spirit of law as embodied in the three separate branches of government: administrative, legislative, and judicial; and they agreed as well on the implementation of party politics as established in the English Magna Carta, the U.S. Bill of Rights, and in international comparative constitutional law; and both denied all forms of despotism, be it one-man, minority, or majority rule.

Indeed this shows the insight of both Pömjae and *chinsa* Cho that they foresaw the evil of a single-party system, evi-

denced in the modern history of the Soviet Union and China. Thus, it is easy to understand why Pŏmjae and Usŏng (the pen name of Pak Yong-man) hit it off so well in terms of their political opinions and cooperation in their activities.

The focal point of Liang Chichao's theory is that Confucian overemphasis on ethics and conservatism obstructs reform, that its ancestor worship immobilizes people and obstructs the development of reason and initiative, and that its advocacy of resignation and abstention fosters timidity. So Confucianism is opposed in favor of Mozi's altruism, and the practical ethics of Lu Xiangshan and Wang Yangming is supported—a spin-off of the Confucian doctrine that man's inborn nature is good. He also supported Mahayana Buddhism.

Pŏmjae's theory held that it would be well to adopt the good points of Confucianism, such as universal brotherhood and the altruism of Mozi, as well as Christian philanthropism. *Chinsa* Cho agreed with this more or less, except for the Christian part of it, on the grounds that the Christian dogma about the only son of god or the virgin mother is superstition which runs counter to the reason of modern man. This was similar to the anti-Christian declarations made by Wang Jingwei at a later date.

The focal point of Liang Chichao's political theory is constitutional government. It is seen as the best of all forms of government and yet a form which perpetuates, though perhaps not openly, discrimination through preferred treatment of the privileged circles over the common people. Pŏmjae, arguing for the extending of political democracy one step further to economic democracy, that is, socialism, opposed the Communist way of revolution and one-party dictatorship. While commenting on Liang Chichao, Pŏmjae at the same time quoted a quatrain from the opening chapter of the history of the fall of Vietnam, which deplored the miserable plight of the royal grandchildren who, for all the precious coral treasure they carried on their belts, were crying on the street corners, beggars who did not know their own names. Pŏmjae said that this was indicative of the ruling class, and he criticized it as a monarchism not far removed from that of Chŏn Kan-jae, who called his villages Yisinch'on [the villages of Yi subjects]. In his

rebuttal, *chinsa* Cho opposed socialism, because democratic reform should follow in stages, after first instituting a constitutional monarchy.

Liang Chichao called for the developing of material civilization and promoting business education through the adoption of the Western style of agriculture, commerce, and industry in order to correct the evils of the prevailing social tendency in China, which praised gentlemanliness and denigrated business and preferred culture to, for example, the military. Denouncing as a fostering of national timidity the emphasis in poetry on the sadness of parting that military service necessitates, Liang spoke out for the nobility of military service.

Even though he supported the implementation of a conscription system, Pömjae sounded a warning against an excessive tilting toward militarism. He cautioned against what the Chinese military cliques were doing, that they maintained private armies in their respective provinces as a self-defense measure and then engaged in power struggles, thus enervating the central government. With this, *chinsa* Cho agreed.

There were two kinds of *chinsa* [*jinshi*] in China: One was the *chinsa* who passed the provincial government examination, and the other, the *chinsa* who passed the state examination. Those who passed the state examination had titles conferred upon them in keeping with the degree of their knowledge, such as *chinsa*, *söksa*, *paksa*; or *chinsa*, *haksa*, *paksa*; or *haksa*, *paksa*, *taebaksa*. The *chinsa* of Mr. Cho was that of the provincial examination.

Despite my young age, both Pömjae and *chinsa* Cho were gracious enough on frequent occasions to spend long hours discussing theory and history, and this went a long way toward broadening my knowledge.

3. MY STUDY ABROAD

I got the idea of studying abroad immediately after I went to Seoul in 1906. The wife of *p'ansö* Yi Kyöng-sik was gracious enough to suggest that, if I so desired, she would endeavor to sponsor me for study in Japan at government expense, but I declined the offer with thanks. At the time, two of *p'ansö* Yi's relatives were studying in Japan at their own expense. One was

his son-in-law⁵ and the other was his cousin T'ae-ün, and Mrs. Yi's idea was to send me to Japan to live with her son-in-law. In any case, *p'ansö* Yi's son-in-law returned home from Japan the next year and Chöng T'ae-ün proceeded to the United States. Chöng and I later became lifelong friends, living together in Lincoln and Hastings, Nebraska, and graduating from Hastings High School at the same time.

Later, when Kim Yong-jun, Kim Kyu-söng, and others were scheduled to go to Shanghai in connection with Pömjae's plan for setting up a Korean military academy there, I wanted to join this advance party but could not. My aunt, who was at the time running the household in Seoul, was an old-fashioned lady, and repeatedly suggested that I, as head of the families of three cousins, should not leave the home country. Thus I could not join the advance group in Shanghai. Subsequently, however, my aunt changed her mind and gave her permission, though reluctantly, for me to travel abroad.

Among the reasons that prompted my aunt to change her mind was that Pömjae's plan was detected before it could be carried out. He was jailed by the Japanese military police and later placed under house arrest. At that time a Chinese gentleman, *chinsa* Cho, was gracious enough to offer me financial help, suggesting that I study at a university either in Tianjin or Beijing and then proceed to the United States or Britain for advanced study. But it happened at the time that I was busy making arrangements for Wönnam to travel on a secret royal mission to take over and carry out Pömjae's plan, and I had already been designated a member of this mission. So I had to decline *chinsa* Cho's offer as well. Unfortunately, before the plan could be carried out, Wönnam was arrested on trumped-up charges. He died while being held in custody by the Japanese military police, and the plan came to naught.

Upon the conclusion of the so-called seven-article agreement in 1907, the Korean army, including the Royal Guard, was disbanded, and Major Pak Söng-hwan killed himself in protest. The entire Royal Guard was cut down in a rebellion. Moreover, Kojong was forced to abdicate the throne. With the enforcement of what was called the school ordinance, most of the private schools were closed down on the grounds that they

were insufficiently funded, and colleges were downgraded to higher common schools. Law schools were banned from teaching constitutional law, administrative law, criminal law, public and private international law, and jurisprudence or general principals of law, on the grounds that Japan would be handling administrative, judicial, and diplomatic affairs. These schools were allowed to teach only civil proceedings, criminal proceedings, and the Japanese language, with a view to making the graduates eligible to be court clerks and interpreters. In this connection, on the first day of the fall semester in 1907, teacher Chang To, instead of teaching the scheduled subjects, made a moving speech of indignation, which struck a responsive chord among the students.

In the same year, 1907, as a way of honoring Yunghŭi's (Sunjong) ascension to the throne, an amnesty was granted to prisoners. Under the amnesty, offenders convicted of charges of civil disturbance and murdering local government officials were released, but those convicted of murdering Japanese nationals were not. Thereupon, the P'yŏngniwŏn [higher court] procurator, Yi Chun, indicted the minister of justice, only to get himself accused of improper impeachment of a higher official. In the ensuing trials, lawyer Yi Myŏn-u defended Yi Chun amid rising public indignation.

Under these circumstances, my thoughts of getting out of the country grew stronger. After the tragedies of Pŏmjae and Wŏnnam, my aunt closed up the household in Seoul and returned to her native village. I went to live with the family of *ch'ambong* Chŏng Mun-hyŏn, son of my aunt's sister. At this time members of the advance party who had earlier gone to Shanghai returned, and I met Kim Kyu-sŏng again. I concentrated my efforts on a plan to get out of the country. This was in the early autumn of 1908.

Because of rising public indignation, Yi Chun's public trial was turned into a secret trial and he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment and stripped of his government position. But by the special consideration of Kojong, he was pardoned and restored to office. Immediately thereupon, he was dispatched together with Yi Wi-jong and Yi Sang-sŏl to the Hague World Peace Conference on a secret royal mission, but

failing to fulfill his mission, Yi committed suicide out of indignation and was buried in the Hague.

Through the good offices of Kim Kyu-sŏng and the kind arrangements of Song Chin-hŏn, I was to travel with them to the United States. Joining the three of us as a traveling companion was Hong Sŭng-guk, thus making it a party of four. Among my traveling companions, I had just met Song Chin-hŏn for the first time, and for this reason was especially grateful to him. Unfortunately, Kim Kyu-sŏng had to remain behind, and only Song, Hong, and I arrived at Vladivostok. While we were attending to such official matters as the purchase of identification cards, it became apparent that there were two separate difficulties which had to be overcome, one of which especially involved me.

This difficulty was that the U. S. immigration authorities were very strict about the eye examinations of immigrants. I had long suffered from eye trouble and had become extremely myopic, but by now I was free from the trouble, and whatever eye disease I had suffered was not contagious. However, it was uncertain how the U. S. immigration authorities would view my history of eye trouble and there was a fear that I would be wasting an enormous sum of travel money if the authorities should reject me. One opinion among my traveling companions was that it would be better if I remained behind, have my eye disease treated, and come to the United States later, since the necessary travel money would be remitted to me. But it was only too clear that it would be extremely difficult for my companions to send the necessary funds to me while they themselves were traveling in foreign countries, not to mention the case of Kim Kyu-sŏng.

The other difficulty was that no one in the traveling party was proficient in the Russian language. This became a problem especially in view of the fact that, following the death of the archduke of the imperial family in a bomb explosion in front of the imperial palace during the Russian uprising of 1907, stringent surveillance was in force throughout Russia in order to apprehend members of the anarchist party or the revolutionary party. As a result of this stringent surveillance, Yi Chong-un, pen name Hangu, and Chang Kŏn-sang, who had

earlier traveled through Russia in the same year on their way to the United States, had been arrested by the Russian police at the Polish border and held in custody for a long time. Even though neither spoke Russian, they were proficient in English and eventually were released. But no member of our traveling party knew English, let alone Russian, and there was great fear among my traveling companions. It was suggested by some of my companions and others concerned that it would be better for me to remain behind, and that Sŏ Sŏng-gŭn, who knew Russian well, should accompany the traveling party as interpreter, in my place. However, Song Chin-hŏn rejected this suggestion, as did Yang Sun-man and Yang Sŏng-ch'un, who quietly supported me on account of their friendship with my father. Thus the suggestion was finally rejected and instead, Chŏn Myŏng-un, who knew some colloquial English, was chosen to accompany our traveling party. Later, this selection proved to be a very wise one.

Chŏn Myŏng-un was born in Seoul, a descendant of a meteorological official's family. He was a man of the world, lacking in proper education because of his early indulgence in women, but with an inborn intelligence. He was talented in handling people and in getting out of difficult situations. With a passing knowledge of colloquial English, he also knew a smattering of Russian.

After we departed from Vladivostok, it was necessary for us to change trains at Harbin and Manzhouli. The Siberian Railway from the Maritime Province ended at Zhangchun, and it was necessary to change to the Eastern Chinese Railway at Harbin and again to the Siberian Railway at Manzhouli. Anyone slow in changing trains was sure to run into difficulties, but because of the adroitness of Chŏn Myŏng-un we ourselves had no problems. As for the meals aboard the train, we made do with cooked mutton, chicken, dried fish, cooked fish, and bread bought at stations while the train was stopped; for drinking water we used tea made with hot water available at the stations. Nevertheless, we experienced no small difficulties in the nineteen days from Vladivostok to Moscow, but they were all overcome, thanks to Chŏn Myŏng-un. Again, it was thanks to Chŏn that we befriended a Russian army colonel

who was on board the Siberian train and who was sympathetic toward Korea, and that we were able to avoid suspicion of being anarchists.

At Warsaw, the capital of Poland, we were to change trains, but because we did not know that the train was to leave from a different platform, we missed it. Here again, it was Chŏn who befriended a certain Polish nobleman who was kind enough to arrange things for us at his own expense. Traveling through Germany and Holland, we crossed the English Channel on a ferryboat and arrived in England. At Southampton, we boarded an ocean liner bound for the United States. Aboard ship we met two American journalists from Chicago who helped us a great deal in taking care of the landing formalities. Also, it so happened that the doctor of the Immigration Service had worked some three years as a missionary doctor in a southern province of Korea, and we received no small help from him. We were very grateful to these American friends and to Chŏn, who made all this possible.

Earlier in 1907, Chŏn Myŏng-un had failed in his own attempt to assassinate Durham W. Stevens, an American, in San Francisco, and after arraignment on the charge of attempted murder, he was released on \$10,000 bail. But he jumped bail and, using an alias, slipped out of the United States from the port of New York for Vladivostok. He was having difficulty finding employment in Vladivostok when he joined our traveling party.

Stevens was a missionary and educator, and getting in the good graces of the Japanese imperial household and government after his arrival in Japan, he became a propagandist for Japan. After the conclusion of the so-called five-article agreement in 1905, Stevens became an adviser to the Korean government in the capacity of a representative of the Japanese Office of the Resident General in Korea. Stevens came back to America in 1907 to defend and propagandize the Japanese government's policy toward Korea. On his arrival in San Francisco, he contributed an article to a San Francisco paper containing remarks insulting to Korea. Thereupon, two Korean organizations in the community, the Hyŏpsŏnghoe and the Taedong Pogukhoe, sent representatives to the hotel where

Stevens was staying to question him and demand that he publicly retract the insulting remarks and apologize. Stevens refused, and the indignation of the Korean community in San Francisco mounted.

Meanwhile, it was reported in the press that Stevens was scheduled to leave San Francisco for the East the following day. Two members of the Korean community, Chang In-hwan (of Chǒngju, P'yǒngan pukto) and Chǒn (of Seoul) waited for Stevens at the Terminal Building in San Francisco. Chǒn Myǒng-un's gun jammed and, unable to fire, he struck Stevens in the jaw with the butt of the gun. Stevens pursued Chǒn, shouting, and bedlam broke loose. In the ensuing melee, Chang In-hwan fired two shots. One fatally hit Stevens and the other slightly injured Chǒn. After firing the two shots, Chang submitted to arrest. By now the crowd numbered several hundred and they threatened to lynch the two on the grounds that two yellow guys had attacked a white man. Among the crowd there was a lawyer, of Polish descent, who took it upon himself to explain the situation to the crowd, pleading for sympathy for the two, who had been acting to avenge the ruination of their country. Thus Chang and Chǒn were saved from the mob.

Chang In-hwan was escorted to police headquarters while Chǒn Myǒng-un and Stevens were taken to a hospital. After overnight treatment, Chǒn was transferred to police headquarters, but Stevens died. At the trial, Chang In-hwan was sentenced to life imprisonment on the charge of murder, but was paroled ten years later as a model prisoner. Taking advantage of his prison training in sewing, Chang opened a tailor shop and accumulated no small sum of money. On completing his period of parole, Chang returned to Korea and opened an orphanage, dedicating the rest of his life to charitable work.⁶

Returning to America from Vladivostok, Chǒn Myǒng-un accompanied Hong Sǔng-guk and me to Denver, Colorado, and helped us land jobs as domestic helpers in American homes. Later he went to Green River, Wyoming, and worked as a railroad laborer. I stayed with Hong Sǔng-guk in Denver, where we worked as domestic helpers, but because of the language difficulty and lack of familiarity with the work involved,

both of us quit our jobs. After that, I lived for a while with Yun Pyŏng-gu, and Hong Sŭng-guk stayed with Han Si-ho. A short while later, Yun left for San Francisco on his way to Honolulu, Hawaii, as his family had come there. Han, getting a job on a sugar beet farm, left for a rural area. Thus both Hong and I had no place to stay.

This time it was Nam Chŏng-hŏn who helped us. After communicating with Chŏn Myŏng-un, Nam quit his school and his job for our sake, and all three of us went to Wyoming to work as railroad laborers. After working the four summer months there, the three of us went to Lincoln, capital of Nebraska, where Usŏng (Pak Yong-man) was staying. Meanwhile, Chŏn went to New York to meet his wife, who was coming from Vladivostok in response to her husband's call.

Later, in 1914, on my way to Cornell University after graduation from Hastings High School, I stopped over in New York. I applied for a summer job, but it was impossible for an alien to land a job. Staying with Chŏn's family, I worked at a rice-cake store he ran, and I also worked at several part-time jobs: two or three times a week at Chang Su-yŏng's laundry, at a pool hall run jointly by Hong Tŭk-su and Sin Sŏng-gu, and at another pool hall jointly managed by Yi Si-ch'ae and Hong Chong-su. In this way, I earned some school expense money. In the process, I became greatly indebted to Chŏn Myŏng-un and his wife and began a lifelong friendship with them. Even during my two major clashes with Syngman Rhee, in 1919 and in 1930, although Chŏn Myŏng-un was a staunch supporter of Rhee, he never breathed a word of discourtesy to me. Again, in spite of the fact that in 1907, during the trial of Chang In-hwan and Chŏn Myŏng-un, Syngman Rhee refused to act as interpreter for them on the grounds that Chang and Chŏn were assassins, Chŏn staunchly supported Syngman Rhee, never holding any personal grudge—an indication of Chŏn's caliber.

4. MY STUDY IN THE UNITED STATES

Through the good offices of Kŏmun (Chŏng Sun-man) in Vladivostok, we obtained the U.S. address of Usŏng (Pak Yong-man) and picked Denver, Colorado, as our destination. But on

arrival in New York, at the urging of Sin Sŏng-gu, Hong Tŭk-su, and others, Song Chin-hŏn decided to remain in New York, and only Hong and I, accompanied by Chŏn Myŏng-un, decided to proceed to Denver. We were short of money, so we boarded a slow train. Our first day aboard the train, we ate a food package given us by our countrymen in New York. On the second day we reached Chicago, where we were treated to a sumptuous meal provided by *ch'amwi* Pak Pong-nae, who also gave us a good package afterwards. So for another day aboard the train we had food to eat, but for the next three days until we reached Denver, we had nothing to eat because we had no money to buy food.

In New York, we obtained the address of An Chŏng-su in Chicago and the addresses of Pak Yong-man and Yun Pyŏng-gu in Denver. We missed meeting An in Chicago, and on arrival in Denver, we found that the address we had for Pak was the address of an employment agency run by his uncle, *ch'amsŏ* Pak Hŭi-byŏng (pen name Changyŏn). With the good offices of Changyŏn and Usŏng, and the support of Dr. Hulbert, consul Kim Hŏn-sik, and special envoy Yun Pyŏng-gu, arrangements had been made during the Democratic presidential nomination convention held in Denver in 1907 to stage a Korean protest demonstration and meeting opposing Japan's rule over Korea under the protection agreement. After the demonstration and meeting, Changyŏn suddenly died and Usŏng moved to Nebraska. So nothing came of his address. Yun Pyŏng-gu's address turned out to be a post office box number, and there was no other way but to write a post card to this box. Meanwhile, we asked a mailman for the addresses of Korean students in the city. We were given one address where three Korean students were living together. We went to the address only to find that they were not at home; they were at school. So we left a brief note at the address. Then we proceeded to the street where the Chinese stores were located, and on inquiry, we were told that a Sech'ang Company used to supply foodstuffs to Koreans but as the Koreans had left town, there was no more contact with them. Another big disappointment.

It was a five-day journey from New York to Denver. For

the first two days we had food, but for the next three days there was no food at all. We arrived in Denver at eight in the morning on empty stomachs, and even though the day was cool, we all perspired profusely from exertion on empty stomachs. When we saw the foodstuffs on the shelf of a Chinese food store, we drooled and could not move. All the change that the three of us had left amounted to a mere sixteen cents. Among the canned goods on the shelf were cans labeled *chungch'u myöngwöl* [August harvest moon]. We mistook it to mean moon cakes and bought one can for fifteen cents. On opening the can we found that it contained assorted Chinese fruits such as pears. There was no way to satisfy our hunger with that. On seeing the miserable sight, the store owner was kind enough to give us bread and butter. Thus filling our empty stomachs, we became so sleepy that we all went back to the station and slept soundly until noon. Then we started out towards the place where the three Korean students were staying. On the way we met one of the three students, Nam Chöng-hön, and he guided us to his roommates, Han Si-ho and Yi Chin-il. He also arranged for us to meet Yun Pyöng-gu.

The room which the three were renting was a small one, and moreover, for lack of funds, they were quitting school to start earning money. Under the circumstances, Nam Chöng-hön was kind enough to rent another room for us three, Chön Myöng-un, Hong Söng-guk, and myself, and we began cooking our own meals. Later, through the good offices of Yun Pyöng-gu, Hong Söng-guk and I worked as domestic helpers for American families while Chön Myöng-un went to Wyoming to work as a railroad laborer.

Unaccustomed to this kind of work, and also because of the language difficulty, Hong and I quit our jobs as domestic helpers. By then the three students, Nam Chöng-hön, Han Si-ho, and Yi Chin-il had left to take up their own respective jobs. So the two of us, Hong and I, temporarily lived with Yun Pyöng-gu. Meanwhile, Yun's wife and children left Honolulu for San Francisco, and Yun moved to San Francisco to live with his family. Thus we were left with no place to live.

Once again through arrangements made by Nam Chöng-

hŏn, Nam, Hong and I went to Wyoming, where with Chŏn Myŏng-un we worked for about four months as railroad laborers. About the middle of September, Nam, Hong, and I proceeded to Lincoln, Nebraska, where Usŏng (Pak Yong-man) was staying, and the three of us enrolled in a fifth-grade class in order to learn English.

We stayed in a dormitory at 1721 P Street, where a dozen students were living under the supervision of Usŏng, who was overseeing the study, behaviour, and etiquette. Usŏng personally conducted bilingual classes in English and Korean, and Yu Ūn-sang took charge of such housekeeping duties as meals, cleaning, hygiene, and so on. Every Saturday a discussion meeting was held on current events, and every Sunday a prayer meeting. All the activities were under Usŏng's general supervision.

The drinking water in the two states of Nebraska and Ohio contained excessive amounts of calcium, and most of the newcomers usually suffered stomach trouble for the first several months. In Ohio, where a model filtering system was in service for drinking water, people were free from any major hazard, but Nebraska, being a poor state, had an inadequate system and new arrivals usually suffered greatly. Among the Korean students in Lincoln, O Han-su and I suffered most. O Han-su almost died from an overdose of painkiller to get rid of his stomach trouble. In my case, indigestion caused the swelling of my body, and as my condition became critical, the two best doctors in the state were sent for. They diagnosed my condition as hopeless and said there was nothing to do but wait for me to die. As a last resort, I prescribed quinine for myself but took an excessive dose and came down with a terrible case of diarrhea. Thanks to the tender care of Nam Chŏng-hŏn, I recovered. His loving care is something I cannot forget as long as I live.

Nam Chŏng-hŏn, born in Namyang, Kyŏnggido, went to Seoul at an early age. A naturally talented person, he was accomplished in making metal printing type, as well as in engraving and printing. This was a lowly trade in the old-fashioned view, but he worked many years at the government printing office. Later, when the Kyŏngju Kim clan established

its genealogical registry office in Seoul, he took charge of the engraving of the printing plates and the printing. When the genealogical registry office was closed, he remained in Seoul and continued to work as a day laborer at newspaper offices.

Seeing with his own eyes the Japanese soldiers posted everywhere following the Russo-Japanese war, as well as the reduction in the Korean army, he keenly felt the danger that was confronting the nation, and in 1903, he emigrated to Hawaii, together with Hwang In-hwan, a cousin on his mother's side, and his close friend Kim T'ae-hŭi. Hwang and Kim remained in Hawaii but Nam moved on to the continental United States. Accomplished in photography and kitchen work, and industrious, never idle for a moment, Nam was always gainfully employed. He made much money but spent it all to help his friends and the Korean community.

Hwang In-hwan was studying in Japan as a government student, but before finishing school, he came to the United States. Kim T'ae-hŭi, while working as cashier in the Kyōngju Kim clan genealogical registry office, became friends with Nam Chōng-hōn. In the period of four years from 1909 to 1913, I studied for the first half-year in the fifth-grade class of an elementary school in Lincoln, but for the second half of the year I was laid up on account of the stomach trouble and studied English on my own. I had recovered somewhat by early summer, so I went to work for the Korean military academy established in Hastings. But as I was still too weak to take on any strenuous work, I served as secretary of the military academy and taught Korean and Chinese literature, thus barely paying for room and board and miscellaneous expenses.

By autumn I had fully recovered and went to live with the family of P. L. Johnson, bursar of Hastings College, working as gardener and handyman for my room and board. Also, to earn money for expenses, I worked as janitor for the college coed dormitory. I enrolled myself in the college preparatory class, equal to high school. My scholastic achievement was generally good, except for Bible class. When I was called upon to recite a part of the Bible, chapter and verse, my poor English was not equal to the task, and I earned only ten points out of a

possible hundred in the first examination. But as I studied hard, I earned an average of ninety-six points by the final examination.

Being a Presbyterian institution, Hastings College had too many religious restrictions; moreover, as the college was located some distance from the city, it was extremely difficult for students to work their way through school. Anyway, in the same year fifteen of the Korean students were baptized by the Presbyterian Church. I was one of those baptized. The following year, I and five or six other students transferred to the municipal high school in the city. A dormitory was set up for us, and Yu Un-sang, Cho Chin-ch'an, and other older people were in charge of housekeeping, and the students took up the cleaning and other chores, according to a division of labor.

For their outstanding scholastic achievement and behavior, the Korean students won the praise and support of municipal school inspector Butt, high school principal Mitchell, and the teachers. Setting up special summer training courses, Inspector Butt taught the Korean students English and civics. Meanwhile, with the support of the Presbyterian minister, Dr. Binn, and the Methodist minister, Dr. Brooks, a Korean students' dormitory and evangelical association was established, and Paek Il-gyu, selected from among the students to act as pastor, took charge of worship services and prayer meetings, which greatly contributed to the organization and recreational activities of the students.

At this time, in order to earn my meals I worked as a kitchen helper for the boarding house run by Mrs. Collins. Also, to earn money for rent and miscellaneous expenses, Paek Il-gyu, Chōng T'ae-ūn, and I worked together as janitors cleaning classrooms under the supervision of superintendent Crater, who was in charge of the high school buildings and school grounds. The following year we went to work as janitors for the boarding house run by Mr. and Mrs. Dennis, and in the classrooms of the Second Street Primary School, to earn living and school expenses. We got up at five in the morning to work as janitors; then we went to school the whole day, coming home at about eight in the evening; then we did homework until eleven at night before turning in. Busy and trying, in-

deed. What made us go on was the good marks we earned in our scholastic endeavors, and in the summer we worked at a Chinese laundry to earn money to pay for school expenses, clothing, and footwear.

In 1913, the four of us—Paek Il-gyu, Chong T'ae-ün, Hong Sŭng-guk, and myself—graduated from high school at the same time, all with good marks. In the school yearbook, listing some one hundred graduates, I was seventh, on account of my poor reading in English. Prompted by a deep-seated fear, I did not offer my photograph for the yearbook. Long subjected to suspicion by the Japanese from the time I was very young, I was afraid my picture might find its way into Japanese hands. At the time of my graduation from the university I did not submit my picture either, and even when I contributed articles to English, Chinese, and Korean publications, I was often asked to submit my picture but never once did I supply one.

With those friends with whom I shared hardships in Denver and in the state of Nebraska, especially at the military academy, I have maintained lifelong friendships no different from blood brothers. I have already mentioned my friendship with Nam Chŏng-hŏn and my indebtedness to him. Now I would like to mention here briefly something about Yun Pyŏng-gu.

Yun Pyŏng-gu, orphaned at an early age, was taken into the family of his paternal aunt, and he grew up with the childhood name of U Pong-gil, following the family name of his aunt's husband. Only after he reached adulthood and established his own family did he restore his original family name, changing his own to Yun Pyŏng-gu. Born in Seoul, Yun became a Christian when very young and was in the first graduating class of Paejae Haktang; among his classmates was An Chŏng-su. Yun was a younger blood brother of Syngman Rhee. Yet, he suffered no little mean treatment at the hands of Rhee. Nonetheless, Yun consistently treated and supported him as an elder blood brother.

When Min Yŏng-hwan was Foreign Minister, he wrote a personal letter to Yun, asked him to serve as a member of the special delegation to the Russo-Japanese peace talks at Portsmouth in 1905. At the time, Yun had already moved to

Hawaii as an interpreter for Korean immigrants, but as the delegation, consisting of Homer Hulbert and Syngman Rhee, went directly to Portsmouth without stopping over in Hawaii, Yun missed joining them.

While in Honolulu, acting jointly with Kim Song-je, An Chŏng-su, and other friends, Yun formed an organization called the Sinhanhoe. On the grounds that *sinhan* [new Korea] had the connotation of being in contrast to *kuban* [old Korea] and that the committee organization was similar to that of a government, the organization received adverse criticism for being a renegade organization. The Sinhanhoe was the first political organization of the Korean community in the United States.

In response to a request from the special delegation (consisting of Yi Wi-jong, Yi Sang-sŏl, and Yi Chun) to the Peace Conference at the Hague in 1907, Yun Pyŏng-gu and Song Hŏn-ju were chosen as competent English translators from among the Korean community in the United States, and they proceeded to the Hague. The delegation could not take part in the peace conference. Later, Yi Chun committed suicide in indignation.⁷ Yi Wi-jong went back to his family in the Russian capital. Yi Sang-sŏl, Yun Pyŏng-gu, and Song Hŏn-ju proceeded to the United States. Song remained in New York. Yi crossed the continent and returned to Korea via Hawaii. Yun went to Denver, and in cooperation with Pak Hŭi-byŏng, Pak Yong-man, and Kim Hŏn-sik, worked to stage an anti-Japanese demonstration and meeting in order to present the Korean case to the Democratic Party convention in Denver in 1907. Later, Yun entered the University of Denver (a Methodist institution). While attending the university, he continued his anti-Japanese propaganda activities.

About April of 1909, Yun's wife and two children arrived in San Francisco via Hawaii, and he hurriedly left for San Francisco before finishing school. There, he took up his duties as pastor of the Korean Methodist Church and as editor of the church monthly, *Taedobo*. As it was difficult to feed so many mouths doing that, he quit as a full-time pastor and barely made a living working as a farm laborer. But during World War I, that is, from 1914 to 1918, he ran an apple orchard in

Oregon and made big profits. Now at this point, with a chance to make really big money by running a vast orchard on a long-term lease, he became anxious to work for the home country, following the start of the independence movement in Korea in 1919. Knowing Yun was thus planning to work for the home country, Syngman Rhee wrote him a personal letter, asking his cooperation in the independence movement. So, selling off the orchard at a cheap price, Yun Pyŏng-gu headed East.

In early April of the same year, Yun attended the meeting for Koreans in Philadelphia, a meeting sponsored by Syngman Rhee, with Min Ch'an-ho as delegate from the Hawaii Kungminhoe General Headquarters, and with arrangements made by Sŏ Chae-p'il [Philip Jaisohn] and others of the North America Kungminhoe. After the meeting, Rhee assumed office as the self-proclaimed president of the provisional government of Korea; and with the ensuing establishment of the Korea Mission for Europe and America, Philip Jaisohn became the mission chief, with Chŏng Han-gyŏng and Yun Pyŏng-gu as mission members. But in a few days internal conflict erupted, and Yun was rudely kicked out of the mission and his baggage thrown out the third floor window to the ground. The alleged reason for expelling Yun was his excessive self-propagandizing.

Now, if there was anyone who could be charged with self-propagandizing, it was Syngman Rhee, who was in the habit of claiming that (1) he was the first charter member of the Yusin Party in Korea; (2) he had languished in prison for eight years as a patriotic revolutionary; (3) he was of royal blood; and (4) he had been a secret royal emissary to the Russo-Japanese peace talks in the United States. This is not the whole truth of the matter. If there was any self-propagandizing on the part of Yun Pyŏng-gu, it was less than one-tenth of Syngman Rhee's.

Yun's repeated advice to Rhee was that it was essential to conserve every penny—that that was the way to serve the poor Korean community. In the course of repeatedly offering advice to Syngman Rhee, the argument at one point became heated, and Yun told Rhee that it was not the way of a patriot to live high, in a luxurious mansion with men and women servants. This incurred Rhee's anger and was the true cause of the

conflict. What is so ludicrous is that later I heard Syngman Rhee frequently use this contention of Yun's as if it were his own opinion. Subsequently, in 1920, Yun became the president of the North America Kungminhoe General Headquarters, and later, pastor of the new Korean Methodist Church in New York, and still later, pastor of the Reedly area of California.

After An Ch'ang-ho, president of the Kungminhoe Central Headquarters, left for Shanghai in 1919, Paek Il-gyu, president of the North America Kungminhoe Regional Headquarters, concurrently became acting president of the Central Headquarters and tried to enlist Yun with a view to restoring the Hawaii Central Headquarters, but the Hawaii Kungminhoe had already changed its name to the Kyomindan, and the restoration plan came to naught.

Anyway, as Yun Pyöng-gu became president of the North America Kungminhoe Regional Headquarters, it so happened that within a few days Kim Hang-jak was scheduled to leave for Shanghai. Kim was a member of the Hüngsadan (an organization supporting An Ch'ang-ho as helmsman). Taking advantage of Kim's trip to Shanghai, the North America Kungminhoe decided to send a letter to the Provisional Government in Shanghai enumerating five counts of charges against Syngman Rhee. For this purpose, the boards of trustees of the central and regional headquarters of the Kungminhoe appointed a drafting committee consisting of Paek Il-gyu, acting president of the central headquarters; Yun Pyöng-gu, president of the North America Regional Headquarters; and me, who at the time was editor of the *Sinhan minbo*, the Kungminhoe organ. The boards examined and adopted the draft. Working all night, I drafted the letter, Paek Il-gyu hand-copied it early the next morning, and Yun Pyöng-gu examined it. Then the three of us signed and forwarded it to Shanghai by messenger. This was the only time Yun Pyöng-gu ever refuted Syngman Rhee. Several months later, through the arrangements of Yi Sun-gi, an out-and-out supporter of Syngman Rhee, scores of representatives from the Korean organizations in the state of California (that is, the Kyomindan and the Hyölsöngdan, but excepting the

Kungminhoe) gathered in San Francisco and held a meeting allegedly to conduct an investigation into the anti-Syngman Rhee writings of the *Sinhan minbo*, especially the various charges against Syngman Rhee. Actually, it was a kangaroo court to try the three signers of the charges against Rhee. The meeting was chaired by Mun Yang-mok, an especially close friend of ours. The meeting reached a consensus that Yun Pyŏng-gu merely signed the charges—much as Yunghŭi [Sunjong] had had to sign the seven-article agreement; that since Paek Il-gyu was a man from P'yŏngando and a member of the Hŭngsadan, it was taken for granted that he was opposed to Syngman Rhee; and that, therefore, it was I, Kim Hyŏn-gu, who was the real culprit. Then the meeting held six long sessions over two days to investigate the charges. They were taken up for examination count by count, and the charges were found to be supported by evidence. As a result, Yi Sun-gi and Han Pong-sŏk, who did most of the questioning, became my close friends, and ultimately the meeting adjourned without any action being taken against the three signers.

In any event, Yun Pyŏng-gu was always courteous and consistent in his integrity by looking to Syngman Rhee as his elder blood brother. In Denver, I stayed with Yun for one week, during which time I received great help and favors from him. Again, in San Francisco I stayed with his family for about six months in 1920 and received favored treatment, which I cannot forget and for which I am ever so grateful. For most of the time, Yun and I were separated and we had our differences of opinion, but we were always in communication with each other. During our friendship never once did Yun utter a word of discourtesy, something that shows his good character and conduct.

My friends young and old, with whom I shared hardships at the dormitory on P Street in Lincoln and at the dormitory of the military academy in Hastings, numbered several hundred. Among them there were many elders, including Kim Pyŏng-hŭi, of Kanghwa; Cho Chin-ch'an, of Kimhae; Yu Ŭn-sang and Yi Chong-ch'ŏl, of Ch'ŏngju (who were relatives of Chŏng Sun-man (Kŏmun), and who came to the United States

accompanied by Usŏng); Kim Wŏn-t'aek, of P'yŏngyang; Chŏng Yŏng-gi, of Taegu; and Kwŏn Chong-hŭp, of Onyang, all of whom worked as laborers in order to help the students. Among the students at the time were Kim Pyŏng-hŭi's eldest son, Kim Yong-dae, who later became a physician with a practice in Chicago; and Kim Wŏn-t'aek's eldest son, Kim Yong-sŏng, who also became a physician and practiced medicine in Los Angeles, and his adopted son, Ku Yŏn-sŏng, who after graduating from medical school returned home to live in Kaesŏng, later changing his name to Yŏn-suk and serving under President Syngman Rhee as enemy assets administrator, winning fame as a man of fairness. They were all my close friends.

When I was serving as President of the Hawaii Kungminhoe General Headquarters, Ku Yŏn-suk came to visit me and we enjoyed a reunion for several days. It was at a time when I was having difficulties, suspected as I was of being a communist, and Ku Yŏn-suk defied the hazards of coming to see me, so I appreciated his visit all the more.

As to Hong Sŭng-guk (original name Sŭng-ch'ang), I met him for the first time in 1907, at the home of his cousin *ch'ambong* Hong Sŭng-bŏm, and at that time I also met *ch'ambong* Hong's younger brother, Sŭng-bin. In the same year, when my clan families moved to Tongsan-ri, Sŏhwa, Okch'ŏn, my father and his brother were in daily contact with *ch'ambong* Hong U-jik (Hong Sŭng-guk's father), so I became close friends with Hong Sŭng-guk.

Later, Hong Sŭng-guk and I had few chances to see each other, as he was studying at Paejae Haktang and I at Yangjŏng Ŭisuk. But after the return of Kim Kyu-sŏng to Korea from Shanghai, he and I were in daily contact for several months as we planned to slip out of the country to study abroad, through the connections of Song Chin-hŏn, husband of Hong Sŭng-guk's niece. Hong Sŭng-guk was one of my traveling companions on the journey to the United States, and after arrival in America, we worked together in Denver and also as railroad laborers in Wyoming. We lived together and attended the same schools in Lincoln and Hastings.

The four of us [Hong Sŭng-guk, Paek Il-gyu, Chŏng T'ae-

ŭn, and Kim Hyŏn-gu] graduated from high school at the same time and won scholarships to different universities. Before enrolling at these universities, we were set to proceed to different places to work for the summer in order to earn extra money.

Hong Sŭng-guk, in order to earn enough money to avoid undue financial difficulty while attending the university, landed a job through the introduction of Pak Chang-sun and went to work as a miner at a coal mine in Wyoming for an intended period of two years. Paek Il-gyu, who obtained a scholarship from the University of Nebraska, went to work for a meat-packing company in East Omaha City during the summer. Chŏng T'ae-ŭn, who obtained a scholarship from the University of Chicago, went to Chicago, taking with him a number of students. I, having obtained a scholarship from Cornell University, spent the summer in New York on my way to the university. I studied a year and a half at Cornell, but on account of excessive outside work, loneliness, and family trouble (that is, my younger sister's disappearance), I slipped in my scholastic achievements and had to quit school and go to work. So I went to work for six months, together with my friends, including Cho Chin-ch'an, Yi Ch'i-gyŏm, Yi Hwa-sil, and To Ik-mo, in Council Bluffs, Iowa, cleaning Union Railroad trains.

Having made plans by correspondence with Hong Sŭng-guk to return to school, we enrolled together at Ohio State University in the autumn of 1915. After the United States entered World War I, the wartime turmoil became too distracting to study. In any event, after graduation in 1917, I did post-graduate work for half a year and then went to Detroit the following spring, together with Song Se-in, living there with him for several months. I worked at a Korean restaurant run by Kim Yŏng-uk. Song Se-in went to work as a kitchen helper at a wartime munitions factory in Pennsylvania. At the time Hong Sŭng-guk, through the introduction of Song Se-in, also worked in the munitions factory, and I visited Hong there once during the winter.

After the end of the war in 1918, the munitions factory closed down, and early in 1919, Hong went back to Col-

umbus, the capital of Ohio, to return to school. He enrolled at Ohio State University. I also moved to Columbus, quitting the job at the Korean restaurant in Detroit. This was in response to the request by Korean students in the East for me to take charge of a temporary monthly for use as an organ of the Korean independence movement. This monthly, in the form of a pamphlet, was published each month with a different title. In this connection, many friends gathered from time to time at An Chŏng-su's place. Among the friends were Sin Hyŏng-ho, Yun Yŏng-sŏn, Hong Sŭng-guk, Ok Chong-gyŏng (who later changed his name to Ok Chin), Yi Ch'un-ho, No Chŏng-il, and myself, as well as students from other parts of the country, including Pak Chin-sŏp, Yŏ Un-hong, and Yim Tu-hwa. Elders like Kim Sŏng-je and Song Se-in also came to the meetings from time to time.

After moving to Columbus, I lived with Yun Yŏng-sŏn for a while, and then went to live at the place temporarily vacated by An Chŏng-su, who had left for a visit to Korea. I kept in touch with Hong Sŭng-guk from time to time. Early in April, Hong and I went to Philadelphia to attend the meeting called by Syngman Rhee and Philip Jaisohn with the backing of Korean organizations in the continental United States and Hawaii and individual Koreans and students. Later, we attended the Methodist Centennial in Columbus. At the time An Chŏng-su, Hong Sŭng-guk, and I, representing the Koreans attending the centennial, went to visit Bishop Harris. The bishop was alleged to have attended the Versailles International Peace Conference as an adviser to Japan and as a public relations man for Japan's policy toward Korea. On receiving the Korean representatives, Harris seemed to be scared and repeatedly defended himself, claiming that never once did he undertake any publicity work at all against Korea. Thus the Korean representatives had no opportunity to question him. Early the next morning Harris left, on his way back to Japan.

In response to an invitation to the centennial extended by the *Sinhan kungminbo* through pastor Yim Chŏng-gu (the North America Kungminhoe regional representative), I left for the West. Hong Sŭng-guk remained in Columbus to continue his studies. Thus Hong and I came to be separated again.

In 1922, Hong Sŭng-guk graduated from the university, and on his way back to Korea, he stopped over in San Francisco, where we enjoyed two days of reunion. I heard later that after his return to Korea, Hong became an English professor at Yŏnhŭi College and remained in that post for a long time. I deliberately refrained from writing to him in Korea. My reason for this was that I had come under the suspicion of the Japanese from the time I was very young; this suspicion had grown worse on account of my activities in the United States and because of my statements following the independence movement of 1919, and I was afraid that Hong would suffer should my letter fall into the wrong hands. But I obtained news about him secondhand through people like Yun Kwang-sŏp, Sin Hŭng-u, and Kim Tong-sŏng.

A man of few words, Hong Sŭng-guk was correct in demeanor, steady and thrifty, adroit in coping with worldly affairs, and had few enemies. He was strong in his patriotism, and he was never known to bend. For example, he refrained from frequenting the family of his female elder cousin because her husband was Yi Chi-yong.⁸ Again, while he was studying at Ohio State University, he wanted to major in medicine, and he obtained a letter of introduction from the Methodist chaplain of the university, William Anderson, the eldest son of Bishop Anderson, who was then bishop of the Cincinnati diocese after serving a long time as a missionary in Japan. Through this introduction, he met Dr. Knott, director of education at the Methodist Church headquarters. When Hong inquired about a medical scholarship, Dr. Knott said that the scholarship was available on two conditions: (1) he was to return to Korea after graduation and serve at the mission's hospital; and (2) he was to persevere silently and acquiesce to the Japanese rule in Korea. Elaborating on this, Dr. Knott said that the Methodist Church had spent no small sum of money to train students from India, but practically all of them, upon return to India, had taken part in the Indian revolution and had been arrested and killed. So all the scholarships came to naught. The doctor explained that it was no longer possible for the church to continue such waste. Hong Sŭng-guk courteously declined the scholarship, stating that the first condition was

reasonable but the second was unacceptable. Chaplain Anderson was also indignant at Dr. Knott's conditions.

5. MY FRIENDS IN THE UNITED STATES

Among my lifelong friends from the primary school days in Lincoln, Nebraska, the most respected and beloved were Paek Il-gyu and Chŏng T'ae-ŭn.

Paek Il-gyu was born in 1883, at Samhwa, South P'yŏngan Province. Trained early in Chinese literature, including the Four Books, the Three Classics, the Book of History, and the *P'altaegamun* [a collection of the works of the eight great writers of the Tang and Song dynasties], he was already a private tutor at the age of seventeen or eighteen, and had many disciples and friends in faraway places. Convinced that the true aim of the Tonghak was social revolution, Paek Il-gyu had become a leader of the Paekpaek-kyo, a sect of the Tonghak which spread to the provinces in the northwest in the years 1898 and 1899. Subsequently, unable to reconcile himself with the decline in power of the state, he came to Hawaii as an immigrant and became a laborer at the Pu'unene sugar plantation. With the savings from one year of hard work at the plantation, he went to the mainland United States. A born scholar, he had no prior experience in manual labor, but thanks to his strong will, he managed to survive the hard work and proceeded to the mainland.

The Korean community in San Francisco in 1906 was split into two factions: the Kongnip Hyŏphoe and the Taedong Pogukhoe. Broadly speaking, the Kongnip Hyŏphoe was an organization of people from the northwest of Korea, and the leader was An Ch'ang-ho. The Taedong Pogukhoe was established in opposition to regional factionalism, and its leader was Chang Kyŏng (who later changed his name to Hong-bŏp). Paek Il-gyu joined the Taedong Pogukhoe. For a while, Paek used the name Hong-jin, as a sworn brother of Chang Hong-bŏp, and among his close friends were Mun Yang-mok, Yu Hong-jo (original name Sŏng-ch'un), and Pang Sa-gyŏm, alias Hong-jip.

Paek Il-gyu published Syngman Rhee's *Tongnip chŏngsin* [The Spirit of Independence] in 1908. He did the hard work of

a copyreader, free of charge, while at the same time collecting donations to finance the publication. In 1909, he got a job at a health center in Chandler, Arizona, and saved enough money to proceed the following year to Hastings to join the Korean military academy there. Paek graduated from Hastings High School with honors in 1913 and won a scholarship from the University of Nebraska. In the summer, he went to East Omaha to work for a meat-packing company, together with four or five students and seven or eight elders. He organized and supervised their housekeeping and social activities. In the autumn he returned and enrolled at the University of Nebraska, where he achieved an excellent academic record.

