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Articles

Mori Arinori's Journey to Saint Petersburg in 1866: Images of Western Backwardness and Threats of Modernization

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Mori Arinori's Journey to Saint Petersburg in 1866: Images of Western Backwardness and Threats of Modernization

In the summer of 1866, Mori Arinori, the future first Minister of Education in Japan and founder of the Japanese education system, wrote travel notes known as *Diary of a Sea Voyage to Russia* during his brief visit to Saint Petersburg. The entries in this diary offer detailed information about the Russian Empire, its domestic and foreign policies, and features of its social consciousness. Apart from *Diary of a Sea Voyage to Russia*, Mori's letter to his elder brother Yokoyama Yasutake, which had been sent from London to Yokohama just before his trip to Saint Petersburg, is another written source that allows us to understand Mori's ideas of the mid-nineteenth century Russian Empire. A comparative analysis of these two sources reveals insight into whether the image of Russia that Mori held prior to his visit to Saint Petersburg had changed afterwards.

Keywords: Edo bakufu students in Russia, Bakumatsu, image of Russia in Japan, Laurence Oliphant, Mori Arinori, Russian-Japanese relations in the mid-nineteenth century, Satsuma students in Britain

Mori Arinori's Journey to Saint Petersburg in 1866: Images of Western Backwardness and Threats of Modernization

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The contemporary ideas about Russia and Russians in Japan were formed neither in the current period nor during the last century. Rather, understanding began to develop much earlier as to what the huge area north of the Japanese archipelago as well as the people living there represented. Some limited information about Russia can be found from Japanese sources dating back as far as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and sometimes even earlier. Nevertheless, it was only in the mid-nineteenth century, after Japan's policy of isolation ended in 1854 during the Bakumatsu period (1853-1869), when Japanese came to realize the need for replenishment, expansion, and further analysis of the limited, fragmented, and possibly incorrect information they had so far acquired concerning Russia.

Information about the Russian Empire had been reaching Japan via various routes. Some came through members of Russian Embassies, who were sent regularly to Japan in an effort to conclude trade and international agreements. Western oral and written sources, primarily written in Dutch or English, conveyed information, as well. The flow of information about the outside world, including Russia, expanded greatly

after Japan's policy of isolation was terminated. Yet, it had not been only foreigners who brought to Japan knowledge about life in faraway European countries. During the Bakumatsu period, a number of Japanese had already visited western and eastern European countries for training purposes or as part of diplomatic missions. Some of them had kept notes during their travel or had sent letters from abroad to their relatives and friends. Very few of those sources are available today. The most interesting among the extant documents are those authored by people who occupied important posts in the new government and public authorities during the period that followed the Meiji Restoration in 1868, thanks to the knowledge and intelligence they had been equipped with at the time.

In 1862, the Edo bakufu sent its first mission to Europe. Mission Takenouchi, named after the head of the mission Takenouchi Yasunori, visited several European countries in addition to Russia. Also among the mission's members was Fukuzawa Yukichi, one of the main leaders of the enlightenment movement during the Meiji era. Fukuzawa wrote about this trip in his biography, although his description of Japan's northern neighbor is not sufficient enough to perform an in-depth analysis. Much more detailed information about Russia, its domestic and foreign policies, as well as features of its social consciousness is available in diaries of other public and state figures from the Meiji era, such as Mori Arinori, who, like Fukuzawa, had an opportunity to visit Russia during the Bakumatsu period.

During his brief visit to Saint Petersburg in the summer of 1866, Mori, the future first Minister of Education in Japan and founder of the Japanese education system, wrote a detailed diary now known as *Korō kikō*, meaning "Diary of a Sea Voyage to Russia." At that time, Mori was only nineteen years old, and among fifteen students sent from Japan's Satsuma domain to be trained in the United Kingdom. Breaking the ban on leaving the country, Satsuma samurai were sent according to an order by the head of their domain Shimazu Tadayoshi to the University of

London, which was one of the best educational institutions in England.[1] To avoid punishment, they had to assume fake names. Mori, for example, went by the name Sawai Tetsuma while studying in England.[2] These Satsuma students were to study technical sciences and disciplines in London, which could benefit them in strengthening the defense of their domain.

Japanese historians who study the life and work of Mori emphasize the fact that technical sciences, which had been the main objective of Mori's training program, were quite easy for him to study.[3] However, judging from the letter he sent to his brother, the humanities, especially studies in law and study of the history of Europe and the United States also interested him, perhaps even more than physics, mathematics, or chemistry. After a year of intensive study, which undoubtedly enriched his knowledge and skills, Mori realized that an understanding of only applied disciplines, the importance of which he definitely did not deny, would not give him an opportunity to grasp a full picture of the state and the social systems of European countries. Guided by the desire to witness life in European countries beyond the British capital, he and his classmate Matsumura Junzō, the future vice-admiral of the Japanese fleet, decided to take a short trip to Russia during their summer vacation in August 1866.

