



E-ASIA

university of oregon libraries

<http://e-asia.uoregon.edu>

THE JAPANESE INVASION.

I. THE PRELIMINARIES.

Great events do not spring into being in an instant. A mighty movement or a new development in a nation or a race, is seldom if ever a Minerva, sprung full-armed from the head of a Jove. Rather it is generally a growth, which for a longer or shorter period has been nourished by time into existence, and which, assimilating into its structure events and impulses, the mistakes, blunders and developments of national life, at last appears on the stage of history to play its part. This was true of the Revolution in France, of the Slave Struggle in the United States, and a study of great movements among men will demonstrate it a principle of development. The mighty invasion which swept like a tornado up the Peninsula of Chosun in 1592 and which promised to spread war and desolation far over the Asiatic Continent, was neither the child of a moment nor the creation of one man. Long before Hideyoshi turned it in the direction of Chosun it had been gendering in the Island Empire of Japan. It was the breaking forth of mighty energies, which, while they came in such a terrible form, under different circumstances might have assumed a very different aspect. To properly appreciate the causes and course of the invasion a glance at Japanese history will be necessary.

From 1340 to about 1570 the Ashikaga family, under that peculiar dual system which divided the government of

the nation between the Emperor and his most powerful subject, virtually ruled Japan.—The history of the entire period is one unending record of anarchy and bloodshed; activity there was but it was the activity of destruction.

“Feudal fights, border brawls, the seizure of lands, the rise of great clans, the siege and destruction of castles were staple events.”* War was everywhere,—war without cause and without purpose, tearing with fangs and claws at the vitals of the nation, enrolling family against family, clan against clan, class against class, teaching all professions, even the most sacred, to wield the sword and destroy human life in furtherance of selfish ends.

As the years passed the black shadow settled deeper and more dense. The years of war and feudal strife became years of want, disease and lawlessness. The land, deprived of those who cultivated it, brought forth no increase; famine cursed the nation while pestilence raged amid warrior ranks and fugitive hordes and slew them all alike. Many turned to outlawry and became thieves on land and water. The latter class were especially notorious extending their depredations far down the coast of the main land and today their name is a bugbear used by Chinese mothers to discipline unruly children. Neglect and lawlessness brought the public morals to the lowest plane, prostitution prevailed to a frightful degree, and religious duties neglected by the priests were ignored by the people. “It is the potter’s field where all the outcast Judases of the moralists lie buried. By common consent it has become the limbo of the playwright and the scape-goat of chronology.”†

The lease of life to such conditions is always limited. Out of the shifting mists of this dark period we behold three colossal figures emerge — Nobunaga, Hideyoshi

* Griffiths’ Mikado’s Empire.

† Ibid.

and Iyeyasu. As the great fame of the last of this brilliant trio lies just beyond the time of the invasion we can only accord him a passing notice. Entering into and sharing the fruits of the labors of his two predecessors the glory of his fame transcends even the splendor of his last resting place at the marvelous Nikko in northern Japan. Nobunaga and Hideyoshi were the incarnations of a new spirit and a new future for Japan. Warriors themselves, they were in full sympathy with the warring spirit of the time, but gathering its energies and powers under their personal control they directed them against all opposition to the central authority and succeeded in establishing something like order. In this work the magnificent Nobunaga fell and Hideyoshi managed to install himself as *Nobunaga's successor*. Gifted with a versatility of genius and favored with a career which constitute him a striking parallel to that European "Man of Destiny," he entered upon his difficult task with an ambitious heart. The year 1588 found the work of Hideyoshi—the pacification of the land and the establishment of his own authority—pretty thoroughly done, while the power of arms through which it was accomplished was still in its fullest development and promised the most. Japan was a nation of veterans without employment. And aside from the Taiko Hideyoshi, probably few men realized with as great an appreciation, the mighty power of those tremendous energies now lying inactive in Japan. Created by the power of arms, apparently the very embodiment of arms, he stood before the nation as the custodian of its energies. His was the obligation to find them employment; the prudence in which he was so well skilled lay this upon him if nothing more, for military inactivity very easily becomes fruitful of military insubordination and those armed

hosts might have found themselves employment not at all in line with his plans. Hideyoshi as well as Nobunaga might have found a treacherous Akechi among his generals. And while various reasons have been assigned as the chief cause of the invasion, we have no hesitation in joining the Chosunese historians in looking upon this as the prime cause, viz.,

1. *The necessity the Taiko Hideyoshi was under to find employment for a nation of soldiers chafing under an enforced inactivity.*

The second of the main causes of this invasion appears equally palpable. Find his soldiers employment he must, but where? that was the question. It was then he turned to the dream of his life, the conquest of China.

Often does it appear in the course of his career. We are told that when Nobunaga sent him against the recalcitrant Mori he promised him, if successful, a high administrative office. The young captain's reply to his chief was:—

“Divide the territory you would give me among these faithful captains who have followed you so long and so well. As for me let me but have the revenues of certain places for a year and I shall be satisfied. I will build ships to transport my soldiers, invade, and conquer Chosun, and with an army of Chosunese attack the Mings”. Again in the years when he had risen to his lofty eminence it is said that while resting in a temple containing an image of the great hero Ioritomi, he patted the idol on the shoulder affectionately and said “You are my friend, for we are the only two men who, with empty hands have conquered all under the sky. Yet you are not as great as I am, for while you came from noble stock, I have sprung from the slave. And I am determined to obtain

the Empire of the Mings; what thinkest thou of that?" "For," adds the same narrative, "from the time he first broached it on the eve of his departure against Mori, this thought (of conquering the Mings) had never been lost by the Taiko." And when he beheld his war-worn veterans fretting under the restraints of peaceful inactivity it came back, not as a dream of young manhood, but as an ambitious purpose possible of achievement. Everything seemed to favor it; Japan was at peace; recalcitrant lords had been brought back to fidelity; rebellion and outlawry had been put down; his personal foes were protesting friendship; in the death of an idolized child he had himself encountered a grief which he longed to forget in the rush and clash of battle.

From these circumstances we are led to conclude that the second of the causes leading to the invasion of Chosun was:-

2. *The personal ambition of the Taiko Hideyoshi to conquer China.*

And' before leaving this we would call attention to the fact that throughout the preliminaries and apparently until the first reverse of the Japanese in Chosun, China was the objective in all the Taiko's plans. Chosun was to be but an incident in the way. Peking, not Söul was the prize he coveted. The Chinese, not the Chosunese were the ones for whom Japanese swords were sharpened, and matchlock bullets moulded, and the flower of Japanese chivalry enrolled.

To a man of the versatility of Hideyoshi the opportunity was not long wanting to begin the execution of his design. The circumstances were as follows: Soon after the founding of the present Chosunese dynasty (1392) a treaty had been made between Japan and Chosun under the terms of which an occasional exchange of ambassadors had taken place. This treaty

was very unpopular in Chosun for the people had never ceased to regard their warlike neighbors as little better than savages. After one hundred years (about 1500) an agitation had been raised by the Chinese statesman Shin Siuk Chu which led to an abrogation of the treaty by Chosun and the ambassadorial visits were discontinued. This failure to accredit envoys and to send what Chosun called "a present" but which was received by Japan as "tribute", could not but offend the Japanese, and Hideyoshi found in it just the pretext he needed to open negotiations with his neighbors. An embassy was determined upon, and Yashuhiro, a Tsushima man, was appointed its chief. But before following the envoy to his destination let us glance at the nation to which he was accredited.