In 1910, however, he accepted an invitation from the *Sinhan minbo* and moved to San Francisco. While serving as the editor of the newspaper, he enrolled at the University of California and graduated cum laude from the college of economics. Continuing his postgraduate study at the university, he earned a master's degree with his thesis on the economic history of Korea. He took charge of the affairs of the Kungminhoe concurrently with the editing of the *Sinhan minbo*, and it was at this time that he married a woman of the Kim clan, a younger sister of Kim Söng-mu, who was a sworn brother of An Ch'ang-ho, and who served the Kongnip Hyöphoe, the Hap-sönghoe, and, later, the Kungminhoe of Vladivostok. Kim's wife was a student of the first graduating class of the girls' school of Yöndong Presbyterian Church. She was an extraordinary woman who braved all sorts of hardships in her missions for the independence movement in Manchuria and Siberia.

Until the end of 1919, Paek Il-gyu served as president of the North America Regional Headquarters of the Kungminhoe and concurrently as president of the Central Headquarters of the Kungminhoe. When the Kungminhoe of Hawaii changed its name to the Kyomindan [Overseas Koreans Association], and Yun Pyöng-gun became the president of the North America Regional Headquarters of the Kungminhoe and I became the editor of the *Sinhan minbo*, Paek Il-gyu moved to the Taylor, Arizona, area to work as a maintenance man for an oil company.

Subsequently the Kungminhoe was faced with financial difficulties and its officers and staff members departed. Responding to an invitation from the Kungminhoe, Paek returned to San Francisco in 1926. He and his wife alone took on the job of looking after the Kungminhoe and publishing the *Sinhan minbo*, doing all of the work themselves, from typesetting to printing. Meanwhile, Paek's wife also did the menial work of a housemaid to supplement their income. The couple lived a hard life like this for more than twenty years. During this period, the Kungminhoe office and the *Sinhan minbo* moved from Merced Boulevard to the former Methodist Church on Divisadero Street, and then from San Francisco to Los Angeles. During this time, Paek Il-gyu's hard life continued.

After graduation from high school, he and I went our separate ways, and both of us were too busy working our way through school to maintain contact, but we heard from mutual friends how each other was doing. The year 1914 was a particularly hard year for me, on account of difficulties in earning a living and especially on account of my family affairs (the disappearance of my younger sister). On hearing of my difficulty secondhand, Paek Il-gyu mailed me \$17.00. In sending the money, he said it was a Christmas gift from him for buying a suit. I cannot forget this to this day.

Later, in July 1919, I arrived in San Francisco to serve as editor of the *Sinhan minbo*. At that time, Paek Il-gyu was the editor in chief. When he resigned the following January, I became the editor in chief. A university student from the East, Kim Yō-sik, was invited to be an editor, and he and I worked together on the paper. For seven or eight years after that, Paek and I had no opportunity to meet. In 1928, I was touring the continental United States, visiting fellow countrymen in various places in connection with the dispute swirling around the Korea Mission for Europe and America, and on my way to Hawaii, I stopped over in San Francisco and had a one-day reunion with Paek Il-gyu.

Later, when disputes arose in Hawaii between Syngman Rhee and myself, between the Tongjihoe and the Kungminhoe, Paek Il-gyu sent me several sympathetic articles for publication in the *Sinhan minbo*. But I never published the

articles in the paper, for the *Sinhan minbo* was maintaining a policy of strict neutrality and I did not wish to entangle it in the community dispute.

In 1946, at the invitation of Cho Pyŏng-yo, president of the general headquarters of the Hawaii Kungminhoe, Paek Il-gyu came to serve as editor of the *Kungminbo*. Several years earlier, I had resigned the editorship and was now busy taking care of my family affairs. In any event, he and I had opportunities to see each other from time to time. In 1950 Paek, too, had to resign the editorship on account of his family affairs and left for Los Angeles. Thus I came to serve once again as editor of the *Sinhan minbo*.

Versed in the old and new learning, in Oriental as well as Occidental knowledge, industrious and conservative, Paek Il-gyu was a patient man, an outstanding Confucian scholar, and a man of great caliber.

Chŏng T'ae-ŭn was a man whom I had heard about very early, back in the homeland—from his second cousins T'ae-guk and T'ae-ch'ae, from his uncle An Yŏng-t'aek, pen name Ipchae, and from the wife of *p'ansŏ* Yi Kyŏng-sik. Chŏng T'ae-ŭn went to Japan to study, accompanied by his elder cousin T'ae-ro (who later changed his name to T'ae-il). T'ae-ro was the eldest grandson of Songgang of his main family, and the son-in-law of *p'ansŏ* Yi. I heard it said that Chŏng T'ae-ŭn was studying at the preparatory school of Meiji University in Tokyo. Later, in 1908, as his cousin returned home to Korea, Chŏng T'ae-ŭn proceeded to the United States. At the time in Korea it was extremely difficult to obtain a passport for study abroad, but it was somewhat easier to get such a passport in Japan.

For seven or eight months following his arrival in the United States, Chŏng T'ae-ŭn worked at many jobs on farms and in factories, and in 1909, he came to Lincoln, Nebraska, and stayed at the Korean student dormitory where I was also staying. We became close friends. This was inevitable, for, among other things, he happened to be a relative of those whom I knew, that is, his uncle An Yŏng-t'aek, and his second cousins T'ae-gŭk and T'ae-ch'ae. He was a grandson of Mrs. Chŏng Un-ik, my aunt three times removed, and was a great

grandson of my mother's third cousin; and his elder cousin T'ae-ro of the main family was the son-in-law of the wife of *p'ansŏ* Yi, who was a second cousin of my mother.

A man of the world, bright and gentle in manner, Chŏng T'ae-ŭn had many friends, friends who were helping each other; and upon graduation from Hastings High School, he obtained a scholarship from the University of Chicago and left for that city. Later, he transferred to De Paul University and graduated from the university law school. Then he formed a partnership with many of his compatriots for running an Oriental cuisine business. Thus he was able to live an affluent life, free from menial work.

When the Korean Residents Association of Nebraska and, later, the Korean Residents Association of North America were formed, Pak Yong-man, Chŏng T'ae-ŭn, and I drafted the bylaws, but it was Chŏng on both occasions who provided great help behind the scenes by contacting fellow countrymen in the western part of the United States. In particular, he enlisted the services of Pak Chang-sun in forming an organization in the Midwest coal mining area, and after moving East, once again it was due to his efforts that a Korean organization was formed there.

Born and brought up in Ch'ŏngju, Pak Chang-sun early distinguished himself by his extraordinary knowledge of Chinese literature. He was a classmate of Chŏng An-nip, a disciple of Chŏn U, pen name Kanjae. He traveled with Chŏng T'ae-ŭn to the United States and saved money by working full-time at a coal mine in Wyoming. Together with Pak Yong-man, he extended much financial help to Korean students. He tried to publish the Four Books and the Three Classics in Korean but failed to do so. After the United States entered World War I in 1917, he enlisted and died in action in France. He had used all his savings to take out life insurance, and including government life insurance for servicemen, the proceeds totaled more than \$100,000. It was reported that the U. S. government was successful in locating his sole survivor, his daughter, and paying her the proceeds.

Among Chŏng T'ae-ŭn's lifelong friends and business partners were Kim Kyu-sŏng, O Han-su, and Yi Sang-jin. Kim

Kyu-sŏng's life and times are mentioned in the biography of Okkye. Yi Sang-jin, born and brought up in Suwŏn, was a man of character, industrious and thrifty. He and O Han-su were also my lifelong friends who shared hardships with me in Nebraska.

O Han-su was born and brought up in Chŏng-dong, Munŭi Sŏ-myŏn, the last residence of the Posŏng O clan. He was a cousin of O Chŏng-jun, master of the private school, the first private school that I entered, and Han-su was there to witness my enrollment. Straight as an arrow and correct in speech and behavior, O Han-su was a man of integrity.

When Kŏmŭn (the pen name of Chŏng Sun-man) was assassinated in 1910, the North America Regional Headquarters of the Kungminhoe wanted to send a letter of condolence. As Kŏmŭn was a disciple of Chŏn U and a scholar of Chinese literature, it was decided to send an old-style letter of condolences and there was a search for someone who knew the format of this kind of letter. Usŏng (the pen name of Pak Yong-man) recommended me, and fortunately I still remembered the old format. For this, Ch'oe Chŏng-ik and Mun Yang-mok wrote me a special letter of commendation, an undeservedly high honor for me. Afterwards, Ch'oe Chŏng-ik and Mun Yang-mok exchanged correspondence with me on several occasions.

On the last day of March 1911, Mun Yang-mok came to visit Hastings, and at the place where I was staying with Yu Ŭn-sang and Hong Sŭng-guk, a dinner party was given in his honor, and the Korean students in the city were invited. At the request of Mun Yang-mok, I wrote a quatrain with five syllables to each line:

Spring comes and goes but
Lingers on in a long spring.
Earthly people yearning for spring,
What are we doing in this forest?

This insignificant quatrain of mine nevertheless received the undeserved high praise of Mun Yang-mok, Ch'oe Chŏng-ik, and Pak Yong-man.

In the course of my conversations at the dinner party, I

found out that when my uncle Yi Hŭi-sŭng, the husband of my father's sister, was touring the southern provinces of Korea as a school inspector, Mun Yang-mok was his secretary; also Song Se-in was in my uncle's entourage, and it was Song Se-in who maintained contact with the school inspectors for Kyŏnggi and Kangwŏn provinces. At the time of this conversation, Song Se-in was running an apple orchard in Oregon in partnership with Yun Pyŏng-gu. Later, Song Se-in sold his share to Yun and headed east. On his way, Song stopped over in Chicago, at which time I corresponded with him through Mun Yang-mok's introduction. Thus my close friendship with Mun Yang-mok continued, and it became even closer during my five-year stay in California.

Song Se-in was a descendant of Saudang, pen name of Song Kuk-t'aek, and a cousin of *chikkak* Song. A man of vigor endowed with a magnificent physique, Song Se-in was early aroused by the decline in the power of the state; he had opportunities to observe the activities of the Hwalbin Party and the loyalist soldiers, and was involved in the movement of clandestine traveling peddlers and school inspectors. In 1905, Song sailed from Inch'ŏn as an immigrant to Hawaii. About one year after arriving, he moved to the continental United States. While in Hawaii, he was a member of the Sinhanhoe, and on the continent, he was active throughout his life as a member and officer of many community organizations, such as the Taedong Pogukhoe, the Korean Residents Association, the Kyomindan, the Taegwang, and the Tongjihoe. As he was an accomplished chef in both Oriental and Occidental cuisine, he was always holding a high-paying job. All of his income he donated to community service and in assistance to his friends. Despite our differences of opinion from time to time with regard to the community, he and I remained close friends. When he became ill and died, he had no funds of his own, and his organization, the Tongjihoe, would not take care of his remains. So Kim Wŏn-yong and I arranged for the Kungminhoe to pay for his funeral services.

In 1931, when the turmoil in the Korean community reached its height, Song Se-in, a member of the Kyomindan, the Tongjihoe, and the Taegwang, came back to Hawaii on a

mission from the Taegwang to seek a compromise settlement of the dispute. This was a time when Pak Sang-ha on the Tongjihoe side was busy with the factional stratagem to single me out as a pro-Japanese Korean, a Japanese spy. Pak, who used to be a close friend of Song Se-in in Chicago, tried hard to pressure Song into helping him in his factional propaganda. Pak Sang-ha, and later, Song P'il-man, as the editor of *Pacific Magazine*, were putting out deceptive propaganda, but Song Se-in scathingly denounced this propagandga as highly improper, even as he remained a member of the Tongjihoe. At the same time, Song maintained his friendship with me. Indeed, he was a man of integrity.

When the Sinhanhoe was organized in Hawaii, *chinsa* Kim Song-je was among the sponsors. He was a close friend of mine. Well versed in Chinese literature, *chinsa* Kim was sent to Japan as a government student in 1891, after he had successfully passed the state examination. He studied economics for two years at Meiji University in Tokyo and returned home to Korea at the time of the coup of 1895, only to go into exile in Japan following the failure of the Yusindang government. Later, during his tour of Malaya and the East Indies, he came into contact with the Chinese, and he won their acclamation for his brush painting and calligraphy, on both hanging scrolls and boards. He learned to speak fluently several Chinese dialects in addition to Mandarin and Cantonese, and he was accomplished in Chinese cuisine. So he had no difficulty in earning his living. When the power of the state in Korea continued to decline following the Russo-Japanese war, he came to Hawaii as an immigrant and later moved to the mainland. He always held high-paying jobs, but used all his money for the community and in helping his friends. While on his way to Hawaii for convalescence after a serious illness caused by his old age, he died penniless in a charitable hospital in San Francisco in 1933. What a miserable end for a selfless patriot!

There were around a dozen elders and friends whom I met and came to respect during my two visits to New York, Chicago, and Detroit, and during my stay in Washington. They were Kim Hön-sik, Sin Söng-gu, Sin Hyön-ch'öl, Hong Tük-su, Hong Chong-ch'öl, Yi Pong-su, Yi Si-ch'ae, Kim Il-sin,

Chang Su-yŏng, Hong T'ae-ho, Yi Chin-il, and others.

Kim Hŏn-sik, a cousin of *p'ansŏ* Kim Yun-sik, came to Washington to serve as first secretary of the Korean legation, and he received treatment as a consul general, under minister Sŏ Kwang-bŏm. When the Korean legation was abolished in 1905, he did not return to Korea, but became a permanent resident. He considered himself to be a national envoy without pay, without portfolio, even as he earned his living working at such menial jobs as kitchen helper, waiter, janitor, and actor; and every time a Korea-related question came up, he directly or indirectly offered his testimony to both houses of the U.S. Congress. He contributed articles to newspapers and magazines in both English and Chinese on Korean and Oriental affairs and situations. Articulate and precise, he won the respect and affection of Koreans and foreigners alike. During my stay in Washington, he came to visit me several times and we discussed many things, such as the plans for a paper-making venture in Manchuria and the Korean immigration to Brazil; we also exchanged opinions on the revolution brought about by the Guomindang in China, on Japanese militarism, and on current situations and future trends in the Orient and the world. As time passed, events came to bear out his prophecies and views, and I cannot help admiring his patriotism and political insight.

Sin Sŏng-gu came to the United States as a member of the party of Ŭich'inwang [Prince Ŭihwa, Yi Kang] who had come to America to study, but when the prince moved to Japan, Sin remained behind and became a permanent resident of the United States. He lived out his life, with the help of the Korean community and his close friends, working for the cause of Korea, even as he was making a living in menial jobs. He gave me a good deal of assistance, for which I will be forever grateful.

Hong Tŭk-su of Kyŏnggido graduated from Paejae Hak-tang at an early age and came to Hawaii as an interpreter for Korean immigrants. To meet his school expenses, he saved money while working at the provisions department of Ewa Plantation for two years at good pay. Entrusting his savings to a friend of his, he proceeded to the mainland to study, but the

savings in trust were completely lost. Subsequently, as he undertook this or that small-scale venture, he lost the opportunity to enroll in school, but he used his income throughout his life for the good of the Korean community and his friends. In his later years he came to Hawaii to live with his cousin Ch'öl-su, and died in Hawaii at an advanced age. I owe him a debt of gratitude, too.

Hong Chong-ch'öl and Sin Hyön-ch'öl originally emigrated to Mexico, but they subsequently entered the United States secretly. Hong Chong-ch'öl of Ch'ungju was a man of the world. Sin Hyön-ch'öl was the eldest son of *süngji* Sin Tae-gyun, a fellow applicant of my uncle's in the state examinations, and a second cousin of *ch'ambong* Sin Hyön-gap, who used to live with me in Seoul in Sogyök-tong. These two and I were close friends in New York, Kansas, Detroit, and Washington.

Yi Pong-su, of Magok, Kongju, studied two years under Myönam [Ch'oe Ik-hyön], and at the time of the Russo-Japanese war emigrated to Mexico, indignant at the decline of the state's authority, but he later moved back to the United States. He and I were especially close because we had studied under the same master, and for his integrity, I regarded him as my elder brother.

Chang Su-yong and Yi Si-ch'ae, both of Ŭiju, P'yöngan pukto, and Kim Il-sin, of Mokp'o, Chölla namdo, lamenting the sorry plight of a ruined country, came to the United States via the Pacific islands and South America. Chang Su-yong ran a laundry as well as a ginseng business; Yi Si-ch'ae, endowed with acting skills, worked as an actor; and Kim Il-sin, skilled in wicker and bamboo basket and box making, made that his occupation. What little money they could make, they then used for the public good. I am grateful for the help they gave me.

Among my affectionate friends whose acquaintance I made in Nebraska and elsewhere later were Min Pyöng-gi, Yi Hüngju, Sin Hyöng-ho, Yun Yöng-sön, An Chöng-su, Ok Chonggyöng, Yi Ch'un-ho, No Chöng-il, Pak Ch'ö-hu, Yi Chonghüi, Yang Kuk-muk, Yi Chong-ch'öl, Chöng Hüi-wön, Chong Han-gyöng, and Yu Il-han.

Min Pyöng-gi and Yi Hüng-ju slipped out of the homeland and came to the United States via China and Britain. In Britain, they met Yi Hang-u, with whom they traveled to America, paying part of his travel expenses. Min Pyöng-gi was the eldest son of *süngji* Min Chang-sik, a cousin of *p'ansö* Min Hüng-sik. *Süngji* Min was the husband of the female cousin of Song To-bin, who in turn was the husband of my female cousin. Therefore, *süngji* Min and I were related, if distantly, and when I was a sophomore at Yangjöng Üisuk, Min Pyöng-gi was a freshman. Thus he and I were very glad to meet each other in America.

Yi Hüng-ju was the eldest son of Yi Hae-ch'ang, who was in charge of the Tojanggung palace. Gentle and humble, Yi Hüng-ju enjoyed the respect and affection of others.

Yun Yöng-sön was the eldest son of *ch'amp'an* Yun Ch'i-ho. Smart, industrious, prudent, and ethical, Yun commanded the trust of others; he graduated from Ohio State University three years after I did. For some three months while attending the university, he and I lived together as boarding students. Following the conclusion of World War I in 1918, a publicity campaign for the Korean independence movement was launched in 1919, in the name of the student association. Yun took charge of financing the campaign. He and I had an opportunity to meet many students who had come to the Methodist Church Centennial, after which I moved to San Francisco. After that, he and I were out of communication except for news brought by mutual friends. Yun returned to Korea after graduating from the college of agriculture, but his younger brother Kwang-sön came to America on a tour and I was glad to meet him and hear from him that an effort was being made to help my younger brother Ch'ung-gu at my request. When I returned to Korea in 1963, I intended to visit Yun's family but I was unable to do so, which I regret to this day. I had to leave Korea in a hurry as my chronic illness flared up again.

Sin Hyöng-ho was the eldest son of *süngji* Sin Chang-sik and a nephew of Sin Chöng (original name Kyu-sik), who, having left his government position and home and gone into exile in China after the annexation and having immersed himself in the independence movement, served many years as a

cabinet member of the Provisional Government. Gifted in literature and music, Sin Hyŏng-ho came to Columbus with the intention of enrolling at Ohio State University, and he and An Chŏng-su lived together for several months as boarding students; but Sin left for Chicago in the autumn and enrolled in Northwestern University at Evanston. After graduating from the university with a major in political science, Sin Hyŏng-ho served many years as secretary of the Korea Mission for Europe and America, where I met him briefly. I was also in contact with him for several months in Columbus; and when he was touring the West in connection with the Korea Mission dispute, he and I spent four or five days together in San Francisco. Later, I became chief of the Korea Mission, and when I was on a tour of the continent visiting fellow countrymen, I visited him three or four times in Los Angeles, where he had made his permanent home. Even though we did not spend much time together, we nevertheless became close friends, and even when there were differences of opinion over the question of Syngman Rhee as top leader, both of us treated this as a public issue, and personally we remained fast friends. Perhaps what helped our friendship is the fact that we were related, if very distantly, as my adoptive grandmother (a third wife) was from the Koryŏng Sin clan, from whom the Sin Hyŏng-ho family was not too far removed.

As mentioned earlier, Yun Yŏng-sŏn was the eldest son of *ch'amp'an* Yun Ch'i-ho and a grandson of *p'ansŏ* Yun Ūng-yŏl, and even though his family estate made it difficult to engage in anti-Japanese activities, he was active in the independence movement. To promote friendship among the Korean students at Ohio State University and Ohio Wesleyan University (of the Methodist Church), he held weekly meetings on a circuit basis to discuss current events. After returning home to Korea, I heard it said, he worked to improve business conditions in Korea, and under President Syngman Rhee, he served as minister of agriculture for a while but retired due to differences of opinion. When I returned to Korea in 1963, I planned to visit him, renew our friendship, and express my gratitude, but I was unable to do so, which I regret very much.

Yi Ch'un-ho, from Kaesŏng, was close to Yun Yŏng-sŏn. A

talented student of mathematics, he graduated from Ohio Wesleyan University and earned his doctorate from Ohio State University. After returning to Korea, he taught at Yonhŭi College (Yonsei University) for many years.

No Chŏng-il's hometown was P'yŏngyang. A gifted singer, he majored in vocal music at Ohio Wesleyan University, and after graduation did postgraduate study at Columbia University.

Ok Chong-gyŏng was the eldest son of Presbyterian elder Ok, who, having become a Christian in the early days of Christian evangelism in Korea, distinguished himself through his long career as a trusted church member. Ok Chong-gyŏng was well versed in Christian doctrine. He was a man of wit and wise in the ways of the world. He and I were close friends when he was a student at Ohio State University and later in San Francisco. After graduating from the university, he returned home to Korea, but opposed to Japanese policy, he slipped out of the country and came back to America. He served as interpreter for the Immigration and Naturalization Service in San Francisco, and later, I understand, he sent for his family. In San Francisco, he used the alias of Ojin and shut himself off from the outside world. But I was able to meet him several times, and when he resigned from the Immigration Service and left for the Pacific Northwest, I took over his job.

Pak Ch'ŏ-hu's home town was Sŏnch'ŏn. With his younger brother Ch'ŏ-muk, he came to America in the company of Pak Yong-man (Usŏng). Also among Pak Yong-man's companions on the way to the United States were Yi Chong-hŭi, of Pyongyang; Chŏng Han-gyŏng, of Sŏnch'ŏn; and Yu Il-han, of Sŏnch'ŏn. Pak Ch'ŏ-hu majored in mathematics at the University of Nebraska, from which he graduated cum laude. Later he returned to Korea and taught at Yŏnhŭi College (Yonsei University). But before his return to Korea, Pak Ch'ŏ-hu served as the second president of the Korean Residents Association of North America, and when the entire Korean community in America was being united under the Kungminhoe in 1914, he devoted himself to working for the incorporation of the Residents Association into the Kungminhoe. He was president of the Korean Students Association and concurrently

editor of the association's English organ, *Korea Review*, from 1912 to 1913. Prudent and gentle, he was a sincere Presbyterian, and he was a respected and beloved friend of mine. For three years he and I worked together for the Residents Association and the Students Association, as well as for the latter's official publication.

I lived and worked with Pak's brother, Ch'ŏ-muk, an industrious man; we ran a restaurant in Detroit for some ten months. After Pak Ch'ŏ-muk returned to Korea, I heard it said that he slipped out of the country into Manchuria and was active in the independence movement while running his own business. It is a matter of regret that I was not once able to exchange correspondence with him.

Yi Chong-hŭi's hometown was P'yŏngyang. Following in the footsteps of his father and brothers, he became a Christian and a trusted member of his church. He came to the United States with Usŏng. Strong in physique and industrious, he was known for his skills in military drill and strategy. He and I were close friends. He returned to Korea after his university graduation. I regret that we have been out of touch ever since.

Yi Chong-ch'ŏl, born at Hŭgam, Ch'ŏngju, went to Seoul at an early age and served as a secretary of the Royal Household. Lamenting the decline of state authority, he came to America together with Usŏng. I was given to understand that, while in the homeland, he was already close to Chŏng Sun-man (pen name Kŏmun), Yu Ũn-sang, and Yi Chŏng-su. After graduating from the private military academy at Kearney, he returned to Korea with the intention of translating into action Usŏng's lifelong plan to train a Korean volunteer army, in the form of a militia, in Manchuria and Mongolia. But his plan came to naught when he became lame from a fall, a misfortune for himself and the public as well.

Yang Kŭk-muk, an older student, knew English grammar and was talented in the sciences, such as mathematics and chemistry. He majored in chemistry at a university, I heard from mutual friends that after graduation, he taught for a while before embarking on business ventures.

Chŏng Han-gyŏng and Yu Il-han, both of Sŏnch'ŏn, early became Christians and members of the Presbyterian Church.

They came to the United States together with Usöng and completed their high school education in Kearney. Chöng Han-gyöng graduated from the University of Nebraska majoring in political science, and obtained his master's degree from Northwestern University and his Ph.D. from American University. He wrote the essays "The United States Policy Toward the Far East" and "Korea's Treaties," and was well known in the academic world. From 1919, he toured the continental United States and Hawaii on behalf of the Korean independence movement, giving speeches and holding discussion meetings on the Korean issue in his capacity as a representative of the Kungminhoe General Headquarters of North America and concurrently as a member of the Korea Mission for Europe and America. Following liberation, he returned to Korea for a while but was unable to serve the Korean government because of his U.S. citizenship. When I was a student and later when I was serving as editor of the *Sinhan minbo* and as chief of the Korea Mission for Europe and America, Chöng Han-gyöng and I discussed current events from time to time. Chöng was indeed a man of extraordinary integrity, maintaining strict neutrality at all times toward friends and foes alike.

Yu Il-han was a very close friend of Chöng Han-gyöng, from the same hometown, from the same alma mater, and of the same age. For three years he majored in business administration and economic science at the University of Nebraska, and he graduated from the Ypsilanti School of Law in the state of Michigan (related to the University of Michigan). He also graduated from the University of Michigan, majoring in business administration. In addition, he earned diplomas of excellence in four or five subjects such as chemistry and electricity. While at the University of Nebraska and the University of Michigan, he won special prizes and honorable mentions in debate, speech, the essay, and football. While he was working for the Edison Electric Company, he distinguished himself by successfully organizing a company athletic meet. He also organized companies such as a bean sprout canning company and a new Oriental merchandise company, and made a success of them. He returned to Korea after liberation.

Instead of entering government service, he devoted himself

to his business enterprises and set up an establishment at Yōngdŭngp'o. But as he began to feel personal danger on account of his differences of opinion with the Syngman Rhee administration, he donated his entire business enterprise to a fund for establishing a business school and returned to the United States. After a few years he went back to Korea and formed his own company for the exclusive export and import of pharmaceuticals, and it was said that his business boomed. When I returned to Korea in 1963, I wanted to go and visit him, but to my regret, I could not do so. I believe both Chōng Han-gyōng and Yu Il-han were born in 1889, the same year that I was born, but I am not sure.

Chapter 10

My Family Life

IN 1904 I TURNED 15. I completed the twenty-four month mourning period for my adoptive mother in April; rites were held for my coming of age in September; and in October, I was married to my first wife, from the Ūnjin Song clan, a descendant of Uam and Ponggok. Her father was Song Yŏn-su and her mother from the Miryang Pak clan. She was fourteen years old, having been born in 1890.

My wife's grandfather, that is, my grandfather-in-law, Sinyŏnggong (posthumous name Hŭmsŏk, given name unknown), was a second cousin of Ipchae and Sujongjae. Ipchae was Song Kŭn-su, a *chwaŭijŏng*, a *seja sabu* [teacher of the first class for the crown prince], and a *chwaēju* of the Kyŏng-yŏn'gwan and the Sŏnggyun'gwan. Sujongjae was Song Yŏn-su,⁹ and a *chwaēju* of the Sŏnggyun'gwan. My grandfather-in-law was known near and far for his literary accomplishments. My father-in-law commanded the respect and affection of his friends for his skill in running the family, for his personality, conduct, filial piety, integrity, and scholarship. He was very close to his second cousin *sŭngji* Song Pyŏng-hak, and also to his third cousin, *chwaēju* Song Pyŏng-sŏn, whose pen name was Yŏnam.

My mother-in-law, from the Miryang Pak clan, grew up in a family known for its literary accomplishments and propriety, and was a second cousin of Pak Yŏng-ju (pen name Maedang), who was the brother-in-law of my uncle Ch'ogang; so my mother-in-law was distantly related to my own family.

My wedding took place at a time when Myŏnam (the pen name of Ch'oe Ik-hyŏn) was being criticized rather severely in Confucian circles, for a scandal over an "obscene" writing, and when the time came for the bridegroom's first courtesy visit to his bride's home after the wedding, I was afraid I might run into some unfavorable reaction from my wife's parents and her brother, Pyŏng-ok, who was eight or nine years older than I, because I had studied under Myŏnam. Fortunately, they were all open-minded and even went so far as to express sympathy for Myŏnam. Clearly, they were all impressed by his theories and his loyalty, which they had learned about from *sŭngji* Song Pyŏng-jik, one of Myŏnam's closest disciples—as was *sŭngji* Son Pyŏng-hak. You might say I lucked out.

My wife and I were very busy with post-wedding visits to relatives near and far and receiving their return visits. Thus one year flew by. We were both too young and busy to establish and develop conjugal affection; and then I left home for Seoul to study. I spent nearly three years in Seoul, and even during the summer vacations I was busy with the social movement on behalf of the national cause. So even when I managed to find time to report to my parents, it was only for one or two days. Moreover, I had to visit family graves and relatives on such occasions. Altogether, there was little time for communication with my wife, let alone conjugality, being bashful as we were on account of our youth. Mindful of my parent's concern for the state of our marriage, I wrote to my wife frequently while I was staying in Seoul, and also wrote to her from the United States every time I wrote my parents.

My family expected me to return home to Korea after my graduation from the university in 1917, but I informed them that I would be staying in America three more years for post-graduate study. In order to cover school expenses, I worked for one year at a glass factory and at an automobile parts factory while running a restaurant, only to end up with nothing saved. So I embarked on writing as a means of supporting the independence movement, and, at the same time, I enrolled for postgraduate study at the University of California. I managed to earn, with honors, all the necessary credits for a doctorate,

and the only thing left to be done was the writing of a doctoral dissertation. Through the good offices of Dr. Adams, chairman of the department of philosophy, I left in 1924, for Jena University in Germany, for my doctoral work. But on my way I stopped over in Los Angeles, where unfortunately I became involved in the turmoil within the Korean community, and had to abandon my trip to Germany.

After 1920, many of my classmates returned to Korea, among them Yun Yŏng-sŏn, Kim Tong-sŏng, An Chŏng-su, and Ok Chong-gyŏng. I also wanted to return and sounded out several Japanese. They were Saito, the Japanese consul general in San Francisco; Kanda, the secretary general of the Japanese Association; Watanabe, the secretary general of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce; Kawakami, the general manager of Japanese government propaganda in the United States; and Arita and Otake, reporters for the two Japanese newspapers in Seattle. They all told me the same thing: I would have to report to the Japanese Embassy or the Consulate and go through the procedures for assimilation, especially to make a declaration of unconditional submission to Japanese rule in Korea. As far as I was concerned, there was no way that I could bend my integrity by making such a declaration. Watanabe, Kawakami, and Otake were acknowledged to be the most progressive socialists in the Japanese community, and I had frequent contact with them at that time, as I was the editor of the *Sinhan minbo* and later an investigative reporter and then chief of the the Korean News Service.

At this same time, without going through the procedures for assimilation, Song Hŏn-ju and U Sang-yŏng sailed for Korea, only to have their entry refused by the Japanese Immigration Bureau at Yokohama and be turned back to the United States. The reasons for rejection were that Song had worked as an interpreter for the Korean emissaries to the World Peace Conference at the Hague and U had a small Korean flag in his luggage which had been used in connection with the independence movement in America.

I was suspect in the eyes of the Japanese because of my relations with Myŏnam (the pen name of Ch'oe Ik-hyŏn), under whom I had studied in my childhood and whom I went to visit

when he was detained at the Japanese military police headquarters in Seoul, and because of my activities with my cousins Pömjae (Kim Kyu-hŭng) and Wönnam (Yi Kyo-sŭng). Moreover, I was suspect because I had continued to write anti-Japanese articles in Korean, English, and Chinese after coming to America, and because, while studying at Cornell University, I engaged in heated arguments about Japanese policy toward Korea with such Japanese leaders as Kusano, a teacher at Suwön Agriculture and Forestry School who was on temporary duty making a field trip to the United States; Baron Kawaguchi, a Tokyo Imperial University graduate who was doing postgraduate study at Ohio State University; and Kawakami Kiyoshi, general manager of Japanese propaganda in San Francisco—the Japanese by nature and habit are all spies. For all these reasons, my return to Korea became difficult.

A few Koreans, including Song Chin-hön, Hae Chae-myöng, and Ok Chong-gyöng, were successful at this time in having their families brought to America from Korea. So I tried, too, to send for my wife, but here again I ran into obstacles. In addition to going through the assimilation procedures, I was told that I must have an acceptable occupation. Blackballed as an anti-Japanese Korean, there was little doubt that the Japanese authorities would be especially harsh and critical toward my application.

Later, with the idea that it would be easier to reunite my family if I went to China, because of its proximity to Korea, I enrolled in the University of California to study Mandarin and refresh my knowledge of it. I managed to get a letter of introduction from Dr. Tang, professor of Chinese language and history. I also wrote to my cousin Pömjae, who, in reply, endorsed my idea. But this plan to return home to Korea via China was not to be realized because of the political instability in China; the military governments were constantly changing hands, from Xu Shichang to Xu Shuzheng to Zhang Zuolin, while Sun Yat-sen's second revolution was still going through a transitional period. I also wrote to some cabinet members in the Provisional Government, including No Paek-nin and Kim Kyu-sik, but they were of the same opinion, so eventually I had to give up my idea.

I wrote my mother and my wife, frankly informing them of the impossibility of family reunion, but there was no way to tell them the underlying true reasons, for there was no point in aggravating the already existing Japanese suspicions only to have my family, too, ultimately become suspect. Of course, my family could not understand why, while others were sending for their families, I alone could not send for them. Letters from my wife were filled with increasing misapprehension and grief, which eventually became abusive. I could understand this but there was no way I could explain the situation to her satisfaction.

When my mother turned sixty in 1917, her eyesight began to fail, and she was blind by 1921. This loss of sight continued for about five years, before it returned somewhat. Meanwhile, my mother had my wife write to me for her. But as my wife's resentment grew, she ceased to write my mother's letters. A cousin of my grandfather (Kŏn-hŭi) took over the writing of my mother's letters, and he also took the opportunity to enclose his own letters to me. In one, written in 1923, he wrote that my wife had become mentally deranged and left home, her whereabouts unknown. The following year, in a letter recommending that I serve as a secretary at the Taejŏn Post Office, my male elder second cousin Sin-gu said that my wife's whereabouts were still unknown and she must be considered lost forever. My heart bleeds for her.

In 1925, I barely managed to extricate myself from the turmoil of the Korean community in Los Angeles, and in an attempt to earn travel money to Jena, I worked as a butler for the family of Oscar Howell, a big man in the Union Oil Company. That is where I met my present wife.

My wife is from the Sunghŭng An clan. Her father, An Si-t'aek, of P'yŏngyang, early became a Christian, and from the time of the 1895 Sino-Japanese War, he traveled widely throughout Manchuria and Siberia. Deeply unhappy with the national situation following the Russo-Japanese War, he emigrated to Hawaii in 1905, accompanied by his elder brother Si-ok. His wife, from the Naju Yim clan, and his brother-in-law, Yim Tong-sik, of Haeju, also came with him. He spent a great deal of time and money on the Korean community and

church, and was survived by four children, two sons and two daughters. My wife is the eldest of the four. She was born on a plantation, in Pu'unene on Maui, on June 20, 1905.

In 1914, when she was nine, my wife lost her mother and went to study at the Pacific Institute, as a boarding student. It was an orphanage school established by the Methodist Church and was under the supervision of Syngman Rhee. The school had separate dormitory facilities for boys and girls. After finishing her elementary school education at the institute, she continued to stay at the dormitory while attending McKinley High School.

In 1924, a boys' baseball team and a girls' chorus were formed to visit Korea. My wife, as a member of the chorus, went on the visit and traveled through thirteen provinces. In the following year, 1925, she graduated from high school and proceeded to the mainland for her higher education. Arriving in Los Angeles, she started working as a domestic helper to earn her school expenses. It was difficult enough for a male student to work his way through, but even more so for a female student. Meeting at the same work place, we became engaged.

At the time, she was close to an old man, An Sök-chung, because he happened to be of the same family name. Through the introduction of this old man, I requested permission to marry from my father-in-law-to-be. I was also close to the old man An, and he was, of course, familiar with my first marriage back in Korea. I did not tell my wife directly about my first marriage, but she learned about it through An Sök-chung, and appearing before an Orange County government official in Santa Ana, we were legally married.

However, in the marriage license application I stated that it was my first marriage. There were several reasons for this. For one, while in fact I no longer had a wife at this time, it was impossible to explain her whereabouts, for here was no case of death or divorce but of a disappearance which I could not explain. Also, a precedent-setting verdict had been rendered by an American court in Hawaii regarding bigamy, a case known as the Yaliang bigamy case. The verdict was that the American courts did not recognize a marriage performed in the Orient.

This case was appealed up to the Supreme Court, but the verdict of the lower court was upheld, and the precedent had been applied in the bigamy trial of a Korean, Sin Hong-gyun. It was also reported that similar cases had been tried in San Francisco, New York, Boston, and Detroit, but I did not have the time to look into these.

Of course it was not my intention to take advantage of such a precedent in order to forsake my first wife, but when one is engaged in political activities, large or small, high-level or low, it is essential that one be prepared at all times, in the event that legal questions should arise concerning bigamy, because one makes enemies in the course of political activities, enemies who are only too eager to plot one's injury.

In the four months that passed without any response, after I had been recommended by many Korean communities in America to be chief of the Korea Mission for Europe and America, it seemed that Syngman Rhee had screened me thoroughly, and in the course of this screening, it would appear that the question arose whether I might have committed bigamy. Several days before we were set to leave Los Angeles for Washington, D.C., a longtime Los Angeles resident, Yi Sun-gi (an absolute follower of Syngman Rhee), invited my wife and me to dinner, at which time he told me that the investigation conducted by Dr. Rhee confirmed that I did not have any wife or children back in Korea. This somewhat eased my personal situation. As a matter of fact, when Yi himself had come to the United States, he had brought his mistress with him; in light of this, Syngman Rhee probably felt that he had enough secrets among his own ranks and was therefore in no position to worry about the family affairs of others, bigamy or otherwise. Even so, I decided to say nothing and to close the book on the matter.

My second wife gave me three children. My daughter Hong-ju, our first child, was born in Washington, D.C., on February 2, 1927. She married Chŏng Yŏng-bok (American name Donald), who was born in Hawaii and graduated from the University of Hawaii, having majored in economics. He was an ROTC officer and later a cum laude graduate of the University of Colorado, with a major in chemistry. His par-

ents' home is in Taegu, Korea; his father is Chǒng Man-sǒ, but the Chǒng family lineage is not clear. They have four sons: Yun-sik, American name Raymond; Mun-sik, American name Bruce; Chun-sik, American name Dennis; and Ch'un-sik, American name Robert. Chǒng Yǒng-bok is now a major in the U.S. Army.

My first son, Hong-u, American name Dewey, was born in Washington, D.C., on July 4, 1928; he was a cum laude graduate of the University of Hawaii and an ROTC officer, and was married to Yǒng-hŭi, of the Kyǒngju Yi clan. Her father, Yi Yǒng-ch'un, was born in Hawaii; her grandfather, Yi Sang-t'ae, originally of Kyǒngju, later moved to Yǒngyang. Hong-u and Hǒng-hŭi have three children: a daughter, Wǒng-suk, American name Melissa; a first son, Wǒn-sik, American name Dewey, Jr.; and a second son, Ch'ǒn-sik, American name Michael. Hong-u works for the Internal Revenue Service.

My second son Hon-ŭi, was born in Honolulu, Hawaii, on January 14, 1931; he was a cum laude graduate of the University of Hawaii, earned an M.A. from the same university, and was a deputy councillor at the East-West Center dormitory. He married a woman from the Ch'ǒngju Han clan. Her father is Han Sŭng-p'yo, of Kŭmsan. They have three children: a first son, Han-sik, American name Jerome; a daughter, Han-suk, American name Judy; and a second son Kan-sik, American name Earl.

After my second marriage, on January 28, 1926, we moved to a hotel to live while anxiously awaiting confirmation of my appointment as chief of the Korea Mission for Europe and America. My wife's younger sister, who later married Dr. Ch'oe Yun-gwan, a Presbyterian minister, was living with us. What small savings we had ran out in no time living at the hotel, and early in September of the same year the three of us left Los Angeles for Washington, D.C., stopping over in Chicago, where we visited old friends, including Chǒng T'ae-ŭn, Kim Kyu-sǒng, Nam Chǒng-hǒn, Yi San-jin, Han Ŭi-sǒn, O Han-su, Chang In-myǒng, Hyǒn Chǒng-nyǒm, and Kim Yǒng-dae; and in Detroit, where we visited Chǒng Yang-p'il, Cho Tae-hŭng, Cho O-hŭng, An Chae-ch'ang, Chǒn Tǒk-ki, and Cho Kyu-sǒp.

In Washington, D.C., there was a steady stream of visitors—friends new and old, and scholars young and old, among them Ch'oe Rin, Hō Hōn, Kim Hōn-sik, An Chōng-su, Kim Kyu-sōng, Yang Chae-hyōng, Chang Se-yōng, Yun Ha-yōng, Yun Ch'i-yōng, Kim Chong-ch'ōl, Kim Yōng-yuk, Song P'il-man, Kim To-yōn, Pak Chin-sōp, Sin Tong-gi and his wife (Han So-je), Kim Nodie, Hō Chōng, Sō Chae-p'il [Philip Jaisohn], the Americans Dolff, Apple, Finnegan, Gallette, Hornbeck, Alby, and others. In addition, in the three years that I was the mission chief in Washington, D.C., there was a constant stream of VIP visitors.

A man from a poor nation cannot help but be pinched in his social life, let alone support a family of three or four mouths, a situation further aggravated by a poor salary, which was at times reduced or even completely cut off. It was virtually impossible to receive visitors properly. Still, my young wife never once complained, for which I am forever grateful.

For its operating expenses, the mission depended entirely on what were known as donations or pledges from a few public-spirited compatriots. But there was a constant decline in the amount of donations and pledges received, because some could not meet their pledges for reasons of illness or loss of job, while others became too old to work or died.

In light of the steadily declining receipts, I worked out a plan to seek a permanent source of income for running the mission. According to this plan, a building would be purchased to house the mission, and part of the building would be used as a dormitory for Korean college students who were studying with funds from home. The students would be employed as part-time office workers for the mission. Under the plan, our compatriots would be canvassed through direct interviews and correspondence to get pledges for the operation and work of the mission, and also keep them informed of the current situation and mission policies, and promote friendship and unity.

With this plan in mind, I left Washington, D.C., in 1928 on a trip to visit compatriots all over the continental United States and Hawaii. For nine months, from early April through the last day of December, I visited Korean communities. I had to

leave behind my twenty-three-year-old wife and one-year, two-month-old baby girl. My wife was expecting another baby in early July. Left alone like this in a foreign land, she never once complained. Her uncommon spirit both in public service and in taking care of a family is praiseworthy indeed.

In the winter of 1926, Kim Nodie came to Washington for a visit and reiterated several times that Korean students all have wives, and yet they pretend that they do not have wives. Alluding to Yi Wŏn-sun's family affairs, she claimed that men are all the same, and hinted that men always cheat women. This could have caused some friction in my family but did not. Miss Cordell, who had been a public relations person for the Korea Mission for Europe in 1920, had written a pamphlet containing a current rumor that Kim Nodie was Syngman Rhee's lover and that in 1928 she had given birth to his illegitimate child. As rumors go, this one was difficult either to prove or disprove. At a time when this rumor was rampant, Kim Nodie's own utterances were hard to understand, but it seemed as if she was trying in a roundabout way to defend herself.

The following year, at a Christian institution in Honolulu that was under Syngman Rhee's supervision, Kim Nodie, Syngman Rhee, and I happened to be talking together, at which time Kim repeated what she had said earlier. It was hard to understand why she should have done so. Was it because she had learned of the investigations Syngman Rhee had made about me? In any event, my wife never questioned what Kim Nodie said, something that goes to show my wife's understanding nature.

My round trip in 1928 of nearly five thousand miles was successful in soliciting pledges for funds to purchase a building for the mission. In April of the following year, I set out again on a trip to collect these pledges, and in July, after traveling throughout the continental United States, I arrived in Hawaii. I became involved in the internal clashes of the Kungminhoe and the *Kungminbo* and got stuck there; my wife came to join me in November, and the trip with two babies was not an easy one.

For the first six months in Hawaii we were quite busy, what

with settling down and receiving many visitors. Busy as we were, we did not have any particular difficulty in meeting our living expenses, since I was drawing two salaries as the editor concurrently of both the *Kungminbo* and *Pacific Magazine*. But in the summer of 1930, in an attempt to revive the Tongjihoe, a meeting of Tongjihoe delegates was held at the Kungminhoe headquarters on Miller Street, with delegates from the continental United States and Hawaii attending. After its revival, the headquarters of the Tongjihoe and *Pacific Magazine* were moved to an address on Kuakini Street, with Kim Wön-yong becoming the chief officer of the Tongjihoe, and Paek Sang-ha the editor of *Pacific Magazine*. Thus my income was cut in half.

By 1931, this internal conflict developed into an open break. The Korean community split into two factions, resulting in a halving of the financial receipts from the Korean community as a whole. To make matters worse, the Great Depression of 1929 had begun to reach Hawaii. Small businesses went bankrupt and nine out of every ten workers were unemployed. Families barely managed to survive on the benefits from government public works projects, benefits scarcely enough to support a single-person household.

In my case, from 1932 through 1934 my salary was drastically cut, and for a period of eight months I was not paid at all. My family of five—my wife and I and our three children—barely managed to survive, thanks to the financial help of my father-in-law, my two brothers-in-law, and my wife who was working as a teacher at the Korean language school.

As controversies erupted in the Korean community in 1931, Syngman Rhee tested his pet techniques, including stratagems of subversion and libel suits. Enticing ignorant, unscrupulous women and young hoodlums, Rhee formed the so-called Women's Tongjihoe and Young Men's Tongjihoe, a prototype and test run for the Young Men's Kungminhoe and Youth League that he formed when he later became President of Korea. Using these organizations, he occupied the Kungminhoe headquarters and attacked Yi Yong-jik, Kim Wön-yong, and me and raided our private homes.