There were several reasons for choosing Saint Petersburg as their

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1 Japan's shogunate weakened the ban on leaving the country in the spring of 1866, when it decided to send bakufu students abroad for training. According to a law as of May 21, 1866 (the second year of Keio), the Japanese central government was to allow travel to other countries after obtaining permission from the corresponding domain. It is doubtful that Satsuma domain, which stood in opposition to the central government, was able to obtain such permission for its samurai. However, by the time this order was issued, students from Satsuma were already in the United Kingdom.

2 Andrew Cobbing, *The Satsuma Students in Britain: Japan's Early Search for the "Essence of the West"* (Richmond, Surrey, UK: Japan Library, 2000), 34.

3 Ivan Parker Hall, *Mori Arinori* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 76; Sotogawa Tsuguo, "Wakaki Mori Arinori no Roshia-kan o megutte" [Concerning the Views of Mori Arinori on Russia], *Surabu kenkyū* 32 (1985): 80.

destination. First, they had to cross the sea to reach the Russian Empire's capital, which would give them a chance while traveling to learn some basic seamanship skills under the guidance of English seamen well-known for their mastery.[4] Second, Matsumura and Mori wanted to meet Japanese students who had been studying in Saint Petersburg by order of the Shogunate. At the time, going abroad during summer holidays for the purpose of gaining further knowledge was considered, particularly among English students, a good indicator in gauging a student's voice and zeal.[5]

Mori's diary *Korō kikō*, which he wrote throughout the trip, was first discovered and published in 1942 by the Japanese historian Ōkubo Toshiaki in the journal *Tōa Ronsō*, which translates as a "Studies on East Asia." Later, along with other texts of Mori, this diary was also included in a publication of his collected works.[6] While commenting on *Korō kikō*, Ōkubo emphasized that due to Mori's outstanding insight and mental abilities developed at a very early stage in Russian-Japanese relations, the future creator of Japan's educational system was also able to consider and evaluate the threat Russia's foreign policies in the Far East could potentially impose upon Japan.

Korō kikō is not the only written source available for analysis in order to understand Mori's ideas of the Russian Empire in the mid-nineteenth century. It is possible to gain insight into his opinion about Russia in a letter to his elder brother Yokoyama Yasutake (1843-1870), which had been sent from London to Yokohama in the summer of 1866, just before the trip to Saint Petersburg. A comparative analysis of these two documents provides glimpses of Mori's perception of Russia before and after his visit to Saint Petersburg, and more importantly whether the

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4 Mori and Matsumura travelled to Russia by the English sailing vessel *George and Emily*, on which they were enrolled as deckhands during the trip.

5 Hall, *Mori Arinori*, 76.

6 Mori Arinori, *Mori Arinori zenshū* [Collected Works of Mori Arinori], ed. Ōkubo Toshiaki (Tokyo: Senbundō shoten, 1972).

visit had changed it or not.[7] How, then, did Mori describe the Russian Empire in his letter and diary?

A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing

Prior to visiting Russia, Mori had been unable to form an objective opinion about Russia's internal and external policies based on information from primary sources because he had no knowledge of the Russian language. However, he had reached an adequate level of proficiency in the English language after one year of study in London, and was able to read and digest the news and analytical articles published by the English press. Analysis of Mori's letter and his diary reveals that he had been seriously concerned about Russia's foreign policies and the developments surrounding Russian-Japanese relations. In the letter to his brother on June 3, 1866, while commenting on Russia's desire to build friendly relations with Japan and to assist Japan should any confrontation occur with Great Britain, France, or the United States, Mori stressed that behind the Russian statements about friendship and support hid the desire to solve their own problems in the Far East. Mori also told his brother in detail through this letter about a failed attempt by Russia to strengthen its status as a sea power from joining Constantinople, which Mori pointed out as the main target of the Crimean War of 1853-1856.

Russia's access to the Mediterranean Sea, which could have been obtained through war, went against the interests of other European

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[7] Some researchers have mistaken Mori's impressions about Russia in his letters to his brother before visiting Saint Petersburg to have been his own impressions formed during his visit to the Russian capital. See Inoue Takutoshi, "Japanese Students in England and the Meiji Government's Foreign Employees (Oyatoi) : The People Who Supported Modernisation in the Bakumatsu-Early Meiji Period," Discussion Paper Series 40 (School of Economics, Kwansei Gakuin University, 2008): 2. Other inaccuracies can be found in, for example, *Mori Arinori* by Ivan Hall (1973), where *Korō kikō* is mistakenly dated to 1865, although Mori's trip to Russia was actually made one year later, in 1866. See Hall, *Mori Arinori*, 90, 91, 94.

countries, primarily those of Great Britain. According to Mori, this was what caused the creation of an anti-Russian coalition, which included Great Britain and France in addition to Turkey. Russia's subsequent defeat not only deprived Russia of an opportunity to approach the Mediterranean, it also halted the entry of Russian military vessels into the warm waters of the Black Sea.[8] Moreover, the peace agreement Russia signed in Paris in 1856 limited opportunities for its naval strengthening in the Baltic. Having lost a chance to continue its naval development in Europe, emphasized Mori, Russians drew their attention to the East.