Two hundred years had passed since the old, corrupt government of Korea had been overthrown and the Yi dynasty, ascending the Throne had restored to the land its ancient name—Chosun. A profound peace reigned throughout the land; for several generations no war had called the people from a quiet life to the rough activity of the camp. The main spice of Chosunese existence was the disputatious character of the schools, whose quarrels culminated soon after the invasion, in the dispute which gave to the nation the Noron and Soron sects in politics, which with their minor branches, the Namin and Pukin form the main political parties of today. It was a period of much prosperity. The years of peace which followed the overthrow of the Korean dynasty, had given the nation an opportunity to recover from the convulsions which attended that event. Populous cities were numerous and arts and manufactures were in a high state of development though a decline appeared about to set in. Wealth however had enervated the people. They had sunk deeper and deeper into a lethargic state of existence, and moral ruin was substituted for moral character. Surrounded by

luxury the nobles gave themselves up to riotous living; the rich dissipated great fortunes in pleasure; the lower classes as far as possible emulated "their betters" The chronicles of the time abound in descriptions of feasts and merrymakings; of theatrical and acrobatic exhibitions in which, like in declining Rome the actors were often from the highest in the land; of wine, excess and debauchery.

Martial vigor had disappeared and an impotent effeminacy taken its place. The national army was enrolled as one million of men,—now famous in native chronicles as "the Army on paper,"— a description which enables us to understand the terror and dread which seized all hearts when the news of that terrible host at Fusan became known, and they fled before its onward march like the scurrying of autumn leaves before November blasts. Neither in palace nor in hovel was there the manhood which could stand before a determined foe, while of all men, those who frequented the royal court were the last to cross swords with the veterans of the Taiko.

G. HEBER JONES.

THE JAPANESE INVASION.

II. DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS.

SUCH was the nation to which Yashuhiro was accredited. Yashuhiro's instructions were to demand a restoration of the intercourse and relations which had formerly existed between the two nations. There is no explicit statement of the purpose of the Taiko in these diplomatic negotiations, but from the conduct and instructions of his envoys it appears that he hoped to induce Chosun by persuasion or threats to join him against China.

Yashuhiro reached Chosun in 1588. A rough warrior of the fiercest type he was hardly the man for a diplomatic mission. He was better acquainted with the etiquette of the camp than that of the Court: he could have carved his way into the palace at the head of his clansmen, but win his way in by his wit as a diplomat—never. Familiar with the stirring scenes of life under Hideyoshi's gourd banner, accustomed to strike friendship with men who wore iron instead of cotton and silk, he could not but view with the air of a disgusted superior the effeminate Chosunese, while they on their part could not understand this rough, harsh man who cared neither for feasting, wine, nor pleasure and who answered exactly to their idea of a barbarian. Many as were the difficulties which beset his mission, tact and skill might have been successful; but by boorishness and discourtesy he not only defeated his own mission but so ensnared everything that, if any possibility had existed of inducing Chosun to join Japan, it was forever lost. He was debarred

the presence of His Majesty and after a tedious delay was given a message to Hideyoshi stating that as "Chosun was unfamiliar with sea roads, an embassy could not be appointed for they would not be able to find the way to Japan".

Returned to Japan, his report only incensed his imperious master; whether because of rage that Chosun should thus covertly defy him, or actual suspicion that Yashuhiro had proved traitorous Hideyoshi charged the grim warrior with having betrayed him to the Peninsular authorities and caused him and his family to be put to death. Thus ended in a tragedy the first of the diplomatic negotiations.

The year 1589 brought a second embassy from Hideyoshi to Chosun. It was composed of Yoshitoshi, another Tsushima noble, Gensho, a Buddhist priest and Tairano Tsuginobu. The difficulties they had to encounter were many and embarrassing. The coming of Yashuhiro had created a division in the royal Council which hopelessly bewildered that body until it was broken up by flight from Seoul, and this division in no wise benefitted Japan. The envoys however were received with great courtesy and hospitality and quartered at the Nam Piul Koung, a palace still used for ambassadors and which was last occupied by the special Chinese envoy of 1890.

They were not admitted to the presence of the king, and Chosun's reply after the profuse hospitalities was: "Return to us the vile criminals who have found a refuge from Chosunese justice in Japan and we will consider your proposals". The Japanese reply was "We'll do it," and as fast as wind and wave could carry him Tairano sped back to Japan and laying hands on every Chosunese he could find brought back 154 men,— 160 Chosunese and four Japanese, notorious pirates on the Peninsula coast. The Chosunese were astonished, but the Japanese had caught them. The King himself sentenced the men thus strangely brought into his power, and it was at their trial that the Japanese envoys for the first time entered the royal

presence. Things were better from that time, and at last the Chosunese announced that an embassy would be appointed, and the Japanese, presenting His Majesty with some pea fowl and some guns returned to Japan. This was the introduction of fire-arms into Chosun, and the guns of today are still modelled from those presents received three hundred years ago.

In April 1590 the Chosunese embassy was appointed. It consisted of Whoan Yun Kil, Kim Siung Ill, and Hō Sungi, a most unfortunate company, hopelessly divided in itself, and continually quarreling in the face of difficulties which should have united them as one man. They arrived in Japan at an unfortunate time, for their great host was away in the north "putting down opposition" and they were compelled to wait five months before they could see him. During this period they met with some rude treatment from their soldier-entertainers, and their report of their stay in Japan is a mixture of doleful wail and savage remonstrance. They at last received the famous letter of Hideyoshi in which he demanded Chosun's alliance against China, and after much remonstrance and several efforts to have such an insulting (to the Chosunese) suggestion expurgated, it was accepted through the weakness of the senior member of the embassy, and brought to Söul. A bomb exploded in the midst of the royal apartments could not have occasioned more consternation.

Hideyoshi followed his letter with another embassy, composed of Tairano and Gensho. They reached Chosun in the leap month of 1591 and the former cordiality and hospitality was even surpassed, though this only hid the perplexity and unfriendliness of the Chosunese. They demanded Chosun's answer to Hideyoshi's letter and were given a letter of rebuke for his audacious suggestion of war with China. In this letter His Majesty said:

"China ever welcomes Chosun as though they were one

nation, and whenever difficulties have arisen, mutual assistance has secured a settlement. We are as the family of one house, esteeming each other as father and son. And this must be known in Japan, for it is known throughout the world."* This letter determined the Taiko. His troops would march via Chosun, and teach the haughty authorities of the Peninsula a lesson by the way. A stern letter of denunciation was written and So Yoshichika commissioned to deliver it. † He came as far as Fusan, where he handed it to the local authorities who forwarded it to Söul. It was totally ignored, possibly because the envoy failed to deliver it in person. After waiting a reasonable length of time for an answer he commanded all Japanese to return home and departed himself. Thus ended the diplomatic negotiations.