One night at about ten o'clock, when I was on my way

home after attending a meeting of the board of trustees of a Christian church of an orthodox denomination, I was attacked by someone in the alley in front of my home. Fortunately, I was wearing a sturdy hat which saved me from the blow of an iron chain. Earlier, my wife had seen the villain roaming the alley. Frightened, she locked the doors and windows and stayed quiet in one room.

A few days later, I went to the Kungminhoe headquarters on Liliha Street to attend a weekly meeting, learned about the tactics of the opposition, and worked out countermeasures. On my way home that night, accompanied by seven or eight people as escorts for my protection, I saw three of four goons knocking on the door of my home, but they fled as they saw us coming. They hid themselves among the trees on an empty lot at the corner of the street. Cho Kŭm-mun, a member of my escort party, was a detective with the city police and rounded up nine of them and took them to police headquarters. I did not wish to press charges, and they were released with only an admonition and a warning. After the initial attack, Kim Wŏn-yong and I each obtained a license to carry a gun for protection. At the time, two suspects had been apprehended, but indictment proceedings were not instituted against them because the real offense lay with those who had instigated them, not with those who had been misled into improper action.

Meanwhile, my wife, who was seven months pregnant, almost had a miscarriage on account of the fright caused by the villains; she barely managed to give birth to a full-term baby. However, her fright caused a defect in the unborn baby's heart, and my wife and I had to take turns day and night caring for the baby. Born on September 6, the baby died on April 16 the following year, in spite of all the care. Such was the wrong done by Syngman Rhee.

My wife lost her mother when she was nine years old, and for the next ten years until she was nineteen, she lived at the Christian church dormitory run by Syngman Rhee. There she finished elementary school, and, continuing to live at the dormitory, completed her high school education. So my wife's feeling of indebtedness to Syngman Rhee was naturally deep. But before and after the turbulence in the Korean community

in Hawaii, Rhee himself and his women followers took every opportunity to try to persuade my wife to follow Dr. Rhee, claiming that unquestioning loyalty would provide her with a good living. This insistence on blind submission to Dr. Rhee, right or wrong, caused my wife to become suspicious of the true motives behind it, wondering if this was not a means of covering up wrongdoing. Then she saw with her own eyes such things as the articles in *Pacific Magazine* and *Pacific Weekly* accusing me of being a pro-Japanese Korean, a person of Japanese descent, an opium addict, or an embezzler, and she also saw the occupation of the Kungminhoe headquarters, the libel suits, and other acts of sabotage. So my wife broke off contact with Syngman Rhee.

In 1934, financial difficulties made it impossible to pay the salary of the typesetter of the *Kungminbo* and he was let go. So in addition to other work, Kim Wŏn-yong and I took over the typesetter's job, and at night, my wife used to come from time to time and lend a helping hand. Later, she landed a job at Leahi Hospital as a nurse on the night shift. Leaving three small children at home to work at night was not easy.

After succeeding in bringing off the merger of one faction of the Tongjihoe and the Kungminhoe as the first step toward eventual unity in the Korean community, and in order to escape from the turbulence in the community as well as from the difficulty in making a living, in August of 1934 I moved my family to the island of Lanai, where I landed a job at the fertilizer and pesticide experimental station of the pineapple plantation, and my wife found a teacher's job at the Korean language school. Earning a living in this way, we stayed on the island for three years.

To be sure, our life in a rural village was easier now that I lived in seclusion, free from the strife of the Korean community, but social life is a malady that is difficult to cure. In the second year of our life in the countryside, I revived the Lanai chapter of the Kungminhoe, and I attended the Kungminhoe delegates meeting in Hawaii as a delegate from the Lanai chapter. In the autumn of the same year, Kungminhoe president Yim Sŏng-u and treasurer Cho Pyŏng-yo came to Lanai to invite me to become editor of the *Kungminbo*, but I declined.

Next January I again went to Honolulu to attend the Kungminhoe delegates meeting as the Lanai chapter delegate. At the meeting, Cho Pyŏng-yo was elected president, and he organized the board of trustees. I was appointed the Kungminhoe secretary and concurrently the editor of the *Kungminbo*. In the face of strong urging from my friends on the board of trustees and the delegates assembly, I could no longer decline. Thus it was that I came to move my family back to Honolulu, but my income was barely half of what I used to earn at the plantation, so my wife had to go back to Leahi Hospital as a nurse, to supplement the family income. As commuting became difficult following the outbreak of World War II, she had to give up the nurse's job and became a worker for the Office of Civil Defense.

As the children grew up, moving from elementary school to high school to college, so grew our expenses. So we obtained a loan to run a rental business, and it was very promising. But it was not to be, because, as the saying goes, there is many a slip twixt the cup and the lip. The business started as a two-man partnership, with two rental rooms; then I ran two rental houses on my own; and then a hotel under a four-man partnership. One rental house and two rental rooms were obtained on a lease agreement, and the other rental house and the hotel were obtained by outright purchase. The total value including fixtures and equity was \$200,000, but the actual acquisition price was about \$60,000. The monthly income was \$6,000. Actual monthly expenditure was \$6,500, including payment of the loan principal and interest, taxes, insurance, overhead, and living expenses. This meant a monthly shortfall of \$500. But actually we did not experience much difficulty, because we were able to juggle the finances by borrowing money short-term and repaying it by meeting the terms of the original loan, which called for repayment of half the loan within one year and the other half in two more years.

The real difficulty was with problems related to personnel. First, there were differences of opinion among the partners, controversy over the distribution of profits, and conflict stemming from suspicion. Then, some of the partners and employees were engaged in such extracurricular activities as

gambling, opium, bootleg liquor, and prostitution, which frequently brought warnings from the police and the courts. There was the real danger of the law closing down the establishments. Also, some partners and employees were frequently seen conspiring to slander the business in an attempt to acquire the leasehold from the landlord and mortgagees (the bank and trust company), and pocketing money by forging papers. Then there were other difficulties which, combined with the business difficulties, culminated in bankruptcy in 1945.

At the time, there was an interim organization known as the Korean United Committee. The idea behind this organization was to achieve Korean national unity in the cause of the independence movement, transcending factions such as the Kungminhoe and the Tongjihoe, and to strengthen this unity further by bringing together all segments of the Korean community into one united group. This movement was close to succeeding, but Syngman Rhee stood in the way. Convening an extraordinary meeting of the Tongjihoe delegates, Rhee stressed that there was no benefit to be gained from the movement and that there was no need for it. The members at that meeting decided on the withdrawal of all Tongjihoe delegates from the movement.

Reacting angrily to this, the United Committee decided to exclude the Tongjihoe and proceed with the Kungminhoe, the Tongnip-tang [Independence Corps], the Independence Party, and the Women's Relief Society. Further, the United Committee decided to open its office in Washington, D.C., especially to mount an anti-Syngman Rhee publicity campaign. Chŏn Kyŏng-mu, Kim Wŏn-yong, and Kim Yong-jung were to man the Washington office, with an annual budget of \$38,000. The first year's expenses exceeded \$50,000, but Kim Yong-jung paid this extra out of his own pocket as he was a wealthy man. In this connection, I said that I, for one, supported the publicity campaign on behalf of Korea but that I strongly opposed the anti-Syngman Rhee campaign on the grounds that internecine strife among Koreans was all very unfortunate, and that in accord with the old precept for preventing scorn from outside, there was no need to wash our dirty linen in public.

I went on to emphasize that there was every need to follow the earnest advice of the Provisional Government for uncon-

ditional unity in the independence movement. This emphasis on my part incurred the ire of the extremists and provided busybodies with an opportunity to slander me. The rumor was rampant that I was trying to go over to the side of the Tongjihoe, following Syngman Rhee; moreover, a scandalous rumor was spread about my business activities. This malicious propaganda caused my long-standing credit sources to dry up; when it reached the ears of my creditors and banks, I no longer had any source of credit available to me. Thus I was forced to sell off the business at a bargain price. With the proceeds, I repaid part of the debts, and as for the balance, I declared myself insolvent. This happened in 1945.

Immediately following the bankruptcy, I got myself a humble job as a night watchman at a canning company, and my wife went back to Leahi Hospital to work as a receptionist. With both our incomes, we did not experience too much difficulty in making a living. During this period, too, my wife's financial contributions were great. Our grown-up children were now living with their own families, but with schooling to finish, they were having difficulty standing on their own feet. So to help them, we lived with our daughter's family until 1963, then with our first son's family, and then with our second son's family. Soon after my arrival in Korea for a visit in 1963, I suffered a relapse of a chronic ailment and had to hurry back. Several months later, my wife and I came to live all by ourselves.

After landing the job at the canning company in 1945, I stopped working at the Kungminhoe and the *Kungminbo*. Subsequently, the editors of the *Kungminbo* were replaced several times, until Paek Il-gyu was invited from Los Angeles to take over. After serving as editor for several years, he had to return to Los Angeles on account of family circumstances. At the earnest request of the former Kungminhoe presidents Yim Sŏng-u and Cho Pyŏng-yo and the current president Sŏ Sang-sun, I once again became the *Kungminbo* editor in 1949. Soon after that, the Korean War broke out. In what was purported to be the police action of that war, the United States committed the wanton massacre of noncombatants, even of women and children. I scathingly denounced this, and as a means of arousing concern among U.S. political circles, I expressed my

support for communism, the archenemy of the American government and people. Thus for a time, I attracted the attention of compatriots and foreigners alike.

I had been espousing socialism with the contention that it was the course of history, and that the logical conclusion was that to achieve equality, justice, and freedom among the people, they should have an economic liberation equal to their political liberation; that the one-party proposition of communism means that without parties there is no freedom, and thus that revolutionary communism should be the last resort after all other means are exhausted, and that it is not a proposition in accord with the laws of nature; that, as evidenced in the newly emerging states in modern times, such social welfare measures as universal education, relief for the old and weak, and progressive taxation are all socialist ideas; and that as it evolves in this way, socialism will be realized in all its aspects in the not too distant future.

This contention notwithstanding, I made myself appear as if I supported communism, merely as a temporary tactic, and this caused no small criticism. Busybodies employed subterfuge to cause discord within the Kungminhoe. In 1951, I was elected president of the Kungminhoe, and two years later, I was reelected. But in order to avoid internal strife in the Kungminhoe, I resigned as president at the end of the year, and the vice president, Yim Sŏng-gu, took over. In the midst of this turmoil, the *Kungminbo* typesetter left his job and we tried in vain to hire a replacement to operate the typesetting machine. So my wife operated the machine for several months. Thus, the two of us continued to hold outside jobs while carrying on the business of the Kungminhoe and the *Kungminbo*.

When I was seventy-two years and four months old, that is, in 1961, I quit my job at the canning company. Under the provisions of the American Social Security system, one is eligible for social security benefits at age sixty-five but may continue to work, if healthy, up to age seventy-two. Immediately after quitting my job, I underwent an operation for my chronic throat trouble, which was diagnosed as cancer, and after a long postoperation radium treatment, the doctor pronounced it all but cured.

Later, with travel money provided by our first son, Hong-u, I went to Korea for a visit. My plan was to stay there for about two years, in which I was to visit relatives, old friends, and their children. But I suffered a relapse of the throat trouble and had to hurry home after only two months. All the plans I had made to visit relatives and friends could not be realized. What is most regrettable is that I could not make it to visit the children of my elder sister, the wife of Song Mun-hön, or my younger sister, the wife of a Mr. Han; the grandsons of cousin Chöng Un-jik on my mother's side, of cousin Wönnam (Yi Kyo-süng) on my foster mother's side, and of cousins Song Chae-sök and Song Chae-gyöng on my foster mother's side; the grandson, Sang-hun, of Nam Chöng-hön; Hong Süng-guk's eldest son; the sons and grandsons of Pyön Yöng-t'ae, Cho Tong-sik, Chang Chi-ho, Chöng Sun-gak, Chöng Sun-ok, and the children of Chang Tök-su and Kim Ku (pen name Paekböm); and Yun Yöng-sön, Kim To-hön, and Kim Tong-söng. But it was my good fortune to have had a short visit with Yun Ch'i-yöng. While in Korea, thanks to my wife's generous remittance, I was also able to give \$1,000—not a large sum but at least something—to my younger brother, Ch'ung-gu, who was having a hard time making a living.

Six months after my return home the throat trouble became critical, and in January of 1964, I underwent three operations, major and minor, and was bedridden for more than two months in the hospital and at home. I completely lost my voice, along with the senses of smell and taste—"living dead" for the rest of my life. Most of the hospital and other expenses were paid from our first son's contributions and my wife's health insurance. Our first son also supplied blood for the transfusions at the times when surgery was performed.

It is my fondest hope if, heaven willing, I can make a new start, that I could make another trip to Korea and accomplish my unrealized visits to relatives and old friends, and devote the rest of my life to writing a Korean grammar and to adding the finishing touches to my history of the emissaries in the last days of the old Korea. But what good is it to hope and plan when I do not have any money and cannot do anything?

Chapter 11

My Social Life

IN MY CHILDHOOD, when I was almost six—that is, in 1895—I suffered a near fatal case of measles, after which I was plagued by weakness and ailments of one kind or another. Still, when my father and older brother were away from home, I took charge of receiving eminent visitors, travelers from near and far attracted by my undeserved fame for precocity. During my elders' absences I also took charge of ancestral rites, attending my superiors and overseeing juniors and servants.

In September of that year I went to Kosan Temple in the Sikchang Mountains for recuperation and study, accompanied by my uncle. Soon afterward he had to return home, but Chang Kap-ch'ul and I stayed on to continue our studies. Chang was one year younger than I was. In my year at the temple, I so enjoyed the trust of Chief Abbot Pyöktam that he allowed me to assist him, his son Chönggak, and his servant Kwöndong in conducting Buddhist services and receiving nuns and devotees from other temples, as well as tourists.

After returning home from the temple, I also acted as monitor at private school when the regular monitor, *chusa* Song P'il-hön, was absent. He was the second son of *ch'amsö* Song Pyöng-yön, and the older brother of my close friend Ki-hon, whose childhood name was Sam-jun. *Chusa* Song had in his possession a wool writing brush, made in China, which he used for large lettering. When I was five years old, I wanted to try this brush, and one day when *chusa* Song was away from home, I took the opportunity to sneak in and try it. Now this was at a time when I was barely able to copy books and make

fair copies of the letters of my father and older brother, in either the printed or semicursive style. In addition, I had had a rudimentary training in the calligraphy of medium and large-size letters. But creditable calligraphy of large letters was beyond my ability, and my impossible attempts resulted in a calligraphy way below the acceptable standard. Thinking that this calligraphy was the work of his brother, *chusa* Song reprimanded Ki-hön severely, and I was too ashamed to admit it was my work. Several months later, however, I told my father the truth.

I was impressed that Song Ki-hön, when reprimanded by his brother, never said a word, even though he knew who the culprit was. I humbly tendered my apologies to him and we became sworn brothers. The lesson I learned from this affair is that there is no way to cover up forged writing—no way to cover up any wrongdoing—and this became my lifelong conviction.

After I went up to Seoul, I came under the tutelage of Pöm-jae (the pen name of Kim Kyu-hŭng), a cousin through my maternal aunt, and in 1906 I attended Chaganghoe [Self-Strengthening Association] meetings on his behalf. The following year, as the Chaganghoe was dissolved, I joined the Taehanin Hyöphoe [The Society of Koreans]. In the same year, upon the signing of the seven-article agreement of 1907, I heard Professor Chang To's moving speech on the fall of the country.

Following Professor Chang's speech, a secret organization called the Sosaenghoe was born. The idea was that the student members who were working their way through school would get free room and board at the homes of former high government officials or wealthy families, but actually this did not work out. The big homes, as a rule, had late breakfasts, too late for the students who had to report to school early in the morning. The students were too poor to buy lunch. Supper was the only meal they could count on, but if the students were so much as one minute late, for any reason, they had to go without their only meal of the day, as the servants invariably refused to serve them. This was the general rule rather than the exception.

So another idea was introduced that if the students got together and cooked their own meals, they would not have to go hungry; furthermore, this would serve to promote friendship and harmony, which would stand them in good stead when they later embarked on work for the cause. In any event, the ultimate goal was to serve the country. This was a time when many small organizations, some open, some clandestine, were emerging one after another, whose members would calmly die for the cause, but our goal was to serve the country not by suicide but by survival. Hence our name Sosaenghoe [Association of Those Pledging to Survive].

In this same year, 1907, Pak Kwang-hŭi, Kim Yŏng-sŏn, and I organized an association called Hosŏ Haksaeng Ch'inmokhoe [Association for the Promotion of Friendship among Students from South and North Ch'ungh'ŏng Provinces]. Studying in Seoul at the time were several thousand students from these two provinces, and eighty to ninety percent of them were working their way through school. The idea was to solicit contributions from relatives and friends in Seoul. Both Pak and Kim were my classmates from Posŏng Hakkyo and Yangjŏng Ūisuk. Pak Kwang-hŭi, of Kongju, was a leading scholar of Chinese literature, correct in speech and bearing, about thirty years old, and treated as an elder by his friends. Kim Yŏng-sŏn of Yŏnsan, was the eldest grandson of the family of Mrs. Hŏ, and had the same name as *sŭngji* Kim Yŏng-sŏn, of Hongch'ŏn. Tolerant and steadfast with his friends, he possessed an uncommonly high public spirit, diligence, and perseverance. I was elected the first council chairman and a member of the soliciting committee, so I visited scores of wealthy families. At the time there were some eight hundred important families in Seoul from the two provinces, and there should have been no difficulty in soliciting one thousand wŏn apiece from these public-spirited families—except for the fact that as a rule they were stingy, rich as they were. So it became extremely difficult to get contributions. Furthermore, as I was busy with the Sosaenghoe and my plans to study abroad, it became extremely difficult for me to give my time and effort to the Hosŏ Haksaeng Ch'inmokhoe. I was then eighteen years old.

When we were organizing this student association, I sought advice from my respected elder, Professor Chang, as well as from Pömjae, Ipchae (the pen name of An Yöng-t'aek), and Professor Wön Yöng-hüi. I received the same answer from them all. This was, in effect, that even if the scope of any particular project became narrowed, one's overriding concern should be service to the country. They were opposed in principle to any parochial organization—even though at that time Professor Wön was the secretary of Kwandong Institute [Kangwön Province Institute]; An Yöng-t'aek, the secretary of Kiho Hakhoe [Kyönggi, South and North Ch'ungch'öng Provinces Institute] and concurrently superintendent of Kiho School; and Kim Kyu-hüng, a charter member and concurrently adviser to the Kiho Institute and Kiho School. In any event, public service became my own lifelong directive.

In 1909, although I was twenty, I was allowed to enroll in the fifth grade to study English, in Lincoln, the capital of Nebraska. Under public school rules in that city, no student over the age of eighteen was allowed to enroll, but by the kind arrangement of the principal, my age was entered in the school register as eighteen. At that time, living in the Korean student dormitory at 1721 P Street were Pak Yong-man (superintendent), Yu Ün-sang (secretary), Chöng T'ae-ün, O Han-su, Kim Yong-söng, Kim Yong-dae, and Nam Chöng-hön. Among the other Korean residents in the city were Kim Yegwön, Kim Pyöng-hüi, Yu Chin-ik, Sin T'ae-gyu (who later changed his name to T'ae-rim), Pak Chae-gyu, and Yi No-ik. Chöng Yöng-gi, Yi Ch'i-gyöm, Yi Hwa-sil, Cho Chin-ch'an, and To Ik-mo lived in Omaha; and in Kearney the students included Yi Chong-ch'öl, Chöng Han-gyöng, Yu Il-han, Chöng Yang-p'il, Pak Ch'o-hu, and Pak Ch'ö-muk. With these people as members, the Nebraska Korean Residents Association was formed.

The guiding spirit in writing the bylaws of this association was Usöng (Pak Yong-man), a lifelong advocate of democracy based on the three separate branches of government, party politics, liberty, and equality. He contended that we, a nation without a government, should practice self-rule by forming a shadow government. With the U.S. Constitution and other

laws as references, I drafted the association bylaws under the supervision of Chŏng T'ae-ŭn and Hong Sŭng-guk, and these were voted on by the association membership. I was elected the first association president, and mounted a swift publicity campaign. Within the year, our compatriots in the West, including Wyoming and Utah, and in the East, including New York and Illinois, were united under the Korean Residents Association of North America. I was elected president of this united association.

In 1910 Pak Yong-man went to San Francisco as editor of the *Hyŏpsŏng sinmun* and reorganized the Hyŏpsŏnghoe as the Kungminhoe, modifying its bylaws somewhat after the bylaws of the Residents Association. In this reorganization Pak established the three separate branches—legislative, judicial, and administrative—and created systems for an assembly of delegates, the election of a president, and judicial proceedings. He also changed the manner of making contributions into an assessment system.

When I left for New York in 1913, to study at a university there, Pak Ch'ŏ-hu was elected president of the Residents Association, and it was during his presidency that the association joined the Kungminhoe, as part of the nationwide campaign for the unification of all the Korean communities in the United States.

In 1910 I had taken some fifty Korean students to the Korean Military Academy in Hastings, Nebraska. After Usŏng's departure for the West, Kim Chang-ho, a fourth-year student at the academy, took charge of teaching military affairs, discipline, and strategy and tactics. I took charge of teaching the Korean language and was concurrently the secretary of the academy. That same year we organized an Association of Korean Students in America. I became association president and editor of our annual publication, the *Korean Students Review*. At that time, all told there were some two hundred Korean students in America, and as at one time or another two-thirds of them attended the military academy in Hastings, it was comparatively easy to organize a students association.

I learned a great deal from Usŏng while living under the same roof with him in Nebraska and from subsequent corre-

spondence; much of what I learned became my lifelong guides. Usŏng practiced in daily life what he preached: Consider all people throughout the world as your brothers; never fight with brothers but join hands in preventing scorn from outside (fighting among brothers is like cutting water with a sword); do not hold grudges; do not owe others but rather have them owe you; love your neighbors, love your enemy; and harbor no unfounded suspicions. These are ancient teachings of both East and West, and Usŏng practiced them. In the face of Syngman Rhee's malicious acts of humiliation, insult, and subterfuge, Usŏng never lifted a finger, something that goes to show what a great man he was. Following his example, I have always tried, even though I failed every time, to bring about unity and harmony among our people.

In April 1919, I attended the meeting of Koreans held in Philadelphia. Syngman Rhee was the prime mover for this meeting. Earlier the Provisional Government formed in Shanghai by the independence movement in the homeland had designated Syngman Rhee as Prime Minister. Nevertheless, at the Philadelphia meeting Syngman Rhee proclaimed himself President. I could not go along with this. Privately I made my feelings known to Hong Sŭng-guk, that this behavior even before the independence movement had moved into high gear was deplorable, and I did not attend any further sessions, pleading illness.

Earlier, following the conclusion of World War I in November 1918, President Wilson's fourteen-point declaration on national self-determination heralded the dawning of independence for small nations worldwide, the Korean nation included. In Hawaii, Usŏng released a declaration of Korean independence, and the Kungminhoe of the continental United States and Hawaii decided to send Syngman Rhee, Min Ch'an-ho, and Chŏng Han-gyŏng as special delegates to the Paris Peace Conference. But the American government refused to issue them visas. The reason given for the refusal was that Korea was under Japan and there was no Korean government. Of course, this was an excuse; it really was because Japan had been America's wartime ally. Thus it was considered necessary to form a Korean government as a means of resolving this

situation, and a movement was quietly begun to establish a Korean government with Syngman Rhee as president.

But before this plan materialized, the independence movement in the homeland and Shanghai culminated in the proclamation establishing the Provisional Government in Shanghai. The Philadelphia meeting was supposed to proclaim Korean independence in step with the Provisional Government and hold the ceremony of investiture of Syngman Rhee as prime minister of the Provisional Government. Unfortunately Rhee began acting as an adversary.

Toward the end of 1918, Usöng had prepared the first Korean declaration of independence, but was gracious enough to forgo using it when Rhee opted for the one prepared in the homeland. As part of the Korean independence movement throughout the continental United States and Hawaii, Korean students at Ohio State University and Ohio Wesleyan University revived the students association, especially through the good offices of Yun Yöng-sön. The association decided to publish a temporary monthly. I was then running a restaurant in Detroit, but transferring the business to Sin Hyön-gu, I went to Columbus. Yun Yöng-sön was the student association president and concurrently the editor of the temporary monthly, and Pak Chin-söp assisted in the editing. Yun funded the expenses out of his own pocket. The monthly, being a temporary publication, did not have a logo and was issued in the form of a booklet. As the dust settled, so to speak, it was my idea that the monthly be made official, with a proper logo and executive officers. Meanwhile the Philadelphia meeting decided to form a Korea Mission for Europe and America as a diplomatic organ, and Philip Jaisohn became an adviser for the mission. At the same time he became editor of the student monthly, assisted by Chöng Han-gyöng, and officially named it the *Korea Review*.

In addition to Jaisohn and Chöng, others were involved with the mission. First, there was Syngman Rhee, who served as chief for several successive terms. That Rhee, the self-proclaimed president, should concurrently serve as an envoy abroad was a crying shame. Among others involved were Kim Kyu-sik, Song Hön-ju, Yi Tae-wi, Hyön Sun, Yun Pyöng-gu,

Yi Yong-jik, Sin Hyŏng-ho, Hŏ Chŏng, Yun Ch'i-yŏng, and myself. There was also Fred Dolff, who served as legal adviser.

The organization came to be called a mission instead of an embassy or legation at the suggestion of Syngman Rhee, with the concurrence of Philip Jaisohn and Dolff and the tacit approval of Hornbeck, chief of the Far East Bureau of the U.S. Department of State. The rationale behind this was that given that the Korean government was not even recognized as a de facto government, let alone de jure, it would be improper to set up an embassy or legation, but it would be acceptable to set up a mission with a dominion status, like the Canadian Mission in Washington, D.C. This is a logic that was hard to understand.

First, we had contended all along that Korea was not a territory of Japan. Why, then, did Syngman Rhee voluntarily accept Korea's status as a territory of Japan? Earlier, in 1913, Rhee, completely ignorant of law, wrote to the *Pacific Magazine* an open letter addressed to "His Majesty the Emperor," pleading for Korea's self-rule. It seemed he was still holding on to the same old anachronistic, self-contradictory ideas.

Second, whether it was called an embassy or mission, the U.S. government was not going to recognize it, and it was almost equally certain that, whatever the name, the U.S. was not going to shut it down. Why, then, should Rhee have behaved the way he did? I raised my doubts, suspicions, and counterarguments to Paek Il-gyu, Yim Chŏng-gu, Kim Chŏng-jin, Chŏng Han-gyŏng, and Yun Pyŏng-gu. Later Hyŏn Sun tried to change the mission into a legation and failed because of financial difficulties, but I concurred with him and supported him. This was while I had quit as editor of the *Sinhan minbo* but still remained as assistant editor and was running the Korean News Service as an independent. Thus I expressed my personal opinions in articles contributed to the *Sinhan minbo*, but as the person in charge of the Korean News Service, I never touched on the mission-legation controversy. It is my conviction that any controversy among Koreans is an internal affair for Koreans alone, and something that should never be made public.

In 1923, Sin Hyŏng-ho set out on a tour of the continent to

visit Koreans on behalf of the mission, and when he came to San Francisco we enjoyed a few days of reunion. I worked hard to arrange interviews and meetings between Koreans in San Francisco and Sin, who was trying to resolve the mission's financial difficulties. Up to that time the mission had relied on collections and assessments for its financial needs, but the receipts were falling off daily. Meanwhile, Syngman Rhee, who had gone into seclusion in Hawaii, was buying up land to set up what was called Tongjich'on, or Tongji Village, and was also busy running the Christian Institute. Thus he was too preoccupied to have any time to concern himself with affairs in Washington, D.C.

Meanwhile, the Koreans in New York, especially the students who were providing a major portion of the financial and moral support for the mission's maintenance, were clamoring for the mission to clarify explicitly its position as an agency of the Provisional Government, because Syngman Rhee was insisting that the mission was his personal agency, that is, an agency of the self-proclaimed president, and that the mission must uphold him even more strongly. Before returning to Hawaii, Syngman Rhee had called on the Koreans in New York to give positive help in the maintenance of the mission and to support the Taegwang as an acknowledged clandestine organization in the independence movement. But on his arrival in Hawaii, he forgot all about the mission, and furthermore, instead of supporting the Taegwang, he formed the Tongjihoe. This was an organization of like-minded persons interested in the continued publication of the *Pacific Magazine* through a monthly contribution of twenty-five cents or more. In addition, the Tongjihoe imposed on each member an annual assessment of three dollars, which was subsequently increased to five.

Originally it had been decided informally that the Koreans on the U.S. mainland would assume one-half the expense of maintaining the mission and Koreans in Hawaii the other half. Under this original plan, which took into account the differences in number and financial ability of the Korean population in Hawaii and the mainland, Koreans in Hawaii were to pay an annual assessment of three dollars per person in addition to an

annual tax of one dollar, while the Koreans on the mainland were to pay an annual assessment of ten dollars per person, on either a monthly or annual basis. But in Hawaii, with the Tongjihoe imposing an annual assessment of three dollars for itself, payments for the mission decreased markedly and its financial situation became extremely tight.

Even though he ran into strong arguments and partisan interpretations claiming that the mission was an agency of the Provisional Government and that the creation of a mission instead of a legation was wrong to begin with, Sin Hyöng-ho, a personable man of few words, avoided clashes and quietly carried out his task. Still, he was badly hurt as a result of the continuing controversy. After his European tour, Sin retired from the mission, returned home to Los Angeles, and went into seclusion.

As Sin's successor, Hō Chōng took over the mission—financial difficulties, identity problem, and all. Most pressing was the financial situation, which left no time to devote to the main job, the diplomatic campaign. Mortified by this state of affairs, that the mission was an idle office even though its doors were open, and with nothing to show for his three years of all-out effort, Hō also retired from the mission.

Chapter 12

Postscript

I FIRST ARRIVED in the United States in April of 1909, and spent the next twenty-some years there, up to October 1929. During this time I lived in or traveled through some forty-two of the forty-eight states. Working in cities and on farms, in factories, private homes, bars, and restaurants, I had an opportunity to observe in person people of different ethnic backgrounds and classes.

I spent four months in Green River, Wyoming; a year in Lincoln; three years in Hastings; three months in New York, a year and a half in Ithaca; three months in Ontario, Canada; six in Council Bluffs, Iowa; a total of four years in Columbus, Ohio; one year in Detroit; five in San Francisco; two years in Manteca and Los Angeles; and three in Washington, D.C. Between 1929 and now, 1966, nearly forty years have passed. The number of years I have just listed slightly exceeds the actual total. This is accounted for by the fact that I have computed them on a school-year basis, duplicating three or four summer months as a year.

When legal adviser Fred Dolff and Sin Hyöng-ho were with the mission, two gentlemen frequented the place. I had an opportunity to meet and befriend them. They were Dewey and Apple. I am indebted to them for their good offices. It was through their introduction that I met Hornbeck, chief of the Far East Bureau of the State Department; George Galligher, a well-known journalist; and Commander Hannigan, USN, retired. Both Galligher and Hannigan gave the impression that

they were government investigators. Galligher was an international correspondent for newspapers in New York, Manila, and Shanghai. Long stationed in China, he was proficient in Chinese, both written and spoken, and had many books and articles on China to his credit. He was an authority on the Far East.

Through the introductions and good offices of these gentlemen, I found my way into diplomatic circles and learned about the possibilities of paper manufacturing in Manchuria and Siberia, and the immigration by Koreans to Brazil in South America. At the time, paper in general and newsprint in particular were already in short supply both in the United States and worldwide, and the availability of raw materials was shrinking day by day. The raw materials came from the northern and northwestern United States and Canada, but their availability was diminishing and paper prices were rising daily. Under these circumstances, if the Koreans, who were not an international threat, were to become the fronts in running paper mills in Manchuria and Siberia, it would be possible to get backing in American financial circles. They believed that financially and politically, the Koreans were less suspect internationally and would be able to gain the sympathy of China and Russia. On the other hand, Japan, which was busy expanding its influence in Manchuria, would thereupon become extremely suspicious. As far as Japan was concerned, none but pro-Japanese Koreans would do in this business but that, in turn, would cause the suspicion of China and Russia. Such was the difficulty standing in the way of this enterprise.

As for immigration to South America, large numbers of Japanese were immigrating to Brazil, but since the Brazilian government did not like this state of affairs very much, it would welcome, as a counterbalancing measure, the immigration of ten thousand Koreans or more—in fact, tens of thousands of Koreans. Under this project, each Korean immigrant would be given some twenty acres of virgin land to develop. The immigrant would be expected to work the land for three years, with all the traveling expenses, seeds, chemicals, fertilizer, implements, and medicines supplied by the Brazilian government. For six years after development, the

proceeds from the farms (mostly rubber plantations), would be divided in half between the immigrant and the government. After this six-year period, the immigrant would acquire complete ownership of the land and the freedom to dispose of the proceeds as he wished. As remuneration for running this immigration campaign, a three-man team, consisting of one Brazilian, one American, and one Korean, would share equally a pool of funds into which would be paid five wŏn for each immigrant.

It was possible to recruit Koreans in Manchuria and Siberia as prospective immigrants to Brazil, but it was anticipated that Japan would oppose this and intervene while the immigrants were on their way to Brazil. Moreover, in light of the furor over a similar project involving immigrants to Mexico, in which the recruiters were accused of luring Koreans to sell them off as slaves, there was every fear of a recurrence of a similar furor. Still, without a doubt, the two projects were beneficial to the Koreans and worth the risk. But I could not take action until I disposed of my job at the mission.

Born into a poor family in Illinois, Dolff had had to start working in mines and factories at an early age, but by attending night and correspondence schools, he finished his high school and college education. Continuing with the study of law, he graduated with honors. A born genius, he created many industrial inventions and designs and was a close friend of Edison, the great inventor. A look-alike of Edison, and possessing broad legal knowledge, Dolff acted on behalf of Edison and on many occasions as Edison himself. Known for his skill at drafting legal documents, he joined a nationally known law partnership in Chicago, and the law firm changed its name from Bourbon & Bourbon to Bourbon, Dolff, and Bourbon. Maintaining frequent contact with leaders of the legal profession, and with his business thriving, he was kept busy day and night, devoting whatever time there was to his inventions and writing. Thus, even though he was a sociable man, Dolff neglected his family, and although he was eminently qualified for doing figures and bookkeeping, he did not pay too much attention to his personal finances. Eventually his family broke up, his wife running away with her lover to Europe. He en-

trusted his two small children to his relatives for bringing up and transferred his assets to a trust for the children. Then he led the life of a hermit.

At the outbreak of World War I, he went to work as a dollar-a-year inventor at an artillery arsenal in Baltimore. But as a result of excessive inhalation of noxious chemical fumes and smoke, he suffered from throat trouble and completely lost his voice. Through tireless effort, he partially regained his voice, but still not well enough for him to appear in court as a trial lawyer. So he specialized in drafting government and personal legal documents, living in a Washington hotel all by himself.

For a while, he served as legal adviser to the Polish Independence Party. He also volunteered to help the Korean independence movement. His spirit in public service was great indeed. While leading a frugal bachelor's life, he won a handsome fee in 1926 as counsel for the plaintiff in the case of Richardson versus the government over patent rights, when the long-standing case finally came to an end in favor of the plaintiff. In the same year, putting an end to his lonely bachelorhood, he married a middle-aged widow, but died less than two years later.

Dolff used to praise Kim Kyu-sik and Philip Jaisohn highly—Kim for his personable character and command of the English language, and Jaisohn for his commanding physique and speech. After Dolff won the patent rights case, Philip Jaisohn borrowed a large sum of money from him. It was at a time when Jaisohn was having financial difficulties and even this personal loan could not keep him from going bankrupt, and all of this strained their personal relationship. Magnanimous, Dolff did not hold it against Jaisohn, and before he died in 1927, he had told his wife to make Jaisohn one of his pallbearers. That was his way of telling Jaisohn that his debt was forgiven.

In my three years with the mission, I learned from experience that even though it had failed to win formal international recognition, the mission still had won informal recognition. From time to time, it received direct and indirect inquiries on matters relating to the Orient. Frequently Koreans in the

United States used to misplace or lose their passports, and they were refused reentry when they returned from trips outside the United States. On such occasions, they were allowed reentry on certification by the mission. In its existence of more than six years, the mission won international acceptance, and everyone agreed that a mission with this kind of standing should be maintained.

Under the circumstances, as a means of maintaining the mission, I worked out a plan to purchase a building for it and to use part of the building as a dormitory for Korean students, as a way of helping them financially. When I came to Hawaii for the second time to carry the plan through, Ch'oe Ch'ang-dök retired from the Kingminhoe and the *Kungminbo*, and I stayed on as a temporary editor of the *Kungminbo*. After Ch'oe's retirement, there ensued both internal turmoil in the Kungminhoe and financial difficulties.

Meanwhile, in my absence from Washington, D.C., the mission affairs were taken over by Yun Ch'i-yöng. In Hawaii, Kim Kwang-jae, who was the Kungminhoe treasurer, received funds on behalf of the mission but converted the money and used it to pay for Kungminhoe operating expenses. To collect this money, I came to Hawaii for a second time, and, as mentioned earlier, I got stuck here, and subsequently there arose the dispute between Syngman Rhee and the Kungminhoe. Thus the plan for my second tour was postponed and eventually abandoned. As far as Yun Ch'i-yöng was concerned, my leaving was like taking away the ladder after he had gone up to the roof, and I feel ashamed and hate myself for having left him holding the bag.

To solicit funds for the Tongji Development Company, Syngman Rhee toured the continental United States in 1929 and collected a large sum of money, but he was not interested at all in financially helping the mission. Similarly, in the litigation of the Tongjihoe against the Kungminhoe and myself, Kim Kwang-jae claimed that the use of the mission's money for the Kungminhoe was my doing. Kim's books were subpoenaed by the court as evidence, and Kim and the Tongjihoe made themselves objects of public ridicule, as they were un-

able to answer sharp questions from the presiding judge Christie, who was known for his professional knowledge of accounting as well as of law.

I was called upon to serve as chief of the mission following the resignation of Hŏ Chŏng. Behind this call was the recommendation of students and old friends in Hawaii and both the Eastern and Western parts of the United States. As a matter of formality, approval was requested from Syngman Rhee and the Provisional Government. The latter's approval was received forthwith, together with personal letters from Kim Ku, Cho So-ang, and others. An extraordinary effort on the part of Chang Tŏk-su had a lot to do with it. As to Syngman Rhee's approval, it was sought through the Hawaii Kungminhoe president Ch'oe Ch'ang-dŏk as well as through the Taegwanghoe president Pak Yong-ho, and through Chang Tŏk-su and Kim Yang-su of the *Samil sinbo*, a Korean newspaper published in New York. In this connection, Pak Yong-ho personally came to Los Angeles to persuade me to accept the call. Aware of my past clashes with Syngman Rhee, Pak Yong-ho advised me to bury the hatchet and serve the cause of the community and the country.

In accordance with my lifelong acceptance of the old call to public service, I decided to accept this request, and straight-away quit my job as a domestic, a lowly yet gainful occupation with good financial prospects. My wife and her younger sister (later, the wife of pastor Ch'oe Wŏn-gwan) and I moved into a hotel while awaiting Syngman Rhee's approval. In our five months living in the hotel, waiting for Syngman Rhee's approval, what little savings we had were exhausted.

Pushing for Syngman Rhee's approval were both those who supported him: students like Yun Hong-sŏp, Chang Tŏk-su, and Kim Yang-su; and my old friends, including Hawaii Kungminhoe president Ch'oe Ch'ang-dŏk, Song Se-in, Kim Sŏng-je, Chŏng T'ae-ŭn, Kim Hong-gi, and Chŏng Yang-p'il. After five months of foot-dragging from March through August, Rhee finally gave his approval to my appointment. So it was not until early September that my family and I left Los Angeles for Washington, D.C. On our way we visited our old

friends in Chicago and Detroit for the first reunion in almost ten years. After arrival in Washington, D.C., I also went to New York to meet my new friends.

Earlier, in the period from 1922, to 1925, the Provisional Government twice passed a death sentence in absentia on Syngman Rhee.¹⁰ But thanks to the earnest efforts of those mentioned earlier, the death sentence was set aside by bringing about a reconciliation between the Provisional Government and Rhee. Callous and amoral as he was, he could not ignore what his supporters did for him, and unable to turn down their earnest request, Rhee finally approved my appointment. It was at this time, it seems, that he made investigations to see if I had committed bigamy.

I inherited all the problems of the mission from the days of Sin Hyöng-ho and Hō Chöng, that is, financial problems caused by daily declining receipts and by the status of the mission, legal or otherwise. To all intents and purposes, the mission was acting as an agency of the Provisional Government, but it was impossible to declare itself as its de jure agency.

I brought this to the attention of Syngman Rhee, Chang Tök-su, and Yim Yong-ho. Yim forwarded my letter to him to Ch'oe Ch'ang-dök, and this caused a misunderstanding between us. This became the cause of Ch'oe Ch'ang-dök's bad feeling toward me, and although I later explained and apologized to him many times, it was to no avail. Still later, after I moved to Hawaii, this bad feeling worsened in the course of the frictions within the Kungminhoe, between Ch'oe Ch'ang-dök as president and Kim Kwang-jae as secretary-treasurer. My two visits to Hawaii in 1928 and 1929 were for the purpose of gaining the understanding and enlisting the support of the community in connection with the mission's finances, but both of my visits ended in failure.

After my appointment to the mission, in connection with diplomatic matters I consulted from time to time veterans like Philip Jaisohn, Kim Hön-sik, Chöng Han-gyöng, and others. I received warm sympathy and kind advice from Kim and Chöng, but Jaisohn was always cool in his attitude. It seems that this coolness was caused by the bankruptcy of his paper and printing business and by family troubles. As his thirty-

year business career came to an end with bankruptcy, Philip Jaisohn returned to medicine. He moved to Washington, D.C., to study and conduct research in serology, sponsored by his alma mater, Johns Hopkins University. I personally went to his research office to extend an invitation to dinner. I asked him if he liked Korean food or American food, and he said he preferred Korean food. So we prepared Korean food. At the dinner, commenting that Korean food usually produces a pungent aroma, he spoke of his personal life.

He said that following the abortive Kapsin Coup in 1884, he was branded a traitor, along with his wife and children, who were put to death at royal command. He came to the United States in exile. After graduating from the medical school at Johns Hopkins University, he served in the Spanish-American War, and after the war, he practiced medicine for a living. At the time of the coup of 1895, he went back to Korea as an adviser to the Royal Household, but when the revolution failed, in less than half a year, he returned to the United States. Running a paper business in Philadelphia, he lived an affluent life. He once more took part in the independence movement, in 1919, and his business went bankrupt. In relating his personal life, Jaisohn used some abusive language, the kind of language a gentleman is not supposed to use in the presence of a woman. I regretted that I invited him to a Korean dinner, and could not help wondering why he used such bad language. The abusive language notwithstanding, my wife never showed her displeasure and accorded him all the respect due an elder.

I had first met Philip Jaisohn at the Philadelphia meeting. My next encounter with him was at the Columbus meeting, when he was invited by the student association to speak on the independence movement. After my appointment to the mission, every time I went to New York I visited him at his home. I saw him again at the funeral services for Dolff, the legal adviser to the mission. During his stay in Washington, D.C., for his research in serology, I visited him several times, and as has been said earlier, once invited him to dinner. After that, I had no further opportunity to see him.

According to what I heard, Philip Jaisohn's wife and children were put to death, not at royal command, as in the case of

Hong Yŏng-sik, but at his father's behest. When he returned to Korea at the time of the coup of 1895, contrary to the established Korean etiquette, he carried a cane, smoked tobacco, wore glasses, and did not bow. This behavior invited criticism against him. Even Homer Hulbert, who was adopted by the King as a foster son and who observed the Korean customs, was indignant that Philip Jaisohn, a Korean, should behave in such a manner.

By virtue of his military service, Jaisohn became an American citizen, and he married an American woman. Moreover, to change his face to look more like an American, he underwent plastic surgery, changing the color of his face from yellow to red. In the process, he lost his eyebrows. Silicon was injected to raise the bridge of his nose. To go with this facial change, he used to inject English words into his Korean conversation, on the excuse that he had forgotten the Korean words, and he was known to say "you Koreans" and "we Americans." It was utterances like these that helped bring the scorn of other Koreans. Even foreigners in Korea observe the Korean etiquette, but this Philip Jaisohn, even as a half-foreigner, was worse than a complete alien. I was told that this was the criticism by his contemporaries, including learned people, government officials, and private citizens.

Philip Jaisohn's anti-Korean feeling was extreme and even extended to his close relatives. He was extremely disdainful of everything Korean—people, history, and all. I heard this from Kim Kyu-hŭng and *chikkak* Yun Ha-yŏng, who had personally met Jaisohn at the time of the Manmin Kongdonghoe [United Association of the Whole People] and the Tongnip Hyŏphoe [Independence Association] meetings. What I understood directly came from *chikkak* Yun, as expressed in his letters to me; and further details came indirectly through *saengwon* Kim Mun-su. Jaisohn's comments and behavior were common knowledge, and I frequently heard them mentioned by Myŏnam's disciples. His comments at our Korean dinner in Washington reminded me of what I had heard about him earlier.

In the coup of 1895, Philip Jaisohn was recommended as a cabinet member, but he declined on the grounds that he was an

American citizen, and instead became an adviser to the Royal Household. He assumed this office, sponsored by the U.S. Minister to Korea, on a three-year contract with the Royal Household. But in less than half a year the revolutionary government broke up and Kim Hong-jip, Chŏng Pyŏng-hwa, An Kyŏng-su, and others were executed while Pak Yŏng-hyo, Yu Kil-sŏn, Chang Pak, and others fled to Japan; Sŏ Kwang-bŏm went into exile in the United States.

Philip Jaisohn received an annual stipend of \$38,000 under this contract, an unusually large sum for the Korean pay scale of the time, and large even on an American scale, and it was said that with this money, he began his paper business in Philadelphia. When he became adviser to the Korea Mission for Europe and America and editor of its organ, the *Korea Review*, a sixteen-page English monthly, he was paid \$800 a month for publishing expenses. In addition, for his services as editor, coming to Washington for a day or two every week at the most, the mission paid him a remuneration of \$300 per month, plus travel expenses. Moreover, since the paper came from his paper business and the printing was done at his printing shop, the net profit was undoubtedly substantial. So one finds it hard to believe when he claimed that his business had gone bankrupt on account of his services in the cause of the Korean independence movement.