> If we now decide to become friends with Russia in the near future, it will undoubtedly unveil that Great Britain, France and the United States are willing to absorb us and thus Russia will offer to join efforts in order to avoid this from happening. Once we swallow the bait, it will request our permission to build ports at strategic points [on our coast], and permission for its military vessels and possibly troops to enter these ports. I think it is unnecessary to explain that if we agree, we will become swallowed up, this time by Russia.[9]

In an attempt to support his own statements, Mori described the landing of the Russian corvette *Posadnik* on the Japanese island of Tsushima in 1861.[10] Commenting on Russian actions, Mori wrote: "Now they are

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[8] Under the Treaty of Paris signed in 1856, Russia was required to return to the Ottoman Empire everything that had been captured in Southern Bessarabia, at the mouth of the Danube River and the Caucasus. It was also forbidden for the Russian Empire to have a military fleet in the Black Sea that had been proclaimed as neutral waters, and Russia was to cease all military construction in the Baltic Sea.

[9] Mori, *Mori Arinori zenshū*, 52.

[10] *Roshia no sendan Tsushima senryō jiken*, translated as the "Russian Fleet Tsushima Occupation Incident" and commonly referred to as the Tsushima Incident, was an international incident in 1861 that caused the deterioration of relations between the Russian Empire and Japan. The incident was prompted by some Russian officials, including the emperor Alexander II, who greatly desired to establish a strategically important fort in the completely ice-free Tsushima

looking for any other port ... under the skin of a gentle lamb there is a wolf's heart...."[11] Interestingly, Mori's letter to his brother pointed out that Russia's attempt to take over Tsushima was prevented by the joint efforts of England and France, as was the case in the Crimean War, although in reality, the French did not take part in the settlement of the Tsushima incident.

Laurence Oliphant: A Friend, Mentor, and Russophobe

In his biography of Mori Arinori, Ivan Hall mentions that while Mori and other Satsuma students were studying in London, they were specially placed under the protection and patronage of Laurence Oliphant (1829-1888), the former first secretary of the British legation in Edo.[12] It was Oliphant who in 1861, under the order of Minister Plenipotentiary of Great Britain in Japan Rutherford Alcock, located where the corvette *Posadnik* had been moored in Tsushima and who was directly involved in the negotiations to extradite Russian Navy sailors from the Japanese island. Oliphant is also known to have been the one who in 1866 organized Satsuma students to study at the University College London,

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Strait. Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolayevich, and Rear Admiral I.F. Likhachev, commander of the Russian squadron in the Pacific, were ardent supporters of the idea. In early 1861, Likhachev sent the corvette *Posadnik* to the shores of Tsushima with Lieutenant-Commander N.A. Birilev, who tried to negotiate with the local officials the possibility of renting the land near Cape Imosaki. Without permission from the Japanese central government, the crew began constructing a naval station. The Japanese government immediately entered into negotiations with I.A. Goshkevich, the Russian consul in Hakodate who had been fulfilling the actual function of ambassador. The English also grew concerned and sent their military vessels, demanding together with Goshkevich that the mission be discontinued. Likhachev immediately agreed to meet the desires of the English, Japanese, and Russian diplomats and substituted *Posadnik* with *Oprichnik*, a smaller ship. It was only after the arrival of Admiral Likhachev in Hakodate when Likhachev realized the full extent of the political scandal and ordered the liquidation of the station.

[11] Kimura Tadashi, *Mori sensei den: Denki* [Mori Sensei: A Biography] (Tokyo: Ōzorasha, 1987), 17-18.

[12] Hall, *Mori Arinori*, 86-87.

part of the University of London, while he was a member of the British Parliament. It is possible that Mori was describing the Tsushima incident in the letter to his brother as it had been described by Oliphant. As for the role the French played in this incident, it is not clear whether Oliphant himself mentioned it in order to show that Russian naval empowerment in the Pacific Ocean went against not only British interests, but the collective interests of Europe, or whether Mori himself had mistakenly decided that the French and the English were collaborating in the Japanese case in the same way they had during the Crimean war. Oliphant's active participation in the London life of these Japanese students was also recalled by Matsumura Junzō, a close friend of Mori with whom he made the trip to Russia in the summer of 1866. In his memoirs, Matsumura described Oliphant as "a person who provided assistance and support in everything," and "a person who was a source of our knowledge about the UK and other countries."[13] Matsumura also pointed out that very often in conversations with the Japanese Oliphant had been sharp while speaking about Russia, and at the same time highly appreciative of the United States.