Let us now notice briefly negotiations in another direction. Conservative counsels had prevailed in the Royal Cabinet at Söul, and it was decided to await further developments before saying anything to China of this ambitious project of Japan. However the Tribute-bearer was come mandated to drop a hint in Peking that Japan had some project on hand. And it was well such an order was given for just as soon as he crossed into Chinese territory he found himself in an unpleasant position. It seems that soon after the departure of Yoshuhiro for Chosun, an embassy from the Liu Kiu Islands arrived in Kioto with tribute. Hideyoshi commanded them to advertise the prowess of his arms in China and to advocate a peaceable concession of any demands he might make. The Liu Kiuans did so and succeeded in arousing China's suspicion of the Peninsula. Quick to grasp the situation the Tribute-bearer, Han, announced that he had a special message concerning the whole matter. What he told the Chinese we do not know. We next hear of him as special

Ambassador to Peking to announce that Japan proposed to invade China and had invited Chosunese co-operation. Arrived in Peking, so great was the interest felt in his message that he was invited into the Imperial presence that he might deliver it direct to the Emperor. This was the first time that a Chosunese envoy had been granted an Imperial audience, and Chosun felt so honored that a special embassy was commissioned to thank His Imperial Majesty for his kind favor and to give him in detail an account of the matter from its inception until that present time. Thus was established, the historians tell us, the custom of receiving the Chosunese envoys in Imperial audience at Peking.

GEO. HEBER JONES.

THE JAPANESE INVASION.

III. THE INVASION.

THE message of Hideyoshi brought by Yoshitoshi to Fusan, was more than an insolent reply to Korea; like the Pequot's snake skin of arrows, it was the announcement of a serious purpose. Upon the return of his final envoy Hideyoshi pushed with vigor the preparations for the invasion. Everything necessary to the success of the project was provided in lavish abundance. In December 1591 maps of the various provinces of Chosun were distributed among the various commanders to study, and in this is the source, probably, of the Chosunese tradition which declares that eight high officers of the Taikô's army were sent to Chosun to spy out the land. They are said to have spent two years in their work, during which they travelled the length and breadth of the land in disguise of Buddhist priests, visiting every city and hamlet on the peninsula.

The efforts of Hideyoshi resulted in the assembling at Nagoya, of an army of conquest, which was one of the most magnificent ever assembled on Asiatic shores. In prowess, in courage, in fame, it was unexcelled. It consisted of eight divisions, commanded as follows—

First Division	=	Katô Kiomasu.*
Second „	=	Konishi Yukinaga.†
Third „	=	Otomi Kiken.‡
Fourth „	=	Shimadsu Yoshihiro.§

* 加藤清正 가등청정 ‡ 小西行長 쇼서행상
† 大友義統 대우의통 § 島津義弘 도진의홍

Fifth Division	=	Fakushima Masanori. *
Sixth	„	= Hachisuka Yemasu. †
Seventh	„	= Kobaya Kawa Takakaga. ‡
Eighth	„	= Mori Terumoto. §

In addition to these there was a fleet composed of innumerable transports and war junks and divided into four divisions or, more properly speaking, fleets. The total strength of these forces as given by the Kwai Shi was—

(1) The Eight Divisions and the Naval Contingent ...	150,000
(2) The Reserve Corps	60,000
(3) "The Old Guard," Taikô's personal Command ...	100,000
<hr/>	
Total	310,000

Thus the war-cloud gathered, and Chosun, hardly awake to the terrible danger, yet conscious of a strange dread heretofore unknown thought it well to look to her defenses.

Generals Shin Ip|| and Yi Iri¶ were commissioned upon a tour of inspection, but how little the Chosunese appreciated the possibilities of the invasion is evidenced by the conclusions of the Board of Coast Defenses. That august body after due deliberation evolved the following:—

"The Japanese are great fighters on the sea but indifferent upon the land; therefore let the cities and fortifications in the south be strengthened, and the issue if possible forced off the sea on to the land."

These conclusions were to a certain extent justified by Chosun's experience with the pirates who had so long ravaged her coasts, but no one seemed wise enough to recognise that

* 福島正則	복도정축	申位 신립
† 蜂須賀家政	봉슈하가정	¶ 李鎰 니일
‡ 小早川隆景	쇼조천용경	
§ 毛利輝元	모리휘원	

Japan was now preparing for a land fight, and not a naval contest. And the result proved the exact opposite of the Chosunese conclusions; their greatest record was made on the seas while the Japanese simply swept everything before them on land until they were met by the troops of the Mings.

The plan of Hideyoshi was to command in person, and if he had, it is possible the map of Asia might have read differently to-day, for he was too old a warrior to be led into some of the mistakes of his subordinate commanders. But from this he was dissuaded by friends who feared the consequences when another than his strong hand guided the helm of the ship of Japanese state. His increasing years also bade him heed their counsel. The Advance was placed under the joint command of Katô Kiyomasa and Konishi Yukinaga and they were ordered to make all possible haste in reaching the mainland.

While other Generals, as Hideie, Kuroda and Nabeshima came into prominence during the invasion, the two great names on the Japanese side are Katô and Konishi—names which will live in the Chosunese mind as long as a memory of the invasion lasts. Katô they hated for his cruelty and ferocity, while for Konishi, while they dreaded him as a foe, and almost execrate his memory for the untold disaster he brought on them, there seems to underlie their characterizations of him a strain of admiration excited undoubtedly by his youth, his genius and his contempt for Katô.

These two men enjoyed, one the honor and the other the love of the old Taikô, and into their hands he entrusted the vanguard of this darling project of his heart. This choice however was hardly a fortunate one; with widely divergent tastes and characters, the dislike of these two men for each other was intensified into jealousy and hate by the complications of their joint responsibilities. And to the rivalry of these two men

must be attributed the failure of the Japanese to get north of Pyöng Yang,* for from the time they landed in Chosun, instead of fighting together and for a common success they fought independently and for personal glory.

After a review by Hideyoshi the mighty host embarked for the mainland, the great majority of them to leave their bones in foreign soil. They took the old route for Fusan, so as to land at the south end and make a clean sweep up the Peninsula; they soon met with adverse winds however and were compelled to seek the shelter of some islands. Here they were detained ten days, when the wind changing, the order came to embark on the morrow. Konishi immediately determined to outwit Katô, and instructing his subordinates well beforehand, managed to set sail that night without alarming his senior. In the morning his flight was discovered and immediate pursuit ordered; but it was too late, the wind soon changed again and Katô was obliged to remain in the shelter of the islands with the galling consciousness that his rival, whom he contemned as "a boy" would carry off the honors of landing first.

Konishi made the most of his opportunity, and managed to reach the mainland, in spite of the fickle winds. The local Mandarin at Fusan was out hunting at the time and there in the distance like an immense flock of gigantic swans he beheld the ships of Konishi. Full well he knew what it meant and hastening home he sunk all the shipping in the harbor and retired within the walls of the little town which may be still seen to the right of the present Japanese settlement,

Under the cover of a fog Konishi reached land, and in spite of sunken junks effected a landing. It was midnight of the 13th of the Fourth Moon 1592;† at daybreak the little town was attacked and after a short resistance captured and put to the sword.