According to Kim Hŏn-sik and Dolff, as World War I gave rise to a wartime boom, with supplies becoming scarce and prices doubling, Philip Jaisohn's companies bought up excessive amounts of supplies on speculation, only to suffer great losses as prices fell after the armistice. With these material losses came family trouble. It was at this time that it was whispered that Jaisohn, in a recovery attempt, was planning to incorporate the *Korea Review*, which was capitalized at \$300,000, the idea being to sell his paper business and printing shop to the new corporation. With such a rumor going around, the plan ended in failure.

At one time, it was rumored that Philip Jaisohn was planning to marry his daughter to Chŏng Han-gyŏng. True or not, he circulated a personal letter among the Korean community which said in effect that while working at the mission, Chŏng

Han-gyŏng had had his doctoral thesis from American University published with the mission's money. Chŏng rebutted this, but it seems that Jaisohn quietly used some of the mission's money to help the publication. Chŏng was known as a "great commentator," who consciously avoided anything that was self-serving in his writing, as he used the pen name of "Chayugyŏng" [free lens]. This rebuttal of his was the only exception.

Failing in his business and beset with his family troubles, Philip Jaisohn closed the doors of his companies, but in the back room he played high-stakes card games and lost big money. It would appear that this aggravated his family troubles and hastened his bankruptcy.

PART III

Commentaries

Chapter 13

Unam, Syngman Rhee: A Short Biography

THE PEN NAME of Syngman Rhee [Yi Sŭng-man] is Unam, and his ancestors came from Chŏnju. They were descendants of Prince Hyoryŏng, second son of T'aejo of the Chosŏn dynasty. The dynasty established by T'aejo, born Sŏng-gye, had twenty-eight kings, up to and including the second-to-last king, Kojong, but it actually lasted only twenty-five generations and spanned about five hundred years.¹⁰

Syngman Rhee was born in P'yŏngsan, Hwanghaedo, in 1873, during the reign of King Kojong.¹¹ His father, Yi Sagma, taught for many years in Seoul, working as a private tutor in the households of the prominent and wealthy. He had his son brought to the capital at the age of ten. The father, a man of letters, was an able teacher. Stiff as a ramrod but almost pathologically fond of his wine, every time he got drunk he used to become so exacting, treating his charges cruelly and beating them, that he earned the nickname *horang yŏnggam* or "old-man tiger." Studying under such a father, Syngman Rhee, alert and intelligent, distinguished himself as a genius in his early years.

After the concluding of the United States-Korea treaty in 1882,¹² volunteer missionaries were recruited in the United States, with Princeton University serving as their headquarters, and about 1886, W. B. Scranton and other missionaries came to Korea and began evangelical and educational work. With a view to teaching English, they established a school known as Yangyŏng Ŭisuk. Only three applicants responded

to their recruitment effort, but Syngman Rhee was one of them. He completed the course with honors. At the time he was staying in the household of Hong Yŏng-sik, and wrote in English a monograph titled *A Story of Korea*. Percival Lowell, who had the monograph published, praised highly the extraordinary talent of Syngman Rhee. Yangyŏng Uisuk was subsequently expanded into the Paejae Haktang.¹³

Thus Syngman Rhee in his early years had already had contact with Western missionaries, become a Christian, and, through Hong Yŏng-sik, come into contact with members of the Yusin Party. Hong Yŏng-sik was the youngest of the leaders of the 1884 Kapsin Coup.¹⁴ Some leaders of the aborted coup, such as Hong and Pak Yŏng-gyo, were arrested and executed, while others fled to Japan, except Sŏ Kwang-bŏm and Sŏ Chae-p'il [Dr. Philip Jaisohn] who went to the United States. Pak Yŏng-hyo, who originally fled to the United States, turned around and went to Japan.

In 1894 King Kojong, at the urgent request of Queen Min, asked Japan for military help to quell the Tonghak rebellion. The following year, 1895, on the heels of the Japanese troops, all the leaders of the Yusin Party returned from Japan and the United States, and swiftly reformed the government. All the Yusin Party leaders took up key positions in the government. Sŏ Chae-p'il alone adamantly declined to assume a government office, on the grounds that he was a United States citizen who had participated in the Spanish-American War as a military doctor. But he relented enough to act in the capacity of a royal adviser to King Kojong. At the same time he organized the Independence Club and was elected its first president. Syngman Rhee, a twenty-two-year-old youth, was elected secretary.¹⁵

At the outset of the government reformation, leaders of the Yusin Party, under the protection of Japanese troops, entered the palace and obtained royal permission from King Kojong to reform the government, but then Queen Min was brutally murdered and her body burned in front of King Kojong. To be sure, the queen's evil deeds were many, but the brutal way she was murdered—and at the hands of foreigners at that—aroused the indignation of the public at large.

King Kojong issued a secret royal edict for a nationwide anti-Japanese movement. Under this edict Yi Sŭng-uk, a Christian minister from Hongju, recruited soldiers in the southern provinces and privy councillor Yi Yong-ik recruited in the northwest. At the same time, Song Pyŏng-jun and Kil Yŏng-su received a royal command to bring leading merchants into the movement. Meanwhile orders were issued to arrest and summarily execute without trial every one of the Yusin Party leaders holding key positions in the new government. The Independence Party headquarters was also raided. Among Yusin Party leaders, Kim Hong-jip, Chŏng Pyŏng-hwa, and An Kyŏng-su were forthwith arrested and executed; the rest fled to Japan and Sŏ Kwang-bŏm and Sŏ Chae-p'il returned to America.

Thus clobbered, all the members of the Independence Party fled. A few were slightly injured and a few others were arrested but released within a few days. At that time Syngman Rhee was also arrested but was immediately released. Subsequently he became the editor and publisher of the newspaper *Maeil sinmun*, which was published entirely in *han'gŭl*, a first in Korea.

The Privy Council, newly established following the 1895 Coup, was slightly different from its predecessor, a protocol board, in that the new council consisted of a chairman and nine councillors. Syngman Rhee was appointed councillor in 1897.¹⁶ By a unanimous vote the chairman and nine councillors passed a strongly worded resolution denouncing the unlawful acts of the royal household and the executive and judicial branches of the government. No sooner had the resolution been presented than it incurred the wrath of the royal household and the government, whereupon the Privy Council chairman and councillors claimed to know nothing about it, blaming Syngman Rhee alone for the resolution. Inasmuch as the resolution had been handwritten by Rhee, he was held to be solely responsible and as a forger was arrested on charges of treason and summarily imprisoned without trial for an indefinite term.¹⁷

Even though laws and courts of law were instituted following the 1895 reform, they were no more than nominal institu-

tions. The actual power to declare whether one was innocent or guilty, whether one would live or die, rested solely in the hands of the royal household and the government. Thus Syngman Rhee was placed in a precarious position, where whether he would live or die was totally unpredictable.

Fortunately Rhee early on had established contact with Westerners and become a Christian. Thanks to this, American missionaries H. G. Underwood, Henry Appenzeller, H. B. Hulbert, and others from time to time visited Rhee in prison, offered their good offices in negotiating with the government for his release, and brought him bibles, hymnals, and other books, which he used to conduct evangelical activities on the order of revivals for the inmates. Korean ministers, too, particularly Ch'oe Pyŏng-hŏn and Chŏn Tŏk-ki, often visited Syngman Rhee in prison, and Rhee's religious fame came to spread throughout the prison and the capital, thus contributing to the possibility of his release.

Among the inmates converted by the in-prison evangelical activities of Syngman Rhee was a certain Cho Sŭng-bok. Originally of Poŭn, Ch'ungch'ŏngdo, Cho was a little boy when he begged his way to the capital, where he became a street urchin and soon distinguished himself as a burglary artist. At the age of fourteen he was arrested and thrown in jail. Handsome in appearance, respectful in speech, and smart in behavior, he won the confidence of the jailer and guards, and as a trustee had the privilege of free passage to the outside world.

Cho smuggled into the prison a six-chambered revolver and a pack of cartridges and handed them to Syngman Rhee. Failing in his attempted breakout, Rhee forfeited any chance of early release. Moreover he was placed in solitary confinement, with shackles around his neck, hands, and feet.

Rhee's Sworn Brothers

While Rhee was languishing in prison, Pak Yong-man and Chŏng Sun-man were also thrown into prison for their involvement in the Poanhoe incident.¹⁸ There the three became sworn brothers. Earlier, while he was the editor of the *Kungmin sinmun*, Rhee had become the sworn brother of Sin Hŭng-u¹⁹ and Yun Pyŏng-gu (born U Pong-gil), graduates of

the first class of Paejae Haktang. So these four were Syngman Rhee's sworn younger brothers. But because Rhee always insisted that his brothers support, serve, and obey him, there was serious dissension among them, both in public and private.

Sin Hŭng-u, essentially a sociable person, was able to keep his true feelings to himself, thus avoiding an open confrontation with Syngman Rhee. In any event, in 1929, when he was passing through Honolulu, Sin wanted to see Rhee but Rhee had already left for the Big Island of Hawaii and Sin missed seeing him in person. So Sin left a message for Rhee, asking him to kindly repay the one thousand dollars that he owed Sin. In this connection Rhee publicly declared that he did not owe Sin anything; on the contrary, he insisted that it was Sin who owed him five hundred dollars. A subsequent check into the matter showed that Syngman Rhee did indeed owe Sin money, but Sin decided not to pursue the matter any further.

Yun Pyŏng-gu, too, was often mistreated by Syngman Rhee. In 1919, when the diplomatic liaison office for Europe and America was established in Washington, Rhee mistreated and humiliated Yun. Subsequently when Yun became president of the Kungminhoe, a federation of Koreans in North America, he would occasionally air his complaints. But everything considered, it is a fact that Yun treated Syngman Rhee with the respect due a sworn elder brother, whereas Rhee merely took advantage of Yun from time to time, never showing the true spirit of brotherhood.

Chŏng Sun-man, too, always supported Syngman Rhee spiritually and materially, but Rhee's friendship toward Chŏng was very thin. Even though he understood Rhee's basic character only too well, Chŏng never once expressed his true feelings. When Chŏng was assassinated in Vladivostok, Syngman Rhee offered not one word of condolence to Yang-p'il, Chŏng's eldest son, who was studying in the United States. If this was not the height of inhuman discourtesy, what is?

Among his sworn younger brothers, it was Pak Yong-man who extended the greatest spiritual and material aid to Syngman Rhee. Again, it was Pak who suffered the most vicious attack at the hands of Rhee. The Rhee-Pak clashes will be de-

scribed in detail later. In any event, Syngman Rhee's world outlook held that not only his sworn younger brothers but the whole world existed solely for him and for his use.

The Portsmouth Conference

In the 1903 Russo-Japanese War, Korea was Japan's ally, for which Korea was rewarded after the War with the imposition by Japan in 1905 of the so-called five-article agreement.²⁰ As he was planning an international appeal against the agreement, King Kojong heard that President Theodore Roosevelt was acting as an arbitrator at the Russo-Japanese Peace Conference, and in light of the U.S.-Korean reciprocal trade and mutual assistance treaty, the king arranged to send Roosevelt a delegation of special envoys with a secret message. At the same time the king granted a blanket pardon to all political offenders, including those in exile in foreign countries. Also, Kim Yun-sik, exiled for life on charges of having criticized Queen Min, was pardoned and released. Among the political prisoners released from prison was Syngman Rhee, who was later appointed one of the special envoys.

Historically, a royal delegation would consist of three or more envoys, and at least one of them, the one who would head the delegation, would be a relative of the Yi family. In accordance with this established custom, for the delegation to the Russo-Japanese Peace Conference at Portsmouth in America three envoys were appointed: Syngman Rhee as head envoy; Dr. Homer Hulbert, an American recognized for his contributions to education in Korea, who had become a foster son of King Kojong; and Yun Pyöng-gu, one of the first graduates of Paejae Haktang.²¹

Syngman Rhee was a relative of the Yi family, no matter how far removed. As far as King Kojong was concerned, it was difficult to appoint either Yi Chun-yong or Yi Chi-yong, both much closer relatives. The compelling reasons for this difficulty were that Yi Chun-yong, although the nephew of King Kojong, was a perpetrator of crimes against the state, while Yi Chi-yong was one of the five traitors who had signed the five-article agreement of 1905. This nonconfidence of King Kojong in his relatives became all the more compelling as his cousin,

Yi Chae-gon, became one of the seven traitors who signed the so-called seven-article agreement of 1907.²²

The Syngman Rhee delegation did go to to Portsmouth, but was denied permission to attend the peace conference as observers. Moreover there was a difference of opinion with Dr. Hulbert. So without further delay Rhee left for Washington, D.C., where he stayed for a while. On his trip to the United States Rhee was accompanied by his only son, a nine-year-old boy. The boy died of acute diarrhea. Distraught with grief, Rhee moved to Princeton and enrolled at Princeton University. After graduation he proceeded to enroll at Harvard University, majoring in the U.S. Constitution, and earned an M.A. degree. Then he returned to Princeton and earned a Ph.D. from Princeton University and a B.D. from Princeton Seminary, a school affiliated with Princeton University but originally a Presbyterian mission school.²³

It is a total mystery how Syngman Rhee, who had not completed middle school, scored academic achievements in five years that would normally take twelve years or more. It was the lifelong pride of Syngman Rhee that at public functions such as international student gatherings, Princeton University President Woodrow Wilson used to introduce him as Korea's representative or Korea's savior. When Wilson was elected President of the United States, Rhee sent a special cablegram of congratulations. And when Wilson's second daughter Margaret was married to Secretary of the Treasury William Gibbs McAdoo, Syngman Rhee received an invitation to the wedding.²⁴ This, too, Rhee made full use of in his self-serving self-publicity.

When the Democratic National Convention was held in Denver to nominate the presidential candidate for 1908, a meeting of Koreans was also held then and there, arranged by Pak Yong-man, Yun Pyöng-gu, and Pak Chang-yön (Hüi-byöng). Pak Yong-man was a sworn younger brother of Syngman Rhee, as was Yun Pyöng-gu, who was also one of the special envoys to the Portsmouth Peace Conference. Pak Chang-yön was Pak Yong-man's uncle. The purpose of their meeting was to appeal to the Democratic National Convention and to the American people about the plight of the Korean people:

- (1) Battles between Russia and Japan had taken place in the waters off Inch'ŏn, in the territorial waters of Korea, who was Japan's ally; but as a result of the war, Korea became Japan's protectorate under the five-article agreement of 1905, which was a violation of treaty and international law; and
- (2) the president of the United States, which had a mutual assistance and reciprocal trade treaty with Korea, while acting as arbitrator at the Russo-Japanese Peace Conference, had approved of this illegal act by Japan against Korea, and this had never been the intent of the treaty, so it was essential to correct the wrong quickly.

But Syngman Rhee gave a cold shoulder to this meeting, so cold that the question was publicly raised if he was really a patriot.

The Stevens Incident

In the same year, in San Francisco two Koreans, Chang In-hwan and Chŏn Myŏng-un, shot to death D. W. Stevens, an American. Originally Stevens had gone to Japan as a missionary. Getting into the good graces of the Japanese emperor, Mutsuhito, and Itō Hirobumi, he became a top-ranking pro-Japanese. Following the conclusion of the five-article agreement, out of the ten ministries of the Korean government the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was abolished, and Japanese advisers were posted to the remaining nine ministries, with the result that the Korean ministers became mere figureheads as the Japanese advisers held the actual power. At that time, the minister of land survey was Pak Che-sun and his Japanese adviser was Megata. In turn, Megata's adviser was Stevens.

At least that was Stevens's official title, but actually, he took full charge of Japan's publicity activities relating to Korea. At the Russo-Japanese Peace Conference, he took over the duties of an adviser and handled public relations for the Japanese delegates. Following the peace conference, when Dr. Hulbert and other missionaries mounted a vigorous publicity campaign against Japan's illegal acts, airing Korea's grievances, Stevens launched a counterpropaganda campaign. It was filled with unmitigated insults against the Korean people, who became incensed at Stevens.

After arriving in San Francisco and while staying at the Fairmont Hotel, Stevens contributed to the newspapers articles containing foul propaganda against Korea. The Koreans in San Francisco were highly indignant, and two mutually hostile Korean organizations—the Kongnip Hyōphoe of the An Ch'ang-ho group and the Taedong Pogukhoe of the Chang Kyōng group—agreed to get together and collaborate in an effort to clear the name of Korea. At a joint meeting the two organizations selected two representatives each, for a total of four, to call on Stevens and confront him, demanding a retraction and apology. When the representatives met Stevens, he was so arrogant that the meeting broke up without achieving anything. Predictably the Koreans were highly incensed.

Meanwhile the press reported that Stevens was scheduled to leave San Francisco the following day for southern California. Thereupon Chang In-hwan and Chōn Myōng-un planned to intercept Stevens before he boarded his train, and each positioned himself at one of the two railroad stations. As Stevens did not appear at either station, the pair converged on the Ferry Building. There it was Chōn Myōng-un who first spotted Stevens and pulled the trigger of his handgun, but it jammed. So he struck Stevens in the face with the butt of his gun. As Stevens tried to catch his assailant, Chōn fled, and in the ensuing melee, with the crowd pursuing Chōn, Chang In-hwan fired two shots, injuring both Stevens and Chōn Myōng-un.²⁵

This was at a time when anti-Oriental sentiments were running high in California. Up until the Russo-Japanese War, public sentiment had been against the Chinese, on the grounds that they were offering their labor cheap because their living standard was low. Eight years after its victory in the Sino-Japanese War, Japan again emerged victorious from the Russo-Japanese War. Japan was rapidly becoming strong and expansive. This, it was felt, posed a new international peril, and added fire to the cause of the American workers and their endangered living standard. Thus the erstwhile anti-Chinese sentiments were turned into broad anti-Oriental sentiments.

It was against such a backdrop that Chang In-hwan and Chōn Myōng-un, both Orientals, shot at Stevens, an American, and the passersby were so incensed that there was every

danger that the pair might be lynched right then and there. As Stevens and Chŏn Myŏng-un, both injured, were taken to the hospital in an ambulance, a well-known criminal lawyer appeared from among the crowd and strongly defended Chang In-hwan's action, as being motivated by the patriotism of the people of a ruined country. Chang was taken to the precinct in a patrol wagon. During the night Stevens died of the gunshot wounds, and after a week of treatment, Chŏn Myŏng-un was transferred to the precinct.

Chang In-hwan was a member of the Kongnip Hyŏphoe and Chŏn Myŏng-un a member of the Taedong Pogukhoe. So the two organizations agreed to cooperate fully in the defense of the two. The necessity for an interpreter and for cooperation in the case brought the two organizations even closer together, and for that purpose Syngman Rhee was invited to San Francisco. Upon arrival, Rhee proposed that one leader be selected under whom the two organizations would merge and conduct all their affairs. Rhee frequently indicated that that one leader should be himself. This clashed with the majority opinion, and confronted with hard questions from Methodist minister Yi Tae-wi and *Kongnip sinmun* editor Ch'oe Chŏng-ik, neither Rhee himself nor his closest supporters, Taedong Pogukhoe president Mun Yang-mok and *Taedong kongbo* editor Paek Il-gyu, were able to answer them. Rhee was driven into a corner, unable to save face.

Inasmuch as the two Korean organizations in San Francisco were unwilling to accept Syngman Rhee as absolute dictator, it was impossible to bring off the proposed merger. Subsequently Rhee asserted that acting as an interpreter was a lowly task unbecoming a gentleman; that there was no way for him as a Christian to defend Chang In-hwan and Chŏn Myŏng-un, who were assassins; that it was impossible for him, still a college student, to devote himself fully to the trial which was expected to last a long time; and that he was packing up and going back east. Many tried to persuade Rhee to change his mind but he was adamant. Thus their efforts at persuasion turned into harsh criticism and denunciation of Rhee.

Rhee was known for his short temper and for flying off the handle at the slightest provocation, and he used to shoot his

mouth off and say ill-advised things. At the meeting where he was publicly questioned, Syngman Rhee again said many ill-considered things. At a time when every Korean considered Chang In-hwan and Chŏn Myŏng-un patriots, Rhee alone insisted that they were criminals. It is the rule of law of every civilized country that the accused has a right to due process and is innocent until proven guilty by a court of law. Rhee's disregard for this rule made him an object of public ridicule. After Rhee returned to the East, Sin Hŭng-u, a University of South Carolina student, served as interpreter at the trial, and the Kongnip Hyŏphoe and Taedong Pogukhoe were merged into the Hapsŏnghoe, Rhee's personal wishes notwithstanding.

As public esteem for Syngman Rhee fell, it was Pak Yong-man who made a serious effort to save him. Working with Mun Yang-mok, Paek Il-gyu, and others, Pak Yong-man called on fifty people to contribute fifty dollars apiece, or a total of \$2,500 to publish the *Tongnip chŏngsin* [The spirit of independence], an autobiography of Syngman Rhee.²⁶ With this money the book was printed at the office of *Taedobo*, a monthly organ published in San Francisco by the Korean Methodist Church. The proceeds from sales of this book, at five dollars each, were turned over to Rhee for his school expenses. Coupled with this financial help, Pak Yong-man launched a publicity campaign in defense of Syngman Rhee. It was Pak who was the prime moving force behind this endeavor. It is still unknown how much Rhee really appreciated this, or if he ever did express his appreciation to Pak, for it is Rhee's lifetime distinction that he repaid kindness with unkindness.

A postwar English version of the *Tongnip chŏngsin* was published in Washington and also in Seoul after Syngman Rhee's return to Korea. The English translation was done by Oliver, an American personally hired by Syngman Rhee as a public relations man.²⁷ It would appear that the undertaking was designed to impart to the reader an impression that Rhee was the sole ray of light, like the glow of a firefly, for a dark Korea. Syngman Rhee instructed Yun Pyŏng-gu in Washington in 1919 to concentrate on personal propaganda instead of propaganda for Korea. This would appear to be the lifetime

motto of Rhee, a motto of being strict in accusing others but generous in forgiving himself.

Earlier, when the special delegation including Syngman Rhee was set to leave Korea for Portsmouth, King Kojong granted the delegation ten thousand dollars to cover travel and publicity expenses, and in addition gave a special grant of thirty thousand dollars to Dr. Hulbert. This was a bonus granted by King Kojong in appreciation for the dedicated educational service rendered by Hulbert in Korea, where he had established a private teacher's school which he subsequently turned into a government school where he taught for over a decade at a meager salary. This bonus money Dr. Hulbert did not spend for himself but for Korea.

While teaching for a living at the Oriental department of a school in the eastern United States, Dr. Hulbert took every opportunity to contribute articles to the press and lecture at schools and civic meetings on the Korean issue. He devoted his life to Korea and wrote several books on the Korean question, among them *The Passing of Korea*.²⁸ The balance of the money granted the delegation was divided half-and-half between Dr. Hulbert and Syngman Rhee. This money was sufficient to help Rhee pay for several years of school and living expenses. Still it was not enough to satisfy him, so he took to slandering Dr. Hulbert because he also wanted a share of Hulbert's bonus money.

Syngman Rhee's one special talent was the art of talking money out of people. Even though he had enough money with him, Rhee from time to time would write his sworn brother Pak Yong-man, asking for money. Pak was himself a student working his way through school, with occasional financial help from his uncle Hŭi-byŏng, a meager amount which would be spent in no time, but every time he received a monetary request, Pak would go to great lengths to get money somehow and used to mail several scores of dollars to Rhee. Especially every time Rhee earned an academic degree, from a B.A. and an M.A. to a Ph.D., Pak sent money as a congratulatory present in amounts way beyond his means.

Meanwhile Syngman Rhee also wrote to his close friends in Korea, including Yi Sang-jae, from whom he obtained sub-

stantial financial help.²⁹ For example, he wrote, perhaps half jokingly, that he was living on barley porridge. Of course this referred to oatmeal, a regular breakfast staple for Americans, but it is said that his friends thought otherwise and felt sorry for him and collected contributions for him. Yi Sang-jae also extended substantial financial help to Syngman Rhee's father and family in Korea. Even after his return to Korea in 1911, Syngman Rhee received much help from Yi Sang-jae. Despite Yi's old age and high station in society, Rhee was often disrespectful to him, and frequently chided him. Such behavior notwithstanding, Yi Sang-jae continued to bestow his favor on Rhee. Upon Yi's death, the Koreans in Hawaii held memorial services, at which Rhee delivered the eulogy. By beginning the eulogy with the remark "He was one who acquitted himself fully in showing his loyalty to me," Rhee managed to incur the indignation of the people who really knew about the relationship.

Rhee and the Hastings Academy

After earning an M.A. from Harvard, Rhee returned to Princeton to pursue postgraduate study for a Ph.D. degree. Meanwhile in 1910 Pak Yong-man established a summer military academy at Hastings College, a Presbyterian school in Hastings, Nebraska, and put Kim Chang-ho, a fourth-year student of a private military academy, in charge of teaching drill, military discipline, and military strategy. Just about that time, Chŏng Chae-gwan, who had been the editor of the *Hapsŏng sinmun*, a weekly organ of the Hapsŏnghoe in San Francisco, left for the Far East, and Ch'oe Chŏng-ik took over as editor. But Ch'oe Chŏng-ik himself had to resign to take care of urgent personal affairs, and Pak Yong-man received an invitation to become the editor and left for San Francisco. Pak invited Rhee to take over at Hastings, but by the time Rhee arrived Pak had already left for San Francisco. Thus the two sworn brothers missed the opportunity of seeing each other. Had the two met face to face, there is little doubt that a clash, instead of harmony, would have broken out in the open.

No sooner had Rhee arrived in Hastings than he began holding meetings on the order of a Christian revival. Prayer

and hymn-singing sessions were held three times a day. The whole idea behind all this religious activity instead of military training, Rhee claimed, was because:

- (1) Chang and Chŏn, who had shot Stevens to death in San Francisco, and An Chung-gŭn, who shot Itō Hirobumi to death in Harbin, were criminal assassins who had damaged the honor of the nation; and
- (2) it was an impossible dream to confront militarily such a power as Japan.

It is only natural in view of human nature that there should arise differences of opinion among patriots as to specific measures for national salvation, but for Syngman Rhee—who came to Hastings at the invitation of Pak Yong-man and at the latter's expense—to utter such objugation against Pak and his endeavor, is the height of unethical behavior, especially as a sworn elder brother. Nonetheless Pak continued his financial support for Rhee when the latter earned his Ph.D. degree in 1910. Pak again lent his financial support when Rhee returned to Korea at the invitation of the Seoul YMCA, through the good offices of Yi Sang-jae and Yun Ch'i-ho.

At that time Pak Yong-man was on his way back to Nebraska to continue his schooling, having handed over the *Hapsŏng sinmun* editorship to Yi Hang-u. On his return journey Pak earned a considerable sum of money for school expenses by selling pictorials of the world, the United States, and Korea, coupled with public showings of scenic slides. Sending travel expenses to Rhee, Pak asked him to make a tour of the United States to visit the Korean residents, but Rhee turned down the request without returning the travel money.

Return to Korea

On his return to Korea in 1911, Syngman Rhee, along with Yi Sang-jae and Yun Ch'i-ho, ran the business of the YMCA. The following year, an assassination incident occurred, involving an abortive attempt on Governor General Terauchi.³⁰ Over a hundred patriots (mostly Christians) including Yun Ch'i-ho were arrested and sentenced to harsh punishment on trumped-

up charges and fake evidence. This scheme was designed to kill two birds with one stone—that is, to strike down the Korean patriots and wipe out the Christian faith. This action was extremely oppressive and terrifying to the people at large.

Despite varied public opinion on the probity and protocol of the move, Rhee was dispatched, through the good offices of Yi Sang-jae and others, as a Korean delegate to the quadrennium of the Methodist church at Saratoga, New York, in 1913.³¹ This was made possible by the sponsorship of Harris, Methodist bishop of Japan, on two conditions: that Rhee support Japan's policy in Korea, and that Rhee return to Korea immediately after the quadrennium. But at the quadrennium and thereafter, Rhee violated the first condition; consequently the second condition could not be met.

Throughout his stay in Korea, which lasted about a year, Rhee lived in the YMCA building, never at his home. The reason, it was said, was that his wife had a somewhat large black spot on her face, so he did not like her. At any rate, this behavior on the part of Rhee drew public criticism as his wife, while living as a grass widow for over a dozen years, had fulfilled all her filial duties to her father-in-law. His wife remained unswervingly faithful to Rhee. Persuaded by friends who had hoped to bring the two together again, she gave a banquet in honor of her husband. So Rhee came, but before seating himself in the seat of guest of honor, he abruptly ran out, shouting at the top of his voice that a villain was hiding in the closet, lying in wait to strike him down. He created a scene for all around to see. Rhee claimed that his wife was unfaithful and that the villain in hiding was her lover. His wife explained that there was a boarding student at the house, but insisted that it was an unfounded accusation that the student was intending to beat up Rhee or was having an affair with her. The incident resulted in a church trial, which rendered a verdict in favor of his wife because Rhee absented himself from the trial. Moreover he persistently refused to listen to his friends' advice for a reconciliation, and the whole affair caused him completely to lose face. Having given up the idea of returning home to Korea, he worked temporarily as a secretary at the YMCA in Camden, down the Delaware River from Princeton.

The Korean Residents Association

During the period when Rhee was traveling back and forth between Korea and the United States after receiving his Ph.D., Pak Yong-man, in his capacity as editor of the *Hapsŏng sinmun*, was striving to implement his theory that the Korean community, a social group up to that time, should be turned into a political organization and their voluntary dues made into compulsory assessments similar to a tax, along with the institution of a universal conscription system requiring each and every one to serve the state in a military capacity.

This followed the pattern of the Korean Residents Association established earlier in Nebraska in 1909, which was expanded the following year into the Korean Residents Association of North America. Pak Yong-man embarked on a plan for consolidating all the Korean communities throughout the United States, including Hawaii, into the Korean Kungminhoe, with a regional headquarters which in turn would be under a central general council. Along this line, the newspaper *Kungminbo* in Hawaii was renamed the *Sinhan'gukbo*, and the *Hapsŏng sinmun* in San Francisco became the *Sinhan minbo*.³² Our people, as the people of a ruined nation, were deprived of a government of their own, so it was Pak Yong-man's plan to practice for national independence by turning the sociopolitical organization of the Korean community into a shadow government based on democratic principles.

This plan was put into effect immediately in the western United States, but organizing in Mexico was delayed until 1912 because of difficulties in communications, and the Korean Residents Association of North America was merged into the Kungminhoe in 1914. The Hawaii Kungminhoe, the most difficult of them all to establish, was not formed until 1913. The first cause of this difficulty was the disputes created by the self-opinionated Korean language scholars residing in Hawaii. The disputes arose when, immediately following the signing of the so-called five-article agreement in the homeland in 1905, An Chŏng-su, Yun Pyŏng-gu, and others formed the *Sinhanhoe* [New Korean Association], with officers duly elected in the form of a government. According to the language experts, the organization represented an act of treason be-

cause it was in favor of the new Korea [Sin Han'guk] against the old Korea [Ku Han'guk]. In this connection, the *Sinhan'gukbo* also became a cause of dispute because, according to the argument, this also symbolized a new Korea. In any case in the several islands of Hawaii there were many separate and independent organizations, such as the Chaganghoe on Kauai (a chapter of the parent organization on the mainland United States), the Yŏnmunhoe on Maui and the island of Hawaii, and many other individual groups in various localities. This diversity added to the difficulty of a merger.

Pak Yong-man earned a B.A. degree with a major in political science and a minor in military science at the University of Nebraska in 1912. Meanwhile his temporary substitute as editor of the *Kungminbo* in San Francisco, Yi Hang-u, subsequently was invited to Hawaii as a newspaper editor and concurrently a public relations man. He distinguished himself in his job performance, but unfortunately fell victim to a conspiracy and became so despondent that he committed suicide. Pak arrived in Hawaii by invitation the same year and immediately went into action to launch a brisk publicity campaign to politicize the Korean community, with a view to developing practical political experience and nurturing a political sensibility, along with establishing compulsory tax payment and military service.

The campaign was successful. On the one hand Korean language schools were set up everywhere for the purpose of fostering a national spirit among the young children, while on the other a Korean military corps was formed in the eastern part of the island of Oahu. The corps was in the form of a militia, and on the basis of a contract entered into with the pineapple plantations, military training was conducted along with farming work.

In 1913 the Korean community merger movement finally succeeded, thanks to the active effort of Pak Yong-man after his arrival in Hawaii the previous year. Arrangements were made to conduct the affairs of the Kungminhoe under temporary president Pak Sang-ha and hold an election of officers as soon as possible. Kim Chong-hak was elected president, and at his installation ceremony in 1914, a military review was held.

During the first year of his term, with the cooperation of Pak Yong-man, a Kungminhoe headquarters building was constructed, and an impressive public ceremony was held in 1915, with appropriate military ceremony. The ceremony was followed by a meeting of the delegates and the installation of the reelected president, Kim Chong-hak.

Rhee Comes to Hawaii

Despite Rhee's repeated unethical behavior during the interpreter incident in San Francisco and towards his wife in Korea, Pak Yong-man invited him to Hawaii to take charge of religious education. In this connection Pak had worked closely with the Methodist bishop and ministers in Hawaii. As soon as he arrived in Hawaii in 1913, Syngman Rhee began attacking Pak both publicly and privately, green with envy over his achievements and the public esteem Pak commanded among the community. This attack grew worse every day.

Rhee asserted that it was incumbent upon the Koreans in the United States to be loyal to their host country; it was only right that they should receive the protection of the United States instead of forming a shadow government of their own. This was indeed a denial of the independence movement of the Koreans in the United States, and ultimately of the independence movement of the entire Korean people. As part of this passive publicity campaign, Rhee addressed an open letter in his personal magazine, *Taep'yōngyang chapchi*, to the Japanese emperor Mutsuhito. This letter was permeated with extreme subservience, pleading for a little more freedom for the Korean people. It echoed an earlier letter of tribute to the Japanese emperor, a letter allegedly written by Kim Yun-sik or Yō Kyu-hyōng. In any event, Sin Ch'ae-ho, editor of the *Wōn-dongbo*, the organ of the Korean community in northwestern Jiandao, mounted a scathing attack, condemning Rhee's open letter as nothing more than an advocacy of autonomy, as opposed to true independence. A lengthy exchange of arguments ensued between the two, in the course of which the lowly state of Rhee's thought and speech was amply exposed.

Rhee also argued that Korean language education was unnecessary because if Koreans lived together under the same

roof, they would inevitably come to learn the language; moreover, they had the duty to study the English language earnestly in order to show loyalty to the host country, and overemphasis on Korean language education would obstruct the proper learning of English.

In addition Rhee contended that training Korean military personnel in the United States was in fact impossible, and was an act of disloyalty against the host country. With this contention Rhee proceeded to form an American-style youth corps at the Korean student dormitory under his management. Warning that unknown individuals were plotting to attack him personally or the dormitory under his management, he posted members of this youth corps day and night as dormitory guards.

The Case of Hong In-pyo

Unfortunately to make matters worse, rumors began to fly in 1914 that Kungminhoe secretary Hong In-p'yo, under president Kim Chong-hak, had misappropriated some one thousand dollars to meet his family expenses and that the account books were in a mess. Rhee thought that this was a golden opportunity for him to strike down Pak Yong-man, and so attended a meeting of delegates as a delegate from the Liliha district. To make himself eligible to attend this meeting, Rhee paid the organization dues. This was the only time, the first and last in his life, that he ever paid dues to a Korean community organization.

The general opinion in this case leaned toward this view: one thousand dollars is not such a big amount for all practical purposes; there was no possibility of immediate recovery, inasmuch as at that time the board members of the Kungminhoe had no personal assets to speak of; and this was purely a case of Koreans versus Koreans, and as such, the question of judgment and punishment was a matter that could be handled by the Korean community. Syngman Rhee alone argued otherwise. Lacking legal expertise, he believed that simple indictment was at once the same thing as a favorable verdict rendered by a court of law. Also, to his twisted, evil nature what mattered most was not the final outcome of such action but

the disgracing of those whom he considered his enemies. He thought that to have them hauled away in a paddy wagon would be the ultimate disgrace that he could inflict on them. He swayed the meeting of delegates to prefer charges of embezzling Kungminhoe funds, and a suit was filed which required spending a large sum of money.

In principle, the embezzlement of public funds involves both criminal and civil proceedings. In the criminal case the plaintiff is the government prosecutor, that is, a representative of the government; in the civil case the plaintiff is the victim, in this case the Kungminhoe, or rather representatives of the meeting of delegates, namely, Syngman Rhee and the others. In the criminal proceedings, Hong In-p'yo pleaded guilty, as did Kim Chong-hak. Kim did not commit the offenses himself but accepted responsibility as head of the organization. So both resigned from their offices at the Kungminhoe and were sentenced to imprisonment, but the sentences were suspended and they were released on probation. Vice-president Chŏng Ch'il-lae assumed the presidency.

The biggest thing Rhee was after in filing the charges was to disgrace Pak Yong-man and see him sentenced to imprisonment—his sworn brother who had given him the utmost material and moral support. But Pak was editor of the *Kungminbo*, not an officer of the Kungminhoe, so he had nothing to do with the Kungminhoe finances. Thus Pak was not involved in the criminal proceedings, and in the civil case, too, there was no way to press him for restitution.

Syngman Rhee's lawyer in the trial was a man named Lightfoot and the defense counsel was Brown. Rhee was so incoherent in his testimony on the witness stand that he made himself a laughingstock and an object of ridicule among knowledgeable people. For example, in his testimony Rhee claimed that he was the only doctor (educated person with a doctorate) among the ignorant Koreans, and that it was he who was guiding the Korean laborers who, wearing headbands, had immigrated to Hawaii like of herd of pigs—a public insult that surprised everyone in the courtroom. Defense counsel Brown half jokingly questioned Rhee about what kind of a doctor he was, a horse doctor? It is an American joke to call a veterinarian a "doc," like calling a barber "professor."

In the course of the trial Rhee repeatedly made his pitch that total control over the Korean community be entrusted to him, but in the United States, with its history of democratic customs, dictatorship was not to be tolerated, be it political or social. For all his pains, his wild dream of dictatorial power was shattered, and an expense three times the money misappropriated by Hong In-p'yo was incurred by the trial. Following the conclusion of the trial, Rhee went to visit the various islands, asking the Korean community to leave financial matters to him alone, asking no questions, but no one listened to him, and the democratic system continued in the Korean community.

For two years, from 1913 through the end of 1915, Rhee devoted his all to the struggle against the Kungminhoe. In this struggle he had the Methodist church behind him and relied on the Methodist ministers. Even though he failed in his attempt to win dictatorial powers over the Kungminhoe or to strike down Pak Yong-man, he nevertheless won an advisory right in the Kungminhoe, in substance if not in title, and Pak withdrew from the organization.

Whatever the shortcomings of Syngman Rhee, whatever the misbehavior of Rhee toward him, Pak Yong-man still lived the old adage of not fighting among brothers but together defending all against outside forces, and insisted that it was wrong to do anything that would damage his friendship with Rhee or the harmony and integrity of the Korean community. Pak refused to counterattack and Rhee was able to achieve what he did achieve. Pak's supporters blamed him for his defensive, passive attitude, seeing it as a mark of weakness, but he refused to the end to assume an offensive attitude, insisting that he would not harm others even if others harmed him.

Following the Kungminhoe trial, the split between Rhee and Pak became too obvious, so in an attempt at reconciliation, Rhee was invited to a small banquet held at the home of Kungminhoe secretary Han Chae-myōng, situated in a tenement area across the street from the Kungminhoe headquarters. Rhee appeared, accompanied by two men, but he alone attended the banquet, posting the two at either end of the street. No sooner had everyone been seated than Rhee rose and ran out, shouting "These fellows are trying to insult me

and beat me up." But this behavior was so reminiscent of the tactics he had used earlier in Korea against his wife that no one believed him. Subsequently Pak gave up all hopes of reconciliation with Rhee, but neither did he wish to fight him. Pak switched his organizational affiliation to the Tongniptang and his church affiliation to the Episcopal church.

As the details of the trick Rhee had played on his wife back in Korea gradually became known in Hawaii, the trust of the Methodist church in him diminished. Thereupon he mounted attacks against the Methodists, and two years later, in 1917, he broke away from the church and formed a splinter group, a private church of his own, but the Methodist congregation laughed at him for his chronic switches. Some even called him a madman, and his church eventually became known as a spasmodic church.

For evangelical work in Hawaii, the Americans divided the territory into two major denominational districts, the larger denomination being the Congregational church and the smaller the Methodist church. There was some mutual suspicion and friction between the two denominations, and Rhee's secession from the Methodists won some measure of support from the Congregationalists. There were some differences throughout the United States between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians in terms of organization and management, and Rhee sought to establish contact with the Presbyterian church, but they decided not to enter the denominational picture in Hawaii because of the established denominational territories.

To Rhee the best way to strike down a public figure was by creating suspicion in the public mind by means of slander and innuendo regarding illicit liaisons and financial wrongdoing, regardless of any facts to the contrary. Rhee used this line of attack against Pak Yong-man in his magazine *T'aep'yōngyang chapchi*. When the Kungminhoe headquarters building was being constructed, a two-story house was also built behind the main building. This house had four rooms consisting of two bedrooms, a living room, and a kitchen and was for Pak Yong-man, who was living a bachelor's life. Naturally, male and female members of the Kungminhoe frequently came to visit. Now Rhee claimed that the construction of this house repre-

sented a misuse of Kungminhoe funds, and the frequent comings and goings of men and women were morally undesirable. In his frequent attacking articles, Rhee quoted such old sayings as, "living high in tall, wide rooms with a mistress," but at the same time rumors had it that Rhee himself had fathered an illegitimate child. Meanwhile Pak Yong-man insisted that in accord with journalistic ethics, it was wrong to slander others on the basis of unfounded rumors, and never once did he use his position as editor of the *T'aep'yöngyang sisa*, the organ of the Tongniptang, for the purpose of rebuttal or counterattack, that is, to fight fire with fire.

The Aftermath of World War I

World War I came to an end in November 1918, and President Wilson breathed new life into the hopes of small nations by including in his fourteen-point proposal the principle of national self-determination. Among overseas Koreans everywhere there was a movement afoot to send delegates to the Paris Peace Conference, but they were handicapped in coordinating their efforts in this common cause by difficulties in communications immediately following the war. The Koreans in the mainland United States and Hawaii selected the trio of Syngman Rhee, Min Ch'an-ho, and Chöng Han-gyöng as delegates.³³ Rhee and Chöng proceeded to Washington and New York and tried to obtain visas for travel across the Atlantic to Paris, but as of February 1919 they still did not have their visas.

Meanwhile, Yun Hae, Sö Ch'öng, and other delegates among the Koreans in Russia obtained Russian passports. Kim Kyu-sik and Cho So-ang (born Yong-un), delegates from the Koreans in China, obtained Chinese passports.³⁴ They arrived in Paris but never had an opportunity to present the Korean case at the peace conference. Japan, as an allied nation, successfully blocked the presentation. Kim Kyu-sik released a petition on the Korean case to the French press and later traveled to the United States and published the petition in English.

By now it seemed that there was no hope for the Korean delegates in the United States to travel to Paris. Neither was there any hope for the delegates from Russia and China to take

part in the peace conference even though they had managed to get to Paris. This disappointed Koreans everywhere, and at the same time made them indignant.

Chǒng Han-gyǒng toured the eastern part of the United States to publicize the Korean cause, making public speeches and writing to the press. In an effort to rally the Korean students in the United States, he arranged to publish a monthly devoted to the cause, with the Korean students at Wesleyan College in Ohio as the principal supporters. I edited the monthly under managing editor Yun Yǒng-sǒn. Meanwhile Syngman Rhee, who boasted at the time of his departure from Hawaii that he and no one else was the one who would bring independence to Korea, was still cooling his heels in the eastern United States.

Rhee and the March I Movement

Against such a backdrop a national, nonviolent independence movement, the likes of which had never been seen before or since, got under way in Korea on March 1, 1919, a movement that gave our people and foreign peoples alike a new fillip to the resurgence of the independence movement. The thirty-three leaders of the central supreme committee for the movement, including Son Pyǒng-hŭi, Pak Yǒng-hyo, and Yun Ch'i-ho, who made the declaration of independence, calmly submitted to arrest.³⁵ They had earlier made arrangements for the passive resistance movement to be carried on by the people at large, especially by the young. Arrangements were also made for overseas activities, and for this purpose Hyǒn Sun was dispatched to Shanghai to form a provisional government.³⁶

The Provisional Government was formed in Shanghai with representatives from various overseas areas: Yi Tong-hwi, Yi Kang (also known as Chang-nae), and others from Russia; Yi Tong-nyǒng and Yi Si-yǒng from Manchuria; Kim Kyu-sik, Sin Sǒng (also known as Kyu-sik), and Cho So-ang (Yong-ŭn) from mainland China; and An Ch'ang-ho, Ch'a Ri-sǒk, and others from the United States. Syngman Rhee was selected premier.³⁷

About the same time in the United States, a meeting of Ko-

reans was called by Syngman Rhee and held in Philadelphia in April. For this meeting they rented the historic Independence Hall, where American independence had been declared. The Korean declaration of independence was read at the meeting, after which the congregation moved out to stage an orderly street demonstration. Following the demonstration a ceremony was held for the installation of Syngman Rhee as the self-styled president. How bizarre—the installation of a lonely president when he had already been selected as premier of the Provisional Government!³⁸

Following his installation as the so-called president, Syngman Rhee and a few companions proceeded to Washington and set up a diplomatic and propaganda office. This was what was known as the Korean diplomatic liaison office for Europe and the United States of America. Those who accompanied Rhee to Washington at this time were Sŏ Chae-p'il [Dr. Philip Jaisohn], Chŏng Han-gyŏng, Yi Yong-mok, Yi Pyŏng-du, and others. They favored establishing a provisional Korean legation, but Rhee alone argued for the liaison office. His purported reason was this: Inasmuch as Korea had not yet been recognized by the world powers, the office should be a liaison office on the order of the liaison office in Washington established by Canada, a dominion of Great Britain. Further, Rhee questioned what good it would do to have an unrecognized legation under an unrecognized provisional government. But in effect this was Korea's self-admission of being a territory of Japan. Of course the ulterior motive behind his argument was to enable him, in his capacity of self-styled president, to put the diplomatic liaison office under his direct control so as to gain a tight grip on the money coming in as contributions to the independence movement.