Oliphant was in fact a highly versatile and extraordinary person as a traveler, writer, and diplomat. By the age of twenty-four, the son of the famous Scottish traveler Sir Anthony Oliphant had already published two books based on his own travel notes. One of them was devoted to his trip to Russia, published in 1853 under the title *The Russian Shores of the Black Sea in the Autumn of 1852, with a Voyage down the Volga, and a Tour through the Country of the Don Cossacks*.[14] The trip was rather adventurous for two young men from rich and influential families to

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[13] Kōshaku Shimazu-ke henshūjo, *Sappan kaigunshi* [Naval History of Satsuma Domain], vol. 2 (Tokyo: Hara shobō, 1968), 905-907.

[14] Laurence Oliphant, *The Russian Shores of the Black Sea in the Autumn of 1852, with a Voyage down the Volga, and a Tour through the Country of the Don Cossacks* (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood and Sons, 1853).

decide to go through lands that had not been part of usual tourist routes. Oliphant had not received formal education as a child and therefore personally considered such trips to be part of a "unique self-study system." His impressions about Russia and Russian people could hardly be called positive, although judging by the route they chose, it is obvious they were looking for an adventure rather than comfort. After this trip, Oliphant became completely convinced that Britain had overestimated Russia as a rival and as a threat to its security and prosperity. In his letter from Russia, Oliphant wrote: "I don't think we have anything to fear from Russia: its gigantic proportions render it so unwieldy, and the people are so barbarous, that we shall always have the same advantages which our enlightenment gives us over the Eastern nations. I look upon it as little better than China: the only difference is that usually barbarous nations hold civilized nations in respect, which, to judge from the way they bully you in the custom-house, Russia does not."[15] It is possible that this first impression was what formed his final opinion about the Russian Empire.

Laurence Oliphant visited the land of the rising sun twice. The first time he was there as a personal secretary of the British diplomat Lord Elgin when his mission came to Japan for the signing of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Amity and Commerce in 1858. Through this visit, Oliphant had been fortunate to see Japan in its pristine beauty, yet to be touched by Western influence. Obviously, he became captivated and fascinated by the country. Oliphant's description of this journey in *Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan in the years 1857, '58, '59* is still one of the most enthralling and detailed portrayals of Japan in the Bakumatsu period among those written by foreigners.[16] Once back in England, Oliphant applied several times for an appointment

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[15] Margaret Oliphant, *Memoir of the Life of Laurence Oliphant and of Alice Oliphant, His Wife*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1891), 86.

[16] Laurence Oliphant, *Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's mission to China and Japan in the years 1857, '58, '59* (London, 1859).

to Edo. His request was satisfied in 1861 and he was able to return to Japan as a secretary of the British Legation. Unfortunately, his second visit was not pleasant as the country was filled with anti-foreign spirit. A week after he took his post in Edo, there was an attack on the legation's building. Oliphant was injured and forced to leave Japan.[17] Despite the serious injury, the Englishman kept his admiration and affection for the land of the rising sun. This was demonstrated by the fact that it had been he who, on a completely voluntary basis, had helped Japanese students settle in London. Meanwhile, personal fear and physical suffering he experienced within the walls of the British legation on July 5, 1861, could have actually escalated his hostile attitude toward Russia, as British diplomats had become deeply convinced that the attack on the mission had been provoked by the actions of Russian Navy sailors in Tsushima.[18]

Russia: Illusion and "Reality"

In order to convince his brother of the importance for Japan to be careful when dealing with Russia, Mori Arinori's letter of June 3, 1866, tried to destroy the "mythological" image of Russia as a "strong and fair power" that existed among the Japanese at the time. Mori's opinion was that this

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17 As a result of wounds received in an attack by a rōnin of Mito domain, Oliphant's left hand was badly damaged and lost its mobility.

18 Kenneth Bourne, Donald Cameron Watt, and Ian Nish, eds., *British Documents on Foreign Affairs: Reports and Papers from the Foreign Office Confidential Print, Part 1—From the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the First World War*, vol. 1 of *Japan and North-East Asia, 1860-1878*, Series E, Asia, 1860-1914 (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1989), 31. In his dispatch dated August 2, 1861, R. Alcock wrote to the British Foreign Minister Lord J. Russell: "This attempt to massacre a whole Legation was confidently affirmed by the popular voice, to have been the act and deed of the Prince of Tsushima, in revenge for the violence and defeat he had suffered in his territories from the Russians. It was said the assailants were either his own followers, under the guise of "loonins" (a general term for lawless brigands), or men of this class set on by his emissaries, who had followed me from Nagasaki for the purpose; the Prince having heard that a Chief of the barbarians was there, and about to proceed overland to Yeddo. His nationality does not seem to have been considered worthy of a moment's inquiry; it was enough that he belonged to the European race."

image had been based on the belief that Russia carried out honest and noble policy objectives toward other states. This view of Russia as a *gikoku*, a country of justice, appeared when the Russian delegation headed by Admiral Putiatin came to the open port of Nagasaki for the conclusion of trade agreements and patiently waited for the Japanese side to respond. This sharply contrasted with how the Americans behaved as they went into Edo Bay in violation of Japanese law and forced Japan to sign the "Treaty of Peace and Amity" in 1854 by threatening to bomb the Japanese capital.