* 平壤 평양

† 壬辰四月十三日

Spurred on by the thought that Katô was just behind, and flushed with the easy success at Fusan, Konishi determined to push on immediately. Dispatching forces to the west against the important towns of Kim Hai* and Saw Saing,† he himself took the main road up the Peninsula capturing in rapid succession Tongnai‡ Yangsan§ and Miriang|| From these places small detachments were sent in different directions to capture various places, and this measure followed to a certain extent by both Katô and Konishi seems to have been the rock upon which the main purpose of the invasion was wrecked. The magnificent armies which landed at Fusan, and which united might have cut their way to the very gates of Peking, spread out in fan shape as they marched north dissipating their strength and energy in a mere effort to destroy.

Four days after Konishi's landing Katô reached Fusan and great was his chagrin to find that "the boy" was already away to the north on the road to Söul. Angrily disdaining to follow and possibly hoping to leave Konishi in a strait by failing to support him, he took the road up the east coast. Fortune however favored Konishi again, for on the landing of the main army, Hideie who was in chief command, fearing for the Taikô's young favorite dispatched a large force under Kuroda to reinforce him.

In spite of the unconscious suspense with which the Chosunese had awaited the coming of the Japanese, the blow when it did come, fell like a thunderbolt from a clear sky. The news spread like wild-fire; on the 17th, three days after the fall of Fusan His Majesty had full particulars in Söul, and from that time news of disaster reached the Government almost daily. Some measures were inaugurated to oppose the oncoming foe,

* 金海 김해 † 東萊 동리 || 密陽 밀양
 † 西生 서생 § 梁山 량산

but they were so ridiculously inadequate they appear simply farcical. After a fatal delay a force of 4,000 men under General Yi Iri started south; these were soon followed by another force of equal paucity in numbers under General Shin Ip. Seven or eight thousand coolies and farmers to oppose one hundred and fifty thousand trained warriors! In the invaded province, Kyong Sang *, the Governor issued a Call to Arms, while King Sunjo at Söul published a Proclamation on the 19th abolishing the law of Precedence and calling upon all classes without distinction to take up arms against the enemy.

Konishi during this time was coming up the Peninsula at double quick. Chungdo †, Taiku ‡, Indong §, Sunsan ||, and Sangchu ¶ fell in rapid succession before him. His sudden and rapid successes so demoralized the people that they had no time to collect their wits, let alone rally to resist. Whenever they did make a stand it was due to being caught without the possibility of flight, and then they fought as any people would fight who knew that their leaders were in craven flight and their enemies bent on their destruction. The cowardice and lack of patriotism of the official classes during the first few months of the invasion were disgraceful in the extreme. The examples of bravery and patriotism among them were conspicuous because of their infrequency. The demoralization of the ruling classes is evidenced by the Proclamation of Governor Kin of the Kyöng Sang Province issued immediately after his Call to Arms. In it he told the people to take care of themselves, and advised all who could do so to flee "to the mountains."

* 慶尙道 경상도 † 大邱대구 || 善山 선산
 † 淸道 청도 § 仁同인동 ¶ 尙州 상주

THE JAPANESE INVASION.

IV. THE ROYAL FLIGHT.

KONISHI met the forces sent from Söul under General Yi Iri to oppose him, on the 26th of the fourth Moon 1592 at the city of Sang Chu. * A great number of refugees had sought safety within the walls of this city and augmented by the "troops" from Söul there were thousands within the walls to defend them. Konishi however routed them easily and inflicted terrible punishment upon the city when it fell into his hands. General Yi managed to escape and was compelled to flee to the North unaccompanied. By mountain paths and by roads he managed to reach the famous "Bird's Flight Pass," † and among the defiles of the mighty Chorong‡ he found the forces under General Shin Ip.

In the meantime the news of his defeat had reached Söul, and an immediate exodus from the Capital began. As early as the 21st, one week after the fall of Fusun the Court had entertained the thought of flight, but had contented itself with simple preliminary preparations. On the 28th the determination was reached to go, and the second son of His Majesty, the Kwang Hai Prince Hui§ was declared Crown Prince with the usual formal ceremonies, in order to insure a legal succession to the throne.

* 尙州 상주

‡ The Chinese name of the Bird's Flight Pass.

† 鳥嶺도령 새재 § 光海主 광희주 This prince succeeded his father to the throne and after a reign of 14 years was dethroned because of his vile character, and is now dishonored in the designation 主 instead of the usual 대왕.

These measures for the royal flight however were not viewed with universal favor and provoked some remonstrance. The Minister President of the Board of Civil Affairs* openly alleged the demoralizing effect of the news of His Majesty's determination and pleaded for a bolder front. He even went so far as to advocate the employment of ten gentlemen of the scholar class,† who offered themselves to the Government for the purpose of assassinating the higher officers of the Japanese Army. To the credit of His Majesty the suggestion was promptly rejected.

Favorable as the defiles of the great Chorong were for a stand against the foe the Chosunese determined to abandon it and mass their troops at the city of Choung Chu.‡ Accordingly Shin Ip marched westerly, into the province of Choung Chung,§ and took up a position near the proposed city with the foe in front and a river at his rear. Kouishi approached him in two columns, and by a flank movement caught him in a trap from which there was no possible escape but by the river. At the first onslaught the Chosunese were driven into this river which was soon covered with the floating bodies of dead natives. The slaughter among the Chosunese was frightful; the force was almost entirely annihilated, Shin Ip paying for his stupid generalship with his life.

All this time Kato was sweeping up the east coast like a besom of destruction. Everywhere the people were put to the sword. At the old city of Kyong Chu|| once the capital of the proud little Kingdom of Sinra ¶ an attempt was made to oppose him; in punishment he not only put the people to the sword but ordered the city set on fire. From here he turned to the northwest, marching rapidly for the great Chorong, and marking his

* 吏曹判書니조판서

† 士人 선비

‡ 忠州 충주

§ 忠淸道 충청도

|| 慶州 경주

¶ 新羅 신라

way by smoking towns, and slaughtered thousands left unburied to be interred by kites, eagles, and carrion of every species. Reaching the town of Choung Chu on the northern slopes of the Choring he there met Konishi, for the first time since he had so cleverly given him the slip. They went into council, but their jealousy and mutual distrust soon crept out. Kato demanded the exclusive honor of capturing Söul, to which Konishi would not consent. And so bitter did the altercation become that they were only prevented from coming to blows by the interference of their colleagues.* Their final agreement was that as there were two roads leading to Söul Kato should have the first choice of these. He selected the one approaching Söul from the south, which though rougher than the other and leading into the defenses of the Han River † was said to be shorter than the other, which approached Söul by the Yong Naru ‡ fords and the East Gate. Here they parted, Konishi however taking the precaution of sending some of his men in disguise ahead of Kato to destroy the boats along the Han and thus delay him in crossing.

The news of the fall of Choung Chu reached Söul on the 29th and though the enemy was still one hundred miles away the royal flight to the north was settled and occurred the next night. The determination soon became known in the city and occasioned an uproar among the already depleted populace, and a further exodus was inaugurated; palace servants and clerks fled in dismay, and "the palace became as silent as a tomb;" soldiers on the city walls bribed their officers to let them desert, and it seemed as though Söul would be left without either inhabitant or defender.