The only way to restore independence was the diplomatic way; the only person diplomatically qualified was he, Syngman Rhee; because members of the liaison office who would be receiving monies remitted to the office were financially unreliable and any financial disclosure concerning diplomatic activities was undesirable, all monies should be remitted to him personally without audit. This was the argument Rhee advanced in his quiet attempts from time to time to sway those

close to him, but practically none of these men, having already lived in a democratic society for a dozen years or so, agreed to support him in his proposal of no books, no audit, no report. Nonetheless Rhee proceeded shamelessly to pocket no small amounts of public money, and still not satisfied, frequently insinuated that there was wrongdoing on the part of the liaison office members in charge of finances.

Born narrow-minded and suspicious, Rhee never had the timbre of a gentleman and had to handle everything himself down to the minutest detail. Even though there was enough money, he frequently failed to pay the salaries of the office staff on time, which resulted in clashes involving not only words but actions as well. To Rhee, anyone who talked back or criticized him was a sworn enemy marked for later revenge, and the only way to deal with such an enemy was to fire him and ultimately destroy him at all costs.

Kim Kyu-sik

Under these circumstances, those involved with the liaison office, including Sŏ Chae-p'il, Kim Kyu-sik, Hyŏn Sun, Yi Tae-wi, Song Hŏn-ju, Yi Yong-mok, Chŏng Han-gyŏng, and Sin Hyŏng-ho, parted company with Syngman Rhee. Only Chŏng Han-gyŏng and Sin Hyŏng-ho, wise as they were about worldly affairs, managed to keep their true feelings to themselves. Kim Kyu-sik, before setting out on his way back to Shanghai in 1921, visited Koreans in many parts of the United States and bared his inner feelings, but never made a personal attack against Rhee except to explain what was necessary to correct prevailing misunderstandings.

On his way back to Shanghai, Kim Kyu-sik had to stop over in Hawaii for about a week on account of his sailing schedule. Rhee, who had arrived there earlier, was on hand to meet him. Rhee took Kim to the eastern part of the island of Oahu and to all intents and purposes restricted him to his quarters, preventing him from meeting anyone from the outside.

A longtime American legal counsel for the liaison office, Frederic A. Dolff, had claimed that Kim Kyu-sik was the most accomplished English-speaker among the Koreans, in both pronunciation and grammar, and a great scholar of En-

glish equal to President Wilson and Bryce, the former British ambassador to Washington. Kim Kyu-sik's alma mater, Roanoke College, conferred upon him an honorary degree of Doctor of Literature for his work and speeches on Korea. Jealous of this great fame in scholarly and diplomatic circles, Syngman Rhee came to regard Kim as an enemy. The two met when Rhee traveled to Shanghai in 1921, and their meeting was not all harmony and cordiality. But as far as Kim was concerned, there was no discourtesy on his part either in words or deeds.

In 1933, while Kim Kyu-sik traveled to the United States on a diplomatic campaign on behalf of China and Korea, Japan was penetrating deep into mainland China, on the heels of the Chinese troops, who were retreating in a westerly direction and following a scorched-earth strategy, and Syngman Rhee, ordered by the authorities to leave Hawaii as a troublemaker in the Korean community, had left for Europe on what he claimed to be a diplomatic mission. Thus Kim Kyu-sik and Syngman Rhee had no opportunity to meet again.

Fourteen years earlier, in 1919, with the approval of the Provisional Government, the Koreans in the United States collected patriotic contributions totalling nearly one million dollars, and there was every possibility of the contributions continuing to grow. At the time the agricultural wages of the Korean community were very good, as high wages prevailed in step with the continuing wartime boom, and the moment was very favorable for collecting patriotic contributions. However, Syngman Rhee, rejecting this form of patriotic contributions, asked the Provisional Government to agree to the issuing of bonds. Earlier his idea for bonds had clashed with the practice of the Korean community and caused the failure of both patriotic contributions and bonds. Only then did he ask the Provisional Government for concurrence in floating bonds as a last-ditch measure to save the situation while freeing himself from the responsibility for the failure.

The original plan for patriotic contributions called for sending the total amount to the Provisional Government, less what the government authorized for diplomatic activities in the United States. But Rhee argued that patriotic contributions

were an inappropriate method of creating state funds, and bonds should be issued instead. Bonds, he argued, could also be sold to foreigners. This sparked the criticism that selling bonds at that time would create a dangerous situation, creating foreign debts even before the restoration of the country. Anyway, not one single bond was sold, and in the ensuing clash practically no patriotic contributions were collected either. The liaison office, which was allegedly designated as the sole organ for receiving all public money under the bond plan, spent practically all the money it had collected, except for three thousand dollars that it sent to the Provisional Government. As opposed to this, the Korean Kungminhoe of North America remitted to the Provisional Government all the money it had received.

During his years in Hawaii, Syngman Rhee is said to have collected no less than four million dollars from a small number of Koreans in Hawaii and the mainland United States, but out of this huge sum he never sent a penny to either the Provisional Government or any other independence activist, except for the three thousand dollars remitted to the government in the name of the liaison office. Even this paltry sum was no more than a face-saving gesture. The bulk of the money was spent on self-serving personal publicity concerning, for example, his life in prison, certain Korean factions and members conspiring to harm him, and Japan putting a huge price on his head.

When Hyŏn Sun, Yi Hong-gi, Cho Pyŏng-yo, Yim Sŏng-u, and An Ch'ang-ho formed a chapter of the Aeguktang (later called the Tongniptang or Independence Party) to support the Provisional Government, and the Korean Kungminhoe of North America and Hawaii were supporting the government, Rhee regarded these organizations as his enemies. In 1921 he traveled to Shanghai, where a plenary cabinet meeting of the Provisional Government was being held. Cabinet members Kim Kyu-sik and No Paek-nin were personally aware of Rhee's character and behavior from their direct dealings with him in the United States. On the agenda of the cabinet meeting were two letters that had been filed with the Provisional Government accusing and denouncing Rhee. One was a letter of accusation against him filed by a three-member ad hoc com-

mittee (Yun Pyöng-gu, Paek Il-gyu, and myself) of the central headquarters of the Kungminhoe on fifteen counts of offenses, in addition to his installing himself as the self-styled president in 1919 and his unauthorized issuance of bonds.³⁹ The other was a letter of denunciation against Rhee filed by Cho Yong-ha, elder brother of cabinet member Cho So-ang, with the support of the Tongniptang in Hawaii. The charges listed in the two letters were all known to the Provisional Government. In the middle of the cabinet meeting, Syngman Rhee abruptly left, fleeing by a rear exit, and returned to Hawaii. Rhee's flight from the cabinet meeting was telegraphed to Hawaii, and the *T'aep'yöngyang sisa*, carrying the telegram, reported his whereabouts as unknown. At the time, Süng Yong-hwan was the editor of this magazine, and Pak Yong-man had already left for China.

No sooner had Rhee arrived back in Honolulu than he read the news in the *T'aep'yöngyang sisa*, and called a meeting of women, especially those ignorant women who blindly followed him. At the meeting Rhee shed tears, eating his heart out, saying "I am mortified by these fellows accusing me as a deserter." Shedding tears was Rhee's customary technique, and at the time a few advised him to sue for slander. He surely would have but for the fact that the bitter experience of the earlier Kungminhoe trial case was still vivid in his memory, and that in his hurry to flee he had abandoned his personal secretary, An Hyön-gyöng, in Shanghai.

Even though he did not dare take legal action himself, Rhee nevertheless incited the women into raiding the printing shop of the *T'aep'yöngyang sisa* and destroying the types and press. To placate the women's fears, Rhee assured them that the court would take a lenient view of women staging such a raid, citing as an example an earlier case of women who had mounted a raid in Los Angeles against a newspaper office. The following day a band of women raided the *T'aep'yöngyang sisa* office, but early in the morning, only a few hours before the raid, Rhee left Honolulu for Washington, allegedly on urgent business for the independence movement. This was his way of evading responsibility for the incitement, as well as a court summons.

Rhee Moves to Washington

When Rhee arrived in Washington in 1921, allegedly working for the independence movement, he had little fresh material for his self-serving personal publicity, and the income for diplomatic activities was growing less and less. It became extremely difficult for him to meet his high travel expenses and to keep the liaison office going. The only fresh material he had for his self-serving publicity was that the Japanese government had put a large price on his head.

Early in 1919, Min Tae-sik had come to the United States with his eldest son, Min Pyöng-su. After meeting Rhee, the elder Min immediately returned to Korea but left behind his son to pursue his studies in the United States. Min Pyöng-su enrolled in Roanoke College, but instead of pursuing his studies he became interested in the diplomatic activities of Chöng Han-gyöng and frequently accompanied the latter on his tours of vast areas of the United States and Hawaii. Every time he visited San Francisco, he called on me. I was engaged in the publicity campaign of the Han'guk T'ongsin-sa [Korean News Agency], and a close friendship developed between us.

One evening after supper we talked late into the night at the St. Francis Hotel, where Min Pyöng-su was staying. In the course of our conversation, he said that the Japanese ambassador in Washington had told him that if the trio of Syngman Rhee, Chöng Han-gyöng, and myself gave up their anti-Japanese propaganda, the Japanese government would pay \$500,000, out of which \$200,000 would be for Syngman Rhee and the balance of \$300,000 would be divided equally among Chöng Han-gyöng, myself, and Min Pyöng-su. I kidded myself about the message but unequivocally turned it down.

A Korean happened to overhear this conversation, as the hotel room door was ajar. This was Yim Sök-hyön, an extraordinarily smart fellow originally from Seoul. He was running a tobacco shop on Kearny Street in Chinatown. He first had gone to Mexico as an immigrant but subsequently came to the United States, sponsored by the Kungminhoe. Even though he had no regular school education, he spoke fluent English. Because of this he frequently worked as a temporary hand at first-class hotels in the city. Early the next morning I

went to visit Sin Sŏng-wŏn at his hotel, located upstairs above the tobacco shop, and learned that news about the previous night's conversation between Min Pyŏng-su and myself had already spread by word of mouth, through Yim Sŏk-hyŏn. I of course admitted the fact. I added that inasmuch as Min had his family in the homeland and was expecting to return to Korea, he clearly had no alternative but to convey the Japanese government's message. At the same time I thought that any attempt at a coverup or any contrived defense would only be harmful rather than beneficial.

Min Pyŏng-su must undoubtedly have passed the same message to Syngman Rhee and Chŏng Han-gyŏng, for it was at this time that Rhee began mounting the publicity campaign charging the Japanese government with having put a price on his head. The Japanese plan for bribery thus fell through, and as far as Min was concerned there was clearly nothing else to do but report the failure to the Japanese embassy. To him, it became a thing of the past. As far as I was concerned, the news of this plan spread only because someone overheard the conversation. There was no revelation about Chŏng Han-gyŏng, but it seemed that Rhee interpreted this message as a price put on his head, and later in 1928 and 1929, he went to great lengths in his publicity campaign to push this story of a price on his head, only to draw ridicule from foreigners.

By 1921, monetary support for the independence movement had diminished to a trickle. The war boom had continued for one year after the war, but thereafter prices and wages fell, with the unemployed rapidly increasing in number. Moreover in 1920 the rice crop in California was a complete failure because of heavy rainfall and flooding at harvest time, and in Hawaii, too, prices and wages fell, impoverishing everyone.

Under these circumstances there was hardly any fresh material that could serve the cause of the independence movement. Nevertheless Syngman Rhee made several trips a year between the mainland United States and Hawaii, with all the presidential perquisites such as high-class travel and high-class hotels in Washington, all of which contributed to an excessive burden placed on public funds. All the monies received under various names, such as independence dues, patriotic dues, and security

dues, were not enough to maintain the liaison office, but the office was somehow sustained by the efforts of a minority of the Korean students, laborers, and business people in New York, Chicago, and Detroit.

In particular, centering on a small group of Korean students in New York, including Chang Tök-su, Yun Hong-söp, Kim To-yön, Hō Chōng, Yim Yōng-ho, An T'aek-chu, Yi Ch'öl-wön, Ch'oe Sun-ju, and others, a secret society called the Taegwang was formed, not only for the purpose of sustaining the liaison office but also for formulating a long-term policy for the independence movement in general.⁴⁰ This secret society covered the homeland and overseas areas. In 1921 Syngman Rhee was elected vice-president of this secret society, the president to be stationed in the homeland. Rhee received great material and moral support from this society. Even though he promised his wholehearted support in establishing Taegwang chapters in the western United States and Hawaii, Rhee actually did nothing at all. Instead he established the Tongjihoe in Hawaii and became the president.

Founding of the Tongjihoe

The beginning of the Tongjihoe can be traced to 1917, when Rhee called his supporters *tongji* or comrades. That was the year that he declared war on the Methodist church, with the support of the Kungminhoe, and with the Kungminhoe and the *Kungminbo* behind him, he also attacked the Tongniptang and the *T'aep'yōngyang sisa*. In addition, over the incident of the *Izumo maru* he filed complaints with U.S. military intelligence and civilian counterintelligence. This was at a time when he was the chief troublemaker in the community, causing factional strife all around and spending all the available money for his own battles. This left no money for his private publication, the *T'aep'yōngyang chapchi*, which he used as a weapon. As a means of obtaining funds for continuing the publication of his magazine, he asked his supporters to subscribe to the magazine at twenty-five cents or more per month or three dollars or more per year, and he called the subscribers *tongji*.

However, the publication of the magazine was suspended in 1919 when Rhee was chosen a delegate to the peace conference

and subsequently became a self-styled president. The subscription money from his comrades was used to meet his personal living expenses. This subscription money over the years was handled by An Hyŏn-gyŏng. No books were kept, and no audits made. From lack of money and personnel, the *T'aep'yŏngyang chapchi* suspended publication.

It was after Yun Ch'i-yŏng's arrival in Hawaii in 1924 that the Tongjihoe was formed. Yun drafted the charter and platform of the Tongjihoe but left for the mainland United States after a year or so. Then Song P'il-man became Tongjihoe secretary and concurrently editor of the *T'aep'yŏngyang chapchi*. He too left for the mainland after a year, and the Tongjihoe went into limbo and the magazine was suspended again.

I Join the Liaison Office

About the same time on the mainland it became extremely difficult to carry on the liaison office, for lack of funds. Sin Hyŏng-ho had taken charge of office management for about five years but had had to resign on account of personal affairs. Hŏ Chŏng took over from Sin Hyŏng-ho, financial difficulties and all. A tenacious and patient man, Hŏ served four years despite all the difficulties, until he finally decided to quit in 1926. Thereupon a small group of people in the eastern United States, who had been financing two-thirds of the money needed for running the liaison office, won an argument to invite me to take charge of the office. Chosen to represent the Koreans in New York, Chicago, and Detroit, Yim Yŏng-ho was dispatched to Los Angeles to interview me.

It was public knowledge that on several occasions there had been differences of opinion between myself and Syngman Rhee, with a major one occurring in 1919. But those concerned believed that there was a possibility of resolving personal differences in the interest of the public good. On arrival in Los Angeles, Yim Yŏng-ho stated that Syngman Rhee had readily given his approval to my appointment, and persuaded me to be the first to write a letter of reconciliation to Rhee, if only as a matter of protocol. I readily accepted this suggestion and wrote a letter to Rhee. In my letter I asked him to forgive and forget the past as I was prepared to work devotedly, living

the old adage of serving the public good, harboring no personal grudges. There was no reply from Rhee. That was his way of showing his unforgiving attitude and disapproval.

At the time, I was newly wed and had just landed a well-paying, easy job—a three year contract as a caretaker for a wealthy family going on a world tour. But for the sake of the liaison office I gave up the contract and was now living at a hotel for three months, waiting for a final, official word. When the letter of appointment finally came from Rhee, I had used up my meager savings. It was under these circumstances that I proceeded to the East to take up my position, and a mountain of problems awaited me. The liaison office did not even have an office building of its own, nor living quarters. So office space had to be rented in a public building and a hotel room used as living quarters, but both were unfit for their purposes in spite of the high rents paid.

The question was still pending whether the liaison office was an organ of the Provisional Government or of Rhee. Of course the office actually was an organ of the government; diplomatically, a private organ would be completely inconsistent. Nevertheless Syngman Rhee, a man of self-conceit, insisted that the liaison office was his own private organ, and told me that the office had nothing to do with the Provisional Government. For this insistence and other reasons, Rhee was sentenced to death in absentia by the Provisional Government, in 1921 and again in 1925.⁴¹ In New York, Chang Tök-su argued that the liaison office was an arm of the government and that a public declaration should be made to that effect, and this argument won the approval of a great many knowledgeable people. In Hawaii, Kungminhoe president Ch'oe Ch'ang-dök concurred with Chang Tök-su, but valid as it was, such a public declaration inevitably caused friction with Rhee.

It was known that although he himself did not want to see me appointed to the post, Syngman Rhee had no alternative but to bow to public opinion favoring the appointment. Therefore there was a fear that if the underlying malice was allowed to run its course, it would eventually break out into the open.

The table of organization of the liaison office originally was

designed as a three-man committee of chairman, secretary, and treasurer. But because of lack of funds and other attendant circumstances, the three-man committee developed into a committee of one, the chairman. There was criticism that this was meaningless and broke the rules.

In order to solve these problems, I considered it necessary to meet Rhee face to face and reach a definite understanding before putting into effect my plan to purchase, on an installment basis, a building for official use as the liaison office, because it was known that he always wanted to take into his own hands whatever money was received and was extremely jealous of others proposing a worthy undertaking and succeeding in it. I also wanted to meet Rhee face to face and reach a compromise with him, getting tacit approval, if not a public declaration, for having the liaison office recognized as an organ of the Provisional Government. I needed to reach a definite understanding with Rhee on my appointment because, as the old saying goes, a doubtful person should not be appointed, but once appointed, one must not be doubted. Finally I wanted to meet Rhee face to face and reach an understanding concerning his suspicions of the local committees of the liaison office which had been formed in the mainland United States and Hawaii in a move to give meaning to my title of chairman.

In 1928, a year and a half after I assumed the chairmanship, I left Washington to visit every Korean community in the mainland United States. I reported on the state of affairs and successfully launched a subscription campaign for the purchase of an official building. Then I proceeded to Hawaii, met Rhee face to face, visited the Korean community on every island, and gained the understanding and support of all sectors concerned. Even then the tendency of being outwardly friendly but inwardly antagonistic was not entirely absent in Rhee.

Tongjich'on

At that time Rhee purchased a thousand acres of forest land on the island of Hawaii, at the favorable price of ten thousand dollars, and set up what was called Tongjich'on [Comrade Village], a socialist-oriented little Korea. According to him it was a money-making proposition coupled with practical ex-

perience. This was patterned after Pak Yong-man's shadow government and militia system, but Rhee ran into a lot of difficulties in its implementation.

The land was a natural forest area with a dense stand of tropical hardwood ('ohia) trees. The plan was for Rhee to get a contract from the U.S. Navy and supply lumber to the shipyards as shipbuilding material. But it turned out to be very difficult to get the proper equipment and skilled labor, and what little lumber was produced was riddled with various defects such as knots, rendering it unsuitable for building purposes. As the lumber was hardwood, it could still be used for manufacturing first-class furniture. Here again a furniture factory would have required an enormous capital outlay to build, so it was reduced in the end to a small-scale operation barely sufficient to meet the living expenses of the hired hands. Next it was planned to use the hardwood to produce charcoal, used in making military explosives. To this end a government contract was obtained, but here again a proper factory would have required a large capital outlay, so the charcoal was produced on a small scale. In accordance with the terms of the contract, the first five thousand pounds of charcoal were shipped to the Marshall Company in Portland, Oregon, for testing. After tests the company engineer rejected it as being too poor in quality.

Thus the lumber business failed in all three attempts: the shipbuilding, furniture, and charcoal industries. Meanwhile there were the living expenses of the hired hands to be met (although there were no wages to be paid under a socialist system of sorts). In addition there were penalties for default on the government contract and transportation charges and other expenses to pay. All told, in the short period of one year, the expenses incurred amounted to five times the land price, that is, fifty thousand dollars, but there was no means to pay such a huge sum of money.

In Hawaii, the Kyomindan or Korean Residents Association—the new name the Kungminhoe assumed in 1919 as an organization supporting Syngman Rhee—had as members two-thirds of the entire Korean population, but its financial status was very weak. The sector of the Korean community

and churches opposed to Syngman Rhee, such as, the Tong-niptang and the Methodist and Episcopal churches, had more individual members with stronger financial backing, but they were unwilling to support or invest in Syngman Rhee's ventures, private or public.

In 1919, at Syngman Rhee's insistence, the name of the Hawaii Kungminhoe was changed to Kyomindan, but on the mainland it was impossible to do the same, and a separate Kyomindan was formed in opposition to the Kungminhoe. This mainland Kyomindan was very weak both in membership and financial support. The members of the Hawaii Kyomindan completely lost their confidence in Rhee in light of his repeated failures, culminating in the failure of Tongjich'on, despite the enormous sums of money he had exacted from them year after year, down to the bare bones.

Tongjich'on itself had good prospects but the secretary's mismanagement drove it into a corner. According to Rhee, his ultimate plan was to transform it into an ideal socialist agrarian community. Without clearing the trees it was impossible to conduct farming on a large scale, and again any large-scale farming would require a large capital outlay. So large obstacles lay in the way. Moreover, even though the area was covered by about a foot of topsoil, volcanic rock lay underneath, another unfavorable factor for farming. Once the volcanic rocks and tree stumps were pulverized, they would make fertile soil, but again this would take time. Because of the cold climate and scarce rainfall, the area was suitable for forestry, horticulture, and poultry farming. Also, because of the scenic beauty of the shrubbery and blooming flowers, the area showed good prospects for residential sites.

About this time Rhee found himself confronted with an entirely different kind of difficulty. The rumor was making the rounds that he was involved in an illicit affair with the female secretary of the Christian school under his management and had fathered an illegitimate child. This rumor spread to the mainland United States. In spite of his repeated denials, the public did not believe him and even his strongest supporters began to whisper their suspicion.

Driven into such dire straits, Rhee finally made quid pro

quo agreements with me. I would mount a major publicity campaign in the continental United States on behalf of Tongjich'on, in exchange for which Rhee agreed to the purchase of an official building for the liaison office; Rhee would form a Taegwang chapter in Hawaii as decided upon earlier in New York, in exchange for which I would strive to expand the sphere of influence of the Tongjihoe in the continental United States and Hawaii; I would defend him to the utmost against the illegitimate child rumor; and I would be prepared to come to Hawaii to take charge of the business of the Kyomindan and Tongjihoe, if that was considered at all desirable.

I sincerely worked with all my heart to carry out my end of these agreements. As a result, in the following year, 1929, when Syngman Rhee toured the continental United States, he was able to collect subscriptions to Tongjich'on to the tune of sixty thousand dollars. But it was an entirely different matter regarding his rumored love affair and illegitimate child. The trouble grew worse.

Rhee had been rumored to have been involved in love affairs before, first in 1916 and again in 1919. Both affairs supposedly involved minor girls, whose parents exposed the affairs but went no further, for the sake of their children's future. A third affair was rumored in 1920, this time involving an American woman, Gottefell, who had worked temporarily as an assistant in the public relations section of the liaison office. She wrote a book giving wide publicity to her affair with Syngman Rhee.⁴² These stories of illicit affairs always had doubtful points, extremely difficult to prove but by the same token, hard to rebut. Anyway, these are the quickest tricks resorted to by those engaged in slandering others. They are the very tricks Rhee himself had used in slandering his own wife and sworn brother Pak Yong-man. To me such tricks were beneath mature people, and I never once touched on his personal affairs even when criticizing him.

The latest Rhee love affair rumor concerned this third case. The day before my scheduled return to the mainland following the completion of my tour of the Hawaiian Islands in 1928, I was a guest at a small dinner party at the Christian school. On

arrival I found it to be a small dinner party indeed, of just three. As the dinner progressed quietly with the three of us at the table, the hostess, who was rumored to be Syngman Rhee's love object, changed the subject of conversation and asked me: "Did you hear the rumor on the mainland to the effect that I gave birth to an illegitimate child fathered by Dr. Rhee?" I replied that I had heard the rumor in Los Angeles. I promised that I would look into the rumor there and clarify the matter. On arrival in Los Angeles I got in touch with Ch'oe Yong-gi, who had first told me about the rumor. Ch'oe said that he had heard it from a student, a young man from Hawaii who had come to Los Angeles to study. Accordingly I reported back to my dinner hostess in Honolulu as promised, and thought that that was the end of it.

However, before she received my report, "Syngman Rhee's love" created a scene at a Sunday church service by publicly airing her private suspicions of the wife of minister Min Ch'an-ho, accusing her of having spread the false rumor to Los Angeles. She added that she had heard this report from me.⁴³ I stated that I was not the bearer of the rumor brought up at the Christian school dinner party, that it was "Syngman Rhee's love" who had pointed her finger at Mrs. Min as the culprit, and that I did not know what the truth was. Perhaps "Syngman Rhee's love" wanted to shame me as the bearer of the rumor. Undoubtedly this made Rhee, who was already suspicious of the twists of this rumor, even more unhappy.

Several days before his scheduled return to the mainland, I went to Tongjich'on to bid farewell to Rhee. At that time the English newspapers carried a Shanghai dispatch on the assassination of Pak Yong-man. Rhee showed no sign of sorrow, but at my earnest plea sent a telegram of condolence to the headquarters of the Tongniptang in Honolulu.

On my return journey I devoted some two months to visiting fellow countrymen in various places. As there were many who had been close to Pak Yong-man in Nebraska and the western part of the United States, memorial services for him were held everywhere. When I reached New York, the last stopover, I also made arrangements to hold memorial services.

But Chang Tök-su and others, including students, put up strong opposition. Their argument ran thus: Pak had sneaked into the homeland and stayed three days at the Chosŏn Hotel, which was managed by the Japanese government general; this was proof of Pak's pro-Japanese relations and that he was not a patriot.

I countered, quoting Pak's personal letter, that he had entered Korea on a Chinese passport because he was a naturalized citizen. Acting as a representative of Feng Yuxiang, his purpose was to seek the understanding and collaboration of Japan in training Chinese troops in Inner Mongolia as a militia against the Soviet Union, that is, against the Bolsheviks. I argued that this was part of his lifelong plan to organize Korean troops.⁴⁴ Apart from the merit of the plan, apart from the question of its incongruity, everything Pak Yong-man did was entirely motivated by his patriotism, I continued. Many people long engaged in patriotic enterprises in China and Russia had returned home to Korea via the route of naturalization or other means, all for the cause. As a matter of fact, Chang Tök-su himself was one of them. After he returned to Korea, carrying with him a large communist propaganda fund, the Japanese government general confiscated the fund.⁴⁵ Some critics viciously claimed that he had voluntarily surrendered the fund to the government general. Moreover, when he traveled to the United States, he was intercepted in Japan by Korean students, questioned, and beaten up. Another victim in this incident was Ch'oe Ch'il-yong, who later died of the injuries he suffered that day. It was not my intent to accuse Chang of being guilty, but to ask that the Pak case be viewed in the same vein, especially now that Pak was dead and had no means of defending himself. Exoneration is the thing to accord the deceased. Thus persuaded, the Koreans in New York held memorial services. Anyway it seemed that every time I organized memorial services for Pak, those services incurred the wrath of Syngman Rhee.

While traveling I also established a number of chapters of the resurrected Tongjihoe. This pleased Rhee but was of little conciliatory value, as he used to declare publicly that he was not readily given to trusting anyone.

My Return to Hawaii

The following year, 1929, I was scheduled to set out on a tour of the United States and Hawaii to collect the money pledged for the purchase of a building to house the liaison office. Syngman Rhee had frequently written to me, asking me to move back to Hawaii and take charge of the community work there. In the three years I handled the affairs of the liaison office, I had keenly felt the importance of the office's credibility and authority. During its existence, even though diplomatically unrecognized, the liaison office won the trust of the diplomatic world. This trust and authority was evidenced by a number of things, such as a proposal received for a joint venture in paper manufacturing by American paper manufacturers and Koreans in Manchuria and Siberia; the acceptance by U.S. authorities of certificates issued by the liaison office in lieu of the passports which Koreans in the United States and Mexico had lost; and the requests the liaison office received for opinions and verification whenever major disputes or issues arose regarding Korea or the Orient as a whole. If for no other reason than to keep this credibility, arrangements were made for Yun Ch'i-yŏng to take over the liaison office, and I set out on my tour of the United States and Hawaii as scheduled.

On arrival in Hawaii in 1929 I found that no action had been taken to implement that part of my agreement with Rhee involving the formation of a Taegwang chapter. My itinerary called for me to return to Washington after collecting the money pledged for the purchase of a liaison office building, but it so happened that Ch'oe Ch'ang-dŏk, president of the Kyomindan (Kungminhoe) and concurrently editor of the *Kungminbo*, unexpectedly resigned, and by popular request I temporarily took over his editorship. Meanwhile the dispute surrounding the identity of the liaison office continued. Persisting that the chairman of the liaison office should publicly declare that it was an organ of the Provisional Government and not a private tool of Syngman Rhee, Chang Tŏk-su spread his ideas throughout the community.

Ch'oe Ch'ang-dŏk was the brother-in-law of Kim Ch'ang-jun, one of the thirty-three leaders who signed the declaration of independence. Kim Ch'ang-jun was a student at North-

western University, in Evanston, Illinois, and it was through his introduction that Chang Tök-su met Ch'oe Ch'ang-dök. The two became fast friends. Chang and Ch'oe shared the same ideas concerning the nature of the liaison office, but Rhee persisted in his opposition to their valid arguments. If their clash broke out into the open there was every reason to believe that it would harm the independence movement. Therefore I conveyed my opinion in a letter to Yim Yong-ho. Yim showed this letter to Ch'oe and Chang, and in the course of an exchange of letters its content was leaked. By now Ch'oe had become the minister of the church where the previous minister, Min Ch'an-ho, had resigned his pastorship following the embarrassing questions that had been publicly asked of him and his wife concerning the rumor of an illegitimate child fathered by Syngman Rhee. But it appeared that the clash over the identity of the liaison office was also affecting Ch'oe Ch'ang-dök's pastorship.

In any event, in the end, by popular request I decided to stay on in Hawaii. Vice-president Son Tök-in succeeded to the Kungminhoe presidency for a year and a half, the remainder of the two-year presidential term, and I became editor of the *Kungminbo*. So, after three years and one month my family moved from Washington to Hawaii. Yi Yong-mok was brought in as the church minister. He was a graduate of Sungsil College (Union Christian College) in P'yöngyang, Park College in Kansas City, and the Union Theological Seminary. At the time he was serving as the minister of the Korean Methodist church in New York. He was also a member of the Taegwang, and for years had been a committee member of the liaison office.

This was a time when Japanese military influence was rapidly expanding in mainland China, Asia, and the Pacific, a time to step up the publicity campaign for the Korean independence movement. For this reason daily meetings were held and consequently, at a January 1930 meeting, the Kungminhoe delegates resolved to collect independence assessments. Meanwhile Hawaii delegates of the Tongjihoe resolved at an interim meeting to hold a meeting of Tongjihoe delegates from the continental United States and Hawaii, and at the same time to

collect the Tongjihoe security assessments and patriotic assessments. A goodly amount was collected during the ensuing five months. Indeed this was the biggest collection since 1919. Only Syngman Rhee seemed to resent the fact that this biggest collection was not all channeled to the Tongjihoe, or still better into his own hands.

Rhee and the Tongjihoe Conference

The meeting of Tongjihoe delegates from the continental United States and Hawaii was held in the summer of 1930. Delegate Yim Yong-ho, from New York, became ill on route and was hospitalized in Los Angeles, so Kim Chu-hyŏn, who had earlier arrived in Hawaii from New York, took his place as an alternate member. Also in attendance were Chicago delegate Kim Wŏn-yong and Los Angeles delegates Ch'oe Yŏng-gi and others.

Among the continental delegates Kim Wŏn-yong and Ch'oe Yŏng-gi were Taegwang members. Thus at that time all told there were four Taegwang members in Hawaii: Kim, Ch'oe, Yi Yong-mok, and myself. Another member, Song Se-in, arrived several months later. After the meeting of the Tongjihoe delegates, a Hawaii chapter of Taegwang was formed, sponsored by a dozen members such as Kim Kyŏng-jun, Yi Hosik, Kim Yŏng-su, and others. The earlier quid pro quo agreement notwithstanding, Syngman Rhee became jealous and obstructed the Taegwang, surreptitiously spreading rumors to the effect that a few people from the mainland were now using it to gain a complete grip on the Korean community and churches.

The most urgent matter on the agenda of the delegates' meeting was the adoption of a new charter. The charter governing the organization throughout the twelve years of its existence—the first six years (1918–1924) as the “Tongji” and the next six (1924–1930) as the “Tongjihoe”—was completely inadequate, and there were no books or records kept of the finances and other business transactions.

By all standards a charter must necessarily contain general rules, along with specific provisions for the democratic election of a democratic board and assembly. But Syngman Rhee

would have none of that and arbitrarily rejected any kind of discussion, insisting that no list should be kept of donors' names when receiving money or of recipients of disbursements—in short, no records at all. Despite Rhee's arbitrary insistence on this, by a unanimous vote the meeting adopted a new charter containing, among other things, specific provisions for the handling of finances which required all receipts of money to be deposited in a bank account and all disbursements to be made through the bank account, with full details recorded.

In the section-by-section adoption of the charter, Syngman Rhee alone stuck to his ludicrous arguments and wasted time by making lengthy speeches and arousing the anger of the delegates. Regarding the presidential system, Rhee insisted that

- (1) the president must have absolute powers;
- (2) applicants for membership must take an oath of absolute obedience to the president; and
- (3) there should be no set term for the president, who must be installed by acclamation, not election.

Rhee wasted four or five days with these sorts of arguments, and the angry Hawaii delegates threatened to walk out. I put forward a compromise proposal.

I explained that in one respect the presidential system was more democratic than the chairmanship system, because while a chairman would be elected by a simple majority, any presidential candidate failing to get a unanimous or majority acclamation would voluntarily have to withdraw forthwith. A chairman once elected must serve out his term regardless of the opinion of the membership, but depending on the desires of the membership, a president would serve one or two months, one or two years, or a lifetime. The meeting accepted this compromise, but apparently the proposal incurred the wrath of Rhee, even though veiled.

Eventually the delegates elected Rhee as president, Yi Yong-mok as chairman of the board, myself as chief of the central department and concurrently editor of the monthly *T'aep'yōngyang chapchi*, and Kim Wōn-yong as executive officer (secretary-treasurer). At this time, Yi was concurrently

chief minister of the church and chairman of the board of trustees, while I was both lay Christian association chairman and a trustee, and Kim was a trustee. Ch'oe Yōng-gi was also a trustee and a director of the Tongjihoe. Rhee mistrusted all four of us because we were Taegwang members. Also the fact that the monetary receipts of the Kungminhoe happened to be somewhat larger than those of the Tongjihoe added to his suspicions and jealousy.

Rhee used to claim, as a sort of boast, cajolery, and intimidation that

- (1) he was an old fox, a veteran of factional strife;
- (2) only when factional strife arises is it possible to greatly increase monetary receipts;
- (3) whoever followed him would lead a good life and all who dared stand against him would be destroyed, one by one;
- (4) he would trust no one in the whole world except Kim Nodie;⁴⁶
- (5) a popular election would be unstable, as in the old saying "too many cooks spoil the broth," and there would be no way to accomplish anything as it would be impossible to seal all lips;
- (6) whatever means available must be used in factional strife, as the ends would justify any means (Syngman Rhee admired Al Capone, the one-time mob chieftain of America, and Benito Mussolini);
- (7) in factional strife as in international war the best defense is attack, for attack is the standard of victory, regardless of truth or falsity, right or wrong, good or bad.

In daily contact with Syngman Rhee for nearly one year, the delegates came to be thoroughly familiar with his way of thinking and behaving. Such immoral ideas and tactics were utterly intolerable to the knowledgeable and those with a sense of morality, and so clashes over differences of opinion erupted from time to time in words and deeds.

The major thrusts of Tongjihoe work were to establish contact with various sectors of the Korean community and bring about a merger of existing organizations, and to promote di-

plomatic activities. Along this line, the Tongjihoe frequently held meetings to bring about a merger with the Tongniptang, but the Tongjihoe was never able to draw one single member of the military clique, the backbone of the Tongniptang. They were able to win over only a few intellectuals, who themselves were objects of criticism for talking too much and achieving little.

Throughout the island of Kauai and in the leeward area of Oahu, chapters of the Association for Supporting the Provisional Government had been organized. Following a reorganization in Shanghai and Chongqing, the Provisional Government had been renamed Tongniptang and then Kungmindang. As the Association was a loyal supporter of the Provisional Government, it was dead opposed to Syngman Rhee, who twice had been sentenced to death in absentia by the government for his acts of treason as a self-styled dictator. The Association never responded to the Tongjihoe merger movement.⁴⁷

Regardless of internal conflicts, the best way to conduct diplomatic activities is to achieve an unswerving, enduring national unity over national objectives. A clause to this effect was inserted in their new charter by a resolution of the delegates at the Tongjihoe meeting. But no sooner had the meeting ended than internal friction began to surface. Even before successfully uniting the Korean community, it was Rhee's persistent plan to extend the Tongjihoe's sphere of influence to the churches and nonpolitical organizations. He thought to use the Christian church, the organ of the Tongjihoe, to conquer the Methodist and Episcopal churches, seeing the expansion of the Tongjihoe churches as the best unification measure. As part of this plan he told the *Kungminbo* and *T'aep'yŏngyang chapchi* to mount public attacks against the churches, coupled with personal attacks against their ministers. But I never tried either to argue against his instructions or carry them out. Yi Yong-mok, Kim Wŏn-yong, and Ch'oe Yŏng-gi were of the same opinion and maintained the same stance.

As time passed Rhee's rage grew. He even went to the extent of presenting a demand to the secretaries-general of the YMCA and YWCA that the Korean secretaries, Yi T'ae-sŏng

of the YMCA and Miss Hwang Hae-su of the YWCA be fired. To put pressure on them, he took Yi Yong-mok and me in his own car to the YMCA building and told us to go in and demand the dismissals. But we declined to do so, explaining that this was against the policy set at the Tongjihoe delegates meeting. On his part Rhee kept complaining that our actions were not in keeping with absolute obedience to the president.

Before and after this incident, Rhee used to boast that it was an act of loyalty to his host country when he had informed on An Ch'ang-ho, Pak Yong-man, and Kim Kyu-sik, whom he had marked as his enemies, by telling U.S. military intelligence and civilian counterespionage that the trio were radical communists, that is, "Bolsheviks." But the facts of the matter were that

- (1) his loyalty to his homeland and host country was a matter of self-pride and self-interest;
- (2) An, Pak, and Kim were all far better patriots than Rhee; and
- (3) in fact An had gone to Russia on several occasions only to visit his friends Kim Sŏng-mu, Yi Kang, Yi Hong-gi, and Yi Tong-hwi; Kim had gone to Siberia en route to visiting his female younger cousin, who had married and moved to Russia, and had gone to Outer Mongolia only on a political and religious survey; and Pak had gone to Inner and Outer Mongolia as a representative of Feng Yuxiang.

It was illogical to conclude that mere visits to the Soviet Union at once constituted proof of their Bolshevism. It was a fact known to all that An and Pak were pure capitalist-democrats and Kim a mild socialist. Rhee knew these facts only too well, yet it was his view that false information was one useful tactic in political strife; that the best strategy was to create suspicion on charges of political leaning, financial wrongdoing, and immoral behavior; and that once aroused there was no effective rebuttal against suspicion.

Syngman Rhee would often hold private discussions with Ch'oe Yong-gi, Kim Wŏn-yong, Yi Yong-mok, and myself, and later Ma Chu-hŭng. Ma, whose official name was Chun-

hŭng, was an army officer in the Kojong era and the army paymaster, a rank equal to full colonel. So he conducted himself as a colonel, but in 1915, when the first cut was made in the military forces, he left Korea and emigrated to Mexico. Later, with the support of An Ch'ang-ho he moved to the United States. He spent many years in California, doing educational work, church work, and farming. After the Tongjihoe meeting of U.S. and Hawaii delegates, he came to Hawaii and worked at the Christian school established by Rhee. He was also a Taegwang member.

At such private discussions, Rhee invariably boasted of his tactics in factional strife: the best method was, by hook or by crook, to drive the adversary into a corner by creating doubt and suspicion about the adversary; once accused, the burden of proof or innocence would rest on the accused; and in factional strife, ends would justify means, as in international war. In light of his academic and social education over the years in the United States, this position was astounding indeed.

But Rhee's grudge was growing daily over the clashes of opinion which followed his being rebutted by the aforementioned quartet. They had relied on both American custom and old Oriental teachings—the American custom, under Christianity, to consider the accused innocent until proven guilty by a court of law in an open trial and to believe that there was a law of morality governing war and peace, and that for the bad to fail was more important than for the good to triumph; and the old Oriental teaching to avoid disputes, and when in doubt to punish the lesser of two offenses.

One day in 1930, just prior to the upheaval in the Korean community and churches in Hawaii, Syngman Rhee and Ma Chu-hŭng were playing their customary game of *paduk* (the same game as the Chinese *weiqi* or Japanese *go*). Rhee, eating his heart out, complained that his comrades in the cause were opposing him. He went on to state that society was like a machine which could smoothly use its power only if the parts were synchronized in fine mesh, otherwise the defective parts must be replaced. In reply Ma jokingly stated that if the power was out of synchronization, the power should be replaced. It is not known whether Ma was kicked out or voluntarily

resigned, but at any rate he returned home to Korea a few months later.

The 1930 Upheaval

The 1930 upheaval started in the church. Rhee's target was Yi Yong-mok, the new minister. Following his appointment Yi discovered that

- (1) Up to that time, the salary of the minister and church repair and maintenance expenses had been paid out of large contributions from individual parishioners of the Congregational church, the oldest and richest church in Hawaii, but there were no records and this fact was not known to the church members. Meanwhile the minister was having a hard time making ends meet on the meager formal salary from the Korean church. Under these circumstances the minister had to rely on the goodwill of church members, in the form of private contributions of money, as well as food and clothing.
- (2) As an auxiliary of the church, a Korean language school had been set up, involving the receiving and spending of no small amounts of money. But here again absolutely no records had been kept. Chŏng In-su, who was in sole charge of the construction of the school building, did make financial reports, but they were incomplete and inconsistent. The books that had been kept prior to the days of minister Ch'oe Ch'ang-dŏk were so incomplete that it was not worth auditing them.
- (3) The lumber and other building materials purchased in the name of the church and language school were actually delivered to the private residence of the minister.
- (4) Despite the large amounts of money received, the church and language school incurred unreasonably large debts.

From a sincere wish to save the church and school from this predicament, Yi got in touch with several influential Congregational church members who had financially supported the

Korean church, including Westervelt, Erdman, Richards, and Professor Roth, who had been very kind to Yi when he was a student at Union Theological Seminary in New York. The professor was now retired in Hawaii.

With the approval of the church board of trustees, Yi negotiated an agreement with its benefactors for clearing the church debts and obtaining lasting financial support. Yi duly reported the negotiated agreement to the board of trustees, which unanimously approved it. On two subsequent Sundays, Westervelt and Richards came to visit the church. The terms and conditions of the agreement were that

- (1) out of the \$45,000 earmarked for the repayment of church debts and construction of a new chapel, the church members would assume one-third and the American supporters two-thirds;
- (2) for sustaining the church, the Americans would provide four thousand dollars a year, two-thirds of the six thousand dollar operating budget;
- (3) the ownership and management of all church properties, both immovable and movable, would rest solely with the church on the condition that the properties would not be diverted to any other use; and
- (4) at least once a year a financial report and budget would be submitted.

On the first Sunday of July 1930, Syngman Rhee volunteered to deliver the sermon. Mounting the pulpit, he surprised the congregation by declaring that there was a conspiracy afoot to sell out the church to the Americans and that the conspirators were traitors to the church. Subsequently he told me to carry the text of his sermon in the weekly *T'aep'yōng-yang chubo*. It so happened that the editing and composition of the current issue had been completed; moreover, I was suffering from a cold and was unable to report to work for three days. The sermon was full of abusive language; still it was a president's sermon. So I said in reply that I would carry it in the next issue. Thereupon Rhee exploded in anger. He humiliated me to my face, speaking abusively in both English and Korean. But I remained calm throughout and never talked

back, looking him in the face. Furthermore, he went to the offices of the *T'aep'yöngyang chapchi* and *Kungminbo*, and calling in printers Pak Chin-han and Chŏn Ik-chu, cursed me in abusive language for hours. What disgraceful behavior!

Up to that time the offices of the Tongjihoe and the *T'aep'yöngyang chapchi* were located in the Kungminhoe building, but Syngman Rhee moved the offices and relieved me of my duties at both places. At about the same time Rhee, who had been allowed to attend a meeting of the board of directors of the Kungminhoe as an observer, suddenly told the board to sell the Kungminhoe building. This was out of order. Under the Kungminhoe charter, the right to change the ownership or location of its building could be exercised only by the assembly of delegates. The board of directors ignored Rhee and adjourned without comment on his out-of-turn remarks.

The following day real estate brokers appeared at the Kungminhoe office. Questioned why they had come, the brokers said they had been asked by Rhee to find a buyer for the office building. Kungminhoe president Son Tök-in took the trouble to explain to the brokers that neither the board of directors nor the assembly of delegates had any plans to sell the building; moreover, Rhee was not a Kungminhoe director, nor even a member. He had no authority, Son added, to make such a request to the real estate brokers and it was invalid.

At that time Rhee also arbitrarily rescinded resolutions that the church board of trustees had unanimously adopted, and dismissed the minister and all the members of the board, including even all the officers of the lay Christian association. Moreover Rhee shouted in the middle of a church service: "You traitors, beat it!" Thereupon more than two-thirds of the recorded church members left the service and seceded from the church, taking the church records with them. They made arrangements to use the Kungminhoe assembly hall as a temporary chapel. Meanwhile Rhee formed a separate church with nonmembers and called it the original church.

Simultaneously Rhee wrote an article accusing Yi Yongmok of being a traitor to the church and told the *Kungminbo* to carry it as an editorial. The article was full of illogical, incoherent vilification. I contended that printing such an article

would be an insult to the readership, and would not listen. As this dispute went on, Tongjihoe secretary Kim Wŏn-yong came up with a compromise. By his proposal, which Rhee agreed to, the more vituperative words were taken out of the article and the expurgated version was carried in the *Kungminbo*. This was the first and last time that Rhee had his writing expurgated, and it was a blot on his escutcheon he remembered all his life.