Mori attempted to show through his letter that the idea of fairness in Russia's foreign policy differed from the actual state of affairs by naming several of Russia's actions overseas, which he considered to most clearly show the true face of Russians. First, Mori pointed out the suppression of the Polish uprising in 1863-1864, although it sounds in his letter as if he had been referring to Russia's rule of Poland. This could not have been the case because Poland had already become partitioned and ruled by Russia earlier in the late eighteenth century, whereas Mori's letter dates to 1866, meaning he had most likely been talking about 1865.[19] Second, Mori mentions "Russia's capture of the half of the territory of Switzerland," which never actually happened in Russian history. Japanese historians suppose that Mori must have made a mistake in naming Switzerland when he actually meant Finland.[20] Besides these, the list of Russia's unfair actions toward foreign countries also included an "unsuccessful attempt to engage in the colonization of India." The letter does not explain what specific Russian actions Mori considered as an attempt to occupy the territories of the Indian subcontinent. It is possible that he had been relating to the 1801 Decree by Russian Emperor Paul I under which 20,000 Don Cossacks were sent to India to take over the

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[19] The Third Partition Treaty divided the territory of the Polish state between Russia, Prussia, and Austria in 1795.

[20] Sotogawa, "Wakaki Mori Arinori no Roshia-kan o megutte," 80.

British domain there. In collaboration with Napoleon III, Paul I had in fact planned to exclude the British from India. However, those plans were never executed as the Decree was cancelled just after the assassination of Paul I in 1801 by his son Alexander I. The last on the list of Russia's illegal actions toward other countries included the aforementioned 1861 mission of the Russian Navy sailors on Tsushima Island. The actions and plans of the Russian government taken into account by Mori, of course only those that actually did happen, could certainly be characterized as unfair acts toward people of other nations. Even so, such acts were firmly implanted in ideas of foreign political doctrine among all major European powers at that time.

Nevertheless, according to Mori, the Japanese belief that Russia was a strong state able to compete with any other Western power had been yet another mistake. In the June letter to his brother, Mori wrote: "Many people, speaking of Russia, call it a strong country, but could it be compared in strength with Britain, France or the United States? Russians initially had a huge territory, occupying one third of the world. But the [territory's] climate is too cold for foreigners. Russians are proud of their strength and look down on other countries, but the past events have demonstrated that in reality it [Russia] is merely an infinitely cold rather than an infinitely strong country."[21] Mori deliberated on what may be considered as major Russian achievements and went on in the letter to further explain that even the greatest Russian victories, such as that over Napoleon's army, had been won by the unbearably cold Russian winter and the lack of provisions rather than as a result of the strength and fighting capacity of the Russian troops. So, the verdict of an eighteen year-old Japanese traveler such as Mori at the time he wrote this letter was that only a "country man," apparently referring to a dark and ignorant person, would consider Russia to be a strong power. It should once again

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[21] Mori, *Mori Arinori zenshū*, 52-53.

be noted that Mori wrote this letter prior to visiting Russia, meaning it was not based on his own personal impressions, but on information that had been circulating in Britain. Still, this basic view of Russia as a power, inferior in its development in comparison to advanced Western countries, would have undoubtedly influenced Mori's perception of the Russian Empire as he attempted to establish a personal acquaintance with it.

Russians as Inept Businessmen

Mori and Matsumura left London on August 1, 1866, and returned on September 10 of the same year. Most of their trip, however, was spent on the road. The Japanese students spent only ten days in Saint Petersburg, from August 24 until September 2. Mori began his records about Russia with a description of Kronstadt, its location, history, and the defensibility of its port. While covering Kronstadt, a main harbor of the Russian Empire, Mori addressed the foreign trade issues of the Russian state and their specifics. In order to support his critical conclusions about the Russian Empire, Mori presented some statistical data that had been designed to expose the imperfections of Russian trade skills.

> Two thousand commercial vessels arrive in Kronstadt harbor, out of which 1,000 of them are English.... From Britain they import mainly coal.[22] Russia exports to Britain animal fat, hemp [for the manufacture of sails and marine gear of the British Navy], animal skins and wood. The principal part of the Russian export consists of animal fat and grain. According to statistics, in 1864 Russia imported goods in total amount of 1,300,000,000 pounds, which in our money is 3,000,900,000 *ryō*.[23] In the same year, Russia exported goods in amount of only 7,000,000

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[22] The time period for this count on the number of vessels was not specified in the letter.

[23] *Ryō* was a unit of weight which became the basis of Japan's monetary system in the Edo period. One *ryō* was equivalent to fifteen grams of gold.