The royal flight occurred at midnight of the 30th, in the midst of a storm which raged as though in league with the foe.

* 日本外史

† 漢江한강

‡ 龍津룡근로

The sight was a sad one; a handful of men guarding the Tablets supposed to contain the royal shades of Chosun; His Majesty with a few trusty men; the Crown Prince; and the Queen last surrounded by about twenty of her Court attendants and guided by two trusty nobles. On they plunged through the darkness and rain as though Konishi were already at their heels all that night and the next day, ignoring the pitiless storm and hardly pausing long enough to take food. The next night they crossed the Imchin River,* the swollen and rapid waters of which were lit up by the red rays of a huge fire on the bluffs above, the country about having been scoured for oil to feed its flames. This spot is now marked by a pavilion which in summer looks down upon an enchanting scene.

Early on the 2nd. of the fifth Moon they entered the old city of Songdo †, Capital of the former Kingdom of Korai ‡. Pausing here two days, the flight was continued in a more orderly manner until the town of Keum Kyo Yök § was reached, where hearing news of the fall of Söul the flight was quickened into a dead run for the city of Pyöng Yang. The King reached Pyöng Yang on the 8th. of the fifth Moon, and was met some distance out by the Governor of the province who came out to meet him with 3000 troops to escort him with honor into the ancient city. Here he established himself for a time, hoping he would have to go no further, but determined to push on if necessary across the Yaloo || into China and to throw himself on the mercy of Peking.

Glad to bid farewell to his bitterly hated but fortune-favored rival, Kato abated for a time the destructiveness of his march and pushed on with all possible speed determined to make sure of the Söul. But Konishi's men had done their

* 臨津림진

† 松都송도

‡ 高麗고려

§ 金郊驛금교역

|| 鴨綠江압록강

work well, and the absence of boats resulted in a delay his temper could ill brook at that time. It was remedied after a time and crossing, a camp of Koreans which, in spite of the desertion of their commander Kim Myōng Wun* had awaited his coming were soon routed. He pushed on to the Great South Gate,—only to find it wide open with Konishi's ensign floating from the top and Konishi's men awaiting to welcome him. "The boy" had once more borne off the prize; Sōul had fallen into Konishi's hands on the day before, the 3d. of the fifth Moon, 1592.

The Japanese march on Sōul was almost unopposed. The two chiefs left in charge of the walls Kim Myōng Wun, who after he had proven himself a craven at the Han had been thus honored by the King, and Yi Yang Wun† fled almost as soon as the royal party in its flight had left the West Gate. The great city proved the easiest as well as the greatest prize Konishi took during the war. For ten days the Japanese straggled into Sōul and here the Commander in Chief, Hideyei took up his headquarters in the Ancestral Tablet Temple‡ of the royal family. The royal palace and many of the larger edifices of the city were destroyed. Troops were garrisoned in several of the public buildings and many were quartered upon the people. A provisional Government was set up, and as many of the people as so wished were permitted to return to their homes inside the walls; all ingress to and egress from the city was by written passes from the Japanese headquarters. All criminals and transgressors were burned to death in front of the "Great Bell"§ and great numbers of the Chosunese met this fate. This however did not prevent many from returning to their homes inside the walls where they were able to engage in lucrative trade with the

* 金命元 김명원
† 李陽元 니양원

‡ 宗廟 종묘
§ 鐘路 종로

Japanese, and were soon on friendly terms with them. Hideie remained but a short time in the magnificent parks and buildings of the Ancestral Temple; for some reason he suddenly changed to the Nam Pyöl Kung,* the palace which had entertained the Japanese Envoys and still remains for the use of Ambassadors Extraordinary, when such appear. The ancestral temples were set on fire and soon, to the sorrow of the Chosunese their Chong Mio was a heap of ashes.

GEO. HERER JONES.

*南別宮 남별궁

THE JAPANESE INVASION.

V. THE FALL OF PYÖNGYANG.

IN following the rapid course of Konishi, who was literally the head and front of the invasi^or, we have been compelled to leave unnoticed other and important operations. At this time it was evident that the original plan of Hideyashi to simply cut his way through Chosun to China was virtually abandoned by the commanders on the peninsula, and a determined effort inaugurated to completely subjugate the country. This work was rapidly carried on in the south and soon all the important places in the provinces of Chulla^o, Choungchung[†] and Kangwun[‡], were in Japanese hands while in the province of Kyöngsang every town except five was held by them.

From Söul Hideie pushed this work of subjugation; troops were despatched in various directions almost daily and though the Chosunese sometimes risked a stand, victory with one exception always perched on the ensigns of the foe. The exception was as follows. After the rout resulting from the attempt to oppose Kato in crossing the Han a subordinate chief named Shin Kak^{||} collected a body of troops and occupied with them a strong position at Yangchu[¶], near Söul. A detachment was sent against them, but strong in the natural advantages of their position, and animated by the skill and courage of their commander they held their position until the Japanese wearied and weakened were about to withdraw. Then Shin ordered a charge before which the Japanese broke and fled.

° 全羅道 전라도	‡ 江原道 강원도	申恪신각
† 忠淸道 충청도	§ 慶尙道 경상도	¶ 楊州 양주

This was the first victory of any kind won by the Chosunese up to this time. The sequel however well illustrates the time and nation. Kim Myöng Wun, the craven who had fled from the Han, and deserted Söul without striking a blow in its defense, was Shin Kak's superior. Upon news of the victory, he sent off post-haste denouncing Shin to His Majesty as having disobeyed orders in failing to report at the Imchin River and having instead taken the position at Yangchu, and demanded his execution. All too hastily came the royal command to decapitate Shin Kak, and a special officer being despatched for that purpose the sentence was carried out in the first Chosunese camp to rejoice over a victory won from the Japanese.

Firmly established in Söul the Japanese were reinforced by the arrival of the reserve of 60,000 men from Japan. The Chosunese had entrenched themselves along the banks of the Imchin River about thirty-five miles from Söul, and regarding it as the key to the whole situation in the north, they made preparations for a vigorous defense, determining to hold it at any cost. But here again the shoe-string backbone of the commanding general brought disaster upon the native arms. Kim Myöng Wun in command here, repeated the tactics which had disgraced him at the Han River and at Söul, and which seemed to be his main idea of fighting. He cowardly deserted his men at the first approach of the enemy and fled, leaving them to fight it out as best they could.

The position was attacked by the united forces of Konishi, Kato and Kuroda, and though the Chosunese fought with a valor that was noble, after a mighty battle the line of defenses was broken, the native troops routed with terrible slaughter and the whole north lay at the mercy of the Japanese. Here again Kato and Konishi had a quarrel about following the royal fugitive. The three generals drew lots as to their destination, with the result that Kato found himself ordered into

the northeast province of Hamkyōng[¶], Kuroda into the Wihwanghai province †, while fortune again smiled on Konishi giving him the Pyōngan province ‡ and His Majesty Sunjo if he could catch him. Kato immediately marched into Hamkyōng and found the people ready to make any terms with him. Not only had the fame of his cruel resoluteness filled them with dread, but the cowardice and venality of their rulers had so embittered the people against them that they joined the enemy in hunting them out. It would only be natural that in the emergency of the country all practice of extortion and oppression would cease; on the contrary the retinue of the two royal princes who fled into this province used the people so badly they felt that even the invaders could hardly use them worse. Thus the minds of the people were alienated and the history of Kato's operations in this province made possible.