Rhee's Political Strategy

At Rhee's insistence the Tongjihoe confined its independence activities to one thing only—diplomacy. To try to attain independence by diplomatic publicity alone, exclusive of fostering moral, economic, and military power is, it goes without saying, a mistaken idea. But granting for the sake of argument the validity of attempting such diplomacy, at a time when the Japanese invasion of China and India's independence movement were lending momentum to a worldwide drive for national independence, and when there was every reason to push the Korean independence movement as part of this worldwide trend and any diplomatic step might be valuable, Rhee looked down upon the Chinese and Indian peoples for no reason at all, and never once expressed an iota of sympathy for them.

A good way to conduct the publicity campaign would have been to emphasize the history of Korea and its people, brimming with high cultural heritage and resourcefulness. But Syngman Rhee's line was to rehash old materials, namely, that he alone was capable of leading the ignorant, underdeveloped Korean people; that this presumptuous idea must be given exclusive emphasis in his self-serving propaganda because he was of royal blood; that he alone was a progressive, a patriot, who had languished long in prison; that the Japanese had put a price on his head, and so on. This is not the stuff of a national independence movement; what is more the materials were stale and malodorous, as they had already been used and reused for nearly thirty years.

Rhee frequently told me to carry these stale materials in the *Kungminbo* and *T'aep'yŏngyang chapchi* and also to send the

materials to the American press. Without comment I never listened. This of course made him very angry. Syngman Rhee's first tactic in factional strife was, as explained earlier, to spread wild rumors. Even among his faithful supporters, some knew better and were critical of the rumors carried in the *T'aep'yöngyang chapchi* and *T'aep'yöngyang chubo*. Among these were Sö Chöng-u of Los Angeles and Kim Hong-gi of Chicago. Sö was the eldest son of Sö Sang-hüp, a Methodist minister from Inch'on who later fled to Shanghai. Kim's original name was Kim Kyu-söng, and he was an old friend of mine, hailing from the same native place. In the 1919 clash between Rhee and myself, Kim published a monthly known as the *Chayubo* and supported Rhee, but never uttered a single invective. Neither did I attempt even one rebuttal. In the 1930 clash, Kim revived the *Chayubo* and defended Rhee, again without a single invective, and again not one rebuttal from me.

Then there were Chöng T'ae-ün, Nam Chöng-hön, Chang In-myöng, O Han-su, and Yi Sang-jin in Los Angeles; Chöng Yang-p'il, An Chae-ch'ang, Cho O-hüng, Cho Tae-hüng, and Chön Tök-ki in Detroit; and Chang Tök-su, Yun Hong-söp, and Kim Hön-sik in New York. They all were supporters of Syngman Rhee but all were critical of his lowly tactics and those of Pak Sang-ha, and a secret letter of condemnation was circulated among them. Thus Rhee's propaganda tactics backfired, as if he were spitting into the sky only to have it fall on his own face.

Rhee's secondary tactics were fraud and intimidation. He used anonymous letters and telephone calls and then had his targets beaten up or killed and their homes raided. At this time the Tongjihoe of Los Angeles was publishing a mimeographed monthly, similar in nature to the *T'aep'yöngyang chapchi*. This monthly carried an anonymous poem written in Korean. The poem was filled with ghoulish verses, advocating tearing me limb from limb, peeling my muscles layer by layer, and shattering my bones. Tongjihoe members praised this so-called poem as a Rhee masterpiece, even though it was anonymous.

Rhee also spent no small sums of money putting an advertisement in the English-language daily, *The Honolulu Advertiser*, in which he charged that several youths, wolves in lamb's

clothing, had come from the mainland to take over the Korean community in Hawaii, and called for their expulsion. Needless to say, the same theme was repeated in the *T'aep'yŏngyang chapchi* and *T'aep'yŏngyang chubo*.

Factional Violence Erupts

Rhee formed the so-called Ch'ŏngnyŏn Tongjihoe, recruiting juvenile delinquents who had been suspended or expelled from schools, and youths with police records. Rhee used these youths as his personal bodyguards and made them attack and beat up his opponents. Threats to me and my family were especially blatant. One night I was returning home from a meeting at the home of Kim Kyŏng-jun concerning the board of trustees of the Christian church. While passing through a tenement area a thug attacked me from behind, but fortunately I was wearing a straw hat which kept my skull from being bashed in. Reporting this incident to the police, I obtained a license to carry a gun for personal protection. Meanwhile Cho Kŭm-mun, a well-known Korean detective, traced the identity of the assailant from his driver's license. He was a Korean youth with a long police record, but it was decided not to press charges, a decision motivated by a desire not to wash dirty linen in public.

That was but one incident. Another time, again late at night, I was returning home from a seminar arranged by the Kung-minhoe to discuss the current situation. I saw several suspicious characters scurrying away from my house. This time I was accompanied by six friends. We found my wife lying unconscious and our two children crying loudly. We divided into two groups, one administering first aid to my wife while the other group went after the villains. The police were called in at once and the villains apprehended. Kim Wŏn-yong went to the police and expressed a desire not to press charges, so the culprits were released with a reprimand. At that time my wife was pregnant, and even though the incident did not cause a miscarriage, the baby did not survive six months beyond birth.

Rhee's third technique in factional strife was his predilection for litigation, a technique he used in this fashion: he had his henchmen attack his adversaries, at a meeting or singly, and

then filed charges with the police that his adversaries had attacked his side and had them all, men and women, hauled away in a paddy wagon. His henchmen in this scheme were An Hyön-gyöng, Pak Süng-jun, and Kim Chöng-hyön, among others.

An Hyön-gyöng was a woman who served for a long time as Rhee's right hand. One day in 1925, following services at the Christian church, she hurled insults at Rhee for all to hear, over a certain personal family dispute, and walked out. Thus she switched to the side of Cho Yong-ha, Yui Tong-myön, Kim Yung-bae, Kim Chin-ho, T'ae Pyöng-sön, and others who were utterly opposed to Rhee. But in the turmoil of 1930-31, she switched back to Rhee, demonstrating her unusual talent for switching back and forth. Pak Süng-jun was a real estate broker who had close relations with the police and the lawyers in his profession, and Kim Chöng-hyön, who early on had demonstrated his talents as a con man, was a police informer who took pride in his ability in worldly affairs.

Because of his skulduggeries, new arrivals from the mainland United States, such as Kim Wön-yong, Ch'oe Yöng-gi, Yi Yong-mok, Ma Chu-hüng, Song Se-in, and myself, clashed with Rhee, and the chasm separating us widened. Rhee himself and his cronies Pak Nae-sön, Kim Nodie, Song Kyöng-sin and her oldest daughter Kim Yu-sil, Kim Söng-gi, and An Hyöng-gyöng from time to time visited the new arrivals and tried to persuade them that if they listened to Rhee and did everything on faith as he told them to, that that would be a good way to survive and prosper. But those were the tactics of the American mob boss Capone and merely served to fan the opposition.

One day Rhee invited me for a talk that evening. He seemed to be seeking a compromise, so I readily accepted his invitation. Also attending were some Tongniptang members who had just joined the Tongjihoe, including Kim Yun-bae, Kim Chin-ho, Pak Sang-ha and five or six others. I felt as if I were in the dock standing trial. At the meeting Rhee charged that I was the chief of the central department of the Tongjihoe but had violated the charter's provision on absolute obedience to the president. In rebuttal I stated that in a strict sense of right

and wrong, the president's orders were unjust, unfair, and wrong, and that inasmuch as the president himself violated a higher ethical standard, he had no moral right to demand absolute obedience, that the violation of higher ethics was more serious than the violation of the charter. Thereupon he shouted his demands that I resign from my positions in the Christian church, Tongjihoe, and Kungminhoe.

In reply I stated that Rhee, in his capacity as self-styled high priest, a position which was not provided for in the articles of association, had already fired me as a member of the central board of trustees of the Christian church and chairman of the lay Christian association, and that, again by dictatorial fiat, he had already fired me as chief of the central department of the Tongjihoe and editor of the *T'aep'yöngyang chapchi*. As to my positions as the Kungminhoe secretary and editor of the *Kungminbo*, I said I would resign. I stated that I would voluntarily resign, not because Rhee demanded it but in accordance with the time-honored axiom that it is better to resign than cling to worldly positions, inasmuch as at any rate there was absolutely no way to save the Korean community in Hawaii, which he had driven into dire straits by his skulduggeries. I said that I would immediately return to the mainland because I did not want to be embroiled in the disputes of the Korean community, but I added a piece of advice for Rhee: "Everyone who cooperated with you ended up being broken by you. Do you still insist that you are right and everyone else is wrong? You had better reflect and wise up." On this note the meeting broke up. Kim Won-yöng, too, decided to return to the mainland and resigned as executive officer of the Tongjihoe.

Even though he had Kim and me removed from office, Rhee did not want to see us return to the mainland. He was afraid that the years of factional strife in Hawaii and his part in it would be reported in detail to the mainland community. Therefore he informed U.S. counterintelligence that Kim and I were communist radicals, but he could not produce any concrete evidence. The *Kungminbo* factually reported that I resigned as editor at Rhee's demand, and the local Kungminhoe chapters unanimously rose to demand my staying, protesting that it was wrong for a nonmember to expel an elected official. Thus I came to stay on.

At that time, men and women blindly following Rhee spread rumors that I and a few others were still staying in Hawaii, unable to return to the mainland as planned, and that it would not be long before Rhee, a nobleman supported by Caucasian leaders, would take action to have me and my cohorts locked up in prison, because we were all communists and pro-Japanese radicals (both untrue); furthermore, that there was sufficient evidence to support additional charges of embezzlement of public funds and even for being lascivious. Rhee went to the extent of having these rumors printed in the *T'aep'yöngyang chapchi*.

Pak Sang-ha succeeded me as editor of the *T'aep'yöngyang chapchi*. Pak was born in Chöllado and followed his mother to Seoul at an early age, growing up in the household of Yi Kün-t'aek. Learned and proud, Pak essentially was a man of superior talent and inferior virtue, like Rhee. He was just the man to write unfounded rumors about new arrivals from the mainland and about the *Kungminbo* and *Kungminhoe*. For a time Pak wrote a column titled "Random Thoughts" in the *T'aep'yöngyang chapchi*, a column targeted on me. One article claimed that I was a descendant of Kim Sön-ch'ung of Taegu, that is, a descendant of Japanese blood. The value of such a twisted assertion, if any, was something no one but Rhee and Pak could understand.

To add insult to injury, the *Tongjihoe* published the *T'aep'yöngyang chubo*, a mimeographed weekly handwritten by Kim Kwang-jae, devoted solely to factional diatribes. Compelled to counter the charges, the *Kungminhoe* likewise published a mimeographed weekly, called the *Minjung kongbo*, handwritten by Yi Hyön-hong. This weekly merely explained the facts, never indulging in invectives. Rhee sued the *Kungminhoe* and won the case in district court, but the *Kungminhoe* appealed to a higher court. I testified for three days on the witness stand, and on the third day the *Kungminhoe* won the appeal.

The *Tongjihoe* vs. the *Kungminhoe*

In addition to this trial, which was followed by the cruel death of my baby, other suits were filed by Rhee. The first was the case of the *Tongjihoe* versus Kim Wön-yong. This suit

alleged a misappropriation by Kim of some five hundred dollars of Tongjihoe funds. Kim Wŏn-yong, whose original name was Kim Wŏn-sik, was born and raised in Seoul, strict in probity and habits, and familiar with bookkeeping. Before coming to Hawaii to attend the Tongjihoe delegates meeting, he had been in Chicago, where he had applied for a patent for an invention in women's cosmetics. Prior to coming, Kim had exchanged correspondence with Syngman Rhee in the course of which Rhee implied that the Tongjihoe would underwrite his travel expenses. At the time of his arrival in Honolulu, it so happened that a full-time official of the Tongjihoe was being dismissed, with two months pay coming. So out of Tongjihoe funds Kim paid those two months salary and reimbursed himself for his travel expenses. This totaled some five hundred dollars and was, insisted Rhee, a misappropriation of Tongjihoe funds. Rhee had Pak Sang-ha, also a full-time official of the Tongjihoe, issue Kim a notice threatening litigation and immediately took steps to file suit. However, the case was eventually settled out of court by the attorneys for both sides.

The second suit filed by Syngman Rhee involved a charge of assault and battery. The suit alleged that Kungminhoe members beat up some Tongjihoe members, but the facts of the case were that the guys doing the beating were suing the beat-up guys, like a thief crying thief. Rather than merely responding to the suit, as originally planned, the Kungminhoe decided to file a countersuit.

At one time there were some ninety suits involving Koreans pending in district courts. Seventy of them had been filed by the Tongjihoe and the balance by the Kungminhoe. The Tongjihoe filed so many suits that official comments were heard in court circles that not all the suits could be believable; furthermore, as the plaintiffs were unable to produce convincing evidence and witnesses, rumors began to make the rounds that they were the troublemakers, and criticism began to emerge from the American citizenry that the Tongjihoe, by filing unfounded suits, was wasting the time and money of the police and courts.

According to the Tongjihoe propaganda, however, Syngman Rhee would win every case—because he was respected by the Americans. They also believed that there was no doubt

that their side would win every case because the police and courts had been greased with bribes. At first it appeared as if the police and courts were being hoodwinked by the Tongjihoe, but suspicion was aroused by the bribery allegations. It seemed as though a few persons on the side of the Tongjihoe, who had access to the police and courts, in all probability withdrew funds from the Tongjihoe allegedly for bribery purposes but actually pocketed the money themselves.

The Tongjihoe was promising its lawyers unusually large remunerations. As a rule, before taking on a case lawyers demand to know the full details, and if they determine them to be unfavorable they usually demand a large fee. So in the litigation games, the Tongjihoe wasted great sums of money.

The third and largest case in the series of unfounded suits filed by Syngman Rhee was the case of the Tongjihoe versus the Kungminhoe. Under the Kungminhoe charter the president serves for two years. In October of the even-numbered years, local chapters use preliminary elections to nominate two presidential candidates and report the candidates to headquarters. The two winning candidates are determined by a plurality in the preliminary elections, and the ballots cast in those elections are counted by the board of directors in the presence of three or more local delegates. Immediately after counting the ballots, the headquarters prints ballots for a general election and distributes them to the local chapters. The local chapters hold general elections and send the cast ballots back to headquarters, where the January meeting of delegates counts them.

In the 1930 preliminary elections, Son Tök-in and Chǒng In-su won nomination as presidential candidates, and Son won the general election. But there were two unusual incidents surrounding the election.

Son Tök-in hailed from Ŭiju and Chǒng In-su from P'aju. Syngman Rhee launched an extreme anti-Son and pro-Chǒng campaign. It later came to light that in the Honolulu chapter, of which Chǒng was chairman, some 190 ballots were put into the box by Chǒng himself, checking his own name as president. Nonetheless Son won with a two-thirds majority and Rhee's tactics suffered a major defeat.

The next incident involved a more complicated scheme. Under the provisions of the Kungminhoe charter, a local chap-

ter must have twenty or more dues-paying members and requires certification from headquarters. Properly constituted local chapters select delegates to be sent to the meeting of delegates. To the January 6, 1931, meeting all but two local chapters sent delegates. Any chapter with less than twenty dues-paying members could be ordered disbanded by headquarters. Now Rhee had told his followers in the Kungminhoe to send their dues directly to him. However, no more than a few score sent in their dues either to him or the Tongjihoe.

From localities which did not qualify as chapters because of an insufficient number of dues-paying members, Syngman Rhee had members with fake credentials sent to the meeting as delegates. These counterfeit delegates met in the Christian church and decided to raid the meeting of qualified delegates at the Kungminhoe headquarters. The object of the raid, as in 1915, was to seize the books and records of the Kungminhoe. But the Kungminhoe had already detected his scheme along with the plot being hatched at the Christian church, and had moved all their important books and papers out of the headquarters to a secret place. So his plans again failed, causing his people to lose face.

The Raid on the Kungminhoe Headquarters

Rhee had his henchmen raid and occupy the assembly hall at the Kungminhoe headquarters, and at the same time filed suit with the district court. Out of the hundred henchmen conducting the raid, some fifty had a plan to occupy the assembly hall, camping there. To feed the campers, women from the Christian church manned the kitchen. The assembly hall, with some fifty men and women camping there, was a scene of chaos. The original plan had called for the occupation of the hall until the conclusion of the district court trial, but the trial lasted three weeks. The hall had no heating facilities and there was an unusually heavy rainfall that winter, making the hall very damp—hardly a place for camping. Practically all the campers caught cold and they were compelled to disband, without firing a shot so to speak.

While the camping lasted a strange thing occurred. For reasons best known only to himself, police chief Gleason posted

policemen to protect the campers. This protection for the Tongjihoe by three shifts of four policemen each, or a dozen policemen a day, was a special action never seen before or since. For all his pains the police chief was subsequently relieved of his position, under a cloud of suspicion that he had been bribed by Syngman Rhee.

In his suit Rhee contended that the Tongjihoe was the rightful owner and that thugs had broken in and occupied their properties, and he asked the court to remove the thieves by law. The Tongjihoe attorney in this case was Patterson and Kungminhoe's defense counsel was O'Brien. O'Brien was such an influential big-shot attorney that he had one of his junior partners handle the defense in district court. The presiding judge, Brooks, had been a U.S. judge in the international consular court in Shanghai and was a judge with, so to speak, flexibility in thinking. He handed down a verdict accepting the contention of the Tongjihoe as valid without any examination of the facts or legal interpretation. For his verdict the judge, too, was suspected of having received bribes. The especially favorable attitude of Gleason and Brooks made the Tongjihoe side exultant at the time, but police chief Gleason had to pay dearly for it and so did judge Brooks, because he was subsequently prevented from presiding over Korean cases.

The Kungminhoe immediately appealed to the circuit court and the case dragged on for three months, until April 16, when they won their appeal. The Tongjihoe wanted to take the case to the supreme court but refrained from doing so, persuaded by Yi Wön-sun who saw the futility of that action. In its appeal the Kungminhoe asked the court to determine who the owners of the Kungminhoe were. In response the Tongjihoe claimed that

- (1) they were the rightful owners. They translated Kyomindan as "Korean Residents League" and claimed that this was the correct English rendition. (When the Kungminhoe changed its name to the Kyomindan in 1919-20, it decided to continue to use the English rendition, "Korean National Association");
- (2) they had a majority of the members;

- (3) I was a new arrival from the mainland, bent on gaining a grip on the Korean community in Hawaii, and that such a wolf in sheep's clothing should be punished; and
- (4) while in charge of the finances of the diplomatic liaison office in Washington, I had misused the funds and also misappropriated Tongjihoe and Kungminhoe funds.

This trial, at the request of the Kungminhoe and with the concurrence of the Tongjihoe, was conducted as a trial by judge and not by jury. Again the Tongjihoe's attorney was Patterson and the Kungminhoe's attorney was O'Brien. The presiding judge was Christie.

As to the dispute over whether it was the Kyomindan or the Kungminhoe, the Tongjihoe side produced as court translator Chŏng T'ae-hwa, a young man brought to America by his parents and raised in Hawaii. Chŏng translated the charter of the Kungminhoe, and his translation was compared with the one I had done earlier and registered with the U.S. government. The two versions were practically identical except for minor differences in wording. The Tongjihoe side pounced on these differences as evidence of a deliberate act on my part to deceive the government. The court rejected this as an unfounded contention. As far as the name of the organization was concerned, the court recognized only the "Korean National Association," ruling that how the Korean name read was outside the domain of the U.S. court.

As to the Tongjihoe contention that it had a majority of the membership—a majority of delegates from a majority of local chapters—the court ruled that under the Kungminhoe charter only such chapters as duly constituted by dues-paying members and approved by the board of directors of the Kungminhoe could be recognized as local chapters and that only such local chapters had the right to send delegates. Prior to this ruling all receipts for dues payments were examined, the number of members and delegates determined, and qualifications checked against letters of approval issued by the Kungminhoe headquarters. The court ruled that the payment of dues to any individual or organization other than the duly authorized

officials of the Kungminhoe was irregular and could not be recognized.

As a gesture of compromise the Kungminhoe suggested that the issue of dues money be settled out of court. They suggested that if the dues which had been paid to the Tongjihoe or Syngman Rhee were turned over to the Kungminhoe, the Kungminhoe would recognize such dues payers as qualified members and delegates. The Tongjihoe side responded by saying that turning over to the opposition the money at issue would be like adding oil to the fire, and rejected the suggestion. At that time the Tongjihoe side claimed that some \$3,200 in Kungminhoe dues had been paid to the Tongjihoe, but it was subsequently leaked by Tongjihoe officers that the actual sum received of such dues was no more than six hundred dollars, with the balance made up of fake receipts.

Against the Tongjihoe charges that I was a recent arrival from the mainland bent on gaining a grip on the Korean community and church in Hawaii, I testified that I was a duly elected official of the Kungminhoe and never once had taken advantage of my office or resorted to the tactics used by Rhee, who was acting as the self-styled president of Korea and the self-proclaimed president of the Kungminhoe. My testimony was borne out by the Kungminhoe charter, the minutes of the meeting of delegates, and the Kungminhoe board of directors.

At this point in the proceedings, now that the testimony and exhibits were in from both witnesses, myself and Chong T'ae-hwa, the judge ruled that the charges brought by the Tongjihoe were as yet unsubstantiated and that there was every reason to believe that it was Syngman Rhee who had made trouble by pulling strings behind the scenes. Therefore the judge ordered me, allowing me enough time, to state in detail the whole history of the factional strife and tactics employed by Rhee.

The Financial Misappropriation Charges

The charges of misappropriation of funds concerned, first, the funds of the diplomatic liaison office. I testified that as chairman of the liaison office I had had sole authority over the receipt and disbursement of liaison office money and that there

was no legal restraint placed on this authority. But the fact of the matter was that the money received by the liaison office was barely enough for survival and there was no room for misappropriation. I arranged for the *Kungminbo* printing office to print the liaison office financial report, but the Kungminhoe secretary-treasurer Kim Kwang-jae and printer Chŏn Ik-chu—whether from ulterior motives or because of secret orders from Rhee—rearranged the financial report and changed the figures before printing. So the printing cost was wasted and the printed copies thrown into the wastebasket. Rhee tried to introduce a retrieved copy as an exhibit and I tried to submit the original books, vouchers, and receipts, but the judge ruled that the finances of the diplomatic liaison office were irrelevant.

The Tongjihoe next charged that after coming to Hawaii I had misappropriated the money which the then secretary-treasurer Kim Kwang-jae had received on behalf of the diplomatic liaison office. Yun Ch'i-yong had become the diplomatic liaison office chairman following my departure for Hawaii, and it did not make sense for Kim Kwang-jae to claim that he had handed the liaison office money over to me instead of remitting it to Yun . Whatever I received I wrote a receipt for, but Kim could not produce receipts for the money he claimed to have given me.

Judge Christie happened to have worked for a dozen years as a certified public accountant and was quite familiar with accounting procedures. The judge asked Kim, on the witness stand, about the entries in the books he had kept for the diplomatic liaison office, item by item, but Kim could not give satisfactory answers and finally confessed that for several months following the sudden resignation of Ch'oe Ch'ang-dok as Kungminhoe president, there was hardly any money coming in and so he had used the money received on behalf of the diplomatic liaison office for running the Kungminhoe. Here again the Tongjihoe charges proved to be unfounded.

The next misappropriation charges concerned the money received by the Tongjihoe before Kim Wŏn-yong became a full-time officer. The money in question amounted to a large sum, including Tongjihoe dues, subscriptions to the *T'aep'yŏng-*

yang chapchi and its advertising fees, contributions to the "independence fund," contributions in support of the "Kwangju Student Incident," and the food relief fund for Korea. But all money received had been duly noted and duplicate receipts were available for audit. As to disbursement of this money, the entire balance, after paying the salary of the *T'aep'yongyang chapchi* editor and typesetter and covering the paper and ink and other printing expenses, had been turned over to Syngman Rhee through a bank. Evidence for all these transactions was available for audit. But here again the court ruled that the finances of the Tongjihoe were irrelevant. However, it was proved by bank records that the amount of money I was accused of having misappropriated was almost identical to the amount turned over to Syngman Rhee.

As for the Kungminhoe finances, every receipt and disbursement was checked against duplicate receipts or vouchers. The sum of money unaccounted for by either receipt or voucher was exactly \$2.90. Here again the Tongjihoe charges were proved to be unfounded, making them a laughing-stock.

Since arriving in Hawaii I had felt keenly about the way Kungminhoe finances were handled. Kungminhoe was handling scores of thousands of dollars a year, including dues, *Kungminbo* subscriptions and advertising, contributions to "patriotic" funds and relief funds, and special funds such as money left by comrades passing through Hawaii to be held in trust for them by the Kungminhoe. This huge sum of money was being handled by secretary-treasurer Kim Kwang-jae as he saw fit, the money held in his private purse, not in a bank. Kim had been born in Kaesong and was familiar with book-keeping. His pay was low and he was finding it difficult to make ends meet. So, taking advantage of the huge sums of money kept in his purse, Kim invested in a profitable kye, a sort of mutual fund whose monthly return was two or three times his salary. In 1930 the new board of directors of the Kungminhoe resolved at my recommendation to put all receipts in a bank and make disbursements through a voucher system. I was installed as treasurer, and naturally Kim Kwang-jae did not like this at all.

The Christian Church Case

In the Christian church litigation case, Yi Yong-mok, a major defendant, declined to assume the entire defense, as it was detrimental to his work as minister for him to appear frequently in court. And it was considered that it was not such a good thing to have me involved in the church case as I had already been involved in the Kungminhoe case. Therefore Kim Wŏn-yong was put in charge of the defense. In the ensuing compromise settlement, too, Kim took charge of the negotiations.

The original sum of settlement money demanded by Yi Yong-mok's church was twelve thousand dollars, which was eventually reduced to five thousand. Somehow I came under suspicion as being responsible for this reduction in the amount of the claim. Therefore In Pong-ju, Yu Myŏng-ok, Kim Yŏng-su, Yi Ho-sik, and others who had made major efforts on behalf of the Kungminhoe in connection with the case came to entertain no small enmity toward me, but I never once tried to vindicate myself. I never once attempted this lest the blame should be attributed to Kim and Yi; also I believed that neither Kim nor Yi would ascribe the blame to me.

In any event, I went into seclusion on Lanai for two years, until returning to Honolulu as a delegate from the Lanai chapter of the Kungminhoe. What I found out upon my arrival in Honolulu was this: Rhee's church had reneged and payed only three thousand dollars of the agreed-upon five, claiming that the balance of two thousand dollars had been paid to me. This rumor was passed on by a few members of the Tongjihoe to Kungminhoe members, fellow tailors and laundrymen in the U.S. military barracks. This was another of Rhee's vicious schemes to undermine me.

Most vicious among Rhee's lawsuits was the Christian church case, in which Rhee sued to have Yi Yong-mok's lawfully constituted church hand over the church books and real estate title deeds to his unlawfully constituted church. Rhee's counsel was Anderson McTracy, known for the highest legal fees in his partnership, while O'Brien was Yi's defense counsel. The case was settled out of court, on the grounds that frequent appearances in court in connection with a church case were undesirable.

Meanwhile a young local church minister had divorced his

wife on grounds of misconduct. The divorced wife brought the *Kungminbo* the information that her ex-husband was involved in an illicit affair with another man's wife, who had abandoned her husband and children and come to Honolulu and was now living with her lover-minister. The *Kungminbo* printed this and Syngman Rhee saw it as an opportunity to seek my conviction on charges of libel. Giving the young local minister financial assistance, Rhee had him file both civil and criminal suits against the *Kungminhoe* and the *Kungminbo* and its editor, me. These two suits were filed while litigation was still going on between the *Tongjihoe* and *Kungminhoe*. The civil suit asked for fifty thousand dollars damages. But on the testimony of a landlady, a Japanese woman who had rented a room to the young minister and his lover, Rhee lost both cases, once again disgracing himself.

Prohibition laws were being strictly enforced in 1930 and 1931, and more and more violators were being arrested. As a means of overthrowing the *Kungminhoe*, Rhee informed the federal and local governments that *Kungminhoe* members were moonshiners. One week twenty-six Koreans were arrested as moonshiners—twenty-four *Tongjihoe* members and two from the *Kungminhoe*. The upshot of Rhee's actions as an informer was that the *Tongjihoe* members suffered great financial losses, and grievances against him became widespread. One Sunday from the church pulpit Rhee mounted a scathing attack against moonshiners. This only served to intensify the grievances of *Tongjihoe* members, and it was said that Rhee, even as he was opposing moonshiners, was raking in money from them.

Meanwhile it was Syngman Rhee who received most of the money for the *Tongjihoe*, the Christian church, the Christian school, and other affiliated organs, taking it into his private purse, out of which he also made disbursements, with no books kept. What books there were, were incomplete and unreliable. Here too I recommended improvements only to incur the wrath of Rhee.

Rhee Expelled from the Islands

What Rhee was seeking most from all this litigation was to make an embezzler out of me and put me in jail, but he suf-

fered a miserable defeat in every suit. One significant revelation in these cases, however, was that it was Rhee who was behind every instance of the frequent factional strife, and that it was he who was the troublemaker in the Korean community, at the public expense of his host country. On these grounds he was ordered by the authorities to leave Hawaii. It was a disgrace to him that he should have been ordered to leave the islands, but he extricated himself from this predicament by leaving for Europe via Washington, claiming that there was a good opportunity to conduct diplomatic activities there.

This was a time when Japan was invading China in earnest and the anticommunist axis of Germany, Italy, and Japan was threatening world peace; in Korea spontaneous civil resistance of one kind or another followed the student incidents at Kwangju and Chinju; and in China our Provisional Government was collaborating with China on an anti-Japanese campaign. This backdrop provided Syngman Rhee with a fertile source of materials for diplomatic endeavor. Yet Rhee admired Mussolini and belittled China and its anti-Japanese campaign, still convinced that the military might of Japan was unbeatable, a mentality revealed earlier in his so-called open letter "respectfully" tendered to the Japanese emperor, Mutsuhito, in 1913. Furthermore, Rhee twice had been sentenced to death in absentia by the Provisional Government.⁴⁸ Thus he had no diplomatic standing of any kind.

Nevertheless, it was Rhee's lifelong claim that he alone was the true leader of Korea, the new and the old, and of the Korean independence movement; that he alone had languished in prison; that he was president of Korea; that he was Korean royalty. Such self-serving propaganda gained him nothing, but still he went to Europe, squandered a lot of money, and returned to the United States, after marrying a widow in Austria.⁴⁹ If that is not the height of deception against the Korean people, what is?

At that time Kim Kyu-sik, minister of foreign affairs of the Korean Provisional Government in China, came to the United States on a diplomatic mission, as a government representative, a representative of the Korean-Chinese alliance, and a friend of

the Chinese government. He came, however, on a Chinese passport and campaigned vigorously for Korea and China. His writing and radio broadcasts won the enthusiastic support of readers and listeners, and his success dwarfed Rhee's years of so-called diplomatic efforts.

Efforts at Reunion

The Great Depression began in 1929 and was the worst that the United States had ever experienced. On the mainland it grew worse and hit bottom in 1931, but it took a couple of years before the waves of the depression reached Hawaii. The Kungminhoe and Tongjihoe were hit hard financially, but both organizations were in high spirits following Rhee's departure from Hawaii. The Kungminhoe sponsored a movement to unify the Korean community and brought about a resurgence in diplomatic activities. This opened the eyes of the Korean community to the urgent need for unification. The Korean community in general welcomed this unification movement, but Rhee took every opportunity to obstruct it through his letters.

On the grounds that it would help unify the Korean community if all the leaders of both sides involved in the factional strife removed themselves from the unification movement for a period of time, I declared that on the part of the Kungminhoe I would gladly remove myself. The Tongjihoe concurred in the removal of those on its side, namely, Kim Yun-bae, Kim Chin-ho, Pak Sang-ha, T'ae Pyöng-sön, and Yu Tong-myön, all originally from the Tongniptang and newly enrolled in the Tongjihoe. With the concurrence of these members and members of the original Tongniptang, that is the military clique, and the Association for Supporting the Provisional Government, which had been formed after 1927 on Kauai and leeward Oahu and which by order of President Kim Ku of the Provisional Government had changed its name to the Tongniptang and again to the Kungmindang, the Kungminhoe was rehabilitated.

As part of my genuine retirement, I moved to a pineapple plantation on Lanai. At that time Yi Chong-gön resigned as president of the Kungminhoe and Kim Yun-bae became tem-

porary president. An election was held and Yim Sŏng-u became the Kungminhoe president. Yim was a leader of the military clique and the Association for Supporting the Provisional Government. The temporary president, Kim, born in Chŏlla namdo, was a man of few words, industrious and trustworthy. Kim Chin-ho was born in Kyŏngsang namdo and was a sharp tactician. They were members of a secret group known as Puksŏng [North Star], a miniversion of the Taegwang. As the unification movement began, the group was meeting two or three times a week to work on unification, and as a first step, they were striving to strike a compromise in the Christian church case.

The compromise was aimed at doing away with the costly lawsuits, and called for the Syngman Rhee side to pay, as an out of court settlement, twelve thousand dollars to the Yi Yong-mok side. Even though that might be construed as an admission of guilt on the part of the Tongjihoe, it nevertheless was better than handing over their total assets to the other side as a result of a trial, a point that seemed to appeal to the greedy Rhee. Out of the twelve thousand dollars, five thousand was to be paid at once, with the balance due one year later, on the condition that it would be written off in the event of the unification of the Korean community. Out of this remaining seven thousand, five was to be paid out of the church funds of the Syngman Rhee side and two thousand out of Rhee's so-called diplomatic campaign funds. At least that was the rumor at the time.

Kim Yun-bae wrote frequently to Syngman Rhee, pleading for him to declare his support for the unification of the Korean community, in which event it would be possible to have Rhee's expulsion order revoked. After getting an agreement from Rhee, Kim and the Kungminhoe's director-general and secretary-treasurer pleaded with the authorities for cancellation of the expulsion order, as Rhee had recanted his part in the factional strife. So the expulsion order was cancelled. But Rhee had no intention of supporting unification and had given his agreement only as a way of saving face and having the expulsion order revoked. Subsequently Rhee, the champion renegade, never missed an opportunity to oppose and obstruct the unification movement.

While junketing in Europe on the excuse of conducting a diplomatic campaign, Syngman Rhee married in Vienna a hotel chambermaid and widow, Franchesca Donner. Donner was the name of her late husband, by whom she had had two children. When Rhee became president of Korea, she joined him there and was said to have smuggled secret funds and treasures out of the country for deposit in Japan, the United States, and Switzerland. After this second marriage, Rhee returned to the United States alone and spent a long time in obtaining a visa for his new bride to enter the country.⁵⁰

Earlier, Syngman Rhee had frequently preached against mixed marriage at the Christian school and church, both publicly and privately. So there was much criticism that he had gone back on his preaching by marrying a foreigner. This criticism was not leveled against international marriage per se but against his breach of his own preaching.

On the strength of his pledge to collaborate in the unification, and the cancellation of his expulsion order through the good offices of the Kungminhoe, which was under the temporary presidency of Kim Yun-bae, Syngman Rhee was able to return to Hawaii once again, but he in no way supported unification, either in words or deeds.

In 1937 Kim Tong-söng came to Hawaii. He was a Paramount Pictures representative in Hawaii, and brought with him the feature film *Simch'öngjön*. Kim was very close to the Yun Ch'i-ho family in Korea and on this account earnestly supported Rhee. But this time around the Tongjihoe was giving Kim a cold shoulder, for reasons unknown to him. Kim was a graduate of Ohio State University, also my alma mater, and he had become acquainted with Yi Yong-mok and Kim Wön-yong while in the eastern United States. In 1925 he had attended a journalists' meeting in Hawaii. So Kim had many friends in Hawaii, and on landing in Honolulu he proceeded to the Kungminhoe and met me, Yi, Kim, and others.

At the time no small number of the membership of both the Kungminhoe and Tongjihoe was suspicious of Kim Tong-söng. Behind the suspicion was this reasoning: unless Kim was an important pro-Japanese, unless he had been commissioned as a spy by Japan, how could he get an exit permit to visit the United States at a time when the relations between the United

States and Japan were worsening every day? Kungminhoe president Cho Pyŏng-yo gave a small party at his home in honor of Kim in order to test him, after which the Kungminhoe decided to go all out to promote the film Kim had brought with him. Thanks to the efforts of Kim Wŏn-yong and Han Kil-su and the promotion by the Kungminhoe, a theater was rented and advertising materials prepared. Thus Kungminhoe and Tongjihoe members, as well as nonaffiliated Koreans, enjoyed the Korean film together. Indeed this was the first harmonious get-together since the 1930–31 turmoil.

Immediately after the 1930 upheaval, and again upon my return to Honolulu from Lanai, I had emphasized the need for unity and harmony in the Korean community. This time around, taking advantage of Kim Tong-sŏng's visit, I stepped up my efforts for union. My major themes were that

- (1) unity regarding independence and external affairs was absolutely necessary;
- (2) during the recent upheaval in the Korean community, friends had become foes, but now that the upheaval was history, it should be possible to turn foe into friend, and it was necessary to do so; and
- (3) those who regarded themselves as leaders or were regarded by the community as leaders in the factional strife should not remain so, but should become genuine leaders who would demonstrate greater courage and bring about unity and harmony among their countrymen.

My efforts won public support. The Korean community unification movement culminated in a congress held in Kungminhoe headquarters in 1938 of representatives from all the factions and the nonaffiliated Koreans. Completing the unity plan and resolving to call the new organization the Taehaninhoe, or the Korean Association, the congress elected a five-member committee to draft a charter, with instructions to report back with the draft within three days. On the same night Syngman Rhee organized a secret conference of Tongjihoe representatives to plan opposition to the union, and the following day the Tongjihoe representatives boycotted the congress. Thus the unification movement was torn asunder.

Despite this failure, the *Kungminbo* and Kungminhoe tirelessly continued to campaign for unification. The Provisional Government too, even after Kim Ku became president, continued to push for national unity. The government stressed that the most vital step for national independence and liberation was unity and a temporary putting aside of any differences of opinion on legislative and economic matters for settlement at a later date. The movements in Hawaii and by the Provisional Government were thus complementary. Also, as the drive for military conquest by the so-called anticommunist axis of Germany, Italy, and Japan was worsening and the Second World War imminent, public discussion of the necessity for unity became vigorous.

The United Committee

The effort to unify the Korean community in Hawaii failed, but in order to insure coordinated action, a United Committee was formed. This time around, the Tongjihoe side fully cooperated. Since Syngman Rhee had left Hawaii and was now in Washington, Tongjihoe representatives, especially Yi Wŏn-sun and To Chin-ho, cooperated to the utmost with the United Committee. Yi Wŏn-sun had been born in Seoul. An early Christian convert, he had served as minister of Yŏn-dong Church. After coming to the United States, Yi became friends with Pak Yong-man and joined the Tongniptang. In 1930 Yi joined the Tongjihoe and subsequently served as principal of the Christian school. A man of insight and abundant experience in real estate transactions, Yi distinguished himself by saving the Christian church, the Tongjihoe, and the Christian school from their mountain-high indebtedness. Thus he won great trust from Syngman Rhee and the members of the Tongjihoe.

To Chin-ho was a graduate of Japan's Buddhist University and a promising leader of the Korean Buddhist Association. In 1930 To came to Hawaii as Korean representative to an international Buddhist meeting. It so happened that the Tongjihoe meeting of delegates from the continental United States and Hawaii had just ended, so he made a speech at the Tongjihoe meeting. The following year he came back to Hawaii, this time

to live, and greatly supported the Tongjihoe. He also greatly supported the United Committee.

The original purpose of the United Committee was to receive all public monies for the independence movement and use them to support the Provisional Government and its office in Washington. From time to time the United Committee was to report to the office in Washington the sum of money remitted to the Provisional Government and to the government the amount of money remitted to the Washington office. Syngman Rhee and the Tongjihoe concurred in this decision. But before long Rhee began undermining this arrangement, and ultimately the monies received by the Tongjihoe were remitted directly to him, with no report to the United Committee on the amount of money so remitted.

In any event, under the original plan of the United Committee, the monthly receipts were projected at six thousand dollars: one thousand to be remitted to the Provisional Government, four thousand to the Washington office, and one thousand to be used in Hawaii to meet the Committee's business expenses. The office in Washington was placed under the direct control of Syngman Rhee, and the publicity work of the United Committee was put under Chŏn Kyŏng-mu. However, after the Tongjihoe seceded from the United Committee without notice, the Committee's work was conducted by the Kungminhoe and Tongniptang (later, jointly by the Kungmindang, Tongniptang, and the Women's Relief Association).

Internationally at this time, Japan's invasion of China was worsening, culminating in the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941. This provided rich material and an opportunity for a diplomatic campaign, but for all the money he spent, Syngman Rhee accomplished not one outstanding deed. What he did instead was launch a self-serving publicity campaign, for which he commissioned Robert Oliver to publish an expanded English version of his autobiography, *The Spirit of Independence*.⁵¹ Rhee's publicity campaign also involved attacks on Kim Ku, An Chung-gŭn, Chang In-hwan, Yang Kŭn-hwan, Pak Yŏl, Chŏn Myŏng-un, Yi Pong-ch'ang, Yun Pong-gil, and other leaders, branding them assassins.⁵²

Despite the bottomless lack of faith of Syngman Rhee and

the Tongjihoe, Kim Ku and I held to an identical contention concerning the importance of unity in the cause of independence, and we both strove to attain it. As president of the Provisional Government, Kim sent a special request to the Kungminhoe in the continental United States and to Rhee, urging unity and cooperation in the Korean community in the cause of independence. The Kungminhoe forwarded the request to its Hawaii chapter, but Rhee did not inform the Tongjihoe of the request. The United Committee asked the Tongjihoe to attend a joint meeting, but its reply was indecisive and evasive. The Tongjihoe stated that it could not believe in such a request from the Provisional Government because it had not received one. Thus the joint meeting was aborted.

I again urged such a joint meeting, and with the approval of the committee, preparations were made. Those present elected an ad hoc committee of Cho Chae-ön, Ch'a Yun-hung, and me as representatives of the United Committee. We met at the home of United Committee member O Chang-ik. After much discussion the committee decided to obtain the original letter addressed by the Provisional Government to the continental branch of Kungminhoe, as proof of the government's request for a joint meeting.

The following day some members of the Kungmindang raided the headquarters of the Kungminhoe and beat me up, accusing me of collusion with the Tongjihoe in undermining the Kungminhoe and the United Committee. This was untrue and completely unfounded. I had been regarded in some quarters as one of the leaders of the factional strife, but as I later ceaselessly strove for unity, I became suspect to some members of the Kungminhoe while winning the sympathy of a majority of the Tongjihoe membership. Those members of the Kungmindang who supported Kim Ku did not take kindly to his request to Syngman Rhee and the Tongjihoe for cooperation, and their individual support was severed for more than a year. I was opposed to such disharmonious behavior, and thus made myself an object of veiled animosity among those Kungmindang members.

On the other hand, the secession of Syngman Rhee and the Tongjihoe from the United Committee without notice

angered the committee, and as a countermeasure they decided to set up their own office in Washington for the purpose of exposing the misdeeds of Syngman Rhee. To this end the Committee worked out an annual budget of forty thousand dollars and decided to send Chŏn Kyŏng-mu and Kim Wŏn-yong to Washington. Together with Kungminhoe representatives from the continental United States and the financial support of Kim Brothers Ltd. (Kim Ho, born Chŏng-jin, and Kim Hyŏng-sun), they were to negotiate with Kim Yong-jung, a Washington resident.⁵³

In this connection I expressed the opinion that it was a very good idea to set up an office in Washington for publicity activities; that it was most urgent to conduct a publicity campaign solely on behalf of Korea, as Syngman Rhee was concentrating his efforts on his personal self-serving publicity; and that it was unnecessary and improper to support or attack him or any particular individual, because that would only be courting an internecine shame. This opinion also incurred the wrath of the already angry Kungminhoe members.

As World War II ended in Allied victory, and in particular after the U.S. victory over Japan, Syngman Rhee once again betrayed his true colors by hogging credit for every success and blaming others for every failure, as he had been wont to do with regard to the Provisional Government in China and the Korean communities in the continental United States and Hawaii. He behaved as if he alone was the independence movement; he claimed to be the Provisional Government; he claimed he was president of the Provisional Government even while refusing to recognize it; and he wildly branded Kim Ku as an assassin even while receiving support from him. Making such claims and with this attitude, he returned to Korea.

Returning to Korea as representatives of the United Committee were Chŏn Kyŏng-mu, Kim Wŏn-yong, Kim Ho, Chŏng Tu-ok, An Ch'ang-ho, Yi Chŏng-song, and Pak Kŭm-u, among others. These representatives had been supporters of Kim Ku and I regarded their sudden change of heart as a breach of faith on their part. Therefore I refused to become one of the representatives. After returning to Korea, these representatives are said to have supported Kim Kyu-

sik; at any rate it is a fact that they did not support Syngman Rhee.

Return to the Homeland

It is said that on his return to Korea, Rhee received a tumultuous welcome from the people, but it was not a spontaneous sort of welcome accorded him from their hearts but a welcome based on hearsay about him. At the time the political party with the strongest popular support was the Kungmindang. With a view to confusing the people and opposing the Kungmindang, Syngman Rhee formed the Kungminhoe. As he took to more blatantly opposing the Kungmindang, he changed the name of the Kungminhoe to the Chayudang, or Liberal Party.⁵⁴ The Kungmindang firmly held to the line that those regarded as pro-Japanese lackeys must not be allowed a public life before they were thoroughly screened. In opposition Syngman Rhee called for the unconditional unity of all.

Rhee's call was not inspired by magnanimity but was contrived merely as a means to exact heavy tributes. The frightened pro-Japanese elements were grateful for this godsend and paid enormous tributes to Syngman Rhee. Those refusing to do likewise were invited to private talks, and with veiled threats Rhee collected money from them. Thus he hijacked the Japanese assets, which the pro-Japanese elements had unlawfully taken possession of, and put into his private purse what should have been paid into the national treasury. The then prevailing trend in Korean political circles was toward socialism,⁵⁵ and Syngman Rhee, too, went along with this outwardly, but inwardly he was pursuing his own interests along the line of "what is yours is mine and what is mine is mine alone."

The one big problem after the liberation of Korea was how to handle the enemy assets left behind by the Japanese. The general line pursued by the three governments in succession, that is, the U.S. military government, the interim government, and the newly established constitutional government, was to nationalize the confiscated assets according to the socialist principle to make possible the fairest possible distribution of them to the destitute. To Syngman Rhee this was a golden

opportunity to make money and collect exorbitant tributes. His second wife, Franchesca, and one of her confidantes, Pak Maria,⁵⁶ were champion collectors in charge of this task, and bribery and graft relating to the assets of pro-Japanese elements and enemy assets were rampant, worse than during the heyday of Queen Min in the reign of King Kojong.

In the eyes of Syngman Rhee, anyone breathing a word on behalf of the people in distress, the poor people, the common people, was a socialist and all socialists were radical communists. This makes a strange contrast to his management of the so-called Tongjich'on on the island of Hawaii, which was a sort of experiment in socialism, and to his initial support of socialism in the handling of the enemy assets in Korea. More spectacular was his outright switch from socialism to profiteering.

Rhee slandered as communists and communist sympathizers Song Chin-u, Yŏ Un-hyŏng, Kim Ku, Chang Tŏk-su, Sin Ik-hŭi, Kim Kyu-sik, and others. Song, Yŏ, Kim Ku, and Chang were assassinated and Sin died suddenly under suspicious circumstances, causing speculation as to whether or not it was an assassination by poisoning. Kim Kyu-sik went into exile in North Korea.⁵⁷ On the grounds that the U.S. occupation commander, General John R. Hodge, supported Kim Kyu-sik, Rhee informed the U.S. government that the general was a communist. In a word, during the twelve years from 1948 to 1960, his politics consisted of bribery, graft, slander, and assassination.

Because Kim Ku, An Chung-gŭn, Chang In-hwan, Chŏn Myŏng-un, Yang Kŭn-hwan, Pak Yŏl, Yun Pong-gil, and Yi Pong-ch'ang killed the enemies of Korea, Syngman Rhee branded them assassins.⁵⁸ Yet it is he who turned against his fellow leaders and had them assassinated. If this was not the height of criminal injustice, what is? His assassination routine was said to have begun when he bad-mouthed Kim Ku after Kim's assassination, claiming that Kim, an assassin himself, had been assassinated. After the assassination of Chang Tŏk-su, Rhee had the nerve to express his condolences to the widow. This behavior, it is said, was called into question.

It was Rhee who called Tongjich'on on the island of Hawaii

a model little Korea, and in his politics in Korea he used every trick he had earlier employed in his factional struggles. In the 1915 factional strife, he established a so-called youth guard for his personal protection and for threatening the opposition, and in the 1931 factional strife, he used the so-called Ch'ongnyŏn Tongjihoe for the same purpose. In Korea Rhee had the so-called Ch'ongnyŏn Tongmaengdang for his personal protection, for threatening the national assembly, and for raiding the home of and beating up any assemblyman who dared speak his mind—a politics of hooliganism. Indeed Rhee proved himself to be an outstanding disciple of his lifelong idols, Mussolini and Capone.

Even though Rhee distinguished himself by slandering others—even his own wife—on charges of illicit liaisons, he himself fathered, it was said, one illegitimate son and two illegitimate daughters. This rumor had every credibility, and Cho Yong-ha, in an open letter, accused Rhee of being a Lothario. Yet talented as he was in slander, Rhee had not one word to say in rebuttal.

The daily worsening of his exaction of exorbitant tributes and his harsh rule eventually brought about a revolution which knocked him out of office, but he and his wife, the real culprits, blamed their crimes on their accomplices, Yi Ki-bung and his wife, and it is reported that the second son of Yi Ki-bung, Syngman Rhee's foster son, shot to death Yi Ki-bung and his wife and their eldest son, and then turned the gun on himself. It is physically impossible for a man who commits suicide to shoot himself twice, but in this case two bullets were found in the body. In all probability Rhee himself shot them or had one of his bodyguards do the shooting.⁵⁹ At any rate, one rumor had it that it was Rhee's customary method to attribute his crimes to others, that he was afraid of his own crimes being exposed if Yi Ki-bung was put on trial. Rhee's defenders insisted that he was innocent and that the real culprits were his wife and subordinates. Opponents held that since all responsibility rests with the highest leader in command, there was no way for Rhee to escape that responsibility—if the lower stream is muddy, the upper stream is at fault, not the lower stream itself.

These views bring to mind similar tactics used by the Tongjihoe side in Hawaii and the continental United States. After the fall and exile of Rhee, his defenders lost their influence among the public, except for an extreme minority dedicated to supporting him to the death. Even this die-hard defense is no more than a self-serving measure to save face. In Korea Pak Sun-ch'ön and a few hundred other stragglers of the Chayudang are still insisting on Rhee's innocence. There are also those who are trying to defend him by emphasizing the magnanimity of gentlemanly virtue by not sitting in judgment over a fallen general.

I have a respected friend in Cho I-ho. Cho is a grandson of Cho Pyöng-se, a cabinet minister who committed suicide in 1905 rather than serve the Japanese. I also have a relative who is one of Korea's most renowned physicians. This relative is the husband of a cousin on my mother's side. His name is Yi Myöng-gu, and he served two years as governor of Ch'ung-ch'öng pukto under Syngman Rhee. I have heard both Cho and Yi emphasize tolerance in defense of Syngman Rhee. This gentlemanly tolerance is something which is not easy either to support or denounce. In any event, as far as this case is concerned, it would appear to be difficult to apply the criteria set by Zuo Qiuming, Sima Qian, and Liu Zongyuan in their writings, when they advocated praising the good rather than pointing out the bad.

All his life Syngman Rhee seized every opportunity to live high in luxury, and now in his twilight years he is destined to die a lonely soul in a foreign land, without issue. Indeed this is the effect of his lifelong accumulation of evil deeds.

Chapter 14

Usǒng, Pak Yong-man: A Short Biography

WITH A NOTE ON CHŎNG AN-NIP

THE PEN NAME of Pak Yong-man is Usǒng, and his ancestors came from Miryang, Kyǒngsang namdo. Pak, however, was born in the town of Chǒrwǒn, Kangwǒndo, in 1877.⁶⁰ Orphaned in early childhood, he was raised by his uncle, Hǔi-byǒng. He early showed a talent for literature, and followed his uncle to Seoul. While his uncle was studying English, Pak entered the government school for Japanese language, and after a year or so successfully passed the examination for study in Japan. After graduation from a middle school in Japan, he majored in political science at Keiō Gijuku [Keiō University today]. Although he scored outstanding marks in his two years there, he did not get to graduate.

While studying in Japan, Pak lived for quite some time with his uncle, who was also studying there. Through the latter's introduction he met the leaders of the Yusindang, a reform-minded political party then in exile in Japan, and he particularly associated with, among others, Pak Yǒng-hyo, formerly a very high-grade civil servant known as *Kǔmnǔngwi*.

Meanwhile, his uncle Hǔi-byǒng graduated from an English language school and was sent by the government to study in the United States. He studied at Park College in Kansas City for two years, until he was recalled. Upon returning home he was appointed a petty officer of foreign affairs and assigned to P'yǒngando, primarily to act as an English interpreter in the negotiations with Englishmen and Americans regarding the Huunsan gold mine. Hǔi-byǒng's pen name was Sǒngch'ǒn.

The Söng in Söngch'ön stands for awakening, and ch'ön is part of the name of his native place. Out of adoration for his uncle, Pak Yong-man made Usöng [reawakening] his pen name. From time to time Hui-byöng visited Söngch'ön, where he made friends with missionaries, particularly the Presbyterian minister McCune.⁶¹

Despite the fact that ultraconservatives at home had branded as traitors the members of the Yusindang in exile in Japan, Pak, his uncle, and his father's cousin all maintained close contact with members of that organization. Following two abortive attempts at government reform in 1884 and 1895, Pak Yöng-hyo recognized the urgent need for political reform and lamented the lack of any program having survived from those two attempts. He devised a last-ditch plan to mount a two-pronged action, on the one hand to save the common people from wretchedness and free them from the class constraints which stemmed from the deep-seated popular notion of putting the government above the people, and on the other to awaken them from a deep and forlorn slumber and incite them to struggle. To this end Pak Yöng-hyo planned to organize the Hwalbindang to lead a nationwide action to do away with the class system and reform the economy and thus ultimately bring about political reform. In order to organize Hwalbindang units and coordinate activities, a number of youths were sent from Japan back home to Korea, among them Pak and his two friends, An Kuk-sön⁶² and O In-yöng.

Deeply suspicious of the Yusindang's part in the murder of Queen Min, at a time when the 1895 political reform was yet to be completed, King Kojong assigned Han Ch'i-yu as district magistrate to Tongnae and Ha Sang-gi to Inch'ön. Their mission was to arrest every returning youth sympathetic to the Yusindang. Pak's three-man party was arrested at Inch'ön. O In-yöng died of torture. An Kuk-sön served several years in prison. But Pak, thanks to the good offices of his uncle and Western missionaries, was released from prison after a few months. Following his release he began carrying out his special mission, organizing the Hwalbindang movement in the provincial areas of Kangwöndo, Kyönggido, and Ch'ungch'öng pukto, but he was interrupted before his labor could bear fruit

by the affair of the Poanhoe, an organization formed to prevent the Japanese from surreptitiously taking over Korea.

The already strong Japanese influence in Korea became even stronger after Japanese troops put down the Tonghak rebellion in 1894, at the request of King Kojong. Knuckling under to Japanese pressure for compensation for their military aid in putting down the rebellion, Korea signed a secret treaty granting Japan exclusive rights to the management of forestry and inland waterways in Korea. It was a long time before this secret was exposed. A sightseeing party of Korean journalists in Japan heard of it, and in addition learned of a feud current among three factions in Japan regarding Korea:

- (1) The hard-line military clique was insisting on driving out the Korean people en masse so as to make room for Japanese colonization;
- (2) the moderate military faction advocated turning Korea into a dependency of Japan by means of military conquest; and
- (3) the financial clique and civilian group were pleading for the retention of the Korean royal household in order to take advantage of its value as a symbol, while making Korea a dependency of Japan.

As the secret treaty and ongoing feud were brought to light by the returning journalists, the indignation of the enraged Korean people shook the country. The Poanhoe embodied this public indignation. Chŏng Sun-man and Pak were among the sponsors of the Poanhoe and served as elected secretaries. When dissolution was ordered, the officers of the organization were arrested and imprisoned.

It was during this imprisonment that Chŏng and Pak met a fellow inmate, Yi Sŭng-man [Syngman Rhee], and they all became sworn brothers.⁶³ The influential Methodist minister Chŏn Tok-ki, pastor of the Sangdong Church, was a frequent visitor to the prison at this time, and the four became close friends. Aware of the true anti-Japanese objective of the Poanhoe, King Kojong quietly accorded special consideration to anti-Japanese activists, and it was not long before Pak and Chŏng were paroled from prison. As his uncle was stationed in P'yŏngando at the time, Pak went to Sŏnch'ŏn and taught

the Korean and Japanese languages, the Chinese classics, and arithmetic at a private school there.

It was in 1903 that signs of falling out began to appear among the three sworn brothers—in order of their ages, Syngman Rhee, Chǒng Sun-man, and Pak Yong-man. Chǒng, whose pen name was Kōmūn, visited Russia and China several times before and after the formation of the Poanhoe. His purpose was to search for prospective areas for mounting patriotic activities in view of the decline in our national power and the daily growth of Japanese influence. The Russo-Japanese War broke out in 1904, but already foreseeing the war to be anything but beneficial to our country, Chǒng secretly moved to Russia, and the following year sent for his family, except for his eldest son, Yang-p'il. He arranged for him to stay with Pak in Sōnch'ōn.

With the ceasefire in the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, King Kojong sensed the imminent national disgrace, and sent a three-member delegation of special envoys, consisting of Syngman Rhee, H. B. Hulbert, and Yun Pyǒng-gu to the Russo-Japanese Conference convened in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, by the American president, Roosevelt. Meanwhile Pak moved posthaste to the United States, accompanying a number of persons on student visas, including Chǒng Yang-p'il, Yi Chong-ch'ōl, and Yu Ŭn-sang of Ch'ōngju; Chǒng Han-gyong, Yu Il-han, and Yi Hŭi-gyōng of Sōnch'ōn; and Yi Chong-hŭi of P'yōngyang. Pak took this action in anticipation of the Japanese intention to enforce a strict ban on foreign travel by Koreans.⁶⁴

Immediately following the formal conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese put pressure on the Korean government to strictly forbid emigration by Koreans. In 1905 the Korean government was forced at last to conduct a survey of overseas Koreans. For this mission Vice Foreign Minister Yun Ch'i-ho and Pak Hŭi-byōng, promoted to the grade of foreign councillor commensurate with the status of a special envoy, were selected as special envoys. Yun proceeded to Hawaii and Pak to Mexico. They were appointed in 1905 but did not go into action until the following year, after the five-point treaty of infamy had been signed in September 1905. Inevitably they

were compelled to submit reports heavily slanted towards the unfavorable aspects of the conditions of overseas Koreans, thus providing a rationale for the intended ban on emigration. After submitting his survey report to Yun, Pak decided not to return home to Korea and remained in America, living under the alias of Changyŏn, one of his pen names. He shared a roof in America with his nephew.

At this time the Koreans in the continental United States were by and large those who had migrated from Hawaii, and there were few women among them. They were toiling at railroad construction work, in jobs obtained from employment agencies run by a Japanese national, Hashimoto, in San Francisco and Salt Lake City, through Pang Kŏn-p'yo, a P'yŏngyang man and an accomplished speaker of Japanese.

Pak, leading a group of eight or nine men, used up in no time what little money he had for travel, food, and shelter. Moreover, except for Yu Ũn-sang, Yi Chong-ch'ŏl, and himself, the others were young and frail. Bypassing Hashimoto's employment agencies, Pak successfully negotiated directly with the Union Pacific Railroad Company for his party and other compatriots to work at the eastern terminal of the railroad at Omaha, Nebraska. Thereupon his original party and a dozen others, in addition to Kim Pyŏng-hŭi, Kwŏn Chong-hŭp, Chŏng Yŏng-gi, and Cho Chin-ch'an—all in the prime of youth—proceeded to Lincoln, capital of the state of Nebraska. Pak placed Chŏng Han-gyŏng, Yu Il-han, and Chŏng Yang-p'il in private American homes in Kearney, enrolling the three of them in a state-run school, while registering Yi Chong-hŭi, Yi Hŭi-gyŏng, and Kim Yong-dae (a son of Kim Pyŏng-hŭi) at a school in Lincoln. Able-bodied compatriots worked in the vicinity of the Table Rock station. The relocation and placement of this party was none too easy, and all this was done in 1906.

After relocating and placing the members of his group, Pak himself moved to Denver to live with his uncle. Setting out on employment agency work for sugar beet and other farm labor, Pak Hŭi-byŏng was so successful in finding jobs that in no time several hundred workers came east from San Francisco. To Denver also came Yun Pyŏng-gu, who accompanied Yi

Sang-söl to the Hague World Peace Conference as a delegate of the Koreans in Hawaii. Enrolling in the University of Denver, Yun lived with the two Paks. He was one of the members of the first graduating class of Paejae Haktang, and an interpreter for the Korean immigrants in Hawaii. Yun had been acquainted with Pak Yong-man in the homeland, and they became close friends in the two years that they lived together. Pak valued friendship highly, standing by his friends through thick and thin, consistent in observing the code of ethics regardless of particular circumstances.

Syngman Rhee went to Portsmouth for the Russo-Japanese Peace Conference but was not successful in his attempt to take part in it. Subsequently he entered Princeton University and thus had no opportunity to meet with Pak.

Rhee was invited to San Francisco in 1908 to act as interpreter in the case of Chang In-hwan and Chŏn Myŏng-un.⁶⁵ Upon arrival, however, he refused to act as interpreter, the very purpose of his invitation. In his refusal Rhee was absurd and arrogant, saying that acting as an interpreter was a menial job unbecoming a gentleman, and that acting as an interpreter for assassins like Chang and Chŏn violated his moral principles. These statements met with blistering public criticisms, but Pak went to Rhee's defense. Working in conjunction with leading compatriots in San Francisco, such as Mun Yang-mok, Paek Il-gyu, and Ch'oe Chŏng-ik, Pak published Rhee's book, *The Spirit of Independence*, in a move to allay the enraged public opinion.

As the 1908 Democratic Party convention was scheduled to be held in Denver, Pak decided to seize the opportunity to hold a Korean meeting and present an appeal to the American political party. To this end he successfully enlisted the concurrence and support of H. B. Hulbert and Korean leaders such as Kim Hŏn-sik, Mun Yang-mok, Ch'oe Chŏng-ik, Paek Il-gyu, and Sin Hŭng-u [Hugh Cynn]; only Syngman Rhee disagreed, on the grounds that it was of no use. As it was the Republican president who acted as the peacemaker at the Russo-Japanese Peace Conference, to the Democrats our appeal was an issue for debate and received sympathy and sup-

port from various congressmen and senators and other political leaders attending the convention.

On his way to San Francisco in 1908, if he had so desired, Syngman Rhee could have visited Pak, but he had no such desire and passed up the opportunity. Again the Denver meeting presented a golden opportunity for a reunion of the sworn brothers, but Rhee had no desire for such a reunion. His nonattendance at the Denver meeting turned public opinion against him, but again Pak came to his defense. Rhee's rationale for his nonattendance was his excuse that he had no time while in college for things other than his studies. In rebuttal his opponents posed the question: supposing your parent was critically ill; are you proposing to attend your sick parent only after completion of your medical study? Pak defended Rhee by saying that to prescribe any medicine haphazardly without proper medical knowledge just because a sick parent urgently needs medication is not performing a filial duty.

To Rhee's opponents, his behavior in refusing to take part in any movement against Japan was cowardly, and his extremely docile attitude toward Japan was said to have been motivated by his intent to return to Korea upon completion of his schooling. Defense against such an accusation is extremely difficult; still Pak insisted that calling attention to Rhee's long imprisonment because of his unflagging patriotism was enough to prove that he was not a coward.

As there was still a big enough balance in his expense account as a special envoy, Syngman Rhee did not have to work his way through college. King Kojong had granted a total of fifty thousand dollars (100,000 *hwan*) to the delegation of special envoys, ten thousand for the Koreans and forty thousand for Homer B. Hulbert. The money was intended to fund publicity on Korea. Out of the ten thousand dollars, about half was spent at Portsmouth and subsequently over several months in Washington; the other half was handed to Syngman Rhee. To attend an American university in those days cost about six hundred dollars a year for tuition and board. It is a fact that Rhee did not work his way through

college; as a matter of fact he had more than sufficient funds.

Nevertheless Rhee was peerless in the art of touching friends for money. Every time he wrote Pak, he never once neglected to add a word about his dire financial straits, and every time Pak, despite the fact that he himself was working his way through college, took his own meager funds and also solicited from friends and managed to mail Rhee scores of dollars on some occasions and several hundred dollars at other times. Moreover he extended financial aid in no small amount to Rhee at Harvard and Princeton.

Besides Pak, Syngman Rhee also wrote other friends and comrades, his letters full of news of his dire straits. Neither did he spare his friends at home, particularly pastor Chŏn Tŏk-ki, to whom it is said that he wrote that he was living on porridge, thus arousing public sympathy, and no small sums of money were collected and mailed to him. Every time unfavorable remarks surfaced that Rhee wrote only to ask for help, Pak came to his defense. Not that he was unaware of Rhee's unsavory habits, but at no time did he speak ill of Rhee, strictly observing the code of ethics of sworn brothers.

In 1909 Syngman Rhee received a master's degree in political science from Harvard University, for his thesis on "The History of the United States Constitution."⁶⁶ He wrote Pak for help, saying he did not have the money to publish his thesis, and Pak met his request, soliciting help from compatriots including Yu Ūn-sang, Chŏng Yŏng-gi, Kim Ye-gwŏn, and Kim Pyŏng-hŭi; and from O Han-su, Yi Sangjin, Nam Chŏng-hŏn, and Yi Chin-il among other students. The following year, that is, 1910, Pak on his own established a military academy and invited Rhee there, paying his round-trip expenses. This is instance enough to show the consistent aid, both moral and material, that he extended to Rhee.

Earlier in 1908, in Denver, Pak Hŭi-byŏng passed away. Pak Yong-man returned to Nebraska and settled in Lincoln, entering the University of Nebraska. The following year a large number of students arrived in Lincoln and a dormitory was set up at 1721 P Street. Pak was elected superintendent and Yu Ūn-sang secretary. Pak took it upon himself to guide the incoming students in the selection of schools; to teach

them the etiquette to be observed at home, in the streets, and in social circles; and to teach them English grammar and the native Korean alphabet. By his own actions he set a standard for devoted study and tireless teaching. Meanwhile Yu took charge of boarding, policing, management, and the allocation of housekeeping chores. This constitutes an outstanding example of the spirit of self-sacrificing public service.

It was from his cousin by a maternal aunt, Kim Pok, whose pen name was Pŏmjae, that I obtained a letter of introduction to Chŏng Sun-man. I remember Kim speaking highly of the illustrious Chŏng and it was from him that I obtained a letter of introduction to Pak Yong-man. Arriving in Lincoln in the autumn of 1909, I met Pak face to face for the first time. I learned a great deal directly from him about his policies and beliefs. The major points of his ideas are as follows.

For the glory of the country and the people, and in keeping with the prerequisites of popular education, it behooved us to use and further develop our native Korean language. We prepared a manuscript known as the "National Primer" [*Kungmun ch'ojŏng*], incorporating Pak's advocacy with my notes, but it was never published. However, a dozen years or so later, Pak published a six-volume national reader through the Commercial Press of Shanghai. These were simple offset prints to be used in primary schools. They followed the grammatical standards of the "National Primer," but subsequent scrutiny reveals many errors. Nevertheless they show Pak's praiseworthy intent and dedication to our national language.

Autocracy or dictatorship, be it religious or political in nature, was unreasonable from a legal point of view and inimical to progress. The Confucian autocracy of Korea was the worst of its kind in the Orient and a primary cause for the decline of Korea. Pak uncompromisingly held out for putting a final end to all things past on the grounds that the immobilization of the people because of ancestor worship, accompanied by a lack of ambition for progress, represented the undesirable aftereffects of Confucian authoritarianism. No matter how good it was, Confucianism should not have been granted such power. Pak contended that the authoritarianism practiced by the Catholic church in the West had similarly spawned bad consequences.

He called for a conversion to Protestant Christianity and the practice of philanthropy and self-sacrifice, and he frequently spoke of his intention to write about the religions of the West. However it is not known if he eventually realized those intentions.

Pak supported democracy, that is, capitalist democracy, pointing out that its development began in the United Kingdom. However, he opposed monarchy in any shape or form, for monarchy and feudalism provide the beginnings of a class system. Contending that nothing was to be gained by sustaining outdated things, and that in fact harm would thus be incurred, he supported the American democratic system. On this basis he wrote, in English, "The History of the American Revolution" as his graduation thesis at the University of Nebraska. A prominent American political scientist, Dr. Howard, praised his work, and Pak published a Korean version, translating it himself. In support of his claim that the political party system is the primary requisite for a democratic system, he wrote "Party Politics," but this work was never published.

Pak claimed that the primary requisites for an economically powerful and militarily strong country were that the entire people, without exception, should faithfully discharge their dual duties of paying taxes and serving in the military. Although the old Korean system was good as systems went, he ascribed the decline of Korean national power to the universal evasion of taxes and military service, caused by the laxity and sloth of both the government and the people. He published a book, *On a Universal Draft System*, in which he advocated the garrison system as a means of maintaining a standing army that would be composed of volunteers with a heightened sense of national consciousness.

Pak urged that Koreans, the people of a ruined country, must begin to institute and practice a new political system in order to nurture practical political skills, in preparation for later national reconstruction. To this end he advocated that all overseas Korean organizations be turned into political organizations. The Korean Residents Association of Nebraska was formed in 1909, and a system of dues in the form of tax assessments instead of voluntary contributions was put into effect.

This concept was the first of its kind to be adopted by any of the overseas Korean circles, and subsequently exerted a tremendous and far-reaching influence. Many organizations emulated the system. Chŏng T'ae-ŭn, Hong Sŭng-guk, and I drafted the constitution of the association, which became effective upon ratification in Omaha, Lincoln, and Kearney. I was elected the first president. The following year the association was expanded into the Korean Residents Association of North America, with local chapters in Superior and Rock Springs, Wyoming, Omaha, Chicago, and New York.

In order to implement the ideas of a universal draft and garrison system, a military academy was founded, using the buildings and campus of Hastings College, in Hastings, Nebraska, which was rented for the summer of 1910. Some one hundred students registered. About this time, the position of editor of the newspaper *Hapsŏng sinmun* in San Francisco became vacant. Pak received an urgent request to come and fill this post. Accepting the request, he immediately headed west, entrusting the military education and command of the academy to Kim Chang-ho.

Earlier Pak had invited Syngman Rhee to Hastings for the summer, sending him money for his round-trip expenses, and Rhee arrived one week after Pak had left. No sooner had he arrived in Hastings than he began sharply criticizing the military academy idea, branding it as nothing more than a fantasy of the uninitiated to even think of militarily opposing such a power as Japan. Rhee devoted one whole week to half-insane dancing prayers, holding prayer and hymn-singing sessions four or five times a day, on the order of a Christian revival. He then packed up and left for the East, just as abruptly as he had arrived.

While taking charge of editing the *Hapsŏng sinmun* in San Francisco, Pak did his utmost to implement his political ideas. He now had an opportunity to test his belief in practicing political life under a shadow government, one formed by the overseas Korean organizations which had been reorganized into a political structure. Hapsŏnghoe, an organization formed by the merger of the Kongnip Hyŏphoe and the Taedong Poguktan, was renamed the Kungminhoe and divided into a North

American General Headquarters, with jurisdiction over Koreans in North America and Mexico, and a Hawaii General Headquarters, for Koreans in Hawaii. Under the reorganization, all Koreans as a rule were considered members, with a duty to pay an annual tax assessment. Despite the expanded scope and change in name, the new organization adopted the constitution of the Korean Residents Association of Nebraska in its entirety, and subsequently this form of the Kungminhoe spread to Koreans in China and Russia.

Taking into consideration the number of members involved, it was decided to establish a separate central headquarters for Hawaii, and to publish as Kungminhoe organs the *Sinhan kukpo* in Hawaii and the *Sinhan minbo* on the continental United States. This excellent plan, with bright prospects for implementation, was marred by strong opposition from a San Francisco faction, with differences of opinion also surfacing in Honolulu. The San Francisco opposition was on the grounds that it was improper to establish a central headquarters in Honolulu, an American territory, in addition to the continental United States. The differences of opinion in Honolulu concerned the name of the organ. It was argued that *Sinhan kukpo* [New Korean National News] was pregnant with a suggestion of treason—the establishment of a *Sin Han'guk* [New Korea] opposed to the *Ku Han'guk* [Old Korea]. Needless to say, pains were taken to explain lucidly that the *sinhan* in *Sinhan kukpo* was intended to connote the revitalization of our national life, and never the sense of *Sin han'guk po* [News of New Korea] or *Sinhan kukpo* [National News of New Korea]. All the painstaking explanations notwithstanding, the opposition did not cease.

There was a particular reason why the word *sinhan* had a significance of such magnitude to Koreans in the Territory of Hawaii. Indignant over the infamous five-point treaty of 1905, Yun Pyŏng-gu, An Chŏng-su, Song Hŏn-ju, and Kim Sŏng-je, among others, sponsored the formation of the Sinhanhoe [New Korean Association], with various departments similar to those of a government. Opposition to this Sinhanhoe was led by a few scholars of the Chinese classics, including Ko Sŏk-chu, Kim T'ae-hŭi, Sin Chung-hyŏn, Chŏng Pyŏng-sŏp,

and Paek Un-hak, on the grounds that it was a conspiracy to found a Sin Han'guk [New Korea] and establish a revolutionary government. There had already been a local chapter of the homeland-based organization, the Chaganghoe, set up on the island of Kauai, and Yŏnmuhoe chapters on Maui and Hawaii.

Subsequently An Chŏng-su, Song Hŏn-ju, and Yun Pyŏng-gu, among other sponsors of the Sinhanhoe, moved to the mainland United States in pursuit of their studies. As a result, the Sinhanhoe suffered the same fate as a unit of soldiers without a commanding officer, and destroyed itself without firing a shot. Such was the course of events leading to the lingering sensitivity of the Koreans in Hawaii to the word *sinhan*, and it was for this reason that the consolidation of the Koreans in Hawaii into the Kungminhoe was delayed.

An interesting course of events led in 1910 to the urgent invitation extended to Pak to be editor of the *Hapsŏng sinmun*. In 1908, the Taedong Pogukhoe and the Kongnip Hyŏphoe merged to become the Hapsŏnghoe, and the *Taedong kongbo* and *Kongnip sinmun*, the organs of the two organizations, became the *Hapsŏng sinmun*. Chŏng Chae-gwan, from the Kongnip Hyŏphoe, was selected editor, with Mun Yang-mok, from the Taedong Pogukhoe, as his assistant.

In 1909 Chŏng left posthaste for Vladivostok, on the advice of An Ch'ang-ho in the homeland and at the request of Kim Sŏng-mu in Vladivostok. The idea was for the three sworn comrades to get together in Russia. On Chŏng's departure the editor's post became vacant, and Yi Hang-u came to San Francisco to fill it, through the good offices and recommendations of Pak. However, only a few months later Yi Hang-u resigned and moved to Hawaii, and the editor's post once again became vacant. It was under those circumstances that Pak hastily moved to San Francisco, without even completing his studies and entrusting the just established military academy to others. After serving as editor of the San Francisco paper for one year, he returned to Nebraska, ostensibly to finish his schooling.

Meanwhile in the homeland, An Ch'ang-ho found that the operations of the Sŏbuk Hakhoe and Taesŏng school had been emasculated by Japanese pressure. Just as other ranking leaders in the political and civic circles discovered, An found it to

be hopeless to continue his endeavors under the watchful eyes of the Japanese resident general, and moreover he recognized his own personal danger. Thereupon he went underground and escaped to the United States, where for a while he managed the Kongnip Hyōphoe, an organization formed with a provincial slant. After the Kongnip Hyōphoe had been transformed into the Kungminhoe, the need was felt even in the homeland to avoid the appearance of provincialism, and using a name completely devoid of any such orientation, an organization known as the Hūngsadan was formed.

Consistently opposed to intranational strife as being particularly internecine, Pak was always doing his utmost to avoid such feuds. As a matter of fact one primary reason for his hasty return to Nebraska was to avoid the rekindled strife in San Francisco. In the late summer of 1911, Pak was awarded B.A. and M.A. degrees by the University of Nebraska at Lincoln, based on his two theses, the unpublished "Party Politics" and "The American Revolution," later published as *The History of the American Revolution*. He majored in political science, with a minor in military science.

In the one year he edited the *Hapsōng sinmun* (*Sinhan minbo*), he became famous for his stylistic vim and vigor and the lucidity of his reasoning. This fame brought him an invitation to come to Hawaii as a newspaper editor. The invitation arrived in 1911, following the suicide of Yi Hang-u. Immediately upon his arrival in Honolulu, Pak set out to translate his cherished beliefs into action, and in one year he made considerable progress in consolidating the various Korean organizations in the Hawaiian islands into the Kungminhoe, and he established a liaison between the Kungminhoe groups in Hawaii and North America, forming an overall central headquarters.

However, once again a fly appeared in the ointment—whether to establish the central headquarters in San Francisco or Honolulu. A conference of delegates from the continental United States and Hawaii was held in San Francisco, with Pak Sang-ha representing Hawaii. The preference of the continental delegates for San Francisco prevailed, and An Ch'ang-ho was elected the first president. However, with Hawaii remain-

ing unplaced, the central headquarters was destined to be a nominal body without substance. Still, as president, An Ch'ang-ho made inspection trips to Mexico and Hawaii. In Mexico he showed good results, moving a large number of our fellow countrymen from Mexico to the United States and thereby improving their standard of living. At the same time, he improved the structure and activities of the Kungminhoe in Mexico. However, his trip to Hawaii failed to achieve anything worth mentioning.

An held the office of president of the central headquarters until 1919, when he moved to Shanghai and Paek Il-gyu assumed the presidency. In 1920, by decree of the Provisional Government in Shanghai, the Kungminhoe of Hawaii changed its name to the Kyomindan [Overseas Korean Association] and the Central Headquarters of the Kungminhoe was dissolved.

Meanwhile, with Pak Sang-ha as acting president, the Hawaii regional headquarters of the Kungminhoe held its first general election in 1912. Kim Chong-hak [Song Chong-hak] was elected president and began his two-year term of office in 1913. Hong In-p'yo was elected general secretary and treasurer, the position of an executive officer. Though illiterate, Kim was industrious, straightforward, eloquent, and resourceful. Through his own resourcefulness and Pak's support, he purchased a site for a home building for the Kungminhoe, and the building project was completed in 1914.

The previous year, in order to implement his principles of a universal draft and garrison system, Pak had formed a military corps. Entering into agreements with sugar and pineapple plantations on the eastern part of the island of Oahu, he arranged for several hundred Korean youths to work there while undergoing military training and studying military strategy a few hours every day. This action won high praise from our fellow countrymen as well as other people. Impressive military reviews which showed the results of this effort were held as part of the ceremonies marking the inauguration of Kim Chong-hak as president of the regional headquarters and the completion of the building project for the Kungminhoe.

The formal immigration of Koreans to Hawaii as contract laborers began in 1903 and ended in 1905. Altogether they numbered less than seven thousand, including some two hundred women and another two hundred children. The overwhelming majority of the immigrants were illiterate fishermen, boat builders, railroad workers, and soldiers demobilized as part of the reduction in forces of King Kojong's Kwangmu Army. Educated people concerned with the national destiny, including the intellectuals, interpreters and newly converted Protestant Christians, represented a small minority.

With a view to learning Western civilization at the same time they perpetuated our national heritage, Korean immigrants set up Christian churches wherever they grouped, and each church opened a Korean language school. Thus great strides were made in both religion and education. It was at such a time that Pak arrived in Hawaii, so his emphasis on religious and educational work, and particularly on the study of our mother tongue, received a very favorable response. Shuttling between the mainland United States and Hawaii, he achieved many notable results in civic, educational, and military spheres.

Syngman Rhee's movements and achievements during this same period were somewhat different. After receiving a Ph.D. in 1910, Rhee returned home to Korea. Earlier Pak had sent word expressing a sincere wish that they meet. Ignoring the request as if he had not heard it, Rhee hastily returned to Korea. In the homeland he joined the faculty of the Ch'öngnyön Hagwön [Youth Academy]. However, it was not long before he managed to become a target of criticism from both young and old for being frivolous and supercilious at the very same time.

Despite the particular effort he made to get into the good graces of the Japanese, he failed to escape their suspicion, and his situation worsened. Moreover, faced with trumped-up charges concerning a plot to assassinate Terauchi Masatake, Rhee was seized by a growing sense of terror. In addition, on charges of slandering his faithful wife, the church tried him in absentia and pronounced him guilty as charged. There was no

way to prevent an ensuing scandal concerning his immoral behavior.

These circumstances made it necessary for Rhee to leave the country. Thanks to the good offices of Yi Sang-jae, who made it a lifetime commitment to save people for the cause, regardless of personal feelings, Rhee was sponsored by Methodist Bishop Harris in Japan as a delegate of the Korean Methodist church, and in that capacity he was sent to the Quadrennial Conference of the Methodist church held in Saratoga, New York, in 1913. It was impossible for Rhee to return to Korea after the conference, so he obtained a temporary job as secretary of the YMCA in Camden, New Jersey, near Princeton.

It was at this time that Pak, enlisting the help of the local Korean civic and church circles, invited Rhee to Hawaii and arranged for him to work as superintendent of the Korean Compound, a Korean boarding school established by the Methodist church. Despite all this help, no sooner had Rhee arrived in Hawaii than he began criticizing Pak's projects one by one, knifing him in the back. Using both open opposition and innuendo, Rhee contended that

- (1) military training of aliens constituted disloyalty to the host country, and the military training of a few hundred Koreans in an attempt to oppose such a power as Japan was no more than a fantasy and a dream;
- (2) it behooved Koreans to concentrate on learning the language of the host country, English, and special Korean language schools were unnecessary, as just living together was sufficient for Koreans to master the Korean language; and
- (3) the churches were enough, and he obliquely indicated that any social movement with a political slant was unnecessary.

What is more, in Rhee's private monthly, *The Pacific*, he carried an open letter addressed to the Meiji emperor of Japan, Mutsuhito, in which he betrayed the movement for Korean autonomy. This led to a heated argument with Sin Ch'ae-ho, the editor of the *Wöndongbo* [The Far East News] in West Jiandao, China. Throughout the raging controversy, Pak never once spoke ill of Rhee or denigrated his ideas, always placing

his friend above himself in strict observance of the code of conduct of sworn brothers.

At the end of his two-year term in 1914, Kim Chong-hak was reelected to the presidency of the Hawaii Regional Headquarters of the Kungminhoe. Creditable results were achieved in a number of areas, such as the construction of the headquarters building, the consolidation of various local organizations into the Kungminhoe, the establishment of the military corps, and the development of Korean language schools.

Within the community these notable achievements made Syngman Rhee and the churches green with envy, while within the organization a scandal occurred. This was the case of the general secretary, Hong In-p'yo. Unfamiliar with bookkeeping and perennially plagued by difficulties in making both ends meet, difficulties magnified by family moving expenses, Hong In-p'yo found himself unable to account for regional headquarters funds amounting to some one thousand dollars. His monthly salary as secretary was just thirty dollars, a stipend below the subsistence level. Moreover, he incurred extra expenses by sending for his wife in Korea.

Syngman Rhee had been waiting for an opportune moment to stage a raid against Pak and the Kungminhoe. Learning of this situation, he rallied a majority of the Kungminhoe delegates and church officers, and stormed the Kungminhoe and seized its books. Preferring charges of embezzlement against the officers of the Kungminhoe, Rhee had them arrested. As he was not involved in the embezzlement in any way, Pak was not arrested, to Rhee's great disappointment.

Throughout his life Rhee never once paid dues to any social organization, except for this one time in the year of the scandal, 1915, when he paid Kungminhoe dues solely to attend its convention as a delegate. The trial over the embezzlement case was also the only time in his life that Rhee reported to a court of law as a plaintiff, defendant, witness, or observer. Because of the trial, although he was not personally involved in the embezzlement, Kungminhoe president Kim Chong-hak, as the top officer, assumed moral responsibility and resigned. Pak was judged completely innocent. The primary defendant, Hong In-p'yo, was convicted but because it was his first

offense and because shortcomings in the bookkeeping made it impossible to determine exactly how much money had been misappropriated, and out of consideration for his dependants, the court gave him a suspended sentence. Following Kim Chong-hak's resignation, Vice-President Chŏng Ch'il-nae assumed the Kungminhoe presidency and Kim moved to the continental United States. Meanwhile Pak, keeping himself more or less in a holding pattern, resigned from the Kungminhoe and the *Kungminbo*.

A few years after the Kungminhoe trial case, in keeping with his cherished belief in Christian broad-mindedness and tolerance, and the harmony of a democratic society, Pak arranged a small banquet at the home of the Kungminhoe general secretary Han Chae-myŏng, who lived in an indigent area on Miller Street, in the vicinity of the Kungminhoe headquarters. He invited Rhee and scores of other Korean civic and church leaders to the banquet, in an attempt to pour oil on troubled waters in search of peace amid all the ongoing disputes and controversies.

Accepting the invitation Rhee came to the banquet, but before putting in an appearance he posted several children at either end of the street as lookouts. He went through the motions of seating himself at the place reserved for the guest of honor. But then, abruptly running outside, he screamed "These scoundrels are trying to beat me up!" The whole thing was absurd, and Pak found it awkward to explain. Of course Rhee's ridiculous behavior had an ulterior motive, but inasmuch as his conscience was clear, Pak simply ignored the whole incident and did not attempt to make any explanation in self-defense.

In any case, Rhee's various maneuvers ended in failure. Before and after the trial, while he was concentrating on dealing a blow to the Kungminhoe, Rhee asked the members to send their dues directly to him instead of to the organization, a request that was met with public ridicule. On the witness stand at the trial, unable to present plausible testimony, he became incoherent and uttered: "It is I who civilized the Koreans, who immigrated to Hawaii like a herd of pigs wearing headbands." This testimony aroused the indignation of the entire

Korean community. When he began sabotaging the Kungminhoe, Rhee had considerable support from Methodist church officers, but as time passed, a gap appeared and widened. Particularly as word from the homeland reached church circles in Hawaii about Rhee's abortive attempt to slander his wife, people began to see a similarity with his behavior against Han Chae-myōng. Thus his machinations to undermine Pak failed.

Meanwhile, with the support of the officers and men of the military corps, Pak formed the Tongniptang [The Independence Association] and published the *Pacific Review* [*T'aep'yōngyang sisa*] as its weekly organ. As for the churches, through interdenominational cooperation by the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists, Hawaii was apportioned into dioceses for two denominations, the Congregational and Methodist churches, on the understanding that each would respect the diocese of the other. Under these circumstances, the Tongniptang members switched their membership to the Episcopal church.

During the 1915 scandal, Syngman Rhee took advantage of the resources of the Methodist church, but as soon as the trial ended he started a factional feud. In 1917 this intrachurch feud came out in the open, and Rhee formed what was known as the New Church, a splinter branch of the orthodox Methodists. During this dispute Pak remained strictly neutral, but members of the orthodox Methodist church became sympathizers or members of the Tongniptang.

Despite a secret alliance with Germany, Japan invoked the Anglo-Japanese alliance following the outbreak of World War I in 1914 and, siding with the Allies, declared war on Germany. Japan did not even half-mobilize its forces but proceeded to occupy German possessions in China and the Pacific and seized German warships. One of the warships, renamed the *Izumo*, visited Hawaii in 1917. Japan participated in the war more in name than in action; but engaging in wartime logistics, it concentrated on enriching its economic wealth and expanding its territory. Such actions did not escape the sharp watch of the outside world. The United States in particular, sympathetic to the Allies, watched with keen attention the ac-

tions of Japan, extremely doubtful of the wisdom of allowing the Japanese Empire to enrich itself on the strength of the Anglo-Japanese alliance.

Taking the opportunity presented by the visit of the Japanese warship *Izumo* to Hawaii, an event which preceded U. S. participation in the war, Pak wrote an editorial in the *Pacific Review* seriously questioning the two-sided actions of Japan in the war. He decried Korea's lack of power, protesting that if we really were strong enough, we would seize this opportunity to capture or destroy the *Izumo*, and thereby proclaim Korean resistance against Japan. Thereupon Syngman Rhee informed the U.S. military and police counter-intelligence authorities that Pak and the Tongniptang were plotting to sabotage the *Izumo*. When asked to report to the authorities, Pak went to them and explained the intent of the editorial, and no criminal charges of any kind were preferred.

Immediately following the end of World War I in 1918, Pak published a declaration of independence in the name of the Korean nation, the first declaration of its kind. Moreover, he held the view that the Korean national movement should rightly be based in the Far East, where the majority of overseas Koreans resided, and that the overseas movement should be conducted in coordination with the movement in the homeland. Acting on this belief, he planned a trip to China with No Paek-nin and Cho Yong-ha, with whom he was sharing his roof at the time. Because of shipping schedules he had to leave first, alone. Later No and Cho Yong-ün, the younger brother of Cho Yong-ha, became cabinet members of the Provisional Government. Declining to the end repeated offers of a cabinet post, Pak kept pushing for the training of troops based on a garrison system.⁶⁷ In this connection he joined forces with Kim Pak and Chöng An-nip on the Korean side and established contact with Wu Peifu, Feng Yuxiang, and Chang Zuoxiang on the Chinese side.

In those days the Chinese warlords had their own private armies to defend themselves and also to extend the area they controlled. In addition to being costly, these private armies had the unreliability traditional to mercenary forces. So the warlords were delighted with Pak's concept of a draft army

based on the garrison system. Kim Pak stood for socialist democracy, Pak for capitalist democracy, and Chǒng An-nip for constitutional monarchy.⁶⁸ But despite these political differences the trio had a common goal: the independence and freedom of Korea, and this is what made them cooperate with one another.

While political adviser to Wu Peifu, Pak made multipurpose proposals on everything from agriculture and the military to industry. One suggestion was to improve agriculture in Manchuria by means of an irrigation system that was combined with the construction of a new type of military stronghold and embankments, and to organize Korean farmers into a garrison system for military training after the American style. To pay for this undertaking a bank was to be established in Beijing, along with a corporation set up in Manchuria for day-to-day farming operations.

To this end, a plan was worked out according to which Kim Pak would obtain the concurrence of Li Yuanhong and Huang Xing in the establishment of the bank; Chǒng An-nip would carry out the improvement and expansion of agriculture in Manchuria with the approval of Chang Zuolin; and Pak would win the support of Wu Peifu and Feng Yuxiang and undertake military training with the help of American military personnel close to Feng. Unfortunately the failure of the Beijing bank brought about the total collapse of the plan. The bank began operations with an authorized capital of five million dollars, two-thirds of it paid up. At that time Tang Shaoyi and Xu Shichang were running for president, and the bank advanced Tang's campaign money. He lost the election and the bank went down with him. This in turn brought about the total collapse of the whole plan.

Such a collapse notwithstanding, Pak was not one to give up his original idea. Working with Kim Pok and Chǒng An-nip, he revamped his working plans. One idea was to get Korean residents in China to take up Chinese citizenship and undergo military training on a garrison system which would have Inner Mongolia as its base. Feng Yuxiang concurred in this plan. Pak selected Mongolia as the military training center because it was

considered a comparatively safe zone in the face of growing Japanese influence in Manchuria.

For his part, Feng tried to get an understanding from the Japanese for a plan to establish an anticommunist military defense base in Mongolia, because it was no secret that the Japanese did not wish to see a further eastward advance by Russia and were hostile to the Three People's Principles of Sun Yat-sen. In order to allay Japanese suspicion and prevent their objections in advance, Feng dispatched a three-man delegation to Korea and Guandong to meet the Japanese governors. Pak was a member of this delegation, and to negotiate with the Japanese governors he traveled through Manchuria and Korea on a Chinese passport taken out in his adopted Chinese name.

Disguised as a Chinese merchant, Pak had frequently, and secretly, entered Korea and reconnoitered Japanese naval bases at Chinhae, Najin, and elsewhere. But this time his luck ran out. While staying at the Chosŏn Hotel, which was under the management of the Japanese government general, Pak ran into Yi Chu-hyŏn, a spy who had earlier studied in Japan and the United States. His true identity thus unmasked, Pak barely managed to return to China, thanks to the help of some Chinese merchants.

This Yi Chu-hyŏn had lived in Hawaii under Pak's roof for a year or so. Departing for the mainland, Yi immediately had gone to Detroit, where I was then living, to spend the summer, and had moved to Chicago in the fall to enroll in the University of Chicago. There, with an introduction from the Japanese consul general, Yi had gone to see Kim Hong-gi to ask him for his good offices in arranging for school expenses from the Japanese government. His true identity as an undercover agent thus brought to light, Yi quickly had had to return home.

Pak's surreptitious entries into Korea were acts of intrepidity indeed, but he found himself the target of unfavorable criticism from a Korean society known for its irresponsibility and lack of understanding. Candid and carefree about undue criticism, it was Pak's lot as a patriot of a ruined country to go through twists and turns, day in and day out, in his unremitting pursuit of the cause, heedless of the immediate danger or

his future personal interests. He considered himself a soldier, never ran from a foe, and always played straight. Those were the days when so many independence activists returned home from abroad by the so-called “pledge of submission” route, an ugly route indeed. To be sure, Pak used a foreign passport and citizenship, but there is little doubt that this was a better route than the “pledge of submission.”

At any rate Pak sought in vain to get the Japanese to see his point of view, and with the termination of the support from Feng Yuxiang and aid from Chang Zuoxiang, operations in Mongolia also came to naught. Subsequently Pak came to visit his old friends in Hawaii in one final do or die try to realize his combined military and agricultural plans in the Far East, only to fail again. In October 1928 he was felled by a bullet from an ugly young hoodlum.

What a poignant end to a dedicated patriot, before he could make his patriotic dreams a reality. Had Pak lived through World War II, there is no doubt that he would have gone into action for one great exploit in the patriotic war.

A Note on Chǒng An-nip

Chǒng An-nip, an outstanding scholar and educator, was also known for his integrity, and I deeply respected him. He was one of my father’s friends and the grandson of a cousin in my mother’s family. Chǒng’s aunt, the wife of Chǒng Un-ik, was a third-cousin great aunt on my paternal side. In addition, T’ae-guk and T’ae-ch’ae, the sons of one of Chǒng’s male cousins, were classmates of mine at Posǒng School in Seoul. T’ae-un, another male cousin’s son, graduated from Hastings Intermediate School with me, and we worked together as close friends in subsequent social activities. I regret very much that I cannot recall the date of birth or the pen name of Chǒng An-nip.

Chǒng’s formal name was Yǒng-t’aek. His ancestors came from Yǒnil but he was born in Chinch’ǒn. He was a grandson of Insǒn’gun Munwǒn, himself the eldest grandson of Chǒng Ch’ǒl (pen name Songgang). Well versed in the Chinese classics, Chǒng studied under the tutelage of Chǒn Kan-jae. In the prime of his youth Chǒng came to Seoul to study law and

graduated with honors from the jurists training institution. Later he served as a teacher and then superintendent of that institution for many years. As Japanese interference in Korean education became more pronounced, he resigned and directed his attention to social affairs in general and educational affairs in particular. Asserting that in order to be properly educated, youth should be trained on a lofty, national plane, Chŏng An-nip from the beginning was opposed to the formation of the many provincially oriented academic associations and schools, such as the Sŏlbuk Hakhoe, and the Honam, Yŏngnam, and Kwandong Hakhoe. This high-minded principle was also expressed in the publications of Kim Pok and Wŏn Yŏng-ŭi.

It was on these grounds that Chŏng declined an invitation from An Ch'ang-ho (Tosan) to come to P'yŏngyang as a teacher. For a while he considered the nonprovincial Kyoyukhoe and Hŭngsadan, but soon saw that there was no way for the Kyoyukhoe to accomplish anything worthwhile. He decided not to have anything to do with the Hŭngsadan, headed by Yu Kil-chun, because he could not approve of the fact that the leader's oldest son, Man-gyŏm, had accepted a position in the office of the Japanese resident general. In the end he joined hands with Yi Sŭng-ji in organizing the Kiho Hakhoe and Kiho School in 1907, and he himself became the secretary of the organization and the school superintendent.

Following the infamous annexation of 1910, the Kyoyukhoe was dissolved and the school abolished. Under the so-called conciliatory measures adopted by the Japanese, Korea's social and educational leaders were favored with "appointments." Among the leaders so favored was Chŏng An-nip, who was appointed as Yangi County magistrate. The so-called conciliatory measures adopted by the Japanese were in effect a sort of thought control, for anyone who dared to decline such an appointment was marked as an anti-Japanese recalcitrant. Chŏng thus had no alternative but to accept the appointment and served one year before resigning. Immediately upon resigning he secretly slipped out of Korea into Manchuria. Within a few months he became a political adviser to Chang Zuolin, and when Chang became a generalissimo, he accompanied him to Beijing. When Zheng Xiaoxu established Manchukuo with

Puyi as emperor, Chǒng An-nip became first adviser to Zheng, only to resign when he saw the Puyi government and Manchukuo become a vassal of the Japanese.

Following the 1919 uprising in Korea, Chǒng An-nip formed an organization in the name of the kingdom of Koryŏ, but his movement did not succeed in arousing sympathy. It was Chǒng's deeply held conviction that the only right path was a constitutional monarchy within the Chosŏn dynasty. Perhaps this was because of his schooling in the Chŏn Kan-jae doctrine of loyalty to the king, or again partly because of his family relations. Chǒng An-nip was close to the family of Yi Kyŏng-sik, the chief of one of the Six Boards of the government and the grandson of a cousin of Yi Kyŏng-sik's wife; and Chǒng's male cousin's son T'ae-il (formal name T'ae-ro, the eldest grandson of Songgang) was a son-in-law of Yi Kyŏng-sik. This explains his close family relationships. When Queen Myŏngsong was murdered in the 1895 coup, Yi Kyŏng-sik killed himself out of loyalty and was posthumously honored as one of the eight martyrs. These relationships seem to have exerted some political influence on Chǒng An-nip, and also affected his cooperation with Yi U-gyu, a son of Yi Kyŏng-sik, in connection with the Kiho Hakhoe and Kiho School.

Chǒng An-nip stood for constitutional monarchy, Kim Pok for socialist democracy, and Pak Yong-man for capitalist democracy. Despite these political differences, the trio cooperated in the agricultural-military plan in Manchuria. This was indeed an example of true patriotism, placing the country above personal differences. Though none of them had their day, nevertheless their lifetime dedication to their country should command praise for generations to come. Neither Kim Pok nor Pak lived long enough to see the fatherland restored; it was Chǒng An-nip alone who had the good fortune of returning to a homeland liberated if not independent, only to meet with an untimely death in an auto accident.

Chapter 15

Kömün, Chǒng Sun-man: A Short Biography

WITH A NOTE ON YI CHONG-UN

THE PEN NAME of Chǒng Sun-man is Kömün and he was born in the district of Hügam, Ch'ǒngju, in 1876, in the era of King Kojong.⁶⁹ Well schooled and scrupulous in behavior, his reputation as a scholar was already known far and wide at an early age. Like Chǒng An-nip, he was a student of Chǒn Kan-jae. High-minded and spirited, he acutely felt the need to save the country and people from their dire straits, and in 1895 he joined the Righteous Army [*Ŭibyǒng*] led by Yi In-hyök. He carried out clandestine activities, frequenting Ch'ungch'ǒng pukto, Kyǒngsang pukto, and Kangwǒndo and making friends with many comrades in the cause.

For his part as a front runner in sponsoring the Poanhoe, organized in opposition to the secret agreement designed to grant the Japanese sole rights to the management and use of Korean forests and rivers, he was imprisoned when the Poanhoe was ordered dissolved.⁷⁰ But he was released almost immediately by the special pardon of King Kojong, who was secretly sympathetic to the Poanhoe's anti-Japanese purpose. Subsequently he was appointed a secretary of the ministry of internal affairs and the magistrate of Chuksan County, but he declined the appointments. Instead, on a secret mission from the king, Chǒng was sent with Yi Pǒm-sök and Yu In-hyök to Kangwǒndo and Hamgyǒngdo, as well as to Chinese and Russian territories, to recruit and organize soldiers for guerrilla warfare.

During his brief incarceration he became sworn friends with

fellow inmate Syngman Rhee, but Rhee leveled blistering criticism at Chǒng's activities for the cause, branding them as the ugly acts of murderers. As is well known, Rhee demanded absolute obedience from his own family as well as the society at large. Such words as friendship, integrity, and cause were not in his book. Nonetheless Chǒng remained true to his friendship throughout, never breathing an unfavorable word about Syngman Rhee.

In 1905 Chǒng moved his family to Russia and settled in Vladivostok. In launching large-scale civilian and military activities, Chǒng expanded his forces by invoking the lasting vows of sworn brotherhood. The sworn brethren became the core of his activities. Becoming sworn brothers with Ch'oe Ye-bu—nephew of the wealthy Ch'oe Pong-jun—and Yang Sǒng-ch'un, Chǒng organized the Vladivostok District Association with Yang as president, Ch'oe as treasurer, and himself as both executive director of general affairs and secretary. In that capacity he managed the association affairs for many years. In those days Korean residents in Vladivostok numbered more than ten thousand, at times swelling to a million. The aggregate Korean population in the Russian Maritime Province and Kamchatka was one hundred thousand and at times reached four million. Their organizations were enormous in size.⁷¹

Ch'oe Pong-jun, Kim Pong-hak, Kim Hyǒn-myǒn, Yun Hae, and others skilled in Russian, took charge of external activities, while Yang, Ch'oe, Chǒng, and others handled internal affairs. With such an organization and system, the Koreans won absolute autonomy from the Russian government and were completely free from Russian interference.⁷² The Koreans had their own police and court. This social independence was centered in Vladivostok but spread to Kamchatka and other places. Kim Kyǒn-myǒng and Yun Hae remained Chǒng's sworn brothers throughout.

North of Chǒng's residence in Vladivostok was the home of Yang Sǒng-ch'un and south of it was the association headquarters. Across the street was a hotel run by Yi Sun-ch'il which served as transient quarters for key civilian and military figures traveling to and from various points in China, Russia, and Korea. Among them was *Üibyǒng* leader An Chung-gŭn.

Chöng joined forces with Yang Söng-ch'un, Kim Man-guk (formal name Kim Wön-sik), Kim Kyön-myön, Yun Hae, and Yi Hong-gi in setting up a Korean school in Russia. Kim Man-guk returned home to Korea after visiting his second cousin Hön-sik, Dr. Philip Jaisohn, and others in America. Swept up in the feuding, which stemmed from provincialism which caused them to be branded as pro-Japanese spies, Kim Hyön-myön and Yun Hae successfully kept themselves out of harm's way by obtaining teaching positions in the Russian government-operated School for Oriental Languages and History. Becoming a key figure in the northern provincial faction, Yi Hong-gi joined forces with Kim Söng-mu, Yi Kang, and others in carrying on activities under assumed names. Still, the teaching activities of the Korean School continued.

Under the so-called "seven-point" agreement of 1907 all the important Korean government affairs, such as the police and postal services, and financial matters, were turned over to the office of the Japanese resident general.⁷³ King Kojong was forced to abdicate in favor of his son Yunghüi (Sunjong) and all the Imperial Household assets were taken over by the Japanese.

In the educational field a new ordinance was proclaimed, appointing Japanese school inspectors, elevating general professional schools to higher schools, and forcing almost all private schools out of existence by making it a mandatory minimum requirement that all schools be backed by an impossible financial foundation. The ordinance also promoted the use of the Japanese language in school textbooks and teaching and subjected the press to censorship. This ordinance outraged our people at home and abroad.

In Vladivostok, thanks to Chöng's good offices, a daily known as the *Haejo sinmun* was published. For the full-time post of editor, a secret offer was extended to Chang Chi-yön,⁷⁴ who slipped into Vladivostok from northern Korea.

A long-time editor of the *Hwangsöng sinmun*, Chang was known for his straightforward factual writing and stirring style. His editorial "Today is a Lamentable Day," in opposition to the so-called five-point treaty of 1905, was published in the dead of night to avoid censorship, and for his trouble he

was imprisoned for several months. Following his release, Chang became one of the founders of the Chaganghoe⁷⁵ and devoted all his efforts to that association until its dissolution in 1907. As a sort of replacement, the Taehan Hyöphoe was formed, and Chang Chi-yön became the editor of its monthly organ, *Choyang*. This society was also ordered dissolved and *Choyang* was banned.

As his career indicates, there was absolutely no question about Chang Chi-yön's patriotism. Nonetheless those Korean residents in Vladivostok who were provincially oriented began insinuating that he was a pro-Japanese who must have received the tacit blessing of Japan in order to leave the country. The situation eventually became so critical as to pose a danger to Chang's personal safety, so he had to seek refuge by fleeing to Shanghai. Subsequently suffering a nervous breakdown, he had to return home to Korea.⁷⁶

Calling for nationwide unity as an important priority for national salvation, Chöng decried provincialism. But the day for this national unity had not yet arrived. In the homeland the formation of the Northwest Study Group was followed by more study groups in regions such as Yöngnam, Honam, Kwandong, and Kiho. Meanwhile there was the court case of Yi Kap vs. Min Yöng-hwi, and Yi In-sik's novel *Ünsegye*. All these stoked the fire of provincialism to such an extent that school teachers carried on their provincially oriented feuding in their offices while the students fought their battles on the campuses. This provincially oriented feuding spread to the Koreans in Russia, China, and America.

Rampant provincialism made things difficult for Chöng because the majority of Koreans in Vladivostok were from the northwest, particularly Hamgyöngdo. But thanks to Yang Söng-ch'un and several others who stood by him, Chöng was able to carry on his general activities, along with social, military, educational, and diplomatic work.

In 1907 a special delegation consisting of Yi Wi-jong, Yi Sang-söl, and Yi Chun was scheduled to leave for the Hague, in Holland, to attend the World Peace Conference on a secret mission for King Kojong. To finance the delegation, a movement was launched in Vladivostok to collect contributions,

only to run into opposition from the provincially oriented residents on the grounds that

- (1) even if it arrived at the Hague, the delegation would not be able to attend the peace conference, citing the case of the special delegation that had been unable to take part in the Russo-Japanese Peace Conference at Portsmouth;
- (2) there was no need for contributions from overseas Koreans, as the king's household, family, and peers had sufficient funds; and
- (3) even though Yi Wi-jong grew up in the American capital, his English was not up to diplomatic standards, and Yi Sang-söl and Yi Chung had even less English.

Of course the truth of the matter was that the primary reason for their opposition was that Yi Wi-jong and Yi Sang-söl were Kihö people.

The success or failure of any undertaking can not be determined until it is tried. In this case, inasmuch as the dispatch of the delegation was being arranged in strict secrecy, the necessary funding was extremely difficult to arrange through regular channels. Secrecy was necessitated by the so-called five-point treaty of 1905, which had robbed Korea of her diplomatic rights. And this in turn made it necessary to collect contributions from overseas Koreans to fund the delegation.

To help select Korean representatives proficient in English, Chöng sent an appeal to Pak Yong-man, one of his sworn brothers in the United States. The cowardly Syngman Rhee was evasive, using the excuse that he was too busy with his studies. Yun Pyöng-gu and Song Hön-ju were selected instead, and the pair proceeded to the Hague. Meanwhile the question of provincialism was alleviated somewhat because Yi Chun was from Hamgyöng namdo.

Quite a number of people, either intending to study or go into exile in Russia, China, or the United States, passed through Vladivostok. Many of them needed guidance and help in making travel arrangements. Chöng devoted himself to this work.

In 1907 the *Taehan maeil sinbo* was sued for defaming Yi Wan-yong, and the president of the newspaper, E. T. Bethel, was sentenced by a Shanghai consular court to imprisonment.

Meanwhile the editor, Pak Ŭn-sik, and the translator, Yi Chong-un, came under the suspicion of the Japanese. So they escaped to exile in China and Yi moved on to Russia, where he languished in financial difficulties and mental agony.

At one time Chŏng provided money for Yi Chong-un go to the United States to study. The provincially oriented activists used this as an excuse to step up their feuding, which was going from bad to worse with each passing day and creating enormous difficulties in the handling of every single matter. One result of this feuding was that an untold number of leaders from the southern provinces of Korea who had managed to escape into Russia were assassinated on the mere suspicion of being pro-Japanese spies.

Following the so-called Annexation Treaty of 1910—a national disgrace—Chŏng made up his mind to kill himself in protest. Taking the opportunity provided by Yang Sŏng-ch'un's birthday, Chŏng delivered a stirring speech in which he vented his pent-up grief by condemning provincialism and calling for unity for national salvation. Then he took out his pistol to shoot himself. Yang Sŏng-ch'un rushed to wrest the gun from him. In the ensuing struggle the gun fired, killing Yang. Before drawing his last breath Yang praised Chŏng's act and painstakingly explained to the end that it was an accident. There were no criminal charges lodged against Chŏng, nor was there any unfavorable public reaction among the Korean society. Chŏng temporarily put off his plan to kill himself in protest until after the funeral services for Yang.

Meanwhile the provincially oriented elements started working on the somewhat slow-witted Yang Man-ch'un, inciting him to avenge his dead younger brother, claiming that this was the code of brotherhood. Thoroughly persuaded, Yang Man-ch'un and his wife invited Chŏng to the funeral services and axed him to death. Thus Chŏng was assassinated before he could carry out his plan for suicide in protest. Koreans everywhere—in China, Russia, and the United States—privately and publicly sent their sympathy and condolences, but it is said that Syngman Rhee, a sworn brother of the deceased, was not among them.

Yang-p'il, Chong's eldest son, went to the United States in

1905 accompanied by Pak Yong-man, one of his father's sworn brothers. Upon graduating from a private military academy in Kearney, Nebraska, Yang-p'il majored in agriculture at the University of Nebraska, graduating cum laude. He immediately embarked on a farming enterprise but could not make a go of it for lack of capital. So he went to Detroit where, in partnership with An Chae-ch'ang and several others, he opened a Chinese kitchen for wholesale distribution to retail outlets. Yang-p'il married a Ch'oe originally from Onyang and fathered three daughters.

A Note on Yi Chong-un

This biography of Yi Chong-un is based on what I heard from Chöng personally and on data collected on the mainland United States.

Born in Chinju, Kyöngsang namdo, in 1882, in the era of King Kojong, Yi Chong-un early showed his talent for the Chinese classics, and he studied under Kwak Chong-sök for many years. Later, at the invitation of his aunt, Yi Sang-gung, he went to Seoul, where he graduated from an English language school. Obtaining a position in the ministry of foreign affairs, he served as a secretary and a councillor, but lamenting the decline of national power and the daily growth of Japanese influence, he left government service and entered the world of journalism. Extraordinarily talented in foreign languages, he worked in the translation department of the *Taehan maeil sinbo* and became fast friends with McKenzie, who had first come to Korea as the Far East correspondent for the London *Daily Mirror* at the time of the Russo-Japanese War and had stayed on for many years. Yi contributed greatly to McKenzie's work, *The Tragedy of Korea*, helping him in many ways, acting as interpreter in the collection of data, and translating materials for the work.

Following the banishing of E. T. Bethel, president of the *Taehan maeil sinbo*, the newspaper management was temporarily turned over to Mannheim, an Englishman, and then to the office of the Japanese resident general. Thereupon Yi Chong-un left for Shanghai, accompanying his aunt, Yi Sang-gung, who was a lady-in-waiting for the king. Anticipating

that diplomatic activities would be necessary to shore up the declining national power, King Kojong had opened an account with the Sino-Russian Bank in Shanghai for the equivalent in Chinese silver currency of twenty million *hwan*, drawn from the Imperial Household funds. Enjoying as she did the love and confidence of the king, Yi's aunt carried the money to Shanghai and stayed on there. King Kojong kept providing for her living expenses in Shanghai, but this remittance was cut off in 1907 when the Japanese took over the King's assets, and the former lady-in-waiting was left stranded in Shanghai without means of livelihood, like a person left on the roof with the ladder removed. In search of a livelihood, she moved to Vladivostok and set up what was known as a *pongno bang*, a sort of an inn-dormitory, and ran a Korean restaurant on the side. The people called it "Shanghai Manor."

Of course Yi Chong-un once again accompanied his aunt to Vladivostok. Yi himself worked for the *Haejo sinmun* as a translator of English and Japanese. A while later the *Haejo sinmun* was caught up in the provincial feuding. Through the good offices of Chŏng Sun-man, Yang Sŏng-ch'un, and others, Yi scraped up traveling money for a journey to the United States. As he set out on his journey, some unsavory Koreans falsely informed Russian intelligence that he was a member of the Anarchist Party. Yi was arrested by the Russian police at Alexeyevsk and jailed for an indefinite term without trial.

In all probability Yi would have been sent to a forced labor camp for criminals at some Kamchatka mine had it not been for a lady of the Polish aristocracy, who was doing some charitable work. As this Polish lady frequently visited the prisoners, Yi won her sympathy and protection. She was fluent in English, so there was no communication problem between the two of them. Thanks to her good offices, Yi was released from jail. When he had left Vladivostok, Yi had had a considerable sum of money for travel expenses along with his other belongings, but everything had been confiscated by the police and jail guards except for the clothes on his back. In addition to furnishing his travel expenses, the Polish woman acted as a guide and companion on his trip to London. There he managed to meet McKenzie again, and as a reporter on Oriental affairs for

the *Daily Mirror*, Yi barely eked out a living. After nearly one year in a Russian jail, Yi lived a hand-to-mouth existence for almost another year in England.

When I was passing through England, I tried to see him, but because it was Easter, we failed to meet. So I told Pak Yong-man the news about Chöng Sun-man and what I was able to gather about Yi in England. Despite the fact that he himself was working his way through school, Pak remitted to Yi in London what he could scrape together as passage money to the United States. Fortunately Yi Hüng-ju and Min Pyöng-gi, on their way to the United States to study, stopped in London and managed to meet Yi. This pair, too, added some money to his travel fund, and the three of them traveled together to the United States. This was at the time when Pak Yong-man had established a Korean military academy in Hastings, Nebraska, for the summer and had just received an urgent request to come to San Francisco as editor of the *Sin hapsöng sinmun*, the organ of the Hapsönghoe. Declining the invitation, Pak recommended Yi Chong-un take his place.

Only a few months after his arrival in San Francisco, Yi found himself the target of public slander. The only ones not joining in the slander were a few people like Ch'oe Chöng-ik and Mun Yang-mok. Suffering in San Francisco from the same kind of provincial feuding current in Vladivostok, Yi resigned the editorship and went to work for the English-language *Chronicle* as a stringer in Oriental affairs, but his earnings were not sufficient to live on. Under the circumstances, Pak Yong-man had no alternative but to entrust the military academy to the hands of Kim Chang-ho and proceed posthaste to San Francisco. After arriving Pak worked hard on behalf of Yi and finally succeeded in having him employed as editor of the *Hanin sinmun*, published in Honolulu.

In Hawaii Yi won a place not only as a journalist but also as a social goodwill ambassador. He was warmly received by the American people. On infrequent occasions, as when some plantation owners or superintendents took undue advantage of Korean workers because of their inability to understand English, to the extent of inflicting financial hardship on the workers, Yi acted as a sort of mediator and worked out satisfactory

solutions to the disputes. Our compatriots welcomed this, but then there were some suspicious people, too. Through unfounded suspicion, an innocent exchange of private correspondence was turned into an issue which ultimately ended in the tragedy of Yi committing suicide out of despair.

A student at the Susannah Wesley Home, a girls' school and orphanage run by the Methodist church, wrote to Yi inquiring about colleges in the continental United States and Britain. Yi simply wrote back in reply. When this innocent exchange of correspondence came to light, it was turned into a moral issue and ugly rumors began flying in the Korean community. In despair at seeing yet another proof of provincial feuding, Yi shot himself. By nature Yi was neither carefree nor broad-minded, and he took things too seriously, both personal matters and national, and ultimately he allowed himself to be driven to committing suicide out of despair.

NOTES

1. This is an official government title. A variety of titles occur in the text, and as they appear for the first time, they will be marked with an asterisk. An alphabetical list of the titles with appropriate annotations is provided in the appendix.

2. These are the names in Korean of the more famous Chinese classics. The *Sasŏ* is the Four Books; the *Samgyŏng* is the Three Classics of China; the *T'onggam* is a 294-volume history of ancient China; the *Komun chinbo* is a collection of Chinese poetry and prose; the *Sobak* is the Chinese classics for children; and the *Hyogyŏng* is the Book of Filial Piety.

3. The whereabouts of these essays and other writings is not known.

4. This is an error. Tang came to the United States to study at Columbia University, but did not finish the requirements for his B.A. degree.

5. Chŏng T'ae-ro, pen name Yangsŏng, later changed his name to T'ae-il; he was the oldest grandson of Chŏng Ch'ŏl, pen name Songgang, and the grandson of Chŏng Un-ik, who was the son-in-law of *tojŏng* Kim Suga, the author's paternal great-uncle twice removed.

6. Chang was sentenced to twenty-nine years imprisonment, but was paroled after serving ten years. He later returned to San Francisco from Korea and died there.

7. It was commonly alleged that Yi Chun committed suicide, but it is known that Yi died from illness.

8. Yi Chi-yong was one of the five who were denounced as traitors in connection with the so-called five-article agreement of 1905.

9. Same phonetic sound but different characters from Yŏn-su, Kim Hyŏn-gu's father-in-law.

10. Prince Hyoryŏng was in fact the second son of the third king, T'aejong, not T'aejo, the founder of the dynasty. The Yi dynasty had twenty-seven kings including the last one, Sunjong. It was founded in 1392 and ended in 1910, lasting 518 years.

11. It is recorded that Syngman Rhee was born on March 26, 1875. See, for example, *Han'guk inmyŏng tae sajŏn* (Seoul: Sin'gu munhwasa, 1974), p. 74.

12. The treaty, the first that Korea concluded with any Western nation,

was known as the Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, and was signed on May 22, 1882.

13. This is the Paejae High School of today. It was established in June 1885 by the North American Methodist missionary, Henry G. Appenzeller, and was the first modern high school in Korea.

14. The 1884 Kapsin coup was a three-day coup inspired by pro-Japanese reformers. It was suppressed by the Chinese soldiers stationed in Korea.

15. Sŏ Chae-p'il [Philip Jaisohn] was Syngman Rhee's teacher at Paejae Haktang. Both Dr. Jaisohn and Rhee worked actively in the Independence Club, but Jaisohn was not its first president nor was Rhee the first secretary.

16. The number of councillors and the date of Rhee's appointment to the Privy Council are suspect. There were some fifty members, some appointed by the king and others elected, but the council was short-lived.

17. The circumstances of Rhee's arrest are quite different in another account. See Robert T. Oliver, *Syngman Rhee: The Man Behind the Myth* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1954), pp. 43-47.

18. The Poanhoe was organized in June 1904 to oppose the pro-Japanese organization, the Yusinhoe. It was headed by Wŏn Se-sŏng but was soon disbanded.

19. Sin, also known as Hugh Cynn, graduated from the University of South Carolina. He ran against Syngman Rhee in the 1952 presidential election in South Korea.

20. This account here is a bit erroneous. The Russo-Japanese War started in February 1904 and Korea was not a Japanese ally.

21. Rhee was not even appointed a delegate, let alone head of the delegation to the Portsmouth conference. Rhee left Korea to plead the case of Korea to President Roosevelt and was joined in Honolulu by the Reverend Yun, who carried a petition from a large number of Koreans in Hawaii. See another version in Oliver, pp. 69-92.

22. The so-called seven-article agreement of 1907 refers to the agreement between Japan and Korea in July 1907 by which Korea became a Japanese protectorate.

23. Rhee graduated from George Washington University in 1907, received an M.A. from Harvard University in 1908, and was awarded his doctorate at Princeton University in 1910. Rhee lived with seminary students in the Calvin Club, but did not receive a degree from the seminary.

24. It was Wilson's third daughter, Eleanor, who married McAdoo.

25. The Stevens Incident of 1908: The account described here is generally correct. Chŏn Myŏng-un was imprisoned for ninety-five days, and Chang was sentenced to twenty-five years in prison but was released after serving eleven years.

26. *Tongnip chŏngsin* is not an autobiography. It is a book Rhee wrote while imprisoned in Korea. The manuscript was completed by June 29, 1904, and is said to have been smuggled out of Korea by Pak Yong-man in 1905. It was first published in the United States in January 1909. It is a sermon-style narrative of what is right and virtuous. The main body of the book consists of a cursory, and factually incorrect, survey history of

Korea. See *Tongnip chōngsin* [The spirit of independence] (Los Angeles: Taedong Sinso, 1910). 296 pp.

27. Reference here is to Robert T. Oliver, who was Rhee's public relations man and who authored a number of books on Rhee and Korea.

28. Homer B. Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1906; reprinted by Yonsei University Press in Seoul in 1969).

29. Yi Sang-jae (1850–1929) was a devout Christian and scholar-official who served under King Kojong. In 1898 Yi worked with Sō Chae-p'il in the Independence Club and was its vice-president. He was later elected president of the Sin'ganhoe in Korea.

30. This incident is more commonly known as the 105-man Incident. It was an attempt to assassinate Governor General Terauchi Masatake. The Japanese arrested more than 600 people, but 105 men were brought to trial.

31. Oliver reports that this Methodist convention was held in Minneapolis. See Oliver, p. 120.

32. The *Sinhan minbo* is still published in the United States. It is the official publication of the Kungminhoe in the United States. The first issue was published on November 22, 1905, in San Francisco, but it has since moved to Los Angeles.

33. Both Min Ch'an-ho and Chōng Han-gyōng were Korean residents in the United States. Chōng, also known as Henry Chung, authored a number of books on Korea, including an account of the March First movement entitled *The Case of Korea* (New York: Revell, 1921).

34. Both Kim Kyu-sik and Cho So-ang survived the Japanese occupation period and were active in politics immediately after the liberation of Korea. Both men were taken to North Korea during the Korean War and are presumed dead.

35. Son Pyōng-hūi was the leader of the thirty-three men who signed the declaration of independence at the time of the March First Incident, but neither Pak Yōng-hyo nor Yun Ch'i-ho signed the declaration.

36. Hyōn Sun was a Christian minister who later joined the Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai.

37. These were leaders of the Korean independence movement in various areas who gathered in Shanghai to organize a provisional government after the March First Incident in Korea. The roster of cabinet posts is available in a number of publications, but the posts as well as the officers who served the government changed often.

38. For the Philadelphia meeting in April, see the *First Korean Congress* (Philadelphia, 1919). The meeting was held in the Little Theatre, 17th and Delancey Streets, from April 14 to April 16, 1919.

39. None of the letters accusing Syngman Rhee are available today. Rhee was later impeached by the Provisional Government, and one of the crimes he was alleged to have committed was embezzlement of government funds. Rhee was said to have collected money in the name of the Provisional Government, but only a fraction of the amount collected reached the government in Shanghai.

40. No details of this secret organization, the Taegwang, are known, but most of the students named here later became leading figures in the Korean independence movement and leaders of South Korea.

41. There was no such death sentence. However, the Provisional Government in Shanghai impeached Syngman Rhee and relieved him as president of the government. The full text of the impeachment is available.

42. Such a book by Gottfellow is unknown.

43. There are several versions of this story in Hawaii. Suffice it to state here without delving into the source that there was a rumor of the affair and that the scene at the church did occur.

44. There is considerable controversy as to Pak Yong-man's real purpose in entering Korea. Henry Cu Kim argues that Pak entered Korea with a Chinese passport as an agent of Feng Yuxiang, seeking Japanese collaboration with Chinese and Korean troops that were being trained near the Mongolian border, ostensibly to fight against the Soviet Union. However, others maintain that Pak entered Korea to seek funds from the Japanese resident general, thus undermining the Korean revolution. It seems true that Pak did meet the resident general and discussed the future of the Korean revolution, and it is not clear whether Pak did in fact receive any funds, but such a meeting eventually led to his death. Pak was assassinated by a fellow revolutionary.

45. It is unlikely that Chang carried funds for communist propaganda purposes. Chang Tök-su (1894–1947) was a revolutionary who devoted his life to the Korean independence movement. He studied at Waseda University in Japan and later at Columbia University in New York, earning a doctorate in political science at Columbia. After the liberation of Korea, Chang, together with Song Chin-u and Kim Pyöng-no, organized the Korean Democratic Party [*Han'guk minju-dang*], but he was assassinated in 1947.

46. It is alleged that Nodie Kim was Rhee's lover before he married Franchesca. Kim later married a Mr. Son and became Mrs. Nodie Kim Son.

47. There is no substance to this allegation that Rhee was twice sentenced to death in absentia by the Provisional Government. It is true, however, that Rhee was impeached and relieved of his position as president.

48. See note 47.

49. It is not known whether Franchesca was a widow when she met Rhee.

50. It is true that it took some effort to clear her papers for entry into the United States, because Franchesca Donner was planning to marry an Oriental. However, it is not clear whether Franchesca was a widow with two children or that Donner was her late husband's name. Franchesca is said to have been the eldest of three daughters of a Viennese merchant. Syngman Rhee and Franchesca Donner were married in the United States on October 8, 1934. See Oliver, p. 164; see also Richard C. Allen, *Korea's Syngman Rhee* (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1960), p. 60.

51. It is not clear whether *The Spirit of Independence* was revised and republished by Robert Oliver. Rhee wrote another book entitled *Japan Inside Out* (New York: Revell, 1941).

52. These are all famous Korean patriots who either killed or attempted to kill those foreigners who opposed the cause of Korean independence.

53. Kim Ho had an orchard in California and supported the work of

his nephew, Kim Yong-jung, who published the *Voice of Korea* in Washington.

54. Circumstances surrounding the founding of the Chayudang are not simple. The political scene in liberated Korea was much more complicated, and Rhee headed a number of political groups before becoming the chairman of the Chayudang, then the ruling political party of South Korea.

55. Here again, to say that liberated Korea was leaning toward socialism is too simplistic.

56. Marcia Pak was the wife of Yi Ki-bung, who later became vice-president of Korea. Shortly before Rhee fell in Korea, Yi's entire family was murdered by Yi's own son, who then took his own life.

57. It is true that Song Chin-u, Yö Un-hyöng, Kim Ku, and Chang Tök-su were assassinated and that Rhee was implicated in some cases, but no legal charges were made and certainly none were ever proven in a court of law. Kim Kyu-sik was kidnapped by North Koreans during the Korean War and died in North Korea.

58. All were famous revolutionaries who contributed significantly to the cause of Korean independence.

59. It was Yi's eldest son, Yi Kang-sök, who shot the entire family and committed suicide. It is doubtful that Rhee himself had anything to do with this murder-suicide.

60. Other records show that Pak Yong-man was born in 1881. See, for example, *Han'guk inmyöng taesajön* (Seoul: Sin'gu munhwasa, 1974), p. 286.

61. McCune here is George Shannon McCune, then president of Union Christian College, Sungsil Chönmun Hakkyo, in P'yöngyang.

62. An Kuk-sön (1854-1928) was a novelist and also the first to publish a book of Korean short stories.

63. Because their personal names all ended with the syllable *-man* (Yi Süng-man, Chöng Sun-man, and Pak Yong-man), these three are known as the *samman* (the three *-man*).

64. It is believed that he came to the United States in 1904.

65. This case refers to the assassination of D. W. Stevens, a U. S. citizen and adviser to the Korean government. He was killed for his advocacy of Japanese rule in Korea. The shooting occurred in San Francisco in March 1908. The original text states that Syngman Rhee travelled to San Francisco in 1907, and this date is corroborated by Oliver's account, but the assassination did not take place until 1908. See Oliver, pp. 103-105.

66. Oliver's biography relates that Rhee received his M.A. from Harvard in 1908 but returned there in the summer of 1909 for further study; see Oliver, p. 105.

67. Pak became foreign minister of the Korean Provisional Government in 1919.

68. See "A Note on Chöng An-nip."

69. The pen name of Chöng Sun-man is derived from Hügan, the name of the district where he was born.

70. The Poanhoe was organized in 1904 by Wön Se-söng as an anti-Japanese organization.

71. These figures are exaggerated. The number of Koreans in the Rus-

sian Maritime Province, in fact in all of Russia or the Soviet Union, has never exceeded a half million.

72. This account is a bit overstated. Tsarist Russia did encourage new settlements, but did not grant the kind of autonomy described here.

73. The agreement is referred to as *Chǒngmi ch'ilchoyak* or *Han'il sinhyǒpyak*, giving Japan de facto control over Korea.

74. Chang Chi-yǒn (1864–1921) was a renowned journalist. The editorial referred to here appeared in the *Hwangsǒng sinmun* on November 20, 1905.

75. The Taehan Chaganghoe was organized in 1906 by Yun Hyo-jǒng, Chang Chi-yǒn, Na Su-yǒn, and others. Its first president was Yun Ch'i-ho, and it was dissolved by order of Prime Minister Yi Wan-yong on August 21, 1907.

76. If Chang edited the organ of the Taehan Hyǒphoe, a Japanese front organization, then the accusation by the people in Vladivostok was not totally unfounded. Chang returned to Korea in 1909 and became an editor of the *Kyǒngnam ilbo*, which was later banned.

APPENDIX

Agan. *See* **Taeach'an**

Ch'ackmun: an examination on government political policies

Chaerang: an official in charge of religious rites

Ch'albang: an official in charge of provincial station stables

Ch'ambong: an official of the ninth class, second grade

Ch'amnyōng: an army major

Ch'amsō: a civil servant appointed by the cabinet with royal approval

Changgun chwagunju: chief of the Royal Household Defense in Silla

Ch'angnūjng ch'ambong: an official of the ninth class, second grade, attached to the Office of Guarding Ch'angnūng, the royal tomb of Ye-jong, the eighth king of the Chosŏn dynasty, and his queen, Ansun

Changnyōng: an official of the fourth class, first grade, attached to the Office of Inspector of Civil Service

Chapkan. *See* **Ich'an**

Chikchang: an official of the seventh class, second grade, attached to one of the thirty central offices

Chikkak: an official, ranging from third class, first grade, to sixth class, second grade, attached to the Royal Archives

Chinsa: a person who has passed only the first state examination for office

Chip'yōng: an official of the Office of Inspector

Ch'ōmji ūgumbusa: an official of the third class, first grade, attached to the Office of Interrogation and Major Criminal Cases

Chōnghōndaebu kyōngyōn'gwan taejehak: a high official of the second class, first grade, and a high-ranking Royal Lecturer

Chōngnang: an official of the fifth class, first grade, in one of the six cabinet ministries

Chōngōn: a royal advocate

Chungch'ubusa: a member of the Privy Council

Chunggun: an army general

Chungjik puin: a civil servant of the third class, second grade

Chusa: a provincial official

Chusō: an official who recorded current events

Chwach'ansōng: a state council, official of the first class, second grade, in

charge of civil service, general government affairs, national land planning, and foreign affairs

Chwaeju: a high-ranking official in charge of Confucian and state rites

Chwauijōng: the highest official of internal and external affairs

Hangnyōl: It is a genealogical tradition generally followed in Korea for the head family of a clan to choose the identifying character (*hangnyōl*) to be used in selecting given names for the children of a given generation. This process is governed by the rule of five radicals, namely the radicals for gold, water, tree, fire, and earth. The theory goes like this: gold produces water, water produces trees, trees produce fire, fire produces earth, and earth produces gold. Within this rule, there is another rule. For example, when a chosen character with the proper radical is used for the first part of the given name (which usually consists of two characters, each part a given name on its own, much like George or Henry), a properly chosen character is used for the second part of the given name of the next generation. This chosen character is known as the *hangnyōl*, and one can usually tell the generation of a family by the *hangnyōl* used. Of course, there are exceptions to this rule.

Hojo ch'amp'an: a secretary of the Ministry of Taxation

Hojo p'ansō: the Minister of Taxation

Hongmun chōngja: a royal adviser

Hongmun'gwan chōnhan: a high official of the Privy Council, in charge of documents

Hongmun'gwan pujehak: a senior official of the Privy Council

Hongmun'gwan taejehak: the highest official of the Royal Office of Documents, also acting as a royal adviser

Hūnp'al chapkan. See **Ich'an**

Hyōllang: the state examination of the Chinese Confucian classics

Hyōn'gam: a prefectural governor

Hyōngbu sangsō: the Minister of Justice

Hyōngjo p'ansō: the Attorney General or Minister of Justice

Hyōppan: a vice-minister

Ibōlch'an. See **Kakkan**

Ich'an: the second of the seventeen classes of government positions in Silla, a position that could be held by a person with fifty percent royal blood

Igan. See **Kakkan**

Ijo ch'amūi: an assistant chief, Civil Service Commission

Ijo p'ansō: the chief of the Civil Service Commission

Kakkan: the highest of the seventeen classes of government positions in Silla, a position that could be held by a person with fifty percent royal blood

Kalmunwang: as explained in the text, all deceased kings were posthumously referred to as *kalmunwang* prior to the practice, instituted toward the end of the Silla dynasty, of conferring on them specific posthumous titles

Kamch'al kyujōng: a military inspector

Kamch'unch'ugwansa: a deputy chief of archives

Kamsa: a governor

- Kamsi:** an examination supervisor
- Kamyök:** an official of the Office of Construction
- Kangnŭjng ch'ambong:** an official of the ninth class, second grade, attached to the Office of Guarding the Royal Tomb of Myöngjong, the thirteenth king of the Yi dynasty, and his queen, Insun
- Hasön taebu:** the title of an official of the second class, second grade
- Kilch'an.** *See* **Taeach'an**
- Kömgyo t'aeja söbo:** a temporary official of the Office of the Crown Prince
- Kongbu sangsö:** the Minister of Civil Engineering
- Kongbu sirang:** a vice-minister of Civil Engineering
- Kösögan:** a title used in early Silla to refer to a living king
- Küpche:** one who has successfully passed the civil service examination
- Kyöngsan hyönniyong:** the prefectural governor of Kyöngsan
- Kyori:** an official of the fifth class, first and second grades, who deals with literature
- Maripkan.** *See* **Kösögan**
- Munhak:** a royal teacher for the crown prince
- Mun'kwa:** one who has passed the first civil service examination
- Owijang:** the general of the five branches of the armed forces
- Owi toch'öngbu puch'onggwän:** a deputy chief of staff of the armed forces
- P'agan:** a government position in Silla whose exact importance is unknown
- P'albun:** a writing style for ornamental "seal" characters
- P'andop'angsögong:** the Minister of Taxation
- P'an'gun kisasa:** a military judge advocate
- P'an'gwän:** a central government official of the fifth class, second grade
- P'ansö:** a premier
- Poguk:** a military rank of the second class, first grade, in the Koryö dynasty; also, a civil and military rank of the first class, first grade, in the Yi dynasty
- Posung chungnang:** a military rank below general in the Koryö dynasty
- Pusajik:** an assistant military officer attached to one of the five military commands
- Pyölgöm:** an official of the eighth class, first or second grade
- P'yöngjangsa:** a position equivalent to a cabinet minister in the Koryö dynasty
- Saengwön:** one who has passed a minor state examination
- Sa'gwa:** an official of the sixth class, first grade, attached to one of the five branches of the armed forces
- Samnam hansen tojöpchang:** an inactive general leader of scholars applying for civil service examinations in the *samnam* [the three provinces of Ch'ungch'öng, Chölla, and Kyöngsang]
- Sangdaedüng.** *See* **Kakkan**
- Sangsögong:** a cabinet minister
- Saöngwön p'angwan:** an official taster in the royal kitchen
- Sap'osö pyölgöm:** an official of the royal garden
- Sijung.** *See* **Kakkan**

- Siö:** a chamberlain
- Sirang:** a vice-minister in the Koryŏ dynasty
- Sobo:** an official of the Office of the Crown Prince
- Sŏgam:** an army officer of the Silla dynasty
- Söndal:** one who has passed the civil service examination but has not yet taken up a government position
- Sönggyun'gwan paksa:** a professor of the Sönggyun'gwan (the highest Confucian educational institution in the Yi dynasty)
- Sön'gonggamyök:** an official of the Ministry of Construction
- Sön'gyorang:** an official of the sixth class, second grade
- Süngji:** an official of the Office of Royal Revenue and Expenditure
- Süngmunwön ch'amgyo:** a protocol officer of the Foreign Ministry
- Süngmunwön p'an'gyo:** an official of the Foreign Ministry who handled printing
- Sunnüng ch'ambong:** an official of the ninth class, second grade, who guarded the royal tomb of Queen Konghye, wife of King Sejong of the Yi dynasty
- Suwön yusu:** a royal envoy extraordinary for Suwön
- Taeach'an:** the fifth of the seventeen classes of government positions in Silla, a position that could be held by a person with fifty percent royal blood
- Taeagan.** *See* **Taeach'an**
- Taebo** (*also* **T'aeja Sobo** and **T'aeja taebo**): the highest government position in Silla, equivalent to premier
- Tae'gwa:** a higher civil service examination
- Taegwangboguk süngnokdaein:** title of the first class, first grade
- T'aeja Sobo.** *See* **Taebo**
- T'aeja taebo.** *See* **Taebo**
- T'aesa:** the highest official in charge of the Office of the Crown Prince
- Taesasöng:** the chief of the Sönggyun'gwan (the highest Confucian educational institution in the Yi dynasty), a position equivalent to a university president
- T'aesu:** a governor
- Taewön'gun:** a title bestowed on the living father of a king; in this case, the father of King Kojong
- Tojöng:** an official of the third class, first grade
- Tongji ch'unch'ubusa:** a high official of the Office of Government Documents
- Tongji üigumbusa:** an official of the second class, second grade, of the Office of Interrogation and Major Criminal Cases
- T'ongjöng taebu:** a high court official
- Tosa:** an official of the fifth class, second grade, charged with investigating and detecting the wrongdoings of government officials
- Tosüngji:** a premier
- Toyömsösüng:** an official of the Office of Dyes
- Üijöngbu yöngüjöng:** the title of the premier of the State Council
- Wöllüng:** the royal tombs of King Yöngjo and his second wife, Queen Chongsun
- Yebinsa pyölichwa omo changgun:** a general attached to the Royal Department of Banquets

- Yemun'gwan taejehak:** the deputy chief of the Office of Royal Writers
Yemun komyŏl: a court official handling royal orders
Yonggyŏngyŏnsa: the highest ranking royal lecturer (a nominal title)
Yonguijŏng: a premier

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