[pounds], calculated in our money as 2,100,000,000 *ryō*. It is obvious that Russia is very inefficient in its trade.[24]

Mori thought the reasons for such a foreign trade imbalance lay with Russia's so-called "peripheral position" in the world trade market, in which Russia had been selling cheap resources to countries more industrialized than itself and buying products manufactured out of such resources at prices that were threefold higher.[25]

How accurate were these conclusions? Even British statistical data did not manage to fully reflect the situation Russian trade was in. According to the 1868 edition of *The Statesman's Year-Book*, an annual British statistical publication, total imports by Russia in 1864 amounted to 154,697,989 rubles, or 24,493,849 pounds. The same source indicates that in the same year Russia exported goods worth a total of 154,473,154 rubles, or 24,450,250 pounds.[26] In other words, the horrific foreign trade imbalance described by Mori did not actually exist at that time. Moreover, according to *The Statesman's Year-Book*, the volume of Russian exports to the United Kingdom in 1864 was eight times as great as what Russia imported from the United Kingdom. This trend continued between 1862 and 1868.[27]

Perhaps the idea of the domination of British imports in Russia's trade balance was conceived from the huge number of British trade vessels Mori had observed in Kronstadt. Mori could have assumed that the English vessels he saw had been exclusively transporting goods

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[24] Mori Arinori, "Korō kikō," [Diary of a Sea Voyage to Russia] in *Mori Arinori zenshū* [Collected Works of Mori Arinori], ed. Ōkubo Toshiaki, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Senbundō shoten, 1972), 17.

[25] Mori uses the term *inakajin*, meaning person from the village, which is usually in contrast with *tokaijin*, meaning city dweller.

[26] *The Statesman's Year-Book, a Statistical, Mercantile, and Historical Account of the States and Sovereigns of the Civilised World: A Manual for Politicians and Merchants for the Year 1868* (London: Macmillan, 1868), 416-417.

[27] Ibid., 417.

Year	Imports from Russia to the United Kingdom (in pounds)	Exports of Home Produce from the United Kingdom to Russia (in pounds)
1862	15,101,059	2,070,918
1863	13,419,263	2,695,276
1864	14,711,202	2,854,898
1865	17,383,697	2,923,006
1866	19,636,129	3,093,231

Source: *The Statesman's Year-Book, a Statistical, Mercantile, and Historical Account of the States and Sovereigns of the Civilised World: A Manual for Politicians and Merchants for the Year 1868* (London: Macmillan, 1868), 417.

Russia imported from the United Kingdom. He probably had not been aware that, at that time, a significant proportion of the trade of Russian products was being organized with the help of British and German trade houses that earned significant profit from this undertaking, and that such traded goods were being transported by British marine companies. Still, it may be difficult to argue with what Mori pointed out as the "peripheral" character of the Russian foreign trade, as agricultural products and raw materials actually did occupy a majority of Russian exports in the mid-nineteenth century, while Russia mainly imported industrial products such as cotton, wool and silk fabrics, machinery, tools, iron, tin, and the like.

A State Bearing Danger

Mori's diary clearly exhibits that his opinion of Russia did not change after his visit. New details were added to his idea of Russia as a country with broad expansionist ambitions, as was presented in the letter to his brother on June 3, 1866. Emphasizing such Russian characteristics in his diary, he wrote, "With its vast territory, Russia seeks to expand even more, and in all four directions."[28] Describing the four directions of Russian expansion hints that being Japanese, Mori naturally cared most of all about Russia's plans of a possible territorial expansion into the Far East.

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[28] Mori, *Mori Arinori zenshū*, 52-53.

In Saint Petersburg, Mori and Matsumura communicated a good deal with the Japanese students in Russia by order of the Edo bakufu, the central government of Japan. Mori learned from one of the students, Ichikawa Bunkichi, about the Russian government's plans to construct a railway to facilitate travel throughout the country. Ichikawa had heard this news from (Kumezo) Tachibana Kōsai, a Japanese man who had arrived in Russia in 1853 on board the Russian vessel *Pallada*.[29] At that time, Tachibana was greatly supported by Iosif Antonovich Goshkevich, a Russian consul in Japan. As a gesture of gratitude, Tachibana took the name of Iosif Goshkevich as his patronymic when he converted to Orthodoxy. In Saint Petersburg, he was called Vladimir Iosifovich Yamatof. Having left Japan in violation of the shogunal ban on leaving the country and unable to return to his homeland, Tachibana continued living and working in Russia until 1874. He taught Japanese at Saint Petersburg University, and also served as an interpreter in the Asian Department of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Between 1866 and 1867, Tachibana communicated frequently with bakufu students, introducing them to the peculiarities of Russian culture and traditions, and Ichikawa shared with them the official news, judging by Mori's accounts. In the late 1860s, the possibility of connecting all Russian territories, even the most distant ones, via railway "arteries" was widely discussed among