On the first approach of the Japanese the governor of the province fled into the mountains; his own troops immediately started in pursuit, and capturing him, delivered him over to Kato. The commander-in-chief of the province sought safety at Kapsan§ with a few followers; the rough mountaineers however drove the party into the swamps and killing his followers, decapitated him and the local Mandarin and brought their heads to Kato. The two royal princes Imhai|| and Soonwha¶ fled north before this treason, but were captured in the defiles of the great Machul Yōng Pass(a)[⊙], marched south and surrendered to Kato. Thus treason betrayed many rich prizes into Kato's hand; his battles were few, and the subjugation of the province accomplished in a short time.

⊙ 咸鏡道 함경도	臨海君 림희군
† 黃海道 황海道	¶ 順和君 순화군
‡ 平安道 평안도	(a) [⊙] 摩天嶺 마천령
§ 甲山 갑산	

King Sunjo at Pyöngyang was in sore straits, though not entirely hopeless, for he had implored aid from his mighty neighbor China, which however was very slow in coming, while every hour seemed to bring the foe nearer. On the 19th. of the fifth Moon news reached him of the failure of the Imchin defenses, and the rapid spread of the foe throughout the north. There seemed but one course open for him, the abandonment of Pyöngyang for the present and the continuation of the royal flight on to the frontier city of Wechu*. He determined to wait until the last moment however before doing this and it was not until the 8th. of the sixth Moon that the start was attempted; the guard with the Ancestral Tablets was commanded to move on that day. The populace of Pyöngyang, noted even today above that of every other city in the realm for its lawless and riotous character, viewed with extreme disfavor this further flight and attacked with vigor the Tablet Guard. An uproar followed and though the Guard fought its way out of the city, it was some time before quiet was restored. His Majesty did not leave until the 11th. when no demonstration was attempted; he did not forget that experience however as we shall see later on. A week later, on the 18th., while at the mountainous little city of Kwaksan† his heart was gladdened by the arrival of the first aid from China, a force of 1000 men, whom he decided to keep with himself as his personal body-guard. He entered Wechu on the 23rd. of the sixth Moon 1592, with the sad foreboding that if he ever crossed that reach of white sand just beyond its walls, and the peaceful river marking the boundary between his own little realm and that of the mighty empire beyond, it would never be his fate to enter Söul again. The old city was deserted, "even the dogs having fled," the royal party was quartered in the Mandarin's palace, and sacrifices were ordered offered in

* 義州의 주 † 郭山곽산

various parts of the city to propitiate the supernatural powers.

Konishi, eager to lay hands on the royal prize so near to his clutch, yet fearing a most determined resistance, pushed along the route of the royal flight. Strong detachments were left at Songdo*, Paikchun† and Pongsan‡ as centers to fall back upon in case of defeat at the walls of Pyöngyang. Forced marches at last brought him with a strong force to the bank of the Taitong River§ which washes the walls of the city, a mighty moat. Here the opposing forces watched each other for several days, the quiet relieved only by a night-surprise in which 400 Chosunese came across the river and fell upon one of the Japanese camps; so successful was the attack that they completely annihilated the Japanese and were proceeding to the next camp when they were met and routed by a force under the former envoy Yoshitoshi. It was daybreak by this time and the Chosunese boatmen putting off left their comrades in the lurch. Some fled to the fords, and the Japanese found at last the secret of approach to the city. That morning Konishi started across; no arrows greeted his coming, no war-cry sounded within; the city gate was wide open and he suspected an ambush. But it was useless anxiety. The Chosunese commanders had already fled after destroying what supplies and munitions of war they could. Konishi entered Pyöngyang on the 16th. of the sixth Moon, an immense amount of booty falling into his hands, among other things 100,000 bags of rice. He despatched post-haste to Söul calling for rally at Pyöngyang and an immediate march west, on into China.

But a cloud was already looming up in the south which filled the Japanese authorities at Söul with anxiety. On the seas nothing but disaster met them. The obscure official

* 松都 송도
† 鳳山 봉산

‡ 白川 백천
§ 大同江 대동강

Yi Soon Sin [°], appointed just previous to the invasion to a small office on the coast, had developed into a naval commander unmatched in fighting qualities by any commander in the Japanese fleets. In his first battle he engaged and destroyed a large fleet of the Japanese who report their losses at 9000 men slain. From this time he vigorously attacked the Japanese wherever he found them, and aided by his famous "Tortoise Boat" a prototype of the "Monitor" of the American Rebellion, he literally swept them off the coast waters of the peninsula. On one occasion he recovered the spoil of the royal palaces at Söul, which was being conveyed to Japan. Hundreds of ships were destroyed by him and thousands of the enemy slain, for he made no prisoners. One of his battles ranks among the three greatest of the year 1592.

Another cause for anxiety was the uprising of native volunteers, and already the Japanese had been called upon to oppose two determined attempts to recapture Söul. The only good news was from the north where we have seen how both Konishi and Kato were sweeping everything before them. Kuroda in the Whanghai province was also winning new laurels for himself and every district in the province except three had submitted to him. Among these three was the ancient city of Yenan †, the home of Sin Kak the first general to win victory for the Chosunese arms. The sturdy courage and stout resistance of this old town, now famous for its fine rice, and the beautiful lake near by with the great dragon supposed to inhabit it, made it the scene of desperate fighting. Repulsed in his first attempt upon it Kuroda determined to capture it if possible and in the ninth Moon marched the second time against it with 30,000 men.

A general named Yi was in command of the city and by

[°] 李舜臣 니순신 † 延安 연안

example and voice he enthused the Chosunese with a new courage. The Japanese were determined to take the town but the natives fought well, repelling every attempt to scale the walls, showering down boiling water, and casting huge stones with which the town abounds even today, upon the heads of the assailants. After three days of hard but undecisive fighting, the Japanese withdrew to the provincial capital Haichu* only to reappear in greater numbers soon afterward. The case seemed hopeless for the besieged city, but the chiefs swore to remain at their posts until death, sealing their vow with a draught of blood †. The battle raged with terrible energy day and night, the native women fighting like Amazons beside the men. The Chosunese realizing the seriousness of the situation husbanded their arrows firing only at sure marks; great piles of wood were thrown around the walls, and the women, by hurling fire-brands down among them whenever the Japanese approached to scale kept a fierce fire raging. The Japanese used every possible strategy but in vain. At last the order was given to attempt the walls for the last time, and Kuroda's men sprang to it with their terrible war-cry; long but unsuccessful they hung at every part of the wall, until weakened by terrible losses they had to withdraw; the Chosunese followed rapidly outside the walls but Yi and the Japanese took to flight. Thus freed, the old town was granted an honorable peace.

Thus matters stood in the autumn of 1592. His Majesty a refugee on the farthest boundary of his realm, ready at the first move of the invaders west of Pyöngyang to cross into China and cast himself in humble supplication at the foot of the Dragon Table; the head of the advancing host at Pyöngyang impatiently awaiting the order to push on for China; the Japanese generals at Söul anxiously watching the volunteer developments in the south; Yi Soon Sin sweeping the Japanese off Chosunese waters; China already on the way to aid Chosun with men and treasure.

GEO. HEBER JONES.

* 海州 海州

† A Korean military custom; the blood was generally that of a horse or a chicken.

THE JAPANESE INVASION.

VI. CHINA TO THE RESCUE.

CHOSUN naturally turned to China for aid, from the very first. Several appeals were sent not only to the Emperor direct but to high Chinese officials. In answer to these petitions an ambassador arrived on the 8th. of the sixth Moon 1592 to *investigate*. Chosun was still suspicious. The ambassador found His Majesty on the point of leaving Pyöngyang to continue his flight on to China. Discovering at a glance the true status of affairs, the envoy hastened back to Peking with his report, which caused the speedy despatch of aid, first 6000 men with treasure amounting to 20,000 *yang* of silver, and which was followed in the next (seventh) Moon by 7000 more men.

While awaiting the arrival of the main body of their forces the Chinese attempted diplomacy. On the 26th. of the ninth Moon a Chinaman named You Kyöng* met Kouishi, Tairano, Yoshitoshi, and Gensho in Conference on the question of an amicable adjustment of matters. The only result of this was a truce of fifty days during which the parties agreed to suspend hostilities around Pyöngyang. This truce was to allow You Kyöng time to proceed to Peking to lay before the Emperor the Japanese demands. On the 6th. of the eleventh Moon he reappeared before Peking with the *fiat* of Peking which was as follows.

1. The unconditional surrender of all cities and territories of Chosun, now in the hands of the Japanese.
2. The immediate return of the two royal princes, with their noble retinues, now held captive by Kato Kiomasa.

* 沈惟散 심유경

3. The complete evacuation of the Chosunese peninsula by all Japanese forces.

4. If these conditions were not peacefully granted, an army of one million men would enforce their concession.

Konishi laughed at the envoy and his terms.

The last moon of 1592 brought the main body of the Army of Recovery sent by China to the relief of Chosun. It consisted of 44,000 men commanded by Yi Yōsong* an able and experienced general, and a match in hard fighting for any commander of the Japanese side, though in rapid strategy they outwitted him every time. The Chinese already rendezvoused at Wechu † swelled Yi's command to 60,000 men, which was further augmented by an innumerable host of Koreans among whom was a large body of Buddhist priests, the only command among the native soldiery who did anything worthy of mention during the operations around Pyōngyang.

Leaving Wechu either on New Year's Day or the day following, Yi Yōsong at the head of nearly all the Chinese forces took the old road for Pyōngyang which is still frequented by the traveller today and which runs uniformly parallel with the coast about 25 miles inland. On the 6th. of the first Moon 1593 he arrived before Pyōngyang, a conservative estimate of his forces as they were augmented by the native soldiery placing the total number at about 100,000 men. For two days they remained in camp on the verge of the great plain which was to be the scene of the battle, and across which the traveller looks with no more terrible vision to greet his eyes, than fertile gardens and rice fields, and peaceful hamlets resting the vision until it is intercepted by the hills beyond. The battle began on the morning of the 8th. Three gates pierce the walls of the city on this side—the Chil Sung Mun ‡ the Po-

* 李如松니여송 † 義州의주 ‡ 七星門칠성문

tong Mun * and the Hamku Mun †, and upon these the allies made a simultaneous attack. No one realized more clearly than the Japanese themselves what the outcome would surely be, as they saw how overwhelmingly they were outnumbered; but the opportunity to show China how the Japanese could fight was too good to be lost. And the battle was a terrible one. From the early morning the fight along the walls was desperate and the losses severe; the slaughter among the allies, as they swarmed along the walls being describable by but one word—awful. To add to the terror of the scene within the walls a fire broke out from missiles sent inside by the Chinese, and which, fanned by a high breeze raged behind and about the Japanese. This spurred the Chinese on to redoubled efforts and a terrific contest ensued around the gates; but Konishi's veterans fought with a ferocity that not only drove the Chinese *braves* back but threw them into a rout; in a moment they would have been in full retreat—they were already turning when Yi appeared on the scene and rallying his men turned them with new energy upon the walls and gates. At last the superior numbers of the Chinese prevailed; battering rams broke down the gates at the Hamku Mun and about the same time an entrance was effected at the other two gates. But the Japanese had provided for such an emergency, and from the walls they retreated behind a line of barricades from which they poured a steady fire of bullets and arrows into the surging and unprotected masses of the allies. The Chinese and Chosunese were caught like rats in a pit, and after a few brief moments during which his men fell by hundreds, Yi ordered a retreat, and the allies pouring out of the city in disordered rout, left Pyöngyang still in the hands of the Japanese. Sentinels and guards, mostly of native soldiers, were stationed to watch the city, and night

* 普通門 보동문 † 含毬門 합구문

settled down on one of the bloodiest battles of the invasion.

But the Japanese, brave soldiers though they were, knew it was useless to risk another such engagement, and that night while the brave Chinese were sleeping, and the brave (?), Chosunese were also sleeping, they silently withdrew from the city, crossing the Taitong River * on the ice, and commenced the retreat to the south. So silently did they withdraw, that their retreat was not discovered until the next morning. The march south was a rapid one and revealed to Konishi the seriousness of the situation which had caused such anxiety at Söul. He was everywhere beset by bands of Chosunese volunteers, who, too cunning to risk an open engagement with him, carried on a guerrilla warfare which was both exasperating and disastrous. He reached Söul safely and was soon followed by Kato who had made rapid marches from Ham Kyong Do † back to Söul; by the 28th. of the first Moon all the Japanese north of Söul were rendezvoused at the capital.

The situation continued to grow complicated for the Japanese. Throughout the Winter of 1592—93 the volunteer uprising among the Chosunese had gradually grown in proportions until it overshadowed everything else. They swarmed in every direction, attacking the Japanese with a persistence that portended annihilation. Gradually the troops in the outgarrisons in the provinces of Chulla ‡, Kyöngsang §, Kangwun || and Choungchung ¶ were compelled to fall back on the central line of garrisons along the main road up the peninsula, leading to Söul.

Yi Yösong discovered the flight of Konishi the next day, and hastily gathering his forces started in pursuit; but though march-

* 大同江 대동강

† 咸鏡道 함경도

‡ 全羅道 전라도

§ 慶尙道 경상도

|| 江原道 강원도

¶ 忠清道 충청도

ing day and night, he was unable to overtake the clever Konishi; he came as far as Pachu * twenty-eight miles north of Söul where he went into camp. From here continual skirmishing occurred, chiefly with foraging parties of the Japanese.

Having no definite information of the true state of affairs among the Japanese, the Chinese were led into a blunder which showed they by no means despised the military prowess of their "dwarf" foes. Hearing that Kato was marching out of Hamkyöng, Yi immediately conjectured that his objective would be Pyöngyang, which, once more in their hands, would place the allies between two fires. So, hastily gathering his forces, he started on a run for the northern capital, and did not discover how groundless his fears were until he reached Whangchu †, 155 miles north of Söul; here he learned that Kato was already safe in the capital.

Thus two months wore away, both sides too cautious to risk a decisive battle with each other. At last the Japanese sent word that they would listen to terms if the allies had any to propose, and the former envoy Youkyong, was called upon to conduct the negotiations. He reached the little town of Yong San ‡ four miles out from Söul on the banks of the Han River, and there met a council of Japanese generals, among whom were Kato and Konishi. He repeated the demands made at Pyöngyang, and the Japanese at last agreed to evacuate Söul on the 19th. of that month, the Chinese however to retire to Songdo §, and remain there until that date.

The Japanese used the respite of the truce in making terrible reprisals on the Chosunese. The grounds outside the South Gate || became like a great slaughter pit, where thousands of the natives were massacred. The city was set on fire and a good

* 坡州 파주
† 黃州 황주

‡ 龍山 룡산
§ 松都 송도

|| 南大門 남대문

portion of it reduced to ashes; the evidence of the fire still remains on the blackened and defaced sides of the Pagoda and its tablet, which still stands in the center of Söul. Yi Yosong entered Söul on the 20th. and discovering the treachery of the Japanese ordered 10,000 men under his younger brother, in immediate pursuit. This force went a two days' march, when their valiant commander counter-marched back to Söul excusing himself from the pursuit on the grounds of "a severe cold."

So far the Chinese had done their work well. The terrible chastisement they had received at the hands of Konishi made them dread another pitched battle. But without this dread alternative, the Chosunese territories to the north of Söul had been recovered, and the prospect was bright for complete success in the work entrusted to them by Peking.

GEO. HEBER JONES.

Errata:—On p. 188, 23rd. line from top read: *led by Yi*, instead of *but Yi*.

THE JAPANESE INVASION.

VII. CONCLUSION.

OF the remaining phases of the invasion, that which may be counted the most interesting—the stipulations which led to the evacuation of the peninsula—is shrouded in some obscurity and considerable patient study of the historical traces of the invasion in the literature of the three countries involved will be necessary before anything like a conclusion can be reached. The second invasion is a sufficient witness to the fact that Hideyoshi and the Japanese understood one thing while the two Continental Powers attempted another. The story that the Japanese were hoodwinked through ignorance of the written terms of the treaty is deserving of credence only upon the most incontestible evidence, and this the writer thinks it lacks, explanation of the misunderstanding being of an entirely different character. Reserving this question for future study we shall have to rest content with the statement that there were — terms.

The remaining history of the invasion is soon told. At last word came to the Chinese that the Japanese would listen to terms, if the allies had any to propose, and the former imperial envoy, Yon-kyōng, was called upon to conduct the negotiations. He reached the little town of Yongsan three miles out from Sōul on the banks of the Han River in the fourth moon, and there met a council of Japanese generals, among them Kato and Konishi. He repeated his demands made at Pyōngyang, and the Japanese agreed to evacuate Sōul on the 19th. of that moon, the Chinese not to leave Songdo until that date.

On the 19th. of the fourth moon the march south from Söul began, but the Japanese had used the time of the truce in making terrible reprisals on the Koreans. The ground outside the South Gate became like a great slaughter-pit where thousands of the natives were executed. The city was set on fire and a good portion of it reduced to ashes. On the 20th. Yi entered Söul and discovering this immediately ordered 10,000 men under his younger brother to start in pursuit. They did go a couple of days' march, when their valiant commander countermarched back to Söul excusing himself from the pursuit on the ground of a severe cold from which he declared he was suffering.

The march of the Japanese south was a holiday parade with feasting, dancing, and merry-making in every camp. Even the Korean volunteers, who had swarmed about the garrisons in the south and fought with a spirit that sought rather to kill off the foe than to win battles, suspended their wicked violence. We hear nothing of prisoners having been taken by these volunteers; it is doubtful if they ever took any, while the dead Japanese were counted with the greed of a miser counting his gold.

The Japanese reached the south end of the peninsula safely and massed their forces there, raising a line of fortified camps embracing a number of important magistracies. These were garrisoned with sufficient strength to hold the position.

The Koreans concluded to take matters in their own hands, and rallying in great force at the city of Chinchu made preparations to sweep the Japanese into the "Southern Sea." But they without waiting to be attacked marched 30,000 strong against the natives and invested the city on the 22nd. of the fifth moon. For some days, from the 22nd. to the 29th. the siege lasted, the fighting continuing day and

night. At last the Japanese were compelled to withdraw, but *not until they had inflicted losses which the Koreans estimated at 70,000 men.* Things continued thus until the eighth moon 1598 when the final treaty of this first invasion was negotiated and the greater part of the Chinese forces were ordered home.

The return of His Majesty Sunjo to Sōul was a slow and sad procession. Pyōngyang fell into the hands of the allies on the 9th. of the first moon. On the 17th. the king left his frontier refuge Wechu, and came as far as Sookchun twenty miles from Pyōngyang. Here he remained until the third moon. His experiences at Pyōngyang, on his last visit led him to give that city a wide berth, and passing around it and its turbulent populace he came on to the city of Whangchu where he remained until after the seventh moon. It was not until the 4th. of the 10th. moon, 1593, after an absence of eighteen months that he re-entered Sōul, the queen remaining at Hai-chu. He found a wrecked city and a decimated populace. His own palace had been destroyed by fire; the "old" palace, (now the royal residence and one of the oldest palaces in Sōul) had been used as barracks and stables and was in too filthy a condition for habitation, so temporary quarters were arranged for him in the palaces of the Five Princes, *O Kung To*, and at present the property, or at least a portion of it is the property of the Methodist Episcopal Mission. Here His Majesty remained until 1610, seventeen years, which time was occupied in the restoration of his own palace, situated near the Great East Gate, and known among foreigners as the "old palace."

The condition of the populace of Sōul was deplorable. Famine soon broke out and nearly completed the work of annihilation begun by the Japanese. His Majesty did all he could to alleviate the distress, opening five food dispensaries and freely distributing the royal stores to his starving people.

The Japanese remained at the south end of the peninsula, safe behind their fortified entrenchments. There were a few small engagements at different times but nothing to equal Chinchu. Ten thousand Chinese were watching them, and remained in a position to block any attempt to march north again until the eighth moon of 1594 when the peninsula is reported to have been without Chinese defenders. The Japanese never completely evacuated Korea.

Thus ended for a time one of the bloodiest wars in history; a war so bloody that we are led to regard Tamerlane marking his route by mountains of human heads as but an ordinary Asiatic general. During the two years and more the loss of life was frightful; nothing remains upon which to base a reliable estimate; but the Ear Monument of Kioto, and the accounts of such battles as Kyōngchu, Choungchu, Haingchu, Pyōngyang, Yenan, the Imchia River, the massacre at Sōul, Ulsan, and Chinchu, besides fifty other engagements would make a million lives and over a conservative estimate.

We leave it here. The end was not yet. Soon the fires of the second invasion will be lighted and the country until 1597 again drenched in blood. But for an interval Korea is to enjoy a respite of peace during which her unhappy people may bewail their desolate homes, the famished and perishing living, and an apparently black and hopeless future.

GEO. HEBER JONES.