BATTLING FOR THE SOUL OF KOREA: BUDDHIST STATECRAFT AND MISSIONARIES DURING THE PRE-COLONIAL ERA (1876-1910)

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction……..…….1

Chapter 1: A Brief History of Buddhism in Korea……..….10

Three Kingdoms Period & Unified Silla

The Founding of the Koryŏ Dynasty

The Chosŏn Dynasty & the Persecution of Buddhism

Late Chosŏn and Competition

Chapter 2: Missionaries & Monastics…….27

Martyrdom and Ascension of Korean Christianity

Buddhism in Meiji

The Influx of Protestant Christianity

Korean Buddhist Encounters

Chapter 3: Queens, Assassins, and Statesmen……48

Expedient Means

The Genesis of Shintō

The Revival of a New Israel

Chapter 4: Survival by Adaptation…….68

Formation of Wŏnhŭngsa

Interreligious Tensions

A Renegotiation

Conclusion

Appendix……83

Bibliography……117

Introduction

In 1910, the Annexation of Korea (1910-1945) was signed, and the Great Korean Empire (1897-1910) came under the rule of the Japanese Empire (1868-1947). Decades of planning, strategizing, and political maneuvering came together for the final merging of these two nations. The major players composing this amalgamation of two geographically close, but fundamentally different, nations spanned the political, military and religious spheres of society. Historically, religious adaptations have been necessary for the adjustment of political power in East Asia, so it should come as no surprise that as tensions between the Korean government and outside bodies increased, so too did the involvement of various missionary bodies. The eventual annexation of Korea itself involved the choreography of several religious elements, which will be addressed at length throughout this thesis.

The time period of this thesis spans vital decades in the formation of the modern Korean identity. Throughout its history, Korea had served in a tributary relationship to the Chinese state; philosophy, religion, language and societal structure were shaped by this fundamental affiliation. However, by 1876 the power that had backed Korean governments for over a millennia had deteriorated. Therefore, when Japanese and Western philosophy, religion, language, and society presented themselves to the Korean peninsula, Korean society was faced with the task of navigating its collective identity as one nation in a broader world. This undertaking would result in experiments at all levels of Korean civilization, causing change not only among the social elite, but also among those who had survived on the outskirts of society. Therefore, the pre-colonial period is just as important in the dialogue as the Japanese occupation itself.

In the decades between the forced opening of Korea by Japan in 1876 until the establishment of Korea as a protectorate of the Japanese Empire in 1905, Japanese clergy would

come to Korea not only to minister to the expatriate Japanese community there, but also to transmit Japanese-style Buddhism to Koreans. Upon their arrival, Japanese Buddhist missionaries would find a Buddhism quite unlike that which was found in their home country. Centuries of persecution had caused Korean Buddhists to preserve and amalgamate teachings, rather than form sectarian divides. Therefore, when Japanese Buddhist clergy, unfamiliar with a non-sectarian Buddhist *sangha*, introduced their sects' ideologies to Korean monastics, they faced a surprising lack of disagreement. Viewing this nonchalant acceptance of their teachings as rapid conversion, Japanese Buddhist missionaries would utilize these changes as evidence of cultural and religious superiority, as we will see throughout this thesis.

In *The Empire of the Dharma,* Hwansoo Kim describes the other-worldly soteriological views of the Japanese Buddhist clergy in direct conflict with the self-powered view of enlightenment among Korean Buddhist monastics. The forms of Korean Buddhism that survived the persecutions of the Chosŏn dynasty (大朝鮮國, 1392-1897) were primarily Sŏn, or meditational practice, whose practitioners ultimately viewed Japanese Buddhist missionaries Pure Land motivations and the chanting of *nembutsu* as inferior practice. This, however, did not stop them from taking advantage of the possibility for increasing the influence of their religion when it became obvious that the Japanese were not going away.

However, Japanese Buddhist clergy would not be the only foreign religion entering the peninsula during this time period. Japanese Christians, Western Christians, and Shintō missionaries would also seek to evangelize throughout Korea to demonstrate their particular religion's resilience in a foreign land, to perpetuate imperial goals, and to demolish their competitors spiritually and politically. This thesis, then, will highlight the behavior of Korean

and Japanese Buddhist monastics in Korea, but within a context of their religious competitors and political events.

Before Pori Park's publication of *Trial and Error in Modernist Reforms: Korean Buddhism under Colonial Rule* in 2009, students of Korean Buddhism, particularly those interested in researching the condition of Buddhism during the tumultuous final years of the Chosŏn Dynasty, had to rely heavily on the work of Korean and Japanese scholars in the field. Works published in Korea, specifically works focusing on the sensitive issue of the Japanese Occupation, have been largely nationalistic in tone. The history presented in this literature has been reactionary, both as a method of self-representation from within a struggle still fresh in the national memory, and as a counterpoint to Japanese scholarship. Conversely, the majority of Japanese scholarship regarding Korean Buddhism during the Colonial Period has been either imperialistic and/or apologetic in tone. Furthermore, up until recent times, American and European scholarship has largely ignored Korea in favor of Japanese and Chinese Buddhism in East Asia, with Korean religious history relegated to the footnotes of these studies, if covered at all.

This jingoistic or, conversely, imperialistic perspective of the scholarship about this time period is not unique to Korean scholarship regarding Buddhism in the Colonial Period. Chosŏn scholars, supported by the Neo-Confucian, anti-Buddhist rhetoric of the dynasty, disparaged Buddhism in general as an unsuitable religion for the continuation of state viability and, therefore, rejected it as destructive to society. These and other criticisms carried over to interpretations of Buddhism in Korea during the occupation. Prior to Pori Park's and Hwansoo Kim's work, the discussion of Buddhism before and during the Japanese Occupation harbored a fair number of emotional responses and unsympathetic biases. Anti-Buddhist sentiments

saturated academic work as scholars accused Buddhist monastics of spiritual collaboration with the occupiers at the expense of the Korean people. Pori Park would attribute the collaboration of Korean Buddhist monastics as opportunistic as they navigated an incredibly confusing time period and sought to improve their station. Additionally, Hwansoo Kim sought to provide a more nuanced approach to Korean Buddhist history by attributing these monastics' partnerships with Japanese clergy as: 1) a method of improvement upon the late-Chosŏn Buddhist practices; 2) as a method of survival in a rapidly changing political system; and 3) a method of social mobility after 500 years of social oppression.

It has not simply been the actions of Korean Buddhist monastics that have been criticized by the academy. A critical look at the actions of all agents involved in both Korea and Japan have not until recently been analyzed outside of the loaded binary of colonizer/colonized rhetoric. Gi-Wook Shin has analyzed, in depth, the conceptualization and formation of Korean ethnic nationalism as a response to the modernization process in *Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics, and Legacy*. While the Colonial Period plays just one part in the development of this part of the modern Korean psyche, *Ethnic Nationalism* addresses the lack of Korean ethnic-nationalist identity before the Colonial Period and therefore allows a more complex view of the behaviors of agents throughout the time period. Additionally, Kyung Moon Hwang's *Beyond Birth: Social Status and the Emergence of Modern Korea* provides analysis of the members of secondary classes and their own negotiation of identity after the opening of Korea in 1876. By addressing the prejudice against certain classes during the Chosŏn dynasty, Hwang skillfully illustrates the motivations of some Koreans in their collaboration with the Japanese. I will therefore utilize the research of both of these authors and apply it to the motivations and self-identification of Korean Buddhist monastics.

Additionally, when addressing Japanese motivations, Jun Uchida's book *Brokers of Empire: Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea, 1876-1945* analyzes the behaviors of Japanese as they crossed the East Sea to settle in Korea. While scholars have historically viewed these merchants, farmers, and clergy as agents of imperial ambitions, Uchida argues that they controlled the government as much as they, too, were controlled by the government. It is a given that the Japanese government shaped the lives of Japanese colonial settlers, however the Japanese government could only control them to a degree. Following these observations, Taylor Atkins' *Primitive Selves: Koreana in the Japanese Colonial Gaze: 1910-1945* places the Japanese colonizers within the context of Pan-Asianism, a popular pseudo-science in the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in which the Korean people, and in fact all Asians outside of Japan, were viewed as primitive ancestors of the Japanese.

These authors have provided a more nuanced approach to the motivations of both Japanese colonizers and indigenous Koreans as they searched for and navigated their identities during this tumultuous time period. While there is no doubt that the Japanese Empire's actions on the Korean peninsula before and during the annexation caused irreparable harm, it is important to recognize that agents on both side operated with various motivations in mind. To say that all Japanese agents were merely villainous colonizers would be to take them out of the time, place, and context of the time period. Furthermore, to claim that the Korean people were simply acted upon by Japanese authorities would be to negate Koreans capacity to manipulate, maneuver, and negotiate among pressures from outside forces.

The objective of this thesis, then, is to demonstrate that the reaction of Korean Buddhist monastics who, when confronted with the options of collaboration or potential destruction of practices that were uniquely Korean, chose to create partnerships with powerful Japanese sects.

While Hwansoo Kim has done an excellent job at illustrating the motivations and ideals of Japanese colonizers during the time period, my research seeks to compliment it by demonstrating Buddhist attempts to shift the domain of Buddhism from the outskirts of political society back into the public sphere. More importantly however, I am addressing the issue of Korean monastic identity as they sought to direct their *sangha* to a more valued station in a rapidly changing world. The majority of monastics that scholars are aware of today chose to endure via adaptation. Their methods of adaptation would help reshape modern Korean Buddhism and would be the cornerstone for the creation of the forms of Buddhism that are currently practiced today throughout South Korea.

Due to the lack of known Korean sources, I will utilize observations and commentaries provided by American Christian missionaries contemporary to the time period throughout the thesis. Primarily, I will be utilizing the *Korean Review*, an American Methodist newspaper in publication between 1901-1905. While I am aware of the constraints of a competing ideologies recordings of events, Christian missionaries nonetheless provide valuable insights through newspapers and memoirs. Though their recollections exist outside of the Buddhist community, the reader is able to gain a significant understanding of the behavior, motivations, and considerations of the various religious elements within their time and place.

Korea as a whole has been largely unexplored by scholars of religion until the last decade. The handful of works written in the twentieth century are largely volumes of history that cover several hundred years of Korean religion. Therefore, it is customary when approaching more narrow timeframes in the field of Korean religion to include lengthy introductions of Korean religious heritage going back some two thousand years. This type of background is

rarely, if ever, needed in works on more saturated areas of scholarly interests, such as the religions of Japan or China. However, if trends continue, the field of Korean religion will flourish, allowing space for more nuanced academic work to come to light. In keeping with academic norms, chapter one, "A Brief History of Buddhism in Korea," will present the historical transmission and development of Buddhism in Korea.

Beginning with the early Buddhism of the Three Kingdoms (三國時代, 57 BCE – 668 CE) and Silla (新羅, 57 BCE – 935 CE) dynasties, I will present the basis for Buddhism's involvement in political affairs. Afterwards, this chapter will concisely discuss the formation of Buddhism as a state ideology during the Koryŏ (高麗, 918-1388 CE) dynasty and the increased prestige and importance of the religion to the Korean peninsula. Finally, I will illustrate the importance of the fall of Buddhism over the course of the Chosŏn dynasty, as the treatment of the *sangha* will drastically shape the relationship with and loyalties to Korean Buddhist monastics with their government upon the arrival of Japanese priests in the nineteenth century.

The second chapter will examine the introduction of Japanese clergy to Korea after the signing of the Kanghwa Treaty in 1876. Faced not only with the threat of Western Christian missionaries already present in Korea, Japanese clergy would experience an internal battle regarding Japanese sectarian supremacy. In addition to discussing the motivations of Japanese Buddhist missionaries and their sectarian expansion into Korea, this chapter will also address the tensions present in their home country. In the shadow of the Meiji Restoration, Japanese Buddhist missionaries would not only seek to illustrate their relevance, but to prove themselves as loyal Japanese capable of converting competing ideologies.

In chapter three, “Queens, Assassins, and Statesmen,” I present the religious and political tensions simmering immediately after the assassination of Queen Min up until Korea was absorbed as a protectorate of the Japanese empire. This chapter serves a dual purpose, as it also illustrates the centrality of religious agents in their vying for control of the Korean peninsula. Additionally, this chapter introduces the role of Shintō as it expanded out of its traditional boundaries on the Japanese islands and spills over into Korea. Finally, I will illustrate how the remaining royalty scrambled to hold the nation of Korea together after the untimely death of the Queen, before ultimately failing.

Finally, in chapter four, “Survival by Adaptation,” I present the changes and interreligious tensions that existed on the Korean peninsula in the final years of Korean independence before the Japanese Occupation. While Korean Buddhist monastics were content in their associations with Japanese Buddhist clergy, survival methods were utilized to preserve uniquely Korean practices while maintaining sectarian relations. Additionally, the actions of the Korean *sangha* faced increasing scrutiny by other religious entities on the peninsula. By analyzing the actions of Korean Buddhist monastics from within the realm of competition and collaboration, I seek to provide additional nuance to the behaviors and modifications of those very same monastics. Additionally, this chapter discusses how these monastics, when faced with multiple outside threats, chose to adjust their practices and alliances in order to preserve the dharma field throughout Korea.

The goal of this thesis is to continue the dialogue in the field of Korean religious studies between the agents of state and religion which would shape the spiritual lives of the common people in the modern period. While many scholars have rightly decried the Occupation as a

crime against a sovereign nation, this thesis is more interested in analyzing the motivations of the actors involved on all sides of the conflict. It would be foolhardy to deny that many members of Korean society used the Japanese government as a means to social mobility and, as such, it would also be thoughtless to deny that Korean monastics acted without the same motivations as members of secondary classes. Monastics, who had existed as a branch of the slave caste for several hundred years, were abruptly granted the ability to reach the ears of powerful government officials, who had, throughout the Chosŏn dynasty, ignored them at best, and abused them at worst. It is because of this unexpected adjustment in power structure and the facilitation of their upward social mobility that Korean monastics would reach out and identify strongly with their Japanese Buddhist counterparts. I will therefore argue that during the pre-colonial period, Korean monastics self-identified primarily along religious lines, rather than ethnic ones.

However, before the conversation regarding the actions of the *sangha* during the pre-colonial period can be discussed in full, historical context must be addressed. Thus, the following synoptic account of Korean history will portray how the pendulum of power has swung in and out of favor for Buddhists for the past two thousand years in Korea.

Chapter 1: *A Brief History of Buddhism in Korea*

Before elucidating the justifications for the annexation and its eventual influence on Korean religious life, context is needed, as the study of Korean Buddhism has only recently received scholarly attention in Western academia. Korea is commonly understood to be a historically Buddhist nation, but when the state was opened in 1876, western travelers and Japanese dignitaries often cited the overt discrimination against Buddhist monastics as a result of Chosŏn-era Neo-Confucian management.

The reason for the disparity between today's popular imagination of Korea existing as a continuous Buddhist nation and historical reality can be found in the history of Korean Buddhism. Therefore, I will begin by presenting a brief history of the transmission and progression of Buddhism in Korea through the Unified Silla era. Following that, there will be a concise description of Buddhism as main source of state-legitimization during the Koryŏ dynasty. After which, I will expound upon the ensuing persecution of Buddhist monastics during the Chosŏn dynasty. Finally, I will hint at the broader changes that occurred after the forced opening of the country by the Japanese Empire.

The purpose of such a general introduction covering roughly 2,000 years of history is to illuminate the relationship between Japan and Korea, as well as the motivations leading to spiritual collaboration by Korean monastics during the Colonial Period.

Three Kingdoms Period & Unified Silla

Buddhism was first introduced to the nation of Koguryŏ (高句麗) during the Three Kingdom period. Scholars of Korean religion widely acknowledge that Buddhism was known in

the peninsula at least one hundred years before its official recognition (Lancaster 1996:3), although the state's acceptance of it did not occur until 372 CE when the Former Qin monk, Sundo (順道), introduced it to the court of King Sosurim (r. 371–384, 小獸林王) (Institute 1993:40).

During his reign, King Sosurim sought to bring the sectarian divided tribal kingdom under the auspices of a larger state-controlled religion in order to solidify power. He found that the spiritual structure of Buddhism served his purposes. Later rulers of Koguryŏ would have the King existing as the political and spiritual head of Buddhism, with many of the rulers following King Sosurim's lead and taking Buddhist names. After Buddhism's ascension as a state religion, it quickly integrated itself with the local shamanic traditions, merging the larger state powers with local tribal entities.

Twelve years after the official state recognition of Buddhism in Koguryŏ, Buddhism was transmitted by the Indian monk, Maranant'a to King Ch'imnyu (枕流王, r. 384–385) of the Paekche (百濟) nation in 384 CE (Best 1991:141). Paekche Buddhism was unique among the far East-Asian Buddhisms in that the monastics sought to receive the teachings of Buddhism directly from Indian sources, rather than relying exclusively on Chinese knowledge. Unfortunately, only three dharma missions by Paekche monastics to India are found in existent records. However, it is these existent records which illustrate the transmission of the *viyana* to Paekche directly from India by Master Kyŏmik in 526.

During this period of time, each of the Three Kingdoms had excellent relations with Japan. Paekche, in particular, would often send envoys presenting new technology and goods in

exchange for military aid. It was during one of these diplomatic missions, in either 538 or 552,[1] when Paekche King Seong (聖王, r. 523–554) sent dignitaries with Buddhist sutras and statues to the Japanese Emperor Kimmei. This mission officially initiated the relationship between Buddhism and the Japanese.

The last kingdom to receive and integrate Buddhism into its official ideology was Silla. While evidence exists of an earlier Buddhist missionary presence in Silla, mostly through folklore, records seem to indicate that the ministers and court officials were widely against the recognition of Buddhism (Institute 1996:55). Their disdain for Buddhism was likely due to concerns over the direct challenges to the indigenous religious practices of Silla and the increasing sinicization of governmental processes. These ministers were serious enough about protecting these interests to lobby for regulations denouncing this foreign faith and called for the beheading of any self-identifying Buddhist. King Pophŭng (法興王, r. 514–540) was amenable to the practice of Buddhism and believed that the incorporation of Buddhism to Silla governance was central in the viability of his nation.

The nation of Silla was still in the process of transforming itself from a tribal state system of local strongmen into a centralized bureaucracy, and thus, the King was unable to make a unilateral decision on the matter. Therefore, additional assistance outside the monarchy was necessary for the integration of Buddhism. King Pophŭngs' nephew Ich'adon (異次頓, 501-527), sharing the same predilections towards Buddhism, devised a plan that would force the court to accede to Buddhism. Ich'adon would proclaim himself to be a Buddhist in front of the King and

[1] The dates of this transmission are disputed. Both are found in the *Nihom Shoki*.

his magistrates, and consequently, he would be executed. He informed King Pophŭng that upon his beheading, a miracle would occur.

Hagiographies of Ich'adon recollect that the plan was a success, including the prophesized miracle. At his martyrdom, "his has head flew to [Kŭmgang] Mountain (金剛山), falling on its summit, and white milk gushed forth from the cut, soaring up several hundred feet. The sun darkened, wonderful flowers rained from Heaven, and the earth trembled violently" (Peter Lee 1969:60). At these signs, the ministers were unable to deny the supremacy of Buddhism, and King Pophŭng was able to institutionalize Buddhism as the main state religion. As with the nations of Paekche and Koguryŏ, Silla Buddhism quickly adopted practices from the other popular religions of the time, mainly Confucianism, Daoism, and the indigenous forms of Shamanism.

During the subsequent reign of King Chinhŭng (眞興王), Silla began overpowering its direct neighbors, gaining land and wealth in the process. Attributing these positive developments to Buddhism, Chinhŭng sought to continue the growth of Silla by creating the Hwarang (花郎), which would advance the moral education and military skills of the nation's youth. This organization, based on Buddhist ideals, would morph into a cult of Maitreya Buddha. Based on teachings found in the *Mirŭk-hasaeng-gyŏng*, adherents understood that the eventual birth of Maitreya Buddha on earth would occur once an idyllic society, freed from suffering, was formed. Believing Silla to be the future birthplace of Maitreya Buddha, the Hwarang focused on forming a model Buddhist nation (Institute 1996:78).

The monarchy, being closely tied with the Hwarang, also identified with this belief structure, and presented themselves as the universal monarch, associated with the birth of

Maitreya Buddha. In addition, they would associate the royal *kolp'um* (骨品), or bone ranking system, with a Buddhist lineage. This system, which can be accurately identified as a caste system, prevented social mobility and contained power among a few elite families. Those of the highest ranks were the *songgŏl* (聖骨), or hallowed-bone lineage. The *songgŏl*, compromised of the ruling family, would further attempt to solidify its power and authority within a Buddhist system by claiming that those of the *songgŏl* lineage were a "lineage of Buddhas, Buddhist rulers about to become Buddhas, and Indian deities" (Vermeersch 2008:42). This system changed drastically upon the death of the final *songgŏl*, Queen Chindŏk, in 654. Directly following the end of this lineage, rapid factioning and power grabs among the *chin'gol* (眞骨), or 'true bone' lineage, reduced the importance of associating Buddhism with the royal line as a means of legitimization. In contrast, the Silla monarchy instead turned towards legitimizing their reign by means of direct-succession and obtainment of the Mandate of Heaven (Vermeersch 2008:44). By following this Sinified model, Silla was able to forge a more open relationship with China, and thus promote a more Confucian method of governance.