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[29] Kumezo Tachibana Kosai (1821-1885) was a Japanese samurai, translator, and teacher of the Japanese language. In 1853, sailors of the Russian training ship *Pallada* took a young Tachibana Kumedzo out of the water as he was swimming toward the ship. He asked for asylum, for in Japan, he could face the death penalty for speaking with Russian people. The Russian sailors took him with them. Tachibana was very educated and skilled in oriental medicine, thus he became the ship doctor's assistant. Because no one was able to understand him at first, he began to learn Russian. Once he arrived in Saint Petersburg, he converted to Orthodoxy and took the name Vladimir I. after Goshkevich Joseph Antonovich, his Russian language teacher, and the surname of Yamatof from "Yamato," an ancient name of Japan. He later married a Russian woman. For several years, he worked in the Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a translator and taught the Japanese language at Saint Petersburg University. He returned to his homeland in 1874. During Mori and Matsumura's visit to Russia, he showed them the winter palace Peterhof and organized a visit to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia.

government officials. This was the information Tachibana Kōsai passed on to the Japanese. After talking with Ichikawa Bunkichi, Mori wrote the following in his diary: "Using the current road going across northern Asia, you can travel from [the European part of] Russia to the Amur within two months. Now Russians are planning to build a railway starting from the middle of this track, which will cut the journey time from Hokkaido to Saint Petersburg down to fourteen days. We need to fear seriously Russian claims on world domination!"[30]

Staying in Russia and communicating with the Japanese students in Saint Petersburg changed a few of Mori Arinori's preconceived notions about Russia as a "weak" country. At least in *Korō kikō*, he wrote that in addition to the severe Russian winter, which had even stopped Napoleon's troops, the country had a fairly large army and spent much of its budget on strengthening the State's military capability. As an example, he gave statistics for 1864. The total military spending for that year was 300,157,500 pounds, of which 480,000 pounds was spent on the Russian Army and 200,700,000 pounds on the Russian Navy. This, Mori emphasized, ranked third in Europe after the English and the French. Judging by the fact that the statistics were presented in British pounds, they must have been taken from British sources similar to the data on Russian trade, consequently rendering their reliability as questionable. According to the *Annals of Statistics of the Russian Empire* released by the Central Statistical Committee of the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs in 1866, the Russian government spent more on the Army than on the Navy, and the amounts of money also differed compared to British sources.[31] The figures Mori cited makes it seem as if Russia had been

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[30] Mori, "Korō kikō," 24.

[31] Tsentralnii statisticheskii komitet ministerstva vnutrennikh del [Central Statistical Committee of the Russian Ministry of Interior Affairs], *Statisticheskii Vremennik Rossiiskoy Imperii* [Statistical Annals of the Russian Empire] (Saint Petersburg, 1866). According to the statistical book *Statisticheskii Vremennik Rossiiskoy Imperii* from 1866, the War Department received a budget of 116,529,363 rubles and 22 kopecks, and the Marine Ministry 21,636,417 rubles and 9 kopeks.

expanding and strengthening its Navy, and although this was not true, it still intensified concerns about Russia's plans to strengthen its position in the Pacific region through military means. Mori continued to believe that despite its vast territory and political ambition, the Russian Empire was peripheral as a territory as well as in terms of cultural development, and wrote in his diary: "The people here mostly look rustic… The same can be said about the local soldiers who cannot be compared in any way with the British."[32]

About Russian Mentality

In his diary, Mori writes that Russia's development lag in comparison with the West is not only due to the lack of commercial skills necessary for successful state development, but also due to the Russian mentality greatly influenced by the Russian state's religious isolation. Mori, who had just turned nineteen years of age, seemed to have little interest in Western religion and the fundamentals of Christianity. His letter and diary shows he was more interested in Europe's social and political achievements rather than the individual features of belief in different European countries. Yet, after visiting Saint Isaac's Cathedral and having been impressed by its grandeur and decorations, Mori wrote the following: "Here people profess a particular religion. ... It came from Greece, but, except for some details, it reminds me of the Roman Catholics. ... There are many religious countries in the world, but Russia is one of the most devout. It is impossible to count the number of churches and temples in Russia. When people pass by a church, they remove their headdress and start to bow. Sometimes they kneel and touch

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Assuming that the exchange rate between the British pound and Russian ruble in 1866 was 6.25 rubles per pound, these amounts should constitute 18,654,778 pounds and 3,461,826 pounds, respectively. Thus, the total government expenditure was 404,068,004 rubles.

32 Mori, "Korō kikō, " 24-25.

the ground with their heads and sometimes they bow while standing."[33]

What he saw in churches and on the streets of Saint Petersburg, however, only strengthened Mori's opinion that had been formed earlier while reading English newspapers about a certain kind of backwardness of the Russian mentality, limited by the framework of the Orthodoxy. This can be confirmed through Mori's letter to his brother on June 3, 1866, in which he criticizes the faith of the Russian people in the sacred nature of royal power, their conviction that the Russian Tsar was anointed by God, giving him the right to determine the fate of Russia and its people. Mori wrote, "All the governance in Russia is subject not to the will of the people, but to the will of the monarch. If a monarch is enlightened, there is prosperity in the country. If the monarch is not intelligent enough, then there is a crisis."[34] The tone of the letter leaves no doubt about Mori's opinion that the supreme sovereignty of the crown was a sign of the backwardness of the Russian state. Mori ends his conclusion on the subject with these words: "What nonsense to give an Emperor the status of God." It is doubtful that the eighteen-year-old Mori, coming from a country with a millennial history of a cult of deifying its imperial power, arrived at such a conclusion on his own.[35] However, such characteristics

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[33] Ibid., 25-26.

[34] Mori, *Mori Arinori zenshū*, 52-53.

[35] The statements of British journalists regarding Russian Orthodoxy, and parallels that somehow arose when comparing the Russian and the Japanese emperors and their sacred right to control people, brought Mori to the conclusion that the merger of religion and state, Orthodoxy in Russia's case and Shinto in Japan's case, could not provide a solid basis for the construction of a modern, progressive, and perfect state with a Western viewpoint. In subsequent years, Mori in a number of speeches attempted to prove that the state in which they honor and respect the views of liberal and democratic freedoms must be based on laws that are clearly defined and prepared in accordance with international law and the constitution, rather than the faith of the Japanese people in the divinity of the emperor. His beliefs played a fatal role in his life. Mori's sacrilegious behavior, in Shinto terms, of apparently trying to push with his cane a sacred curtain at the main shrine of the imperial family's Ise Shrine (J. Ise Jingū) (1887), seems to have cost him his life. On the same day the Emperor of Japan signed the first constitution in the country's history, Mori was killed by a Japanese religious fanatic.

of the Russian state power structure were portrayed in mid-nineteenth century British newspapers. Almost every article about the Russian Orthodox Church began with the postulate that the church in the Russian Empire is an integral part of the government. Therefore, criticism of the state system automatically extended to the Russian Orthodox Church.[36]

At the time of the Crimean War, *The New Monthly Magazine* criticized all aspects of the Russian Orthodoxy, and stated as its conclusion: "Such is the religion, or rather the superstition of the people whose tyrannical leaders have the boldness to challenge European civilization and liberty, and to speak of their holy mission."[37] English Russophobia in the mid-nineteenth century came from the conflict of foreign interests as well as from ideological concepts. From the British perspective, the Russian Empire's political, social, and religious institutions formed over many centuries hindered development in all sectors of Russian society based upon individualism, self-reliance, and hard work, the three qualities most admired in England in the nineteenth century. For example, *The British Quarterly Review* published the following in 1859: "Like the mammoth found ... encased in ice ... the Russian people have been preserved entirely in their pristine condition."[38] Such a comparison coming from an Englishman of the Victorian era could hardly be called a compliment. Thus, a comparative analysis of Mori's statements about Russia in a letter to his brother on June 3, 1866, and his diary written during his visit to Saint Petersburg reveals that information found in British newspapers and gathered from his English friends and acquaintances, rather than personal experience, had influenced Mori's opinion about the Russian Empire as a state less developed than advanced Western countries and therefore a poor example for Japan to follow

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[36] William Henry Thorn, "Russia and the British Periodical Press, 1856-1903: A Study of Attitudes toward Russian Internal Affairs" (Doctoral dissertation, University of Rochester, 1968).

[37] "The Russian Clergy," *The New Monthly Magazine* 106, 1856, 353-355.

[38] "Serf Emancipation in Russia," *The British Quarterly Review* 29, 1859, 155.

during its modernization.

"And do not step on the teacher's shadow...."

Had it occurred to Mori that the portrayal of Russia drawn by its political and ideological opponents and rivals would have been biased and subjective? Mori's contemporaries, including those outside Japan, who had a chance to personally converse with him, emphasized his high intelligence, excellent command of English, and ability to think analytically. The famous English traveler, writer, and naturalist Isabella Bird wrote after meeting Mori in 1878: "Mr. Mori is one of the most progressive of Japanese politicians, and, under an Oriental despotism, is an 'advanced Liberal.' … He speaks English tolerably well, and, unlike most of his countrymen…."[39] Of course, Mori was still young in 1866, and not well aware of international relations between European powers. However, he had been aware of the nature of Russian-British relations and the United Kingdom's desire to limit Russia's power in the Far East. Why, then, was the British opinion so decisive in forming Mori's views of the Russian Empire?

The answer to this question seems to lie in the peculiarities of the Japanese mentality, the Japanese way of grasping truths that developed over the centuries. In this Japanese way of acquiring new skills and ideas in different fields of knowledge, the teacher would perform a central role as an interpreter, a mentor, and a source and authority of higher knowledge. Among the many examples is the Japanese Buddhist monk Saicho (767-822), who was active during the Nara period (710-794). Credited with founding the Tendai Buddhist sect