Unlike later periods, Buddhism was able to retain its positive representation in the state in conjunction with a fledging Confucian-style government. Throughout the era of the Unified Silla dynasty, Buddhism continued to evolve and mature. Popularly known as the 'Golden Era of Buddhism,' the noble elite openly communicated about and studied Buddhism on an international scale. The religion became more popularized, with aristocracy patronizing temples, and common people practicing shamanic Buddhist rituals.

The Founding of the Koryŏ Dynasty

It was not until the institution of the Koryŏ Dynasty in 918 CE that the government officially elevated Buddhism to the position of the main state religion. The reasons for this are intricate and in need of clarification. During the instability of the final years of the Tang Dynasty in China, the power that backed Silla began to waiver. With constant in-fighting between the *chin'gol* and a weak monarchy, the nation fell. This tumultuous time is referred to as the Later Three Kingdoms Period (後三國時代, 892–936). Eventually, a new king would emerge, albeit without a royal background, to form the kingdom of Koryŏ. Wang Kŏn (王建, r. 918-943), known posthumously as King T'aejo (太祖) of Koryŏ, would form this new nation in addition to navigating the complex political terrain in order to establishing his right to rule.

What is known of Wang Kŏn is limited and highly hagiographical, or, conversely, highly critical. The original texts containing verifiable information regarding his reign and his life story were destroyed in a fire in 1011 CE during an invasion by the Khitan. Afterwards, his official biography was restored through oral tradition and is believed to be an adulatory rewriting of history meant to glorify the first ruler of Koryŏ. Later histories written by Chosŏn scholars did the exact opposite of the Koryŏ historians and would downplay, or even fail to recognize the works of Koryŏ altogether (Lee 2005:273), in order to illegitimize what was later seen as an unscrupulous government. Therefore, in order to gain a clear picture of Wang Kŏn, one must redact the official histories to match what is known of the common practices of the time.

The evidence that can currently be assembled informs us that Wang Kŏn was born the son of gentry during the precarious political period of the Later Tang and Later Unified Silla

dynasties (Vermeersch 2008:38). In his youth, there was a three-way struggle between the nations of Silla, Hubaekje (後百濟, 892–936), and T'aebong (泰封, 901-918), which each sought to gain control of the region (Lee 1984:99). Wang Kŏn enlisted in the military forces of T'aebong, which stated that their ultimate goal was to reestablish the ancient lands of Kogoryŏ. Wang Kŏn came to serve directly under Kyung-ye (弓裔, r. 901-918), a former Silla prince who was the illegitimate son of the current Silla king. Kyung-ye, rose to be the sovereign of T'aebong based on his bone rank and royal lineage. Wang Kŏn, having established an exemplary military record, would serve him as a subordinate commander. In recognition of his many victories in maritime battle, Wang Kŏn quickly rose through the ranks and was eventually granted the highest governmental standing of Supreme Chancellor (侍中) (Vermeersch 2008:37).

Kyung-ye proved to be an unstable ruler and established authoritarian control over T'aebong. Paranoia was one of his more pronounced personality quirks. He claimed that he could read the minds of his followers and would often execute those whom he believed to be against him. In addition, he claimed that he was Maitreya Buddha and that his first two sons were bodhisattvas to be worshipped. Kyung-ye would furthermore order the execution of anyone who came from Silla, and he had his subjects refer to Silla as "the nation of the damned." Eventually, he was forced from his throne and died at the hands of his subjects (Lee 1984:99-100).

The official histories label Wang Kŏn as reluctant to take part in the actions that led to Kyung-ye losing his throne, and ultimately, his life. When initially approached by his supporters regarding the overthrow of Kyung-ye and the installation of Wang Kŏn as monarch, Wang Kŏn was reportedly horrified. He replied "I take pride in my loyalty. Even though the king is a cruel

tyrant, how can I be of two minds? When a subject attacks his sovereign, it is called Breaking the Mandate (革命)" (Vermeersch 2008:76). Undeterred, his supporters tricked Wang Kŏn into leadership by enlisting the aid of his wife, Yu, upon Kyung-ye's death. She put armor on Wang Kŏn and his followers pushed him outside, "instructing the people to shout 'Lord Wang has raised the righteous banner'" (Vermeersch 2008:80)!

While we cannot be sure that these stories are true, they express a clear understanding of the legitimization process that needed to take place. Wang Kŏn's rise to power seemed to be justified through his benevolent actions and saintly behavior. The stories about him show a person of outstanding traditional morality and virtue. Further illustrating this virtue was the assumption that the office of King was thrust upon him due primarily to his cohorts considering him to be of such high ethical character. The thought that he himself was a usurper was cast away because of his unwillingness to subvert the previous monarch. His lack of knowledge that a coup had already taken place further supports the idea of Wang Kŏn being a King who is worthy of receiving the Mandate.

Furthermore, the Mandate of Heaven is theorized to be conferred, in part, through the mass acceptance of the people. After ascending to the throne, painstaking measures were taken to ensure that the people accepted this new, benevolent ruler. By contrasting his rule with that of Kyung-ye, he depicted himself as a righteous figure and lifted taxes so that the people could recover from the previous reign. He was also revealed in recollections to be extraordinarily kind to his enemies, promoting compromise and reconciliation rather than forcing them to submit or die, which was unusual in the establishment of a new reign (Vermeersch 2008:31).

Regrettably, even if Kyung-ye was a tyrant, he had still been a rightful ruler with a royal, albeit illicit, lineage. The Mandate of Heaven was originally conferred upon the royal families of

Unified Silla through the office of the Chinese Emperor. In the records remaining today, there is no evidence that would support the claim that Kyung-ye ever lost this Mandate. Wang Kŏn was perfectly aware of this, thus his earlier rejection of his supporters' invitation before the untimely death of Kyung-ye. The loss of the Mandate by the previous ruler was essential in the acceptance of someone with a new Mandate, which caused Wang Kŏn to look elsewhere for legitimation.

Wang Kŏn perhaps found an answer to the question of legitimization from observing the politics of the Northern Wei, which existed just north of the traditional lands of Kogoryŏ. Influenced by political developments over the Silk Road, the Northern Wei had established a unique system of governance quite unlike the Tang tributary system that had been in place in Silla. A nation ruled largely by traditionally nomadic people, it was among the first to incorporate Buddhism as the primary state religion in East Asia. Among the kingdoms founded by these nomadic cultures in traditionally Tang-tributary lands, the necessity of legitimizing their rule became a severe problem (Lancaster 1996:xxi).

The northern line of Buddhist philosophy would introduce the idea that a *cakravartin-raja,* or a king who rules through benevolent actions, leads the people by example, and turns the wheel of the dharma. This new form of legitimization of sovereignty gave authority based on karmic heritage rather than ethnic ties. Nomadic sovereigns welcomed an understanding of rulers as virtuous and, thus, proper leaders despite their lacking in royal heritage. As political divisions shifted and allegiances were required of people who had not previously been under the rule of nomadic groups, kings found the concept of *cakravartin-raja* helpful in establishing their power.

In Koryŏ, Wang Kŏn would use this model and back Buddhism as a state ideology. He elevated Buddhism to stand as a state protecting power, and officially recognized the preserving influence of the *sangha* through Buddhist based geomancy and the chanting of sutras. In

addition, while the position of the National Preceptor, or monk who represented the symbolic head of Buddhism within Koryŏ, had existed throughout the Unified Silla period, it was Wang Kŏn who elevated this position to a necessity for the continuation of the state. During official coronation ceremonies, the National Preceptor was technically of higher rank that the King himself, illustrating the subservience of the state to religion (Vermeersch 2008:8). Additionally, the National Preceptor erected a throne in the King's personal chambers for dharma lectures.

Wang Kŏn was a devout Buddhist who regarded Buddhism as a preserving and protecting power. Even on his death bed, the King had a deep concern for the continuation of Buddhism and made significant reference to it in his final ten injunctions. These injunctions, written as instructions for the longevity of the Koryŏ dynasty, illustrated the direct relationship between Buddhism and the continuation of the state. This relationship can be mainly found in the first, second, and sixth injunctions.

While the sixth injunction would primarily deal with the importance of observing the major Buddhist festival of Yŏndŭng,[2] the other two injunctions would be of higher importance for the continuation of Buddhisms' direct relationship with the government. In the first injunction, Wang Kŏn would solidify the necessity of the subservience of the state to Buddhism. Concerned with the continuation of Buddhism in conjunction to his government, Wang Kŏn would draw a direct correlation between the endurance of his new dynasty and the defense of Buddhism when he wrote "For the great enterprise of our country, it is necessary to procure the protective power of all the Buddhas" (Vermeersch 2008:92), and then illustrated his initial steps of establishing monasteries for the different schools of Buddhism throughout the nation.

[2] Vermeersch, 112. King T'aejo writes in his sixth injunction: "I deem the two festivals of Yŏndŭng and P'algwan of great spiritual value and importance. The first is to worship Buddha. The second is to worship the spirit of heaven, the spirits of the five sacred and other major mountains and rivers, and the dragon god."

Geomancy, in particular, was of grave importance for the maintenance of the Koryŏ dynasty. In his second injunction, Wang Kŏn warned:

> Temples and monasteries were newly opened and built upon the sites chosen by Monk Tosŏn according to the principles of geomancy. He said 'If temples and monasteries are indiscriminately built at locations not chosen by me, the terrestrial force and energy will be sapped and damaged, hastening the decline of the dynasty.' I am greatly concerned that the royal family, the aristocracy, and the courtiers all may build many temples and monasteries in the future in order to seek Buddha's blessings. In the last days of Silla many temples were capriciously built. As a result, the terrestrial force and energy were wasted and diminished, causing its demise. Vigilantly guard against this. (Vermeersch 2008:108)

Ignoring this advice, future kings would advance the power and prestige of Buddhism, increasing the wealth of monastics. The importance of geomancy, reinterpreted for the benefit of the *sangha,* allowed temples to claim vast swaths of productive lands which would be cultivated without the burden of taxes. By quickly gaining wealth and prosperity, the various Buddhist orders became identified as agents of social mobility. By becoming a monastic, novice cenobites were promised education and access to previously unattainable political stations, which lead to an exponential growth of membership. Another incentive which encouraged growth would be the monastic tax exemption.

Later on, Neo-Confucians would use these incentives as proof that individuals were joining monastic orders simply to avoid taxation. There may have been some truth to this criticism, for at its peak, 1/3 of all adult males were somehow involved with the temple system, either as monks (~100,000), servants, or through other means, and temples would account for $1/6^{th}$ of land ownership (2000-3000 temples) (Kim 2012:26). In addition to being a primary holder of property and existing as the spiritual cornerstone of the Koryŏ dynasty, the *sangha* held elaborate feasts at temples to promote the safety and security of the state on a regular basis. It would be these gratuitous displays of wealth that would galvanize the ire of Neo-Confucianists,

emboldening them to proclaim Buddhism as the source of the nation's financial ruin as the Koryŏ dynasty declined.

The ranks of Buddhism were seen as rotting from within by the presence of lazy, indulgent, and decadent malingerers. During the reign of King Injong (仁宗, r. 1109-1146) one group of students at the National Academy bitterly complained that "Buddhist monasteries are everywhere to be found in the capital and in the provinces. Those who have fled from the labor duties of the common people are well fed and enjoy leisure. Their number cannot be counted" (Lancaster 1996: 4). A Confucian scholar, An Hyang (1243–1306), wrote "These Buddhists have renounced their parents and family; they have left home and by doing so have ignored ethical norms and turned their back on righteousness. One might say that they are a sort of barbarian" (Lancaster 1996:8).

By not paying taxes, not working in an official capacity, and not continuing their families' lineage, Buddhist monastics presented a sharp contrast to Neo-Confucianists who stressed family, frugality, and hard work. When the nation of Koryŏ finally reached a crisis point politically and financially these grievances would become deafening and the tide would rapidly turn against the Buddhist system.

The Chosŏn Dynasty & the Persecution of Buddhism

The philosophy and practice of Neo-Confucianism, which values family and productivity, came into favor during the Chosŏn dynasty, and the conflict between ideal human behavior found in Buddhism and Neo-Confucianism was hotly debated as the emerging government sought to illegitimize the practices of the Buddhist-supporting Koryŏ dynasty.

Once the government of Chosŏn was formed, change was not immediate. The first King of Chosŏn, Yi Song-gye (李成桂, r. 1392-1398) was a fervent Buddhist who had been backed by several prominent monks during his rise to power. However, by the reign of King T'aejong (太宗, r. 1400-1418), the third King of Chosŏn, there was a significant upheaval in the way the government and Buddhism interacted. Neo-Confucian officials successfully argued that any state support of Buddhism would only perpetuate the political turmoil of early generations; thus, the government of Chosŏn chose to enact a system of "revering Confucianism and suppressing Buddhism (崇儒抑佛)" (Kim 2012:27).

The *sangha* lost the bulk of its economic, political, and governmental support in a single generation. The numbers of sects were decreased from eleven to seven. Temple servants were reassigned to military duty, royal memorial temples were abolished, and the station of National Preceptor was eliminated. By the end of King T'aejong's reign, out of the nearly 3000 temples present at the peak of the Koryŏ dynasty, only 242 official temples remained (Kim 2012:27).

King Sejong (世宗大王, r. 1418-1450), the fifth ruler of Chosŏn, would continue the persecution of Buddhism by reducing the sects even further—from seven to two—leaving only Sŏn (meditational) and Kyo (doctrinal). He closed all but 36 official temples in Chosŏn, and within the walls of the capital city of Seoul, all temples, with the exception of two nunneries, were closed. Protesting these policies, eight monks crossed the border to Ming China to petition the Yŏnglèdì Emperor, who was an ardent Buddhist practitioner. King Sejong was disturbed by these moves, and after allaying the fears of the Ming Emperor, officiated a policy which forbade travel abroad, especially to China, by Korean monks on pain of death (Kim 2012:29). Buddhist monks were themselves prohibited from entering the four gates of Seoul in 1430 (Institute

1993:181), distancing them not only politically, but physically, from their previous seats of power.

The Yŏnsan'gun (燕山君, r. 1494-1506), the 10th King of Chosŏn, would finalize the separation of Buddhism and state by abolishing the state issued examination for new monastics. He would further remove any governmental backing of the remaining two sanctioned schools of Buddhism, leaving the religion to fend for itself. These actions officially cut all ties with Buddhism as a state protecting force, and Buddhism as a whole was henceforth isolated from any official governmental representation.

Throughout this period of intense persecution, monastic voices of protest went largely unheard. Eventually taking on an air of contrition for previous abuses by clergy, important Buddhist leaders would write appeals to government officials, arguing simply that Buddhism should not be completely excluded from society. Further survival techniques would include a more pronounced inclusion of Confucian, Daoist, and Shamanic principles into public rituals and on temple grounds. Buddhism primarily survived through practices of the laity and noble women who sought to support temples and favored teachers (Kim 2012:41).

One unique tactic taken to demonstrate contrition for previous wrongs and support of the government was Buddhist monastics taking up arms to show an active investment in the physical protection of the state. In the final decade of the sixteenth century, after Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598) had succeeded in unifying the islands of Japan, Hideyoshi's armies aggressively sought to conquer the Chosŏn state and Ming China in two separate military campaigns that occurred in 1592-1596, and again in 1597-1598. During these invasions, "the monk Sosan Hyujong (1520-1604) raised a massive army of monks. This army, in collaboration with the

Ming army, successfully fought off Hideyoshi's armies, recovered the capital, and escorted King Sŏnjo (宣祖, r. 1567-1608) from exile back to the court in Seoul" (Kim 2012:31).

What little benefit the monks gained from this success was quickly overturned as the Confucian authorities found a new form of labor for the monks. Monks were assigned to the military ranks and served throughout the country. They were also charged with building fortresses, and then staffing these fortresses. Temples were built in or near several of these fortifications, and monks would dress in military garb by day and keep to the monastic schedule in the morning and evening. Their military service was often done at their own expense, costing the government little. This further discouraged Buddhist practice until the numbers of Buddhist monastics dwindled to a mere 8,000 (Kim 2012:37).

With such a drastic change in fortunes, it is remarkable that Buddhism did not die out entirely within the borders of Chosŏn. While Buddhism was still visible to the rare traveler in the Korea, it was obvious that to be a propagator of the Buddhist faith, one must endure great hardships. While there were a few exceptions to the treatment of Buddhism due to the occasional sympathetic ruler, or pressure from neighboring governments, this management of Buddhist monks would continue as the status quo for some 500 years.

Late Chosŏn and Competition

As Western powers encroached on East Asian civilization at the beginning of the 19th century, Korea experienced little harassment and was able to fight off any infringement of its sovereignty due to its tributary relationship with China. Nonetheless, as the regent Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn'gun (興宣大院君, r. 1863-1873) observed Western Imperialism's detrimental effect on

China to their east, and Japan's rapid transformation to their west, the government decided to limit its interaction with the rest of Asia. It was determined that, in order to survive the plague of modernization spreading throughout the continent, a more stringent Hermit Kingdom policy would need to be adopted. Recognizing Japan's increasingly aggressive dialogue and abandonment of former arrangements with its neighbors, the Taewŏn'gun especially doubted Japanese calls for a united Pan-Asian front, when "he believed [that Japan] had betrayed the East Asian tradition" (Kim 1999: 9).

In addition to the threat posed by modernization, the Taewŏn'gun found the spread of Catholicism to be equally disturbing. Confucian scholars believed that the practice of Catholicism, which promoted equality among the people, the worship of Jesus Christ above even the King, and focused heavily on a foreign source of power in Rome, was heterodoxical. This foreign system was contrary to the hierarchical system of Confucianism and, it was argued, promoted the betrayal of Korea to Rome.

In addition to governmental suspicion of Catholicism, and Christianity in general, Buddhist monastics also disapproved of this new religious rival, for it was popular amongst their core adherents—the laity—who had traditionally supported Buddhism throughout their own persecution. This distrust and hostility of Christianity would be shared by their Japanese counterparts, which will be explored further in later chapters.

Over the course of its history in the Korean peninsula, Buddhism has been directly tied to the motivations of the governmental body in power. From its humble beginnings as a migrant religion, Buddhism rose to a place of unparalleled success throughout the Unified Silla and Koryŏ dynasties, only to suffer the consequences of its own hubris once the Chosŏn dynasty

began. This history provided a much needed context, for as the Chosŏn dynasty melds into the Han Empire, and eventually succumbs to the Japanese Occupation, the changes in the behavior of the Korean *sangha* will present itself based on the shared historical knowledge of Buddhist monastics. The past will shape Korean Buddhist-decision making as opportunities to change or improve their circumstances arise with the influx of Japanese influence.

Chapter 2: Missionaries and Monastics (1876-1895)

Over the course of the 19th century, signs of deterioration in the prominence of Confucian ideology in public life became unmistakable. Centuries of closed borders, mingled with increasingly stringent interpretations of and adherence to Confucian thought, caused significant social and cultural stagnation in Chosŏn. The barriers between social classes became unsurmountable as the government continuously augmented the ancestral restrictions for civil and military duty (Hwang 2004:1-3), and gender roles became increasingly stratified (Yoo 2008:19). Additionally, the *han'gul* writing system, which had initially been introduced during the reign of King Sejong to provide more equity between the *yangban* and peasant classes, was not utilized as Confucian literati continued to use the Chinese writing system in order to sustain their influence over education and administration. This monopoly on power would result in vicious rebellion as war in East Asia intensified and foreign powers began to interfere with Chosŏn affairs. Instead of acting as a solidifying force, Korean Confucianism found itself incapable of accommodating modernization, and as a result faced very real challenges to its authority by the very ideologies it sought to repress.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Confucianism could no longer sustain its place as the main state religion, and began its transfer towards the periphery of national politics. Subsequently, when the last Confucian civil service exam was proctored in 1894, religious competition had already been fully engaged in a fierce struggle for domination to fill the spiritual vacuum vacated by Confucianism for several decades. After the signing of the Kanghwa Treaty on February 28, 1876, three major players would seek to fill the role as the ideological head of the Korean peninsula: Buddhism, Christianity, and Shintō.

Clergy from these three traditions came to serve the interests not only over their particular denomination, but also their home government. Although several branches of Christianity operated in Korea, albeit with somewhat dubious legality, the main proponents were Catholicism, which was supported primarily by the French, and various forms of American Protestantism, with the Presbyterian and Methodist churches taking primacy. In the years before the First World War, and likewise before the United States involvement in the Pacific War, both of these nations provided ample wealth for the dissemination of Christianity. Well versed in the art of evangelization and well supplied with no shortage of enthusiastic young missionaries, these churches would usurp Confucian predominance in education and actively support scholarship in *han'gul*, as opposed to the Chinese system, *hanja* (Chin 2015:61). Additionally, missions would provide medical services, displacing Chinese apothecaries, Buddhist prayer and shamanic rituals as the principal forms of health care (Kim and Kim 2015:66). The rapid gains among Christian adherents alarmed both Korean and Japanese authorities, resulting in a need for a challenging ideology.

Concurrently, Buddhism was struggling for its own modern identity. While Buddhist practice has significant history in Korea, the capacity for Korean Buddhist evangelization was limited due to prolonged persecution. Witnessing the successes of Christian missionaries in their own country, Korean Buddhists would therefore reach out to Japanese Buddhists as a source of authority and protection, who were themselves acting both in self and state interests.

The justification of this transmission of Buddhism from Japan to Korea was manifold, depending on both the school transmitting the dharma, and the individual monks conducting the transmission. Beyond the desire to return the favor of transmitting the dharma to their source nation and thereby assisting in the restoration of the *sangha*, Japanese clergy also sought to

protect themselves from nativist criticisms at home by proving the supremacy of Buddhism to its new competition abroad (Uchida 2011:39).

Regardless of these impulses, the Japanese clergy who arrived in Korea were at the very least impacted by the rhetoric of their home country, particularly that of Pan-Asian thought. First popularized in Japan by Katō Hiroyuki (1836-1916), Pan-Asianism provided a direct counterargument to the Western understanding and theory of social Darwanism, which placed the white races of Europe at the apex within a hierarchy of civilization. Countering Western justification for its own supremacy, Japanese scholars argued that it was the "focus on the collective struggle for existence among nations and races, rather than the Anglo-American focus on individual capitalistic competition" (Shin 2006:29) that proved that the yellow race was superior to its competitors. Seeing themselves as an alternate locus for civilization, Japanese scholars would appeal to a sense of shared race and culture in its call for "cooperation and solidarity among the yellow race, and particularly the peoples of China, Japan, and Korea" (Shin 2006:30).

Despite this call for solidarity, there existed an underlying assumption of the superiority of Japanese culture above all else, and the resulting postulation that East Asian culture would logically submit to this paramount civilization. This sense of supremacy stemmed from cultural evolutionism, or the "belief that all human societies pass through progressive developmental stages from barbarism towards the 'evident end' of civilization" (Atkins 2010:55) promoted by Herbert Spencer (1820-1903). With a shared sense of Pan-Asian identity, Japanese clergy presented themselves as the predominant race *vis-à-vis* Western cultures and within Asia. They would then perplexingly look upon their Korean counterparts with a sense of detached nostalgia, as if they were looking back in time on their own primitive selves (Atkins 2010:4). By doing so,

they would take part in “the collapse of time and space whereby [they] recapitulated prehistory” (Wolfe 1999:35). It was this underlying philosophy which led Japanese clergy to take on a *mission civilisatrice* when it came to their Korean Buddhist brethren.

Although Shintō would come to play a major role, and will be addressed in a more substantial way in chapter 3, proponents of Shintō had not truly entered into the realm of competition in Korea. More agency has been given to State Shintō’s efficacy in Korea than is warranted, as will be highlighted in the subsequent chapter, as the process of imperialization, and thus observance of State Shintō, did not truly come to pass until well into the colonial period. The earliest extension of the Ise Shrine, Keijō Jinga, was built by Japanese colonial settlers and for Japanese colonial settlers in 1898 (Henry 2014:62), and would endure for the majority of its existence as a religious, rather than political, site.

Buddhism and Christianity take the center stage in this chapter, as they encounter one another in competition for the first time on the peninsula in the years between the signing of the Kanghwa treaty and the social upheaval of 1895. In this chapter, I will address the effects of the Meiji Restoration on Japanese Buddhism, and thus, illustrate some of the immediate justification for the expansion of Japanese Buddhism outside of Japan. Additionally, I will introduce the influx of Christianity to the peninsula and its rapid growth amid persecution. Finally, I will show how Japanese Buddhist clergy would act on the behalf of imperial aspirations, propagating both a sense of Pan-Asian solidarity through the venue of Buddhism as it existed in its competition with Christianity, and a sense of prestige among other members of the “yellow race.”

Martyrdom and Ascension of Korean Christianity

Following the Imjin Wars (1592-1598, 壬辰倭亂), the relationship between Japan and Korea normalized, albeit with some new cautionary parameters. In 1603, new agreements were drawn between the two nations in the Kiyu Treaty. While trade agreements were renewed, travel for Japanese nationals was restricted to Pusan. Additionally, Japanese delegates were no longer allowed to enter the capital, as it was the path from Pusan to Seoul that Hideyoshi followed to rain down destruction during the wars. Instead, all business between the nations was conducted either through the Korean embassy in Edo or through Tsushima (Key-Huik Kim 1999:6). Even with these stipulations, Korea permitted very few delegations to travel to Tsushima; between 1631 and 1860, only 54 Missions were sent from Korea (Key-Huik Kim 1999:7).

Exacerbating this new sense of isolation, in the Manchu Invasions of 1627 and 1636, the newly empowered Qing dynasty sought and succeeded in forcing Chosŏn to accept a tributary position to their nation, effectively severing the earlier suzerainty with the crumbling Ming dynasty. Shortly thereafter, Korea closed her borders along the Yalu River, increasing Korea's seclusion from the exchange of ideas and thought. The already weakened Buddhist community was effectively cut off from exchange of outside ideas with their closest brethren.

Historically, the border enforcements of Chosŏn were brutal. Foreigners found within the borders of Korea, whether by shipwreck or personal curiosity, found themselves permanent visitors. When Hendrick Hamel, a bookkeeper on the Danish *De Sperwer*, was shipwrecked along with 35 others on Jeju Island in 1653, he and his compatriots found themselves unable to leave and were taken into the custody of the Korean government (Griffis 1882:167-76). Despite this harsh enforcement, the border proved to be more porous than assumed, especially to ideas

that would later prove to be subversive to the Confucian hierarchy. Surprisingly, it was not those who sought to undermine the government by crossing illegally into Chosŏn that first introduced Christianity to Korea, but rather the *yangban* elite.

In the late 18th century, Chosŏn faced a series of epidemics that challenged the core of Confucian efficacy in Korea. Attempting to reform Confucianism to best work with the changing times, Chosŏn scholars looked outside their borders for ideas. From 1777 to 1779, a group of scholars met at a Buddhist temple to discuss Catholic teachings brought back from China on diplomatic missions. Ultimately deciding not to incorporate Christian teachings because they were unable to amalgamate the ideas found in Catholicism with Confucianism, the teachings did foster a certain level of curiosity, especially in the son of one dignitary, Yi Sŭnghun.

Taking up the journey with his father on a diplomatic mission to China, Yi Sŭnghun requested to learn more about Christianity and visited the North Church in Beijing. After receiving the teachings, he was baptized "Peter" by French Jesuit missionary Jean Joseph de Gramont in 1784 (Kim and Kim 2015:21). A year later, Yi Sŭnghun along with several others were caught by Chosŏn authorities in a prayer meeting, prompting their arrest. This event is the first government recorded interaction with Christians, and it led to the first martyr in Korea: Kim Pŏmu (Kim and Kim 2015:24).

Over the next decade, despite King Chŏngjo's (r. 1776-1800) order prohibiting the further importation of Catholic books and images, and destruction of items currently in the country (Kim and Kim 2015:27), a reported 1,000 Koreans converted to Christianity. This initial success was followed by the first ordained priest, James Zhou Wen-mo (1752-1801), being smuggled into Chosŏn on Christmas Eve in 1794 (Kim and Kim 2015:27). Despite its status as a

dissident entity, the church had a small following in the late 18th and early 19th century, and up to 10,000 church members[3] had been baptized by the turn of the century (Kim and Kim 2015:30).

Viewing this growth as a menacing influx of a heterodoxical foreign religion, Dowager Queen Chŏngsun (r. 1800-1805) formally decreed a prohibition of Catholicism, resulting in the execution of 156 Korean Catholics, including their only ordained pastor, James Zhou Wen-mo, and several other important religious figures. In September of 1801, a *yangban* convert by the name of Alexander Hwang Sayŏng, wrote his grievances against the Chosŏn governments treatment of Catholics on a silk handkerchief with the intent of smuggling it to French Catholic officials in China. In his letter, Hwang requested that the "Pope ask the Chinese emperor to order the Korean king to grant freedom of worship to all Catholics in his kingdom" (Hwang and Kim 2009:165). Upon discovery, Hwang was tried and found guilty of "great sedition and depravity" before being executed in the most excruciating form of capital punishment possible: death by slicing. After his death on November 5, 1801, the circumstances surrounding the event would be known as the "Silk Letter Incident." This infamous "silk letter" was used as evidence of attempted foreign subversion of the Chosŏn government and validated the belief that Korean Catholics were, in fact, traitors serving a foreign enemy.

The very same year, the *Tosa Kyomun*, or Edict on Catholicism, was declared. The *Tosa Kyomun* proclaimed all Catholics should be treated as traitors and put to death so that they would have no descendants. Rather than convert, or face a painful death of themselves and their families, the majority of the Catholic community chose to escape into the mountains, where they would exist quietly, albeit with the occasional minor persecution, for the next three decades.

[3] A more conservative estimate is 2,000

In 1836, the Catholic Church established a 'fledgling church' hierarchy in Chosŏn and smuggled French Catholic priests Pierre Philibert Maubant and Jacques-Honoré Chastan into the country. Bishop Laurent Marie Joseph Imbert would follow them in 1837. Their stay in Chosŏn would not be for long, for in 1839, during the Kihae persecution, all three of these French Catholics would be captured and beheaded, along with 121 of their Korean converts (Kim and Kim 2015:40). In defiance of these persecutions, Catholics would establish a theological college in Paeron in 1855, and Peter Ch'oe Hyŏng would set up a Catholic *han'gul* printing press in Seoul in 1860.

By 1863, the population of Korean Catholics had again surged to alarming numbers. As the Taewŏn'gun took power, he noted this distressing growth and increased the severity of Catholic persecution. In 1866 the Taewŏn'gun ordered the arrest of all priests and converts in the country. Between 1866 and 1871, 91 Catholics were arrested, among them Bishop Siméon-François Berneux and eight French missionaries, who were summarily executed. This maltreatment of Catholics would lead to an international incident between Korea and France in October of 1866 when French Rear Admiral Pierre-Gustave Roze left China on a punitive mission, with Henri de Bellonet, French *charge d'affaires* in Beijing, declared that "the day the Korean king laid his hands upon the French missionaries marked the end of his own kingdom" (Key-Huik Kim 1999:15).

After defeating the consequent invasion by the French military at Kangwha Island, it became obvious to Chosŏn officials that their sovereignty was under direct attack. The Taewŏn'gun therefore adopted a policy of "no treaties, no trade, no Catholics, no West, and no Japan" as a method of survival (Cummings 1997:100). When the American merchant ship, the *General Sherman*, attempted to open trade with Chosŏn by means of force in 1866, but was

destroyed by Korean military garrisons, the US government retaliated in 1871. After this event, a correlation between Western aggression and Christianity was drawn in the minds of the Chosŏn authorities and the majority of commoners, as it was believe that Korean Catholics had notified US authorities of the Chosŏn governments' role in the fate of the *General Sherman*. As a result, the Stele Rejecting Conciliation (*Ch'ŏkhwapi*)[4] was erected throughout Seoul and other major cities, causing the bloodiest period of repression thus far in which up to eight thousand Korean Catholics, or more than half of the Catholic community in Korea, were executed (Kim and Kim 2015:47).

Throughout these periods of persecution, Catholicism would be the primary form of Christianity present in Chosŏn, and the only form of Christianity with official missionaries present. Protestant Christians would occasionally find ways to break through the borders of Chosŏn, but without the intention of forming a mission field. In 1832, Karl A. F. Gützlaff, a German Protestant missionary who was travelling with the East India Company along the western coast of Korea, distributed Christian literature to the Korean coastal communities. Additionally, in 1865, Robert Jermain Thomas, a Welsh missionary who spent the majority of his life in China, also distributed Bible tracts along the coast of the Hwanghae province. It was only after 1873, when the Taewŏn'gun was ousted, that Korea would receive its first long-term Protestant missionary, an American Presbyterian by the name of John Ross (1842-1915), who would sell Christian literature at Corea gate (Kim and Kim 2015:56).

[4] "If you do not fight when foreign barbarians attack, in effect you are colluding with them. If you call for conciliation with them, you are betraying your country. We hereby warn the descendants of the next ten thousand years."

Buddhism in Meiji

In March of 1854, a fleet of seven US Navy ships led by Commodore Matthew Perry arrived in Edo Bay to discuss trade negotiations with Tokagawa Japan. Following on the heels of his predecessors' failures, Perry attempted to appeal to the Japanese government with an exchange of Christian goodwill and friendship, in addition to an incongruously threatening undertone of military might mentioned in passing. In his letters, Perry endeavored to convince the Shogunate that trade between the United States and Japan would be mutually beneficial and would provide peace of mind to the West, knowing that shipwrecked sailors would find safe passage back home if they ever ended up on Japanese shores. After suffering repeated rejections, Perry prepared his ships for a more aggressive encounter. In his final written correspondence with the Japanese government, Perry issued a terse and succinct letter, along with a white flag, to the Emperor of Japan. In it, he promised to open fire on Edo unless the government adjusted their stance. "If in such a situation," he wrote, "you seek for reconciliation, you should put up the white flag that we have recently presented to you, and we would accordingly stop firing and conclude peace with you, turning our battleship aside" (Perry 1853).

Struggling with their own tenuous grip on power, and suffering from a lack of strong leadership from the Shōgun, the Tokugawa government entered into an agreement with Perry. In March of 1854, the Treaty of Kanagawa was signed, and several Japanese port cities were opened to the United States. Consequently, treaties were then formed between Japan and Britain, Russia and France, resulting in the increased influence of the West in Japanese affairs.

This traumatic reordering of political and economic structure brought about a radical reorganization of Japanese society. With regards to Buddhism, this failure of state security

challenged the very station of Buddhism in Japan. In Japan, as in much of East Asia, Buddhism served as a state protecting power, and as a result enjoyed a certain level of security provided by the state. This encroachment of Western powers on Japan and the forced opening of the nation served to negate the efficacy of Buddhisms' protecting power. Additionally, this weakness provided a convenient point of attack to discount the celestial backing of the Shōgun's 250 years long monopoly on power.

Playing off long standing resentments toward both the Shōgonate and Buddhism, nativist scholars were able to wrest a significant amount of power from Buddhist institutions. A few short months after Commodore Perry's trade negotiations with Japan, the Ministry of State issued the following statement to their local governments:

> This year the American barbarians have again entered our harbors. In the fall the Russian barbarians entered the Inland Sea. There can be only one concern for our nation at this time: the defense of our seas. To accomplish this goal all the bells in temples throughout the land will be refashioned into cannon and rifles (Ketelaar 1990:3).[5]

This proclamation served to illustrate two radical adjustments to administrative policy. Firstly, the removal and destruction of temple bells was a direct assault to the efficacious nature of those bells, which "stood guard over the dharma and [the] Imperial land" (Ketelaar 1990:4). The destruction of the temple bells was an attempt by the government to erase the significance of these symbols of power, and thus, in the eyes of the peasantry, demonstrate the inability of Buddhism to protect the masses. Additionally, it would mark the beginnings of an aggressive and retaliatory relationship between Japan's Meiji government and Buddhist clergy.

Commoners protested the desecration of temples for the sake of the nation's new militaristic ideology, concerned about the potential harm that would befall the nation with the

[5] Ministry of State 1854 Proclomation

desecration of temples. However, to nativist scholars, the abuse and humiliation Japan suffered by the hands of extraneous powers was directly linked to the foreign influences previously tolerated in Japanese society, primarily Buddhism. As an imported religion from China and Korea, Buddhism represented Japan's previous subservient relationship to outside powers. Proclaiming Japanese indigenous racial and spiritual supremacy, and rejecting foreign traditions, was the first step towards disavowing the historical subordination of Japan to outside nations.

Therefore, while scholars left Japan for the West in droves in order to learn, modernize and navigate the philosophies and ideologies of the West, there was also a powerful xenophobic undercurrent passing through Japan. Additionally, these early years would feed into the Meiji Restoration's eventual policy of *haibutsu kishaku* (廃仏毀釈), or literally to "abolish Buddhism and destroy Shakyamuni." Instead of Buddhism, the predominant religion of the state would be Shintō.

While Buddhism had existed for more than a millennium in Japan, developing and becoming its own entity firmly entrenched within the traditions of Japan, it was still seen as a foreign religion, and therefore symbolic of the previous subservient relationship between Japan and China. Nativist portrayal of Buddhists as agents of an insidious force that emerged from the outside influence of China would expand and become more severe as the years passed. Beginning with the Meiji Restoration in 1868, *haibutsu kishaku* would result in the destruction of tens of thousands of temples, the forced disassociation of Buddhism and Shintō, the displacement of Buddhist monastics' station in society, and the loss of the preeminent placement Buddhism had enjoyed over the past several hundred years.

The most shocking of these changes would occur in 1872, when the Ministry of State issued the following declaration: "Priests may do as they wish regarding the eating of meat,

marriage, and cutting of their hair. Moreover, they need not be concerned about the propriety of wearing commoner's clothing while not performing official duties" (Ketelaar 1990:6). While not appearing at first glance to be of great consequence, this order officially ruptured the relationship between Buddhist sects and the Japanese government. No longer would the Japanese government be involved in the enforcement of the *vinaya*; rather, it would be up to the *sangha* to self-regulate and determine its own future.

The method of destroying Buddhism, while strengthening and establishing Shintō as a state protecting power, took several decades. In the end, Amaterasu was established throughout the nation not only as the kami of the emperor, but of the common people as well. She would become the deity by which Japan would solidify itself as one national entity under her descendant, the emperor, a "living kami." Through this familial relationship between the divine and the earthly, nativist scholars were able to propagate a sense of ethnic nationalism among the Japanese people that would come to play a very large part in the imperial expansion of the Japanese government in the ensuing decades.

While this degree of Buddhist persecution was not sustained beyond 1874, it served as a stark lesson for the precarious position in which Buddhism existed. Japanese Buddhist actively sought to find ways to prove its usefulness and relevance to the Meiji government. Buddhist clergy would play a vital role in the modernization and education of the Japanese people, as well as the propagation of new state teachings. Additionally, as Japan reached out past its own traditional borders, Buddhist clergy would be called upon to be extensions of the state.

When the Taewŏn'gun was ousted in 1873 by factions loyal to Queen Min (明成皇后, r. 1873-1895), and King Kojong (高宗光武帝, r. 1863-1907) rose to full power, the Japanese government was quick to capitalize on the resulting political instability before Western powers

could. In 1875, a small warship, the *Un'yō,* was dispatched to survey the coastal waters of Korea without the permission of the Korean government. When their ship approached Kanghwa, a militarily fortified island with a recent history of bloody confrontation with foreign powers, on September 20, the Korean garrison defended the location with force. As a result, the *Un'yō* was "obliged" to return fire, and quickly subdued the Korean garrison with its superior firepower.

Bursting with sensationalized outrage, Japanese authorities demanded reparations for the affront from the Korean government, and would only be satisfied with the signing of the Kwanhwa Treaty (江華島條約). In this treaty, the tributary relationship between Qing China and Korea was dissolved (article 1), the intermediary relationship of Tsushima was absolved (article 4), and direct diplomatic communication between the Japanese mainland and Korea was instituted (article 2). Additionally, three major ports would be opened to Japanese trade (article 5), along with stipulations allowing unfettered access to trade, the leasing of land, and the conducting of business without interference, restrictions, or prohibitions from either government (articles 8 and 9).

Most important to the Japanese clergy, however, was the right of extraterritoriality (article 10). This article directly mimicked similar Western treaties imposed throughout Asia. In addition to allowing Japanese citizens relative immunity from local laws, it implied that the host government's laws were not only crude and backwards, but primitive and unjust. It was with this provision that Japanese clergy would be permitted freedom of access not seen by Korean monastics for centuries.

As the Kanghwa Treaty forced Korea open in much the same way that the US opened Japan, Japanese missionaries began to expand their sect's dharma field out of Japan and onto the peninsula. Less than one year after the treaty was signed, Okumura Enshin (1843-1913) of the

Higashi Honganji travelled to Pusan as the first modern Buddhist missionary in Chosŏn (Hwansoo Kim 2012:110). Still stinging from the memories of their sudden and abrupt persecutions, more Japanese clergy would follow Okumura to prove their worth in the eyes of the people and the government that they served. However, by the time they arrived, they found another familiar, and all-together too well established competitor, on the peninsula.

The Influx of Protestant Christianity

Waves of Japanese colonial settlers, missionaries, businessmen, and politicians would cross the East Sea, only to come into contact with a steadily increasing population of Korean Christian converts. The presence of Christianity was tolerated in Japan as a result of their own treaties with Western nations, but it was viewed more with alarm than acceptance among the Japanese authorities. After the signing of the Kanghwa Treaty, American Protestant missionaries began to expand their influence into Chosŏn.

In much the same way that Catholicism was introduced to Chosŏn, Protestantism would first be introduced through the social elite. The same year that the Kanghwa Treaty was signed, Chosŏn began a modernization program in which elite young Koreans were sent to Japan to study and made contact with Protestant Christians and foreign missionaries. Identifying modernization and political influence with Western powers and their own religion's efficacy, several of these young scholars would argue that "the adoption of Protestant Christianity would be a first step on the road to modernization" (Kim and Kim 2015:57). One of these young elites, Yi Sujŏng, would translate tracts from Chinese into *han'gul* as a result.

Simultaneously, at Corea Gate, John Ross would discover that while there were approximately 12,000 Korean Catholics in Chosŏn, there were no Protestants. In conjunction with beginning his evangelization movement in Chosŏn, Ross published the first Korean-language primer in English in 1877, and then the first English-language history of Chosŏn in 1879. Because of his reliance on the 'three-self' mission method, which proposed to make new churches self-propagating, self-supporting and self-governing as soon as soon as possible, Ross's evangelization method was able to quickly gain traction (Kim and Kim 2015:56).

Directly following the official opening of Korean ports and the granting of extraterritorial rights to Westerners in 1882 as a result of the Korean-American Treaty of Amity and Commerce (朝美修好通商條約) there was a surge in Christian missionary activities, including the first official extensions of US Protestant churches. A proliferation of translation work began among Protestant and Catholic camps in order to promote their own churches beliefs among the Korean populace. In contrast to Japanese Buddhist missionaries, Protestant missions would immediately begin with social outreach. In 1882, the first Christian school in Korea, Inhyŏn, was established. Following that, Dr. Horace Newton Allen (1858–1932), a Presbyterian missionary, would open the first Western-style hospital 1885. Christian missionary activity would be further identified with social betterment when Mary Scranton (1832-1909) founded Korea's first school for girls, Ewha, in 1886, and Henry Appenzeller (1858-1902) and Horace Grant Underwood (1859-1916) would open similar schools for boys in the same year.

Despite decades of Christian prosecution, it was, surprisingly enough, Queen Min herself who reached out to Western missionaries, asking for their aid in the modernizing of Chosŏn in 1884. Furthermore, in 1887, King Kojong gave official permission for Protestant Missionaries to venture outside the major cities and into the countryside to continue in their work. With this

official support, Protestant missionaries were able to expand the mission field rapidly in comparison to Catholic missionaries.

Japanese authorities were justifiably alarmed by this sudden increase in Christian zeal in Chosŏn. In much the same way that Japan would initially seek to use Buddhism to incorporate modernization and Japanese values, Western Christian missionaries promoted their own European and US values as an extension of imperial ambitions. The leaders of Japan, having long seen Korea as "a knife at the throat of Japan", believed that these foreign religions challenged the supremacy of the yellow race in East Asia and sought to undermine the Asian nations. Justifiably fearing the expansion of Western imperialization into Korea, not only economically and militarily, but culturally and spiritually, Japanese authorities sought to overtake Western influences with Japanese principles. Therefore, attempts at Pan-Asian religious life were propagated by Japanese Buddhist clergy, who set out to restore the dharma field in Korea and prove the strength of their patriotic fervor.

Perhaps it was William Griffis (1843-1928), famed American orientalist and minister, who best posed the question for the future of Korean religious life when he wrote:

> Among the surprises of history is the fact that, in 1876, the Shin, or Reformed sect of Japanese Buddhism, sent their missionaries to Corea to preach and convert. . . Evidently, this vigorous sect is resolutely endeavoring not only to recoup the losses which Christianity has made in its ranks in Japan, but is determined to forestall the exertions of Christian missionaries in the [Korean] peninsula. The question of the future may be, "Shall Chōsen be Buddhist or Christian?" (Griffis 1885:335-36)

Korean Buddhist Encounters

The drama being played out at the national level was not unnoticed nor unfelt by the Korean *sangha*. While not possessing political strength, they understood their role as gatekeepers

and interpreters of Korean culture for their Japanese brethren. Similar to the behavior of contemporary ethnographic informants, Korean monastics provided connections to the people, the society, and to the scant temple resources. Upon arriving in Korea, every serious attempt at Japanese missionary work first began by reaching out and attempting to gain allies in the Korean *sangha*. The Japanese clergy did not have to look very far.

In the first few years of Okumura's residency in Pusan, several hundred Korean monks visited him to discuss a variety of issues. Several of these monastics would implore Okumura send them to Japan for educational purposes, while others would seek to find favor with him for political reasons (Hwansoo Kim 2012:87). Furthermore, when Sano Zenrei (1864–1917), a Nichiren priest, first arrived in Pusan in 1895, he was immediately inundated with potential students, some of whom he sent to Japan for education (Hwansoo Kim 2012:87).

Although Korean monks had always participated in welcoming Japanese delegations in Korea during the Chosŏn dynasty, it was embarrassingly obvious to Buddhist representatives from both countries that Korean monks were considered to be far inferior to their Japanese brethren in Chosŏn society. Takeda Hanshi (1863–1911), a Sōtō priest, observed that the Korean "people considered the monk's robe as nothing more than dirt and shit," and that "even children chase and ridicule [Korean monks]." Additionally, while Korean monks were prohibited from entering the gates of Seoul, Japanese priests were given unprecedented access to both the Capital and her rulers due to their extraterritorial rights. They were permitted not only to enter the city, but also gained the ability to petition for audiences with King Kojong, which allowed them to petition him for the improved treatment of Buddhist clergy and monastics (Hwansoo Kim 2012:118, 122). Furthermore, Japanese priests were permitted to ride horses, dialogue with *yangban*, and move throughout the country unhindered (Hwansoo Kim 2012:99).

Even Americans took note of the disparity between Japanese and Korean Buddhists. The *Korean Review* wrote:

> The Buddhism of Korea is very different from that of Japan. In [Japan, Buddhism] is on a higher social plane than here and men of influence give it both moral and financial support. Representatives of that religion in Japan travel to different parts of the world and visit its other branches and so a certain degree of fellowship and rapport has been established; but in Korea the extremely low social status of Buddhism and its political insignificance would not warrant or encourage any efforts to arouse enthusiasm along such lines (Korean Review, April 1905).

While Japanese clergy in Japan suffered through the Meiji persecution, they operated as agents of the state in Korea, and they found the respect and status that had been lost due to the increase of nativist rhetoric in Japan.

As Japan's power increased, both within Korea and globally, Japanese Buddhist representatives were allowed far more access to the governmental powers of Chosŏn than Korean Buddhist agents. Japanese Buddhist clergy saw this dynamic and used it to their advantage. Clergy who felt that their practices were superior to Korean understandings of Buddhism would use their official status to exert their influence over Korean monks. In one case, a Korean monastic approached Okumura and inquired about the teachings of his particular school. Upon learning that Okumura was more interested in the other-power salvation provided by devotion to Amida Buddha than the self-power of Sŏn, the Korean monastic argued that his practice of self-sufficiency was superior to chanting *nembutsu*. After debating the issue at length, Okumura resorted to mocking and eventually threatened the monk by informing him that he would have the Korean authorities arrest him if he pursued the issue further. The Korean monk repented and deferred to Okumura. One can gather from Okumura's diary that, following this argument, Okumura would regularly employ the tactic of political intimidation when he was unsure if he had convinced a visiting monk of the legitimacy of his argument. As a result, very

few Korean monks would challenge the methodologies of his school; a fact of which he was quite proud (Kim 2012:85-88).

The Korean monks, for their part, were unable to compete at the same level as their Japanese counterparts. The Hermit Kingdom policy, along with Chosŏn's reluctance to allow Buddhist leeway to travel abroad, left Korean Buddhism behind in both education and propagation techniques. Furthermore, Buddhist persecution within Korea prevented monastics from exercising their religion outside the dilapidated temples of the country-side. Therefore, when the Japanese monks arrived to spread their own school's ideology, there was no shortage of Korean monastics eager to use the political power of the Japanese to their advantage.

Those Korean monastics who converted would, by and large, submit to Japanese ideology as a means of survival and social betterment. Some Korean monks, skilled at using the Japanese sense of superiority against them, were capable of temporarily submitting to the system proposed by the various Japanese schools, and thus gained access to the world beyond the borders of Chosŏn. Yi Tong'in (1850?-1881) would be the first modern Korean monk to convert to and become a monk of a Japanese order in 1880 (Hwansoo Kim 2012:113). Within a year of his return to Korea, he was nominated by King Kojong as advisor to the new Office for the Management of State Affairs. Until his mysterious disappearance shortly after his appointment, Yi Tong'in was used as an example of the superiority of Japanese Buddhism, reflected even in his Buddhist name, which translated as "Chosŏn savage," and the supremacy of Higashi Honganji (Hwansoo Kim 2012:116). Yi Tong'in, in particular, was presented to the court as evidence of the civilizing power of Japanese culture and religion, as opposed to the primitive forms of Korean Buddhism.

Although many sects of Japanese Buddhist attempted to establish themselves in Korea, the Honganji and Nichiren schools seemed to have a higher level of success. Each of these schools followed a similar pattern of subjecting the local monastics to their particular form of Buddhism after securing support from the Chosŏn government, followed by conducting a "civilizing mission" of the primitive Korean monastics.

In these initial years of contact, while Confucianism still operated at some level in Korean society, it did so primarily at the home level. Buddhism and Christianity, each in their own way, sought to fill the gap left behind by this failing ideology. While each religious proponent possessed their own *modus operandi*, they consciously or unconsciously served as extensions of the state. Japanese Buddhists, challenged by their own sect's impermanence throughout the Meiji Restoration, sought to prove both its modern relevance and its capacity to serve Imperial ambitions by expanding the dharma field beyond the waters that surround their home nation.

By directly engaging Christian missionaries in competition, Japanese clergy would transmit their "evolved" form of Buddhism to Korea and combat the "perceived threat to public order posed by Christian missionaries" (Atkins 2010:119). The Japanese government, in turn, would mitigate its persecution of Buddhism in Japan and support it to a degree as it was "extremely dangerous to allow foreigners to grasp authority over religion" (Atkins 2010:120). This support would, however, be tenuous, as the expansion of Japanese Imperial ambitions would do more than expand the physical border of Japan's territory: it would begin its attempts of cultural assimilation through Shintō.

Chapter 3: Queens, Assassins, and Statesmen (1895-1905)

In the pre-dawn hours of October 8, 1895, the Taewŏn'gun entered Kyŏngbok palace accompanied by armed Japanese and Korean nationals. After taking custody of King Kojong and his eldest son, the Crown Prince Sunjong (隆熙帝, r. 1907-1910) the intruders entered the Queens chambers. The armed assailants, unsure of how to identify Queen Min due to her cloistered life, tore through the palace, assaulting and murdering maids along the way in their quest to find her.

A brilliant stateswoman, Queen Min had long been a thorn in the side of her father-in-law, the Taewŏn'gun. A main orchestrator of the Taewŏn'gun's political decline and the ascension of her husband, Queen Min had successfully outmaneuvered the Taewŏn'gun and dodged attempts at political and bodily destruction on multiple occasions as he sought to regain political power and authority (Underwood 1904:26). In his frustration, the Taewŏn'gun abandoned his deep seated distrust of the Japanese and, instead, reached out to them in order to regain power and authority over the kingdom. The Japanese authorities he reached out to would, in turn, gain a powerful alliance, allowing them to slowly take over the Korean government from within by placing statesmen amenable to Japanese imperial ambitions in seats of authority.

The hatred between Queen Min and the Taewŏn'gun's would reach its zenith during the invasion of the palace grounds, later known as the Ŭlmi Incident (乙未事變). Ultimately arranged and organized by Japans resident minister in Korea, Miura Gorō (1847-1926), this

morning would be the Queen's last. Alexander Seredin-Sabatin, a Russian architect who was staying on the palace grounds at the time, later reported the chaos:

> The courtyard where the queen's wing was located was filled with Japanese, perhaps as many as 20 or 25 men. They were dressed in peculiar gowns and were armed with sabers, some of which were openly visible. In command was some kind of Japanese with a long sword, apparently their chief. While some Japanese were rummaging around in every corner of the palace and in the various annexes, others burst into the queen's wing and threw themselves upon the women they found there. They pulled them out from inside their windows by the hair and dragged them across the mud, questioning them about something.
>
> I stayed where I was, and continued to observe the Japanese, turning things inside out in the queen's wing. Two Japanese grabbed one of the court ladies, pulled her out of the house, and ran down the stairs dragging her along behind them.
>
> Both of the Japanese, and a new one who had just joined them, ran up to me again, grabbed me by my gown, and dragged me off to the queen's chambers, demanding that I show them where she was hiding. Moreover one of the Japanese repeatedly asked me in English, "Where is the queen? Point the queen out to us!" I tried to convince them to leave me alone because I did not know and could not know where the queen was. But they did not listen to me, and just kept repeating, "Where is the queen! Point the queen out to us!"
>
> He then turned to me and said harshly, "We cannot find the queen. You know where she is! Point out to us where she is hiding!" I asked him to hear me out, and explained that not only did I not know where the queen was, but because of the secluded life of Korean women of the upper classes, I had never actually seen her, and that this was the first time in my life that I had ever found myself in the queen's wing.
>
> While passing by the main Throne Hall, I noticed that it was surrounded shoulder by shoulder by a wall of Japanese soldiers and officers, and Korean mandarins, but what was happening there was unknown to me."[6]

No one is entirely sure who dealt the death blow to the Queen, but what is known is she was stabbed to death by this invading party in full view of Chosŏn court officials. Afterwards,

[6] Testimony of the Russian citizen Seredin-Sabatint, in the service of the Korean court, who was on duty the night of September 26, 1895. Published on the internet by Gary Ledyard, Center for Korean Research, Columbia University. From the archives of the Foreign Ministry, Russian Federation, Yaponskiy stol, 487, 6, 73-75. http://koreaweb.ws/ks/ksr/queenmin.txt

her body was dragged through the courtyard to the mountain directly behind the palace. Once there, the assailants poured kerosene on her and incinerated the body.

This event, one of the most traumatic of the pre-colonial era, would unofficially come to represent Korea's subordination to Japan, years before the actual seizure of the land (Young-Soo Kim 2008:161). While the Annexation would not occur for several more years, Korea had lost its strongest voice in its quest to remain sovereign. In conjunction with the Kabo Reforms, which took place between 1894 and 1896, Korea essentially lost its capacity for self-governance. After the death of Queen Min, Cabinet members were overwhelmingly replaced by pro-Japanese influences, and several important positions in government were given to Japanese nationals.

After her slaying, international pressure descended on the Japanese government to find and hold responsible those who assassinated the Queen. On the afternoon of the Ŭlmi Incident, a meeting of the Diplomatic Corps Conference, in which representatives of England, Japan, Russia and the United States met, was called and convened regarding the murder of Queen Min. Dodging questions and ignoring gathered evidence implicating Japanese involvement in the assassination, Miura disavowed any Japanese involvement, instead saying that it was the Korean people who took issue with the Queen and not the Japanese. When faced with reports of eye-witness testimony stating that the invading party had been overwhelmingly Japanese, Miura defended his position saying that they were only dressed in Japanese clothing, and that because of the biases of other investigating parties were overwhelmingly negative against the Japanese government, "only testimonies that came from the Japanese soldiers were valid" (Young-Soo Kim 2008:168-69).

Despite this obstinate denial, the Japanese government would eventually arrest and transport 56 Japanese men to Hiroshima to stand trial for conspiracy and murder, including

Miura and Takeda Hanshi, a Sōtō priest. Even though multiple eye-witness accounts and other indications of guilt were presented to the court, those arrested and tried spent, at most, ninety days in prison before being released due to “lack of evidence.” Once those arrested were released, they were hailed as heroes by the Japanese public for killing the devious “fox” of Chosŏn.

Concurrently, in Korea, Kojong was unable to leave the palace due to the sudden and stark shift in power. After the assassination of one of his greatest assets and political strategists, Kojong was at the mercy of his faithless private guard and was made to sign multiple declarations that would benefit the pro-Japanese agenda. Among those declarations was a royal edict in which he blamed Queen Min for having "made dull our senses, exposed the people to extortion, put Our Government in disorder, selling offices and titles” (Bird 1898:276-77). In conjunction with this edict, he posthumously stripped her of her rank as Queen and demoted her to the level of the lowest class (Keene 2002:519).

On February 11, 1896, after several months of house arrest, with the assistance of US missionaries Horace Grant Underwood, Oliver Avison (1860-1956), and Homer Hulbert (1863-1949) and at the request of the US ambassador, King Kojong and the Crown Prince slipped out of the palace and sought refuge at the Russian legation. The official records of their escape and subsequent declarations are as follows:

> His Majesty confided his intention to no official in the Palace nor to any one connected with the Cabinet, and though closely watched managed, early in the morning to go out through the East Gate of the Palace in a closed chair such as is used by the palace women. The Crown Prince accompanied him in a similar chair. It had been customary for ladies of the Court and the women connected with the Palace to pass in and out of this gate in such chairs and the guards, supposing that they contained women, permitted them to pass without question.
>
> His Majesty and the Crown Prince had no escort, and the people in the Palace, supposing that they were asleep, did not discover for some time that they had left.

> They proceeded at once to the Russian Legation, where they arrived about twenty minutes past seven, and at once summoned a number of Koreans whom His Majesty knew to be faithful to himself, and issued edicts dismissing most of the members of the old Cabinet, appointing others in their place, and denouncing six persons. . . . The prime minister of the old Cabinet, Kim Hong Chip, and the Minister for Agriculture, Chung Pyung Ha, though not denounced in any proclamation, were arrested by the police and in the tumult and excitement were killed and their bodies exposed upon the street, where they were stoned and otherwise maltreated by the infuriated populace (Korean Repository, March 1896).

King Kojong would emerge from his sanctuary among a foreign power and return to the palace nearly one year later. After some months and preparations following his return to the palace, he would announce and form the Great Han Empire (光明天地, 1897-1910) in October, declaring himself as a new Emperor of a new dynasty. Posthumously declaring his wife with the new title of Empress Myeongseong (明成皇后), he also provided her with a lavish public funeral, allowing the Korean public to mourn the destruction of their monarch while also subtly declaring that from her ashes a powerful empire would be born.

The resulting political turmoil of these events were far reaching. Internationally, the event "triggered the beginning of a diplomatic confrontation between Russia and Japan over control of the Korean peninsula, and forced Russia to revise its policy regarding matters related to Korea" (Young-Soo Kim 2008:163). Domestically, it enabled an internal power struggle between King Kojong and rival factions which supported the Pan-Asian ideals of the Japanese government. Religiously, it highlighted the allegiances of religious representative's extraterritorial powers within the state. While events surrounding the behaviors of religious representatives have been mentioned in previous scholarship, it has not been framed in its involvement and response to these occasions. It would therefore be remiss to ignore the religious implications of the major events of the Ŭlmi Incident and how representatives of Christianity and Buddhism also directly acted as agents of their respective governments.

Therefore, this chapter will focus primary on the actions of religious agents as representatives of their respective states regarding the Ŭlmi Incident. Additionally, it shall illustrate how the government chose to impose control upon these various agents and dictated the extent to which they could act. While each party was acting in its own self-interest, the state would also impose itself upon the religious institutions in order to promulgate its own agenda abroad. Koreans, and in many ways Korean monastics, would be caught in the power struggle between these various authorities, causing significant tension in their quest to negotiate for relevance and survival.

Expedient Means

The involvement of Japanese Buddhist missionaries in the Ŭlmi incident illustrates how Japanese clergy, despite having their own aspirations in Chosŏn, acted in a very real way to manipulate the Korean government into a situation that was more in the best interest of the Japanese state. While they naturally would benefit from the adjustments to Korea's national laws following the incident, their behavior demonstrates more nationalistic than sectarian motivations. This, alongside the Kabo Reforms, which completely severed Confucianism from the state ideology and benefited Buddhism by lifting centuries old restrictions, illustrated how Buddhist interference in international affairs was welcomed by the Japanese government *to an extent*.

One of the two Japanese clergy involved in the assassination, Sano Zenrei, a Nichiren priest, worked directly with Muira, an ardent Nichiren adherent, to orchestrate the assassination. Sano arrived in Chosŏn on March 2, 1895 and immediately attempted to involve himself in Chosŏn governmental affairs by petitioning for a meeting with the King. While he awaited an

answer to his request for an audience, Sano would set about converting Korean monastics to his tradition. Already known as a character of somewhat dubious infamy on the Japanese mainland, Sano's understanding of conversion was questionable, as on some occasions the mere acceptance of a copy of the Lotus Sutra would count in his reports as a converted temple.

Just three short weeks after his arrival in Chosŏn, Sano was granted an audience with King Kojong in which he presented the King with a golden incense burner, and pressed him to lift the ban on monks entering Seoul. While the restriction had technically been lifted in the Kabo Reforms of the previous year, it had not yet been enacted. Therefore, when Korean monks were permitted to enter the capital the next month, Sano loudly took credit for the policy change and hosted a grand party in the center of Seoul celebrating the event. Appearing to make short work of a centuries-long repressive law, Sano was hailed by Korean monastics as a venerable monk who "removed [Korean monks] resentment of five hundred years" (Hwansoo Kim 2012:127). His popular regard would be short lived, however, when it was discovered that the golden incense burner presented to the King was fake. When the Chosŏn government naturally took offense at this embarrassment, Sano fled back to Japan where he stayed until 1910.

The majority of his actions during his few month stay in Chosŏn can be very easily read as the actions of a fervent, albeit misguided, sect representative acting in a manner that would best serve the Buddhist *sangha*. While that may indeed have been part of his motivations, there is no denying that he was involved in some rather disreputable behavior on behalf of the state. During his stay, he was encouraged to visit the Taewŏn'gun in order to gain support for his pro-Buddhist mission. During his meeting with the prince, it became apparent that the Japanese government and the Taewŏn'gun held a mutual hatred for Queen Min, who was becoming increasingly anti-Japanese. Acting as an intermediary, Sano collaborated with the Taewŏn'gun,

Muira, and other pro-Japanese influences to move against Queen Min. While the Queen did not take any direct action against the activities of the *sangha* in Chosŏn, she did take exception to pro-Japanese modernizing reforms being put into place that seemed to benefit a foreign government more than the indigenous people of Korea. Seeking to remove this roadblock, the mutually beneficial relationship between Sano and the Taewŏn'gun served to ensure that the Queen would not be an obstacle for much longer.

While Sano was not present the day of the assassination and was therefore unable to deliver a killing blow, his involvement in her murder is quite clear. This, and subsequent actions taken by Muira and the Taewŏn'gun with the knowledge and potential encouragement of Sano, demonstrates how Sano's actions were not purely religious in motivation. While he did stand to gain sectarian benefits from creating an alliance with the Taewŏn'gun, he willingly chose his level of involvement in state affairs. It is obvious from this meeting that while he recognized his place as a Nichiren priest, he also understood himself as an agent of his state and, therefore, would act in the best interest of the Japanese Empire.

While Sano's presence was brief, yet impactful, there are other examples of monastics taking part in state politics over a much longer time period. When the Sōtōshū priest, Takeda Hanshi, first arrived in Korean in 1892, it was primarily for nationalistic reasons. Traveling in and around Pusan, Takeda would raise funds for Pan-Asian activities and attempt to further reforms in Asia that would benefit a pro-Japanese agenda. He departed Korea shortly after his arrival to act as a spy for the Japanese government during the Sino-Japanese War. During his second tour the following year he took a more direct approach in his involvement in the political affairs of Chosŏn by involving himself in the Tonghak rebellion.

The Tonghak rebellion was a religio-political peasant uprising which began in February of 1894 as a response to heavy taxes and government corruption in the midst of deplorable living conditions. Western learning, or Sŏhak (西學), was considered to be a primary part of the problem, and the proposed solution could only occur through Eastern learning, or Tonghak (東學). Viewing outsider knowledge as poisonous, Westerners were disparaged as having "no logical sequence in their speaking, nor order in their written books, and no decorum in their worship" (Weems 1964:8). While many Korean members of Tonghak would view their actions within this movement as an expression of proto-ethnic nationalism, others would interpret the Tonghak rebellions as a manifestation of the necessity for Pan-Asian solidarity. Takeda would encourage the later and, by doing so, would embolden their fight against the Chosŏn government, especially Queen Min.

Even though the Tonghak rebellion was put down in April of 1895, several splinter political movements and new religions would form from the scattered remnants. The anti-Western views of Tonghak remained popular, and would bolster the rhetoric of pro-Japanese Pan-Asian groups. Ultimately, it was members of these groups that would collaborate with the Muira and Takeda in the Ŭlmi Incident on that October morning.

By Takeda's third tour of Chosŏn in 1895, it was obvious that he was acting as an entrenched member of the Japanese state, perpetuating the ideologies of Japanese Empire in high-risk situations not only in Chosŏn, but throughout Asia. Not only was he involved in bolstering Pan-Asian sentiments in Chosŏn, but he was witnessed among the group of men searching for Queen Min at Kyŏngbok Palace on October 8. The official report filed by Japanese consul Uchida Sadatsuchi placed Takeda at the scene arriving with the Taewŏn'gun's palanquin

before the chaos. Because of this, Takeda was one of the 56 Japanese men who stood trial in Japan for her assassination.

Takeda's involvement with the pro-Japanese members of Tonghak and Japanese nationalist fundraising in Chosŏn, in addition to the part he played in the Ŭlmi Incident, illustrate that in his first three tours of Korea, he identified strongly as an agent of the Japanese Empire. Exhibiting minimal interest in the missionary work of other sects, Takeda's actions were more for the benefit of imperial expansion. The Queen, while exhibiting anti-Japanese views, had not made any moves against the activities of Buddhist missionaries. Her assassination, as well as prior activities, had little to do with the Buddhist clergy's immediate work as caretakers of the expatriate community and purveyors of the dharma. While he would not return to Chosŏn for ten years after the trial, Takeda would continue to stay informed and involved in the politics of the peninsula, and would come to play an even greater role in the aspirations of the Japanese Empire and the Buddhist religion in the coming years.

Regardless of their nefarious dealings, the figures of Takeda and Sano exemplified the very real power and capacity of Japanese Buddhist clergy in the Chosŏn government. This power was recognized publicly by Korean authorities, and would result in recognition of Buddhist sects as centers of Japanese authority. After the lifting of the monastic travel ban, and more so after the assassination of the Queen, some Korean officials would demonstrate subservience to Japan by visiting Japanese Buddhist temples. Christian missionaries took note of this increased compliance with Japanese Buddhism and worried about its increased support:

> The Buddhistic tendency of the times is shown by the fact that Prince Yi Chă-sun, Yi Kŏn-ha, Yi Yong-ik, Min Chong-muk, Yun Chŭnggu, Om Chun-wun, Kwŭn Chong-sŭk, Cho Pyŭng-dŭk and An Hak-ju are patrons of the Japanese Buddhist temple in Seoul where daily sacrifices are offered in behalf of the Emperor (Korean Review, May 1902).

Each of the men mentioned in the aforementioned newspaper article were of high political office in the Chosŏn regime. It can be assumed that these Korean officials were not visiting the shrine out of personal religious obligation or for ecclesiastical affairs, but because of the political authority that was indirectly provided to temples by the Japanese government.

Despite the alarm among Christians at the increased visibility of Buddhism in major cities, and the involvement of a small group of Japanese Buddhist priests in navigating the political landscape of Chosŏn, Japanese Buddhist missionaries were still not satisfactorily fulfilling their goals as propagators of state ideology. Therefore, the Japanese Buddhist missionaries' tension with their home government and with Christian missionaries became more palpable. To restore the confidence of the Japanese government, Japanese priests began involving themselves in general education and media, two fields firmly established by the various Christian churches on the peninsula. In 1898, Okamura built the first professional school for Koreans in Kwangju in order to directly challenge the Christian dominion over education, and in 1902, the *Tongyang kyobo*, Korea's first Buddhist journal, was published by Jōdo in Korean.

Additionally, in the same year, the Honganji-ha and the Jōdoshū expanded into Korea, as they also saw the potential for increasing the value of their sect. Furthermore, Japanese clergy continued to receive unprecedented access to resources unavailable to Korean monastics, even after the ban on monks being in the capital was once again reinstated.

The Genesis of Shintō

The Kabo Reforms effectively put a stake in the heart of Confucianism as the state ideology of Chosŏn. In addition to ending the Confucian based state examinations, it usurped the entire societal structure. The caste system, and therefore the nobility, or *yanbang* caste, was completely disbanded; the lunar calendar was dismissed in favor of the Gregorian calendar; and the Confucian education system was functionally disbanded. Furthermore, in one of the most observable and hated societal modifications, traditional clothing was reformed and men were ordered to cut their topknots (斷髮令).

While pro-Japanese authorities were promulgating Western dress and a modern public social structure, they were also beginning to disseminate some very traditional Japanese components abroad. Unsatisfied with the minimal success of Japanese Buddhist missionaries in encouraging a Pan-Asian world view abroad, the Japanese authorities chose to diversify their approach. Since the signing of the Kanghwa Treaty, when Japanese settlers first sought to find fame and fortune abroad by immigrating to the Korean peninsula, Japanese settlers had petitioned for the creation of a branch of the Ise Shrine, "where the sun goddess Amaterasu was enshrined, as a means of 'solidifying the [Japanese] motivation for permanent settlement'" (Uchida 2011:79).

Despite the lack of Shintō shrines in Chosŏn, records indicate that it had already become synonymous with the Japanese Empire and imperial ambitions. Attempts by Shintō and Buddhist missionaries on the peninsula pressing for pro-Japanese and Pan-Asian agendas were met with moderate success and occasional hostility, especially after the interference of the Japanese government in Korean affairs became apparent to commoners and nobility alike. The association between Shintō and Japanese imperial ambitions was strong enough in the minds of the Korean

people that in 1894, it was reported that “Konishi Senkichi, a Shintō missionary active in Korea, was attacked by Koreans with stones and tiles” (Hardacre 1989:96).

It was not until the years following the assassination of Queen Min that the first permanent physical representation of Shintō would appear in Chosŏn. In 1898, Keijō Jinga, Korea’s first Shintō shrine, was built in Seoul. While the justification for the shrine rested with the rationalization that the Japanese community abroad were in need of it, it was a permanent mark on the landscape of the capital city. Even Japanese Buddhists, who possessed a larger number of adherents and clergy in Korea, were not permitted to build their first temple in Seoul until 1906. As Keijō Jinga was the first physical representation of Japan’s slow yet eventual absorption of Korea, it served as a stark reminder of the rapid change in the political and social realm.

The period following the Ŭlmi incident marked the beginning of the expansion of Shintō on the Korean peninsula. While debates had raged for decades regarding the potential annexation of Korea, it seemed at this point imminent to parties on both sides of the East Sea. Japanese authorities, aware that they were moving to incorporate Korea into the Japanese Empire, increased their attempts to inculcate the Korean population with Japanese values, and would therefore utilize Shintō as a means of transmitting those values.

Although Keijō Jinga was later utilized by the Japanese authorities for ethnic Koreans when state rituals became compulsory, the Japanese settlers largely saw this site as a location created by ethnic-Japanese and for ethnic-Japanese. One of the difficulties faced by the Pan-Asian ideal was the simultaneous view of the cultural superiority of the Japanese people over all other races mentioned in Chapter 2. Therefore, while the Japanese Empire’s ambitions perpetuated the idea of solidarity, it also ambitiously sought to assimilate the Korean people and

make them Japanese, a policy later referred to as *kominka* (皇民化政策). However, this viewpoint naturally assumes that one ethnic group is superior to the other, and that viewpoint matriculated into the thoughts of the colonial settlers from the Japanese mainland. Because of this, Korean visitors to Shintō shrines were viewed as insincere, and in some cases with thinly veiled hostility.

Proud of their Japanese heritage and their connection to the emperor and the kami through Shintō, they believed Koreans, by virtue of birth and ethnicity alone, would never be able to "become Japanese" and therefore could never understand Shintō properly. Seeing themselves through this lens of racial and cultural superiority, the idea that "the relationship between the nation and its people is not rooted in 'nature' but can be artificially created (Ching 2001:105)" was not only an impossibility, it was an insult.

Consequently, while the ambitions of the Japanese Empire sought to utilize Shintō as another state propagating technique, it was doomed to fail dramatically. In subsequent years, Shintō rituals and collection of Ise Shrine amulets would become mandatory throughout the Japanese Empire. Out of all of the colonized nations, Korea stood as the most steadfastly obstinate nation when it came to assimilating these ritualistic actions, likely due to the emotional responses of both the colonizing force and the colonized.[7]

Regardless of its eventual effectiveness, it is without a doubt that the establishment of the first Shintō shrine in Korea correlated with imperial ambitions. While touted as a service for the Japanese settler community, it nonetheless represented a solidification of Japan's presence in Korea. Additionally, its existence would serve to cause some tension in the Japanese Buddhist community, as well as the Christian missionary societies.

[7] See: Assimilating Seoul

The Revival of a New Israel

The violent modifications to Korean society by Japanese authorities caused some Koreans to adjust their view on who their adversary was. As mentioned in the previous chapter, for the majority of the nineteenth century, commoners and nobles alike regarded Christians as a wicked force that challenged the unity of the nation and society itself. However, as Western Christian missionaries' involvement in the investigation of the Queen's death and the means of the King's escape to the Russian legation became well known, the West, and likewise Americans, view as potential enemies changed. With this change in perception from potential threat to potential ally, "the religion of the Americans became not only less objectionable but even politically attractive" (Kim and Kim 2015:82). Additionally, the Ŭlmi incident, in conjunction with the Kabo Reforms, expanded the religious vacuum caused by the dismantling of Confucianism and the societal distancing from long-held relationships with the Chinese mainland. This vacuum, in addition to the societal offerings Christianity provided, "attracted many more to Christianity, especially to Protestantism. The Protestant Jesus appeared to be more activist than Buddha, more progressive than Confucius, more powerful than the spirits of traditional religion and more modern than the Catholic Lord of Heaven" (Kim and Kim 2015:81).

Utilizing the increased tension amongst commoners in response to the encroachment of Japanese ideals to their advantage, Christian missionaries drew comparisons between the Korean people and ancient Israelites. Facing oppression in their own homeland and the consideration of self-exile to Manchuria, the message of the coming kingdom of God appealed to the downtrodden and disenfranchised. The various churches offered a new path forward among disaffected commoners and access to Western power to counteract the effects of Japan's

influence in Korea. By reaching out to the church, Koreans were offered access to "religious power in the form of the strength to cope in troublesome times, and also the power of knowledge, legal power and the possibility of political power" (Kim and Kim 2015:81).

In addition to religious and political power, Christian churches offered a means of social mobility by way of education. Due to the irrelevancy of the traditional Confucian education system created by the Kabo Reforms, there was a sudden shortage of appropriate schooling throughout Korea. While the intention was to move education towards a Western system, the Korean government had not made any meaningful moves to form it. Therefore, Christian missionaries, already well established in educating commoners and future ministers alike, became an accessible avenue for learning.

By replacing the classical Confucian texts with the Christian Bible and utilizing *han'gul*, the writing system of the common people, rather than *hanja*, the writing system of the elite, as the primary script in school, Christian missionaries directly forged an association between Christianity and ethnic nationalism. The use of the indigenous writing system, along with the association of Korean Christians as exiles in their own land, initiated many Korean Christians into the habit of perceiving themselves as an ethnic nationalist group, much like the ancient Israelites, who also suffered because of sins they had committed in their own holy land.

It was with this in mind that, a year after the assassination of Queen Min, Sŏ Chaep'il formed the Independence Club (*Tongnip hyŏphoe*), the first modern nationalist organization in Korea. While this organization was not solely organized by Christian Koreans, Protestant churches forged a strong connection with the various branches of the Independence Club. Additionally, one of their primary activities was the publication of *The Independent* (*Tongnip*

sinmun) starting in 1896, which would be the first newspaper to be written entirely in *han'gul* and was published by the Methodist Trilingual Press (Kim and Kim 2015:81).

With the increased Christian-centric ethnic nationalist activities came increased scrutiny of those activities by governmental authorities. While Christian missionaries and converts alike utilized education and media as a means of propagation, it was the millennialist overtones to their actions that were of the greatest concern to the government. It should then come as no surprise that the Independence Club was forcibly disbanded just two short years later and the leaders of the group, including Rhee Syng-man, were arrested.

Irrespective of its apparent role as protector of Korean sovereignty, it is important to note that while it would be easy to surmise that Christian missionaries protested the political maneuvers of the Japanese authorities because they were offended by the colonialist mindset of cultural superiority, it would be mistaken. Western Christian missionaries opposed *Japanese* cultural assimilation and the Buddhist and Shintō religions that came with it. The Christian missionaries present in Korea were not opposed to the idea of modernization or the social hierarchy proposed by interpretations of the popular contemporary science of social Darwinism, in addition to their own cultural superiority maintained by their interpretations of Gospel. On the contrary, they embraced it. Western and Japanese missionaries only disagreed on the method of practice imposed and which race was the most "evolved." The US Missionaries naturally preferred their religion, Christianity, and the European-based way of life associated with it as the method of modernization, and would push for negotiations and access to the Chosŏn government with these things in mind. Because of the importance of working directly with the government, and not just the people, missionaries were able to gain access to the disposed King and assist in smuggling him out of the palace several months after the death of Queen Min.

Aware of the role that religious agents played thus far in the reformation of Korea, it should come as no surprise that in the same year that King Kojong emerged from the Russian legation, Russian authorities would also expand their power into Korea through religious, in addition to legal means. In 1897, the Orthodox mission to Korea was authorized, and then consolidated in 1900 when Archimandrite Chrysanthos Shetkofsky celebrated the first official liturgy at the Russian consulate.

The Japanese authorities were very aware of these influences encroaching on the Korean peninsula, and while they did not view Christianity as the optimal religion, they could not deny its place or its increasing power. In 1903 the largest Protestant church in Japan, the Japanese Congregational Church, sent missionaries to Korea to aid in the acceptance of Pan-Asian ideals among the Christian Koreans, and in some ways they were successful. As Korea moved closer still towards total political subjection to the Japanese Empire, Western Christian missionaries experienced deep concern about their continued viability. Negotiation of values and political stances were debated strenuously and were not always supported by the community in which they served. While Korean Christians were beginning to employ their Christian beliefs to justify social disobedience, rebellion, and an arbitration of Korean identity, Christian missionary leaders were becoming increasingly insecure about the alignment of their church with the very same movement that made Christianity appealing. For example,

> …in 1901 the Joint Mission Council of the Presbyterian missions had adopted principals explicitly intended to avoid church entanglement with the state and politics and the General Council of Evangelical Missions, formed in 1905, focused instead on the opportunities in Korea for mission work and cooperation with the Japanese (Kim and Kim 2015:90).

It would appear that the Catholic Church was nominally effected by this rhetoric and was instead seeking to support the Korean people and Korean sovereignty when Bishop Mutel hosted

a gathering intended to pray for the Korean people and the continuation of the Great Han Empire. However, directly following the abdication of power by Korean authorities to the Japanese government in 1905, Bishop Mutel became one of the sternest religious supporters of the Japanese Empire and would steer his flock towards compliance, rather than rebellion.

"It takes no prophetic eye," American missionary Homer Hulbert commented, "to see that the year of grace 1904 will prove to have been one of the most momentous in the history of this country" (Korean Review, December 1904). In February of that year, war had broken out between Japan and Russia, once again placing Koreans in the middle of a battle not entirely their own. Nonetheless, as the last true power standing between Korea and Japan, the Russian's eventual defeat would strip the Korean government of its last powerful ally on the continent. The events surrounding the conception of the Ŭlmi Incident until the end of the Russo-Japanese War created a period of fierce negotiation between religious figures and their states. Japanese missionaries from all religious backgrounds undoubtedly faced extreme pressure from their home government and competing ideologies were charged with the task of changing the hearts of the Korean people enough to circumvent outright rebellion in preparation of cultural assimilation. Simultaneously, these very same missionaries were tasked as agents of the government itself. While the level of their involvement varied, it is obvious that these missionaries were acting in the interest of the Japanese Empire.

These fundamental changes in both the religious and political realm would only become more severe as the absorption of Korea into the Japanese Empire became inescapable. Even Christian missionaries, filled with righteous fervor, chose to accommodate rather than incite rebellion in the face of what seemed inevitable. Despite their earlier rabblerousing and the

desires of their flock, Christian missionaries took a step back to evaluate the likelihood of the continuation of their mission in a Korea run by Japan, as made evident by the adjustments in official church behavior. Similar to the Korean *sangha*, as we shall see in the next chapter, Christian missionaries chose to placation in the stead of defiance.

Chapter 4: Survival by Adaptation

As foreign missionaries entangled themselves more and more in the affairs of the Korean peninsula, Korean Buddhist monastics could neither ignore nor disregard the actions of Japanese Buddhist representatives outside of the Buddhist community. Alliances were tested as a complicated moral quandary shaped itself in the Korean Buddhist community. Korean monastics sought to reconcile the actions of Japanese political figures and Buddhist clergy alike on their home government and their apparent compliance with Japanese Buddhist representatives. Similar conflicts arose throughout the early twentieth century in Asia as commoners, the elite, and religious figures struggled with their own collaboration with Japanese authorities. The quest for identity was being internally debated throughout the continent (Park 2009:2-6). Facing the rhetoric of Pan-Asianism in the face of Western interpretations of social Darwinism, many Asians were debating whether their identity as members of the 'yellow race' superseded their countries of origin. Therefore, the dilemma faced by Korean monastics was by no means unique.

Korean Buddhist monastics found themselves faced with a collective choice of their primary identity. Placed within a religious interpretation of Pan-Asianism, Korean Buddhist monastics were faced with two choices: On one hand, they could choose to identify principally as Buddhist, and thus place their loyalties with the international *sangha*, or they could identify primarily as Korean. Due to the level of official persecution levied against their religion for five centuries by their own government and the daily oppression imposed by other Koreans, it was perhaps easier to reach out towards their Japanese Buddhist brethren than to internalize their ethnic identity.

Even in Korea this decision would not have been unusual. As mentioned earlier, the previous Neo-Confucian state had stratified Korean society and made social mobility difficult, if not impossible. Members of non-elite, yet educated, secondary classes were directly involved with the Kabo Reforms, and welcomed many the modernizing alterations to society proposed by the Japanese, including the restructuring of social class (Hwang 2004:2). As Korean Buddhist monastics who had turned towards the various Japanese sects in search of protection, education, and increased notoriety found themselves raised in station and prestige, other Korean Buddhist monastics followed.

Regardless of the promise of a restored station at their fingertips, they were unable to gain these benefits "without practical and spiritual compromises" (Atkins 2010:122). This final chapter will illustrate the behavior of the Korean Buddhist *sangha* in relation to their tension with foreign intermediaries by first demonstrating the controls put on them by domestic and foreign entities. Additionally, it will emphasize the strain that these outside forces placed on the each other while Korean Buddhism both manipulated and was manipulated by foreign powers.

Formation of Wŏnhŭngsa

In the face of former secondary classes and commoners aligning themselves with Pan-Asian values and Western-style modernizing reforms, the Korean government sought to cater to the whims of the social groups that they had once oppressed. Not to be ignored, the Korean Buddhist community was included in this attempt to solidify the Korean community. However, the benefits of associating themselves with a foreign power that actively prided itself on promoting Asian values and therefore valued Buddhism was far too enticing for members of the

Korean *sangha*. The Korean administration was not ignorant to the effects that foreign agents were imposing on Korean Buddhism. Not to be outdone by the Japanese government, the Korean authorities sought to nominally repair their relationship with the Buddhist community. As a result, for the first time in centuries, the Korean authorities attempted to control the behavior of the *sangha* by restoring a limited relationship between Korean Buddhism and the Korean government.

In 1899, the Korean government established the Sohŭng temple (詔興寺) outside the eastern gate of Seoul to oversee implementation of policies for temple affairs. While this establishment was meant to strengthen the association between the Korean government and Korean monastics, the institution immediately found itself under siege by multiple Japanese Buddhist sects. The Jōdoshū in particular were highly interested in acquiring Sohŭngsa as an extension of their school. As the Korean government sought to unify Korean Buddhism under the Korean state, it unintentionally provided Japanese sects with a rather convenient target. As many Japanese Buddhist sects sought to bring the entirety of Korean Buddhism under their control, Japanese missionaries felt that taking over the head temple would be a major step in the conversion of the entire nation to their particular school. Benefiting from a short lived dominance in Korea, the Jōdoshū came very close to officially absorbing the entirety of Korean Buddhism into their sect. However, as this large target provided an enticing end-goal, it also attracted controversy. Too embattled to fall under the control of just one sect, any attempt at absorbing Sohŭngsa was met with fierce detraction by competing schools, dooming any attempt at integration with any one school to ultimate failure.

Sohŭngsa eventually became Wŏnhŭngsa (元興寺) in 1902 when Yi Kŭnt'aek (1865-1919), a Korean military official, and Kwŏn Chongsŏk (1854–1934) discovered a bloody

embroidered arm band in a local Japanese shop. Under the impression that they had discovered a possession of the deceased Queen Min, Yi Kŭnt'aek and Kwŏn Chongsŏk purchased the arm band for a hefty sum and immediately took it to Sohŭng temple. The subsequent enshrinement of the armband endeared the temple to Emperor Kojong, who then designated Sohŭngsa as an imperial temple and renamed it Wŏnhŭngsa (Hwansoo Kim 2012:221).

That same year, the Korean government moved beyond giving the Korean *sangha* a physical space to manage their monastics. Seeking to increase its control over Korean Buddhism, and therefore its relationship with the *sangha*, the government promulgated the Temple Ordinance of 1902. With its promulgation came the establishment of the Bureau of Temple Administration, under the management of Kwŏn Chongsŏk, which would then establish and routinize the management of temples. With the Temple Ordinance of 1902, all temples came under government control, and Wŏnhŭng temple was established as the head temple, with sixteen medium temples representing the thirteen provinces coming directly under it.

This state support was viewed with some alarm by Christian missionaries, who saw the state centralizing the authority of Buddhism in one location as an attempt to revitalize Buddhism.

> The government is building an enormous Buddhist monastery about a mile outside the East Gate. It is intended that this will be the head monastery in Korea and will hold the same relation to Buddhism in Korea that the Vatican does to Roman Catholicism throughout the world. It will contain between three and four hundred kan[8] of buildings and the plan is the same as that of the great Ch'ŭn-ch'uk Monastery in Thibet. The ceremonies connected with the commencement of this work took place on the fourth . . . Monks from all over the country to the number of 800 or more congregated at this spot together with Japanese monks from the Japanese quarter in Seoul. An immense crowd of Koreans surrounded the place to view the scene . . . To help out the funds for [sic] completing the great Buddhist monastery . . . each of the seven main government departments and of the three secondary departments are asked to contribute . . . $20,000, Korean money (Korean Review, January 1902).

[8] The basic length between two supporting pillars of a traditional structure.

The financial backing was perhaps the most disturbing change to the state's relationship to Buddhism in the eyes of Christian missionaries. They viewed this support as a sign of the Korean government turning farther away from Christianity, and therefore surmised that it would lead to the deterioration of the Korean government. Missionaries would then insist "that when things have gone badly in the government there has been a harkening back to the old Buddhist mummery, to fortune-tellers, geomancers and the like, and the only significance of this attempt was to prove that there was something 'rotten in Denmark'" (Korean Review, October 1904). In the minds of Christian missionaries, this increased visibility and financial support could only lead to certain doom.

In addition to the formalization of a central monastic governing authority, the Temple Ordinance of 1902 stipulated that all monks would have to be certified, pending a state examination, and that this certification would come from the Bureau of Temple Administration. In a departure from the Korean government's behavior over the course of the Chosŏn dynasty, and antithetical to the actions of the Japanese government during the Meiji Restoration, Korean monks would be given a bureaucratic ranking. Additionally, failure to abide by the *vinayas*, or the rules of the temple administration, would lead to harsh punishment at the governmental level of the offending monastic. While these laws and boundaries may have been viewed with some frustration at the state's sudden interference with the affairs of the Buddhist *sangha*, they nonetheless represented an important shift in the Korean government's conceptualization of Buddhism in its relation to the government. For the first time in centuries, the upholding of Buddhist laws were not a private matter of a private entity, but of importance to the state. By

enforcing the *vinayas*, the Korean government was directly promoting Buddhism as a state-regulated entity, whose purity of action was of concern to the authorities.

Beyond the desires of the state to control the larger institution of Buddhism, the Korean government must have noticed the trend of Korean monastics seeking out the protection of Japanese Buddhist clergy and their sects. Brought about largely by the long standing practice of *yangban* and governmental officials commandeering Korean Buddhist land and property for their own personal pleasure, Korean monastics found an ally in Japanese Buddhist sects who were seeking to improve their prestige abroad. In exchange for the security Japanese Buddhist sects offered Korean monastics and temples from marauding Korean officials, Korean monastics would allow the conversion of an entire temple or pledge temple land to the protecting sect. Therefore, Korean dependence on the relationship between Japanese and Korean Buddhists would draw them closer as Korean Buddhist identity veered more and more towards the *sangha* and less towards Korean ethnicity.

Seeing this developing relationship between the two countries' Buddhisms as problematic, the Korean government sought to circumvent their relationship by offering official state protection. One of the major adjustments made by the Korean government was the issuance that "all forced labor and service (including military service) of monks shall be prohibited. Furthermore, monks and nuns should not comply with the extortion of alcohol and food by any government officials and vulgar groups, nor with any other exactions" (Hwansoo Kim 2012:155-56). The Temple Ordinance of 1902 would also make Buddhist land public in an attempt to prevent Korean land from entering the hands of Japanese sects.

While the government offered these protections and official state recognitions, it was also quite adamant that it did not want to restore Korean Buddhism to the same station that it had

enjoyed during the Koryŏ dynasty. Still harboring long held distrust and biases against Buddhism, the Korean authorities sought to avoid a relationship between the state and the *sangha* which made the state dependent on Buddhism. Even stronger proof of this distrust can be found in charter three of the Temple Ordinance, which explicitly forbade the discussion of politics in propagation work (Hwansoo Kim 2012:157). Therefore, regardless of the Korean government's competition with extraterritorial powers and attempts to offer its own modernizing reforms, Korean authorities were not willing to forget the prejudices of five hundred years to regain the Korean *sangha*'s trust. Hence, in a departure from the behaviors of other competing powers in Korea (e.g., the Japanese and the United States), the Korean government did not actually want their Buddhist religious representatives acting as extensions of the government.

Despite these attempts at engaging the Korean *sangha* directly, or offering an alternate locus of safety, the Korean government was unfortunately too rife with corruption to actually implement the 1902 Temple Ordinance. Disregarding these changes as failed promises by the Korean government, the Korean *sangha* continued to seek out and associate with Japanese Buddhist clergy for security and social mobility. This indifference was made official when, in January of 1904, the dreams and aspirations of the Bureau of Temple Administration were destroyed when it was disbanded.

Interreligious Tensions

After the disbandment of the Bureau of Temple Administration, American missionaries' rhetoric towards Buddhism became increasingly disparaging. Christian missionaries who had arrived early on in the mission field witnessed what appeared to be a growth in the power of

Korean Buddhism. Witnessing Korean Buddhist monastics presence shift from the countryside and into the capital, Christian missionaries rightly saw a direct correlation between the increased importance of Korean Buddhism and the growth of Japanese power in Korea.

> Since the year 1456 Buddhist monks had been forbidden to enter Seoul. This was part of the general policy of this dynasty to give Buddhism no political foothold. Now the Japanese secured from the government a reinstatement of the Buddhists in their original position and for the first time in four centuries and a half the mendicant monk with his wooden gong and rosary begged on the streets of Seoul (Korean Review, July 1904).

The battle for adherents and recognition between Christians, Buddhists, and ethnic nationalists raged far beyond the halls of the nation's leaders and the political elite. In addition to the palace intrigue and midnight meetings of previous chapters, the commoners of each group had also internalized their religious missions and believed that the continuation and expansion of their faith was of upmost importance for the future of the nation. Each group viewed themselves as significant, as they "operated simultaneously as agents and pawns of colonial power" (Uchida 2011:6). By 1904, as we shall see, competition between various religious groups was severe enough to be felt even in the most remote areas of the nation.

A prime example of this tension was reported in a 1905 account in the *Korean Review* of a disagreement in Ŭnjin, a rural Buddhist district in Ch'ungch'ŏng province, the year prior. The report stated that a young orphan boy caused damage to a temple relic there. The mishap was promptly discovered by the Korean monastics at the temple, who then immediately took custody of the boy with the intention of levying a fine on his parents. When it was discovered that the boy had no one to claim him, the monks instead focused on a nearby onlooker, "charging him with having witnessed the sacrilege without raising a hand to stop it" (Korean Review, June 1905). Seizing the bystander, they held him for three days, demanding payment. When it became

obvious that he was unable to pay the proposed fine, they allowed him to return to his hometown of Nolmi. A few days later, they followed the man to his hometown and demanded an increased sum that the man still could not pay.

While this disagreement was brewing in the community, a Japanese Buddhist clergyman who had recently moved into the area became aware of the situation. The Korean monks, emboldened by what they viewed as a powerful ally, then argued that the man should reimburse them, this time for a much higher figure. Over the course of just a few days, the demand on the bystander increased from the equivalent of forty dollars to $1,200. When the man balked, the Korean monks, accompanied by the Japanese Buddhist priest, forced their way into the man's house and took land deeds and other valuables as recompense.

To complicate matters, this unnamed man happened to be a member of a new Methodist Episcopal Mission located nearby and under the auspices of Dr. W. B. McGill. The deeds which were taken had been purchased by the mission to build a church and a school in Nolmi. Adding fuel to the fire, members of the Ilchinhoe political party got wind of this conflict and decided to involve themselves as well. The Ilchinhoe, members of a pro-Japanese organization formed after the disbandment of the Tonghak movement and officially established in 1904, pulled out the property stakes demarking the mission's land and replaced them with their own stakes. Naturally, a vicious argument broke out, and the Ilchinhoe members claimed that they too planned to build a school at the site.

After some time, the Ilchinhoe members were convinced to turn away, only to return to the site shortly thereafter with a group of Japanese merchants and farmers who also claimed the land with the intent to build a school there. At this point, the disagreement had become less about the damage caused to the Buddhist temple, and more about the involvement of extraterritorial

religious institutions. In response to the standoff, the Japanese colonizers who gathered at Nolmi sent word requesting that all Japanese in the area congregate in the town.

Alarmed at the escalation, the Christian missionaries sent word to Presbyterian Robert Sharp (1872-1906) in Kongju. Upon his arrival, Sharp discovered that a large number of Japanese nationals were present with the intent to cause bodily harm to Christian missionaries in the area, and he quickly departed for the nearest telegraph station, six miles away. Claiming that he was in fear for his life, he convinced the authorities to send assistance. Sharp was accompanied back to Nolmi the next day by the Japanese police, where they discovered that the church had been ransacked by Japanese nationals and Ilchinhoe members. "They were armed with guns, knives and clubs," the report alleged, and "several of the Christians who were staying at the church had been cut with swords or beaten with clubs, some of them so severely that they could not walk. One man had a broken rib" (Korean Review, June 1905).

Furthermore, it was reported that five of the Japanese men who had stormed the church also went to the location where Sharp was supposedly lodging and demanded entry. When Sharp was nowhere to be found, because he had already departed for the telegraph station, the men demanded to know where Sharp had gone and went as far as to make threats on his life. Because of the severity of this event, William B. Scranton (1856-1922), the Superintendent of the Methodist Mission, and Earnest H. Holmes, a Secretary for the British Legation, joined Sharp in Nolmi, along with several Japanese police officers. Upon their arrival, the Japanese men involved in the situation were contrite, and the Ilchinhoe members took full responsibility for the event. While the land was returned to the Methodist mission, none of the Japanese men involved were held responsible for any wrong doing.

This report, as well as its eventual conclusion, demonstrates that the tensions evident under the surface at the national level were bubbling to the surface throughout the country. While the reader should be prudent in interpreting this report, as the actions of all individuals present are reported from within the Christian missionary community and through the *Korean Review* (a Methodist newspaper), the event itself is indicative of the hostilities between the extraterritorial powers at the expense of the indigenous. While the original event was between indigenous Koreans, both sides of the disagreement utilized the power and authority of foreign agents to escalate the situation. It is telling, however, that Korean monastics chose to reach out to their Japanese Buddhist counterpart, instead of the local Korean population or to Japanese governmental authorities. Once those outside agents were brought into the disagreement, the conflict seemingly stopped being about the broken Buddhist relic and instead became an exercise of political competition. The results of the quarrel is telling: Even though all parties involved exhibited questionable behavior, it was only the indigenous Koreans who faced any sort of penalty. The Ilchinhoe members took responsibility for the Japanese colonizers and the land was returned to the American missionary, leaving the Korean citizens with evidence of injustice towards themselves and unequal clemency towards agents of extraterritorial powers.

Just a few months later the *Korean Review* continued in its publication of vaguely hostile news bulletins about Buddhist activities, in one account claiming that "Buddhism seems to be gaining in favor among some classes, and reports come of a number of people who have been compelled to contribute to the cause" (Korean Review, November 1905). While possessing some biases, these reports indicate three important factors. Firstly, the reports indicate that Japanese Buddhist missionaries were successful in integrating, at the surface level, Korean Buddhists into a larger Pan-Asian *sangha* and improved the station of Buddhism in Korea to the point that

Christian missionaries felt tension with them. Secondly, the increased visibility of Buddhist monastics, in contrast to previous years, was significant enough to comment on. Finally, the relationship between Buddhist representatives and the Korean government was strong enough to possess some political clout, as interactions between Buddhist agents and the governmental authorities became more apparent.

A Renegotiation

From initial contact by modern Japanese Buddhist missionaries in the late nineteenth century until the signing over of Korea as a protectorate in 1905, the needs of Japanese missionaries and Korean monks coincided. Japanese Buddhist missionaries succeeded in bringing Korean monastics under their auspices in small, yet significant, ways. After the signing of the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1905 (乙巳條約), the relationship between the Buddhisms burned brightly before eventually being unceremoniously snuffed out by the Japanese government.

After an ambitious attempt to incorporate Wŏnhŭngsa under the Jōdoshū failed, the Korean *sangha* attempted to unite as one body by creating the Wŏnjong sect in 1908. Shortly thereafter, endeavors to incorporate the Korean Buddhist *sangha* under a Japanese sect were undertaken. The newest contenders were the Sōtoshū, for whom Takeda Hanshi advocated. While there was some outrage among Japanese Buddhist sects at this newest merger, the loudest voice against this union ultimately came from the Korean *sangha* itself. Moved by the secrecy of the attempted melding of Korean Buddhism into the Sōto school due to very specific Buddhist disagreements, Korean detractors split from the Wŏnjong and created a competing sect, the Imjejong.

The Imjejong, rather than disagree on ethnic religious points, disagreed based on the lineage of the Soto. “It was unacceptable to them that Korean Buddhism, which inherited the Linchi tradition from China, would be converted to the Sōtoshū tradition” (Hwansoo Kim 2012:261). If any absorption to a Japanese school was to happen, the Imjejong argued, it would have to be to the Rinzai, which traced itself to the same Chinese tradition. Again, the Korean *sangha*’s fundamental disagreements with Japanese Buddhist missionaries did not stem from any ethnic-nationalist tensions. Korean monastics only disagreed from a *Buddhist* standpoint, leading to the conclusion that, even under the protectorate and near annexation of Korea, Korean Buddhists were still primarily identifying as Buddhist and not as Korean.

The merger between Sōtoshū and the Korean Buddhist *sangha* would eventually fall though, as shortly after the Annexation of Korea, the Japanese government formally split the relationship between the Japanese and Korean Buddhists and forbade any formal relationship between the two Buddhisms in the Temple Ordinance of 1912. The Japanese government became dissatisfied with the headway of Japanese Buddhist missionaries and the constant bickering between Japanese sects. The focus of Buddhist sects on their sectarian mission, rather than the state’s mission, disturbed Japanese officials in Korea. Those officials would further lose faith in Japanese Buddhist missionaries’ capabilities in assimilating the Korean people. While there were still some exchanges of ideas between Korean and Japanese Buddhists, Japanese Buddhist clergy could no longer offer any sort of support to the Korean monastics.

Due to this forced separation, the Japanese government may have inadvertently set the Korean Buddhist *sangha* on a course towards ethnic-nationalist identification. No longer associated with proponents of the Japanese inspired Pan-Asian *sangha*, Korean Buddhist monastics were thereby free of the temptation of metropolitan benefits. As the Korean populace

became increasingly engaged with ethnic nationalism, wide-spread protests broke out. The most memorable of these protests occurred on March 1, 1919, when an organized, large scale demonstration broke out over the entirety of the Korean peninsula in response to the treatment of the indigenous Korean population by Japanese authorities. Inspired in part by US President Woodrow Wilson's "Fourteen Points" speech outlining the rights of national self-determination at the Paris Peace Conference in January of the same year, multiple elements of Korean society became politically involved.

Korean Buddhist monastics would also be swept up in the nation-wide protests, and two of the thirty three signatories on the Korean Declaration of Independence issued that day, all thirty three of whom were religious adherents, were Buddhist monks:

> We here with [sic] proclaim the independence of Korea and the liberty of the Korean people. This we proclaim to all the nations of the world in witness of human equality. This we proclaim to our descendants so that they may enjoy in perpetuity their inherent right to nationhood.
>
> In as much as this proclamation originates from our five-thousand-year history, in as much as it springs from the loyalty of twenty million people, in as much as it affirms our yearning for the advancement of everlasting liberty, in as much as it expresses our desire to take part in the global reform rooted in human conscience, it is the solemn will of heaven, the great tide of our age, and a just act necessary for the co-existence of all humankind. Therefore, no power in this world can obstruct or suppress it!

The March 1st Movement illustrated a significant shift in Korean monastic identity away from being primarily Buddhist to identifying primarily as Korean.

Conclusion

This thesis has sought to expand on the dialogue of religious agents and their motivations. It has been my intention to provoke debate and provide historical context in a much

contested point of history. By examining the complexity of behaviors and motivations of Korean and Japanese agents, I have sought to provide a more nuanced approach to a time period that is rife with contention. Placing Korean Buddhist monastics in competition with Christians and in collusion with Japanese Buddhist missionaries is too simplistic of an approach, and I therefore have attempted to take into account multiple pressures and tensions experienced by the Korean Buddhist *sangha*.

In analyzing the motivations of the actors involved on all sides of the conflict, Korean Buddhist monastics can be viewed through a more nuanced lens which elevates them beyond mere collaborators or revolutionaries. While I have attempted to exhaust primary source material in this time period, there may in fact be additional sources available in Japanese that has not been explored. Additional research is, of course, always needed, and a look at the ethnic-nationalist orientation of the post-March 1st Movement Korea would be welcome. Further research in the competition and behaviors of Shintō and Christian missionaries throughout the occupation period would also provide rich debate and historical context to a much disputed time period.

Appendix
Major Events: Korea and Japan Timeline (1592-1945)

1592-1596	-First Hideyoshi invasion (k: Imjin War, j: Keijo no eki)
1596-1597	-Second Hideyoshi invasion
1600	-Battle of Sekigahara, unofficial beginning of Tokugawa bakufu
17th century	-*Exact year unknown*. Begins "Hermit Kingdom" policy; all borders closed
1603-1868	-Tokugawa bakufu
1603-1876	-Kiyu treaty diplomatic agreement Japanese can conduct business only by visiting Korean embassy in Edo or through Tsushima. Tsushima gains monopoly on trade with Korea. **No Japanese allowed in capital** (Key-Hiuk Kim 1999:6)
1619	-Edo issues first *sakoku* edict
1626	-Namhan Fortress built (Hwansoo Kim 2012:33)[9]
1627	-First Manchu Invasion
1631-1860	-54 Missions sent from Korea to Tsushima (Key-Hiuk Kim 1999:7)
1636	-Second Manchu invasion Chosŏn forced to recognize Qing emperor as rightful leader of China
1639	-Edo issues last *sakoku* edict
1711	-Pukhan Fortress built (Hwansoo Kim 2012:33)[10]
1776	-Reign of King Chŏngjo begins

[9] Buddhist military temple
[10] Buddhist military temple

1777-1779	-Chosŏn scholars debate Catholicism (Kim and Kim 2015:18)
1784	-Yi Sŭnghun, first known Korean convert, baptized Peter in Beijing by French Jesuit missionary Jean Joseph de Gramont (Kim and Kim 2015:21)
1785	-First Catholic martyr, Thomas Kim Pŏmu First reference to Christian practice in Korean government records (Kim and Kim 2015:23-24) -Yi Ik and An Chŏngbok produce *Ch'ŏnhak Mundap* (天學問答 - *Disputation on Catholicism*) (Kim and Kim 2015:24)
1786	-Up to 60 different tracts imported into Chosŏn from China (Kim and Kim 2015:17)
1787	-King Chŏngjo orders the destruction of Catholic books and images and forbids their further importation (Kim and Kim 2015:24) -December 8: Paul Yun Chich'ung and James Kwŏn Sangyŏn convert to Catholicism (Kim and Kim 2015:26)
1789	-First pastoral letter to Korean Catholic community (Kim and Kim 2015:25)
1790	-Paul Yun Yuil reports to bishop in Beijing that a thousand people have been baptized in Chosŏn (Kim and Kim 2015:25)
1791	-Paul Yun Chich'ung and James Kwŏn Sangyŏn beheaded; cult of martyrs begins (Kim and Kim 2015:27)
1794	-December 24: First ordained Catholic priest, James Zhou Wen-mo, is smuggled into Uiji, Chosŏn

1795 -Yuhandang Wŏng writes Ŏnhaeng Sillok (*Written Records of Words and Acts*) teaching proper behavior of Catholic women (Kim and Kim 2015:25)

-April 5: First Catholic mass in Chosŏn by James Zhou Wen-mo (Kim and Kim 2015:28)

-June: Zhou flees to the home of Columbia Kang Wansuk (Kim and Kim 2015:29)

1800 -Death of King Chŏngjo, reign of King Sunjo & regency of Dowager Queen Chŏngsun begins

-Church claims 10,000 members in Chosŏn

(conservative estimate: 2,000)

2/3 women, 1/3 uneducated commoners (Kim and Kim 2015:30)

-21-100 estimated Catholics to have died because of persecution up to this point (Kim and Kim 2015:31)

1801 -February: Dowager Queen Chŏngsun formally decrees prohibition of Catholicism

-Sinyu persecution

672 officially arrested

Approximately 150 die in prison

400 exiled (Kim and Kim 2015:32)

-April 8: 156 beheaded (Kim and Kim 2015:32)

-May 31: James Zhou Wen-mo beheaded (Kirkendall 2014)

-July 2: Columbia Kang Wansuk beheaded (Kirkendall 2014)

	-September: Alexander Hwang Sayŏng writes and attempts to deliver his 'Silk Letter' (Kim and Kim 2015:34)
	-November 5: Alexander Hwang Sayŏng executed (Kim and Kim 2015:35)
	-Edict on Catholicism (*T'osa Kyomun*) proclaimed
1805	-Regency of Dowager Queen Chŏngsun ends
1815	-Ŭrhae Purge: Catholic persecution in Kyŏngsang (Kim and Kim 2015:39)
1823	-First Bible in Chinese published (Kim and Kim 2015:54)
1827	-Chŏnghae Catholic persecution in Chŏlla (Kim and Kim 2015:39)
1831	-'Fledging Church' hierarchy proclaimed in Chosŏn by Catholic Church (Kim and Kim 2015:23)
1832	-Karl A. F. Gützlaff, a German Protestant missionary, travels with East Indian Company down western coast of Korean peninsula distributing Christian literature (Kim and Kim 2015:55)
1833	-Chinese Catholic priest Liu Fang-chi Pacific arrives in Chosŏn (Kim and Kim 2015:38)
1834	-Reign of King Sunjo ends
	-Reign of King Wŏnhŏn begins
1836-1838	-Number of Catholics increase from 6000 to 9000 (Kim and Kim 2015:38)
1836	-First French Catholic Priests arrive in Chosŏn: Pierre Philibert Maubant and Jacques-Honoré Chastan (Kim and Kim 2015:38)
	'Fledgling Church' hierarchy established in Chosŏn by Catholic Church (Kim and Kim 2015:23)

1837 -Bishop Laurent Marie Joseph Imbert arrives in Chosŏn

Establishment of Church hierarchy (Kim and Kim 2015:38)

1839 -Kihae persecution

Dowager Queen Cho launches extermination policy against church—254 Christians arrests, 121 either executed or died in prison; Bishop Imbert, Fathers Maubant and Chastan beheaded (Kim and Kim 2015:40)

1846 -Pyŏngo persecution (Kim and Kim 2015:42)

1849 -Reign of King Wŏnhŏn ends

-Reign of King Ch'ŏljong begins

-Father Thomas Ch'oe Yangŏp, Korea's second ordained priest, identifies 127 Catholic villages in five provinces (Kim and Kim 2015:42)

1854 -March 31: **Kanagawa Treaty signed in Japan**

-October 14: Anglo-Japanese Friendship Treaty

1855 -Theological college started in Paeron

-February 7: Shimoda Treaty

1857 -Catholic Church bans practice of celibacy for women and allows the remarriage of widows (Kim and Kim 2015:41)

1860 -October: Manchu court forced to flee to Jehol, Manchuria (Key-Hiuk Kim 1999:9)

-Catholic *han'gul* printing press set up in Seoul and managed by Peter Ch'oe Hyŏng (Kim and Kim 2015:43)

1861 -Father Thomas Ch'oe Yangŏp dies

1863	-Reign of King Ch'ŏljong ends
	-Reign of King Kojong begins
	-Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn'gun regency rule under Queen Dowager Cho begins
1865	-Robert Jermain Thomas distributes Bible portions and tracts along the coast of Hwanghae province (Kim and Kim 2015:55)
1866-1871	-Pyŏng'in persecution 91 Catholics arrested. Bishop Siméon-François Berneux and eight French missionaries executed. All Catholic books ordered burned by Dowager Queen Cho (Kim and Kim 2015:45-46)
1866	-March: Queen Dowager Cho ends official status of regent (Key-Hiuk Kim 1999:12)
	-Taewŏn'gun orders arrest of all foreign priests (Key-Hiuk Kim 1999:14)
	-August: US *General Sherman* merchant ship attempts to open ports to Chosŏn. All die aboard the ship, including Robert Jermain Thomas (Kim and Kim 2015:55)
	-October 11: Rear Admiral Pierre-Gustave Roze leaves China on a punitive mission after the beheading of French missionaries (Key-Hiuk Kim 1999:16)
1867	-Félix Ridel replaces executed Bishop Berneux (Kim and Kim 2015:60)
1868	**-Meiji restoration officially begins**

Termination of traditional relations which recognized Korean superiority. Begins to relate to Chosŏn diplomatically along Western lines and as a weaker neighbor.

-German businessman, Ernst Oppert, raids the tomb of the Taewŏn'gun's father and is rumored to have received assistance from Korean Catholics in escaping (Kim and Kim 2015:47)

1869-1885 -Japan: Great Promulgation Campaign

1871 -US retaliation for *General Sherman*

-Ch'ŏkhwapi (Stele Rejecting Conciliation) formed in response to Korean Catholic collaboration with US Warships

Largescale persecution. An estimated 8,000 Korean Catholics, more than half of Catholic community, executed. 877 officially executed; 24 officially martyred (Kim and Kim 2015:47)

1872 -Order number 133, Ministry of State, Meiji[11]

1873 -**Taewŏn'gun ousted**

-Catholic persecution ends

-Full reign of King Kojong begins

-Ogurusu Kōchō of the Higashi Honganji begins missionary work in Peking (Hwansoo Kim 2012:78)

-John Ross, a missionary of the United Presbyterian Church, begins to sell Christian literature at Corea gate (Kim and Kim 2015:56)

[11] "Priests may do as they wish regarding the eating of meat, marriage, and the cutting of their hair. Moreover, they need not be concerned about the propriety of wearing commoner's clothing while performing official duties" (Ketelaar 1990:6).

1876	-February 26: **Kanghwa treaty** Pusan, Inch'ŏn and Wŏnsan open to trade Extraterritorial rights are granted to Japanese citizens China's claim to tribute rejected -Chosŏn begins modernization program (Kim and Kim 2015:56)
1877	-John Ross publishes first Korean-language primer in English (Kim and Kim 2015:56) -Okumura Enshin travels to Pusan as the first modern Buddhist missionary in Chosŏn and establishes a branch of the Higashi Honganji (Hwansoo Kim 2012:110)
1879	-John Ross publishes first English-language history of Chosŏn (Kim and Kim 2015:56) -Yi Tong'in becomes first Korean monk to study in Japan (Hwansoo Kim 2012:112)
1880	-Félix Ridel prints Korean grammar book (Kim and Kim 2015:60) -Yi Tong'in ordained as a Higashi Honganji priest and becomes missionary in Chosŏn (Hwansoo Kim 2012:113) -Anglican missionary work begins in Chosŏn (Kim and Kim 2015:73)
1881-1884	-23 Korean men sent to Penang train for Catholic priesthood (Kim and Kim 2015:61)
1881	-Félix-Claire Ridel prints Korean-French dictionary (Kim and Kim 2015:113)

-February 25, 1881: Yi Tong'in nominated by King Kojong as advisor to new Office for the Management of State Affairs (Hwansoo Kim 2012:116)

-Watanabe Nichiun, first Nichiren missionary, arrives in Pusan (Hwansoo Kim 2012:119)

1882 -July 23: Imo Incident

-Korean-American Treaty of Amity and Commerce

-The gospels of Luke and John translated distributed through Manchuria Korean community (Kim and Kim 2015:56)

-Estimated 12,500 Catholics in Chosŏn (Kim and Kim 2015:61)

-Inhyŏn School established as the first Christian school in Korea (Kim and Kim 2015:61)

1884 -Queen Min requests missionary help from Western nations in the modernization of Chosŏn (Kim and Kim 2015:127)

-Gapsin Coup (Kaehwa Coup, 甲申政變)[12]

-Yi Suchŏng transliterates and publishes Matthew, Mark and Acts into *han'gul* (Kim and Kim 2015:57)

-Best documented 'first' Protestant Korean church established in Sorae, Chosŏn (Kim and Kim 2015:59)

-Catholics report that Protestants wielding weapons have trespassed on the building site of the cathedral in Myŏngdong (Kim and Kim 2015:77)

-Women's Foreign Missionary Society sends Mary Scranton, a Methodist, as the first woman missionary to Korea

[12] See Kim and Kim 2015:62-63 regarding rescue of Min Yeong-ik

1885 -Taewŏn'gun returns to Chosŏn

-St. Joseph's Seminary at Paeron opens

Catholic Korean priests begin local training (Kim and Kim 2015:61)

-Sisters of St Paul de Chartres open first old people's home (Kim and Kim 2015:61)

-Presbyterian Horace Grant Underwood, and Methodist Henry Gerhard Appenzeller appointed to Chosŏn (Kim and Kim 2015:63)

-Presbyterian Dr. Horace Newton Allen opens first Western-style hospital in Chosŏn (Kim and Kim 2015:65)

1886 -Prayer book *Sŏnggyo Konggwa* published by Catholics (Kim and Kim 2015:60)

-Mary Scranton founds Ewha, Koreas first school for girls (Kim and Kim 2015:68)

-Henry Gerhard Appenzeller starts Paejae Taedang (School for Cultivating Talent) for boys (Kim and Kim 2015:69)

-Horace Grant Underwood opens boys boarding school and orphanage (Kim and Kim 2015:69)

1887 -Methodist open hospital for poor women (Kim and Kim 2015:65)

-John Ross publishes first complete New Testament

5000 copies distributed (Kim and Kim 2015:70)

-Presbyterians found Chŏng tong Yŏhakdang, a girls' school (Kim and Kim 2015:68)

	-April: King Kojong gives permission for Protestant Missionaries to venture into the rest of the country (Kim and Kim 2015:68) October: Henry Gerhard Appenzeller founds Chŏng tong Methodist Church as Bethel Chapel (Kim and Kim 2015:67)
1888	-First Methodist hymn book published (Kim and Kim 2015:67) -Mary Scranton begins Sunday class for wives of converted Korean men (Kim and Kim 2015:68) -Baby Riots -Presbyterian hymnals produced
1889	-The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel represented by the Anglo-Catholic wing of the Church of England, sponsors the consecration by the archbishop of Canterbury of Charles John Corfe as missionary bishop to Korea (Kim and Kim 2015:73) -Catholics protestors attack the office of the Protestant paper, *Hwangsŏng Daily*, over a story biased against Catholics (Kim and Kim 2015:77)
1890's	-Methodist and Presbyterian missions institute a literacy test as a condition for church membership (Kim and Kim 2015:74)
1890	-Christian Literature Society of Korea founded Translates Chinese texts into *han'gul* and produces new translations -Catholic priests begin making permanent bases in different cities (Kim and Kim 2015:71) -Japan: Imperial Rescript on Education (Ives 2009:16)

1891	-Methodist found *Trilingual Press* (Kim and Kim 2015:69)
	-Reverend Samuel A. Moffett (Presbyterian), his wife Alice, who is a physician, and Dr. W. J. Hall (Methodist) take up residence in P'yŏngyang (Kim and Kim 2015:83)
	-Kato Bunkyo of the Nichiren school arrives in Pusan, and stays until 1900 (Hwansoo Kim 2012:90)
	-Presbyterian Church officially adopts the three-self method of church planting (Kim and Kim 2015:73)
	-Gustave-Charles-Marie Mutel arrives in Korea as bishop of the Catholic Church (Kim and Kim 2015:70)
	-Japan: Uchimura Kanzō refuses to pay veneration to the emperor in school
1892	-Sisters of the Community of St Peter arrive in Chosŏn (Kim and Kim 2015:73)
	-Presbyterian missions establish a comity system (Kim and Kim 2015:72)
	-Takeda Hanshi initiates first tour of Korea (Hwansoo Kim 2012:190)
1893	-Mission Council endorses Mary Scranton's policy making conversion of women a strategic priority
	-Southern Methodist open institute for poor girls (Kim and Kim 2015:69)
	-World Parliament of Religion in Chicago
	-Asahi Nichimyō, a Nichiren priest, establishes a Foreign Mission Society to cater to Japanese immigrants and revive Korean Buddhism (Hwansoo Kim 2012:119)

-Takeda Hanshi initiates second tour of Korea; involves self with Tonghak rebellion (Hwansoo Kim 2012:191)

-Yakhyŏn Church, the first Catholic Church in Korea, consecrated (Kim and Kim 2015:71)

1894 -Last Confucian civil service exam (Kim and Kim 2015:69)

-Estimated 20,000 Catholics in Korea (Kim and Kim 2015:70)

-Korean men begin converting to Christianity in significant numbers (Kim and Kim 2015:83)

-January 11: Tonghak peasant rebellion begins (東學 農民 運動)

-July: 1st Kabo Reform begins

-August 1: **Sino-Japanese War begins**

-October: 1st Kabo Reform ends

-December: 2nd Kabo Reform begins

1895 -Takeda Hanshi initiates third tour of Korea; involved with Queen Min assassination (Hwansoo Kim 2012:191)

-Korean government pardons a few of the martyrs and King Kojong meets with Mutel who hears the king's regret for the persecution of 1866 (Kim and Kim 2015:71)

-March 2: Sano Zenrei arrives in Chosŏn (Hwansoo Kim 2012:120)

-March 26: Meeting between Sano and King Kojong (Hwansoo Kim 2012:122)

-March 29: Tonghak peasant rebellion ends

-April: Abolition of anti-Buddhist laws (Hwansoo Kim 2012:126)

-April 17: **Sino-Japanese War ends**

Treaty of Shimonosek; Taiwan Annexed

China relinquishes all claims to Korea

Korean administration taken over by Japanese (Kim and Kim 2015:79)

-May 5: Sano Zenrei holds festival celebrating end of Buddhist persecution (Hwansoo Kim 2012:127)

-July: 2nd Kabo Reform ends

-July 16: Sano Zenrei back in Japan (Hwansoo Kim 2012:133)

-October 8: **Queen Min assassinated**

-October: 3rd Kabo Reform begins; includes Topknot removal edict

1896 -Sŏ Chaep'il forms Tongnip Hyŏphoe, the Independence Club, as the first modern nationalist organization in Korea (Kim and Kim 2015:81)

-Three Korean students at Penang Catholic seminary ordained

-First Protestant newspapers founded: *The Independent* (first to be written entirely in *han'gul* (Kim and Kim 2015:81)), *Korean Christian Advocate*, and *Christian News* (Kim and Kim 2015:69)

-February 11: King Kojong begins refuge with the Russian legation

-February: 3rd Kabo Reform ends

1897 -Jōdoshū sends Shiraishi Gyōkai and Iwai Chikai to Korea

-Misumida Jimon establishes first branch of Jōdoshū in Pusan (Hwansoo Kim 2012:135)

-Russian Orthodox mission to Korea authorized (Kim and Kim 2015:88)

	-Opening of Sungsil School in P'yŏngyang (Kim and Kim 2015:86)
	-February 20: King Kojong emerges from refuge with Russian legation
	-October: **Establishment of the Great Han Empire**
1898	-Keijō Jinga built (Henry 2014:62)
	-The government suppressed *Tongnip Hyŏphoe* and arrest most of its leaders, including Rhee Syng-man (Kim and Kim 2015:81)
	- Okumura Enshin of the Higashi Honganji builds professional school for Koreans in Kwangju (Hwansoo Kim 2012:111)
	-The prince and emperor of Korea donate two thousand won and one thousand won, respectively, for constructing an Ōtani-ha temple, a Higashi Honganji temple, in Seoul (Hwansoo Kim 2012:118)
	-Ban prohibiting Korean monks from entering Seoul reinstated (Hwansoo Kim 2012:129)
	-Jōdoshū designates Korea as a foreign mission parish district (Hwansoo Kim 2012:135)
	-Honganji-ha commences missionary work in Korea (Hwansoo Kim 2012:145)
1899	-Treaty with Catholic Believers created by government, guaranteeing freedom to Catholics to practice their faith (Kim and Kim 2015:78)
	-Korean government establishes Sohŭng temple outside the eastern gate of Seoul to oversee implementation of policies for temple affairs (Hwansoo Kim 2012:142)

1900	-Russian Orthodox mission in Seoul consolidated by the arrival of Archimandrite Chrysanthos Shetkofsky, who celebrated the first official liturgy in a make-shift chapel in the Russian consulate (Kim and Kim 2015:88) -Presbyterians begin ordaining Korean elders (Kim and Kim 2015:102) -21 Catholic-only schools reported (Kim and Kim 2015:61) -Jōdoshū establishes branch of the Jōdo Religious Office in Seoul (Hwansoo Kim 2012:135)
1901	-Joint Mission Council of the Presbyterian missions adopts principals explicitly intended to avoid church entanglement with the state and politics (Kim and Kim 2015:90) -The Joint Presbyterian Council begins to admit Korean members (Kim and Kim 2015:102) -Chu Sangdo becomes first recorded church worker sent to the diaspora, and it sent to Manchuria to represent the P'yŏngyang Committee on Missions (Kim and Kim 2015:104) -May 23: Jōdoshū priest, Hiroyasu Shinzui, meets with Emperor Kojong (Hwansoo Kim 2012:135)
1902	-Methodists report eleven day-schools for boys, fifteen for girls, and the Paejae secondary school (Kim and Kim 2015:86) -Ōtani-ha (HH) decides to relocate resource for propagation from Taiwan to Korea (Hwansoo Kim 2012:118)

	-*Tongyang kyobo*, first Buddhist journal in Korea, published by Jōdo in Korean (Hwansoo Kim 2012:136)
	-Sohŭng temple renamed Wŏnhŭng temple (Hwansoo Kim 2012:142); becomes imperial temple (Hwansoo Kim 2012:221)
	-Temple Ordinance of 1902
	-Bureau of Temple Administration established (Hwansoo Kim 2012:153)
	-Mission Council stipulates that no new mission can be opened without a doctor on staff (Kim and Kim 2015:65)
1903-1907	Korean Revival (Kim and Kim 2015:93)
1903	-The Japanese Congregational Church sends missionaries to Korea (Kim and Kim 2015:111)
	-YMCA founded in Seoul (Kim and Kim 2015:96)
	-Presbyterians begin training Korean clergy (Kim and Kim 2015:102)
	-First nursing school established by Methodists (Kim and Kim 2015:65)
	-120 Korean Methodists depart for Hawaii for plantation work (Kim and Kim 2015:89)
	Methodist evangelists sent with them (Kim and Kim 2015:104)
1904	-Bishop Mutel holds large Catholic gathering protesting Japan's 'cultivate the wasteland' approach to Korean development and to pray for Korean sovereignty (Kim and Kim 2015:90)
	-Dr. Horace Allen Newton opens Severance Hospital Medical School, Korea's first western medical school (Kim and Kim 2015:65)

	-Missionary Treaty officially permits Catholic missionaries to travel, buy land and erect churches (Kim and Kim 2015:78)
	-Korean Seventh Day Adventist Church founded (Kim and Kim 2015:102)
	-Ilchinhoe established (Hwansoo Kim 2012:194)
	-Bureau of Temple Administration disbanded (Hwansoo Kim 2012:321)
	-February 8: **Russo-Japanese War begins**
1905-1930	-Expansion and increased influence of Shintō (Hardacre 1989:23)
1905	-Taft-Katsura Agreement
	-Japanese Methodist Church established in Seoul (Kim and Kim 2015:111)
	-Dawn prayer meetings an established pattern of Korean Protestantism (Kim and Kim 2015:85)
	-Kil Sŏnchu initiates practice of donating a day for labor in the church (*nalyŏnbo*) (Kim and Kim 2015:85)
	- Sungsil School and college has 367 students
	-General Council of Evangelical Missions forms and focuses on the opportunities in Korea for mission work and cooperation with the Japanese (Kim and Kim 2015:90)
	-Methodist youth group, Epworth League, disbanded due to fear of it being used as a resistance organization (Kim and Kim 2015:91)
	-Bishop Mutel encourages general education in Catholic Schools (Kim and Kim 2015:96)
	-September 5: Russo-Japanese War ends

	-November 17: **Japan–Korea Treaty (Korea made protectorate of Japan**
	-Prince Itō Hirobumi assigned the position of Resident-General of Chosŏn
	-monks again prohibited from entering the four gates of Seoul (Hwansoo Kim 2012:158)
1906	-Sich'ŏn'gyo (Heaven Serving Religion), religious faction of Tonghak, established (Hwansoo Kim 2012:193)
	-Takeda Hanshi returns to Korea with Uchida Ryohei after Korea becomes a protectorate of Japan (Hwansoo Kim 2012:193)
	-First Branch temple of Honganji-ha established in Pusan (Hwansoo Kim 2012:145)
	-Bishop Mutel supports to Protectorate as the inevitable result of global politics (Kim and Kim 2015:90)
	-Honganji-ha sets up administrative department of propagation in Korea (Hwansoo Kim 2012:145)
	-Underwood completes and publishes complete New Testament in Korean (Kim and Kim 2015:70)
	-Ōtani-ha construction complete (Hwansoo Kim 2012:118)
	-Japanese established government controls textbooks and curriculum in public schools (Kim and Kim 2015:116)
	-February 15: Jōdoshū Inoue petitions Korean government for permission to use Wŏnhŭng temple, and create first modern school for Korean Buddhism, Myŏngjin (Hwansoo Kim 2012:143)

	-March 20: Jōdoshū leaders demand payment from the monks of Ŭnhae temple, send threatening notices (Hwansoo Kim 2012:141)
	-March 27: Korean Jōdo members break into, vandalize and extort Oktongje School (Hwansoo Kim 2012:140)
	-June 30: Shaku Unshō (Shingon) arrives in Korea (Hwansoo Kim 2012:97)
	-July 17: 183 Korean Jōdo churches, approximately 32,500 Korean Jōdo members, and 5 schools, one of which was the Myŏngjin School for Korean monks (Hwansoo Kim 2012:138)
	-November 17: Regulations on the Propagation of Religion issued (Hwansoo Kim 2012:165)
1907	-King Kojong forced to abdicate to his son, Sunjong
	-Inoue Genshin attempt to make Wŏnhŭng temple an official branch of Jōdoshū; resulting outcry from Korean monastics (Hwansoo Kim 2012:144)
	-Yi Yonggu and Takeda Hanshi take an ethnographic survey of Korean Buddhism on behalf of the Resident-General's office (Hwansoo Kim 2012:195)
	-Kim Gwang-je organizes an initiative to collect money to pay off the Korean national debt (Kim and Kim 2015:99)
	-Homer Hulbert, along with Methodist Yi Jun, secretly travel to a peace conference at The Hague. Denied permission to enter (Kim and Kim 2015:92)

	-Protestant churches overtake Catholic churches in numbers (Kim and Kim 2015:82)
	-July: Chŏngmi Seven Treaty between Korea and Japan signed
	-Battles begin to break out between Japanese forces and righteous soldiers (Hwansoo Kim 2012:171)
	-September 17: National Presbyterian Church of Korea established (Kim and Kim 2015:103)
1908	-Sin Ch'aeho provides new reading of Korean history and defines Korean people as descendants of the Tan'gun
	-Takeda Hanshi nominated to become advisor to the Wŏnjong (Hwansoo Kim 2012:194)
	-Yi Sŏn'gwang, the first unmarried woman missionary, sent to work on Jeju Island (Kim and Kim 2015:104)
	-Missionaries sent with migrating Koreans to the Yucatan peninsula in Mexico (Kim and Kim 2015:104)
	-Durham White Stevens, a pro-Japanese US advisor of foreign affairs in the Korean government, is killed in San Francisco by Protestant Chang In'hwan and Catholic Chŏn Myŏng'un (Kim and Kim 2015:99)
	-Sungsil School awards Korea's first degrees (Kim and Kim 2015:87)
	-Kil Sŏnchu becomes first Korean pastor to lead a baptism ceremony; baptizes 201 people (Kim and Kim 2015:103)
	-Japanese established government requires all private schools to provide an annual report and receive licensing (Kim and Kim 2015:116)

	-March 6: Establishment of Wŏnjong, abolishment of Jōdoshū society (Hwansoo Kim 2012:181)
1909	-Itō Hirobumi ends tenure as Resident-General of Chosŏn, replaced by Sone Arasuke, who resigned a few months later due to health reasons -Terauchi Masatake Resident-General of Chosŏn -118 Japanese Buddhist missionaries in Korea (Hwansoo Kim 2012:347) -Catholic An Chunggŭn kills former Japanese resident-general Itō Hirobumi at a railway station in Harbin (Kim and Kim 2015:99) -Na Ch'ŏl establishes Taejonggyo religious movement (Kim and Kim 2015:101)
1910-1919	-Military rule (武断政治 – 무단정치 – J: *budan seiji*) -Peak years of Korean emigration (Kim and Kim 2015:117)
1910	-95 Japanese Buddhist missionaries in Korea (Hwansoo Kim 2012:347) -Kakhwang temple construction complete (Hwansoo Kim 2012:287) -20 schools for the education of Korean monks by Japanese administrators in operation (Hwansoo Kim 2012:183) -Takeda Hanshi launches movement to preserve the *Koryŏ Taejangyŏng* housed at Haeinsa (Hwansoo Kim 2012:189) -100,000 Koreans in Manchuria (Kim and Kim 2015:118) -World Missionary Conference hosted in Edinburgh (Kim and Kim 2015:104) -An Chunggŭn executed (Kim and Kim 2015:100)

-Protestants account for 1% of Korean population (Kim and Kim 2015:105)

-Jōdoshū purported to have almost 100,000 members (Hwansoo Kim 2012:138)

-Sano Zenrei given the position of administrative head of the Nichirenshū and superintendent of the Nichiren mission in Korea (Hwansoo Kim 2012:133)

-General Council of Evangelical Missions in Korea decided to follow up on the revival movement: Aimed to reach 'A Million Souls for Christ This Year' (Kim and Kim 2015:107)

-The Bibles Societies print a million copies of the gospel of Mark (Kim and Kim 2015:107)

-First Hansen's disease community formed in Korea (Kim and Kim 2015:115)

-February: Yi Heogwang and the Wŏnjong officially designate Wŏnhŭng temple as the center Wŏnjong temple (Hwansoo Kim 2012:237)

-March: Kakhwangsa (propagation temple) begins construction in central Seoul (Hwansoo Kim 2012:237)

-August 29: **Annexation of Korea by Japan**, renamed Chōsen

-Terauchi Masatake becomes Governor-General of Chōsen

-September: Takahasi Tōru begins work for the colonial government as a researcher on Korean religions (Hwansoo Kim 2012:258)

	-September: Nichirenshū make public their plan to relocated one of their head temples, Ren'ei-ji, to Korea (Hwansoo Kim 2012:331)
	-October 1: Governor-General Chōsen assumes complete control of all affairs in colonial Korea (Hwansoo Kim 2012:254)
	-October 6: Yi Heogwang, abbot of Haeinsa and the Grand Patriarch of Wŏnjong, signed an agreement that consents to the absorption of Wŏnjong into the Japanese Soto Zen sect. (Atkins 2010:119) Merger attempted between the Wŏnjong and the Sōtōshū (Hwansoo Kim 2012:187)
	-October: Furukawa Taikō becomes the first known Japanese Buddhist missionary to become the abbot of a major head temple, Pohyŏn (Hwansoo Kim 2012:160-61)
1911	-140 Japanese Buddhist missionaries in Korea (Hwansoo Kim 2012:347)
	-Yi Heogwang assumes abbotship of the Haein temple until 1924 (Hwansoo Kim 2012:232)
	-Governor-General Chōsen announces its intention to use education to create 'loyal and good subjects of the emperor' (Kim and Kim 2015:116)
	-Japanese YMCA invites Korean Protestant pastors to visit Japan and pressures them to bring their own churches under the Japanese denomination (Kim and Kim 2015:111)
	-Underwood completes & publishes Korean translation of entire Bible (Kim and Kim 2015:70); immediately sells out (Kim and Kim 2015:115)
	-Son Jŏngdo becomes first Methodist pastor sent to Manchuria (Kim and Kim 2015:105)

	-Governor-General Chōsen discontinues royal house from conducting rituals at Sajiktan (Henry 2014:65)
	-February 11: Imjejong sect established (Hwansoo Kim 2012:261)
	-June 3: Temple Ordinance of 1911 promulgated
	-July 8: The Eight Regulations for Enforcement promulgated (Hwansoo Kim 2012:319)
	-December: Wŏnjong launches propagation drive (Hwansoo Kim 2012:327)
1912	-105-man Incident/Conspiracy Case (Kim and Kim 2015:112)
	-Yi Heogwang elected as leader of the Meeting Office of the Abbots of the Thirty Head Temples (Hwansoo Kim 2012:232)
	-Land Survey dispossesses many Korean peasants and further concentrates ownership to the hands of large landowners (Kim and Kim 2015:108)
	-Japan proclaims a policy of ‘assimilation’ on the grounds of what they regarded as close ethnic and cultural affinities (Kim and Kim 2015:108)
	-Governor-General Chōsen begins compilation of Korean dictionary (Atkins 2010:103)
	-Presbyterian Church of Korea opts for ‘loyal recognition’ of Japanese rule (Kim and Kim 2015:110)
	-Methodist church begins temperance movement (Kim and Kim 2015:130)
	-General Council of Missions replaced by the Federal Council of Protestant Missions and included the YMCA & Bible Societies (Kim and Kim 2015:114)

	March: Imjejong set up central propagation temple in central Seoul (Hwansoo Kim 2012:326)
	May 12: Imjejong host opening ceremony in Seoul (Hwansoo Kim 2012:326)
	May: New Government General of Chōsen building announced (Henry 2014:31)
	June: Imjejong and Wŏnjong sects disestablished by Governor-General Chōsen (Hwansoo Kim 2012:324)
	June 16: First meeting of abbots of the thirty head temple of Korea (Hwansoo Kim 2012:335)
1913	-Rhee Syng-man publishes *The Persecution of the Korean Church* (Kim and Kim 2015:118)
	-Cross-cultural mission sent by Presbyterian Church to work in Shandong province in China (Kim and Kim 2015:105)
	-October 1: Prince Yi Kang joins Governor General in paying respects to Amaterasu at Seoul Shrine (Henry 2014:65)
1915	-Revise Regulations on the Propagation of Religion issued (Hwang 2016:156)
	-Governor-General Chōsen makes under which permission is needed to open a new church or employ paid workers (Brown 1919:580)
	-December 1: Governor-General Chōsen Museum opens on the grounds of the Kyŏngbok Palace (Atkins 2010:110)

-Presbyterians in Seoul open Joseon Christian College (Kim and Kim 2015:87)

-825,000 Korean Bibles sell; the highest for a single field in the whole history of the British and Foreign Bible Society (Kim and Kim 2015:115)

- Governor-General Chōsen proposes to de-register all private schools not following government curriculum, mandating that all teachers use Japanese in the classroom, exclude religious instruction in the classroom, follow the prescribed ceremonies on days when the emperor offered sacrifices at Shintō shrines (Kim and Kim 2015:117)

1916 -Terauchi Masatake ends tenure as Governor-General of Chōsen; Hasegawa Yoshimichi named Governor-General of Chōsen

-Unified urban administration system enacted

Shrine leaders must include one Korean as a major representative in each of the city's four five-person parish districts (Henry 2014:66)

-Korea Shrine, Chōsen Jinga, plans announced (Henry 2014:80)

-July: Governor-General Chōsen promulgated first heritage management laws (Atkins 2010:110) with the intention to catalogue and preserve "Treasures, Historical Remains, Places of Scenic Beauty and National Monuments" (Atkins 2010:102)

1917 -Japanese Congregation Church has 12,000 Korean members (Kim and Kim 2015:111)

	-Korean National Association branch established in Korea (Kim and Kim 2015:117)
1918	-January: Woodrow Wilson 'Fourteen Points' speech -Korean Church Federal Council brings together Korean leaders of churches, especially for its dealings with the regime (Kim and Kim 2015:114)
1919	-January 21: former Emperor Kojong dies -February 1: Assistant Presbyterian pastor Yŏ Unhyŏng and others declare Korean Independence in China (Kim and Kim 2015:120), form the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea (Hwansoo Kim 2012:234) -February 8: Korean students in Tokyo demonstrate outside YMCA building (Kim and Kim 2015:120) -March 1st Movement; est. 2 million people involved nation wide -Hasegawa Yoshimichi ends tenure as Governor-General of Chōsen; Saitō Makoto named Governor-General of Chōsen
1920-1937	-Cultural rule (文化政治 – 문화정치 – j: *bunka seiji*)
1920	-2% of the Korean population Protestant (Kim and Kim 2015:113) -28 mission hospitals, 700-800 primary schools, 3,300 Sunday Schools, 9/10 of Protestant community can read and write (Kim and Kim 2015:113) -Cho Man-sik inaugurates the Korean Products Promotion Society -Chōsen Buddhist Association established by Japanese lay Buddhist

1921	-Society for the Promotion of Korean Christian Literature established (Kim and Kim 2015:128)
	-YMCA P'yŏngyang branch founded (Kim and Kim 2015:134)
1922-1923	-Korean permitted to be taught and spoken in public schools (Kim and Kim 2015:128)
1922	-YWCA founded in Chōsen (Kim and Kim 2015:138)
1923	-Reported by Governor-General Chōsen: 30 head and 1,200 branch temples with 7,500 priests and nuns and 167,000 adherents (Buddhism) (Atkins 2010:118)
	-'Designated' schools permitted to teach religious education as part of the curriculum (Kim and Kim 2015:128)
1924	-Keijō Imperial University founded by the Governor-General Chōsen (Kim and Kim 2015:129)
	-Hwaŏm Temple promoted to a head temple (Hwansoo Kim 2012:322)
1925	-Chōsen Jinga erected (Henry 2014:18)
	-Officials and students compelled to participate in Shintō ceremonies (Kim and Kim 2015:150)
	-Socialists rally against the Sunday School Convention in Seoul (Kim and Kim 2015:135)
	-July 5: Beatification of seventy-nine of the martyrs by Pope Pius XI (Kim and Kim 2015:131)
1926	-Private schools (almost all Christian) teach less than 5% of the population (Kim and Kim 2015:129)

1927	-Saitō Makoto ends tenure as Governor-General of Chōsen; Kazushige Ugaki briefly replaces him -Rural membership of the church matches the general population: 73% (Kim and Kim 2015:129) -December: Yamanashi Hanzō named Governor-General of Chōsen
1928	-Mary Rumsey founds Chōsen Pentecostal Church (Kim and Kim 2015:142)
1929	**-Gwangju Student Independence Movement** -Yamanashi Hanzō ends tenure; Saitō Makoto again named Governor-General of Chōsen -Takahashi Tōru publishes *Richō Bukkyo* (Korean Buddhism) on behalf of the Governor-General Chōsen (Hwansoo Kim 2012:258)
1930	-Methodists in Korea come together to form one national church, the Chōsen Christian Methodist Church (Kim and Kim 2015:145)
1931-1932	Creation of Manchukuo
1931	**September 18: Mukden Incident—Japan invades Manchuria. Pacific War begins** -Saitō Makoto ends tenure as Governor-General of Chōsen; Ugaki Kazushige again named Governor-General of Chōsen -First woman Presbyterian missionary, Kim Sunho, sent to Shandong mission (Kim and Kim 2015:105) -First Korean woman to receive PhD, Kim Hwal-ran, graduates from Columbia University

1933	-Japan pulls out of the League of Nations -Second promulgation ordinance by Governor-General Chōsen to catalogue and preserve "Treasures, Historical Remains, Places of Scenic Beauty and National Monuments" (Atkins 2010:102) -Bishop Gustave-Charles-Marie Mutel dies
1934	-Catholics make up 40% of the Korean Christian population (Kim and Kim 2015:144)
1935	-*Thriving Chosen: A Survey of Twenty-Five Years' Administration* published by Governor-General Chōsen (Atkins 2010:102) -61 Shintō priests in Korea (Hardacre 1989:95) -Governor-General Chōsen launches new spiritual campaign to shore up communal solidarity by superimposing Japanese Shintō onto Korean religions, including Shamanism (Henry 2014:189) -Two Presbyterian missionary educators in P'yŏngyang publically refuse to participate in shrine worship; stripped of their teaching license (Kim and Kim 2015:151)
1936	-Ugaki Kazushige ends tenure as Governor-General of Chōsen; Minami Jirō replaces him -70 Korean Catholic priests present (Kim and Kim 2015:144) -May: Congregation for the Propagation of Faith sign a concordat with the Japanese government which declare Shintō rites to be civil acts only (Kim and Kim 2015:151)
1937-1945	Imperialization (皇民化政策 – 황민화정책 – *kōminka*)

1937 -Christian churches required to conduct Shintō rites and visit shrines as part of their activities (Kim and Kim 2015:151)

-Total 368 large and small Shintō Shrines in Korea (Hardacre 1989:95)

-Abridged Imperial Rescript on Education used in Korean schools (Henry 2014:180)

-Public performance of Shintō rites required in Korea (Henry 2014:200)

-Stalin forcibly deports 170,000 Koreans living in the Russian Far East to Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan (Kim and Kim 2015:143)

-Further revision of the Korean Bible complete (Kim and Kim 2015:144)

-July 7: Marco-Polo Bridge Incident – 2nd Sino-Japanese War begins

1938 -Japan begins to accept "highly qualified Korean recruits into the military as a preliminary experiment on conscription (Henry 2014:174)

-September 9: General Assembly accepts the Shintō rites as patriotic only, under duress from the Governor-General Chōsen (Kim and Kim 2015:152)

-Mary Rumsey arranges the ordination of the first three Korean Pentecostal pastors: Hong Hŏh, Pak Sŏngsan and Pac Pugŭn (Kim and Kim 2015:142)

-Committee established to campaign for the canonization of the seventy-nine beatified martyrs (Kim and Kim 2015:131)

-All schools required to exclude Korean language and literature from their curriculum (Kim and Kim 2015:146)

-P'yŏngyang Seminary closed by Governor-General Chōsen (Kim and Kim 2015:150)

1939 -Pope Pius XII declares ancestor ceremonies to be merely a civic rite (Kim and Kim 2015:152)

-Less than 5% of households on Korean peninsula possessed Ise amulet, compared to 37% in Taiwan and 60% of inner territory homes (Henry 2014:193)

-Archbishop of Canterbury criticizes Japan's war in China

Several Anglican missionaries subsequently imprisoned temporarily (Kim and Kim 2015:155)

1940 -Seoul Nation-Protecting Shrine construction begins (Henry 2014:185)

-Salvation Army changes its name to the less threatening Salvation Society (Kim and Kim 2015:153)

-Many US missionaries evacuated from Korea (Kim and Kim 2015:155)

1941 -The Holiness Churches, Seventh-day Adventists, the East Asia Christian Church (the Korean Baptists) and several Pentecostal congregations close (Kim and Kim 2015:153-54)

-December 7: Pearl Harbor

1942 - Minami Jirō ends tenure as Governor-General of Chōsen; is replaced by Kuniaki Koiso

-Protestant churches forbidden from using denominational names

-All churches instructed to install a Shintō shrine

1943	-First installation ceremony at Seoul Nation-Protecting Shrine; 7,447 souls installed, including 549 Korean soldiers (Henry 2014:186)
1944	- Kuniaki Koiso ends tenure as Governor-General of Chōsen; is replaced by Abe Nobuyuki until the end of the War -Conscription of Korean soldiers begins; before this point, only 16,860/808,000 applications accepted (Henry 2014:174)
1945	-20% of households possessed Ise amulets in Korea (Henry 2014:193) **-Aug 15: End of WWII in the Pacific** -Sept 7: Japanese government demolish Korea Shrine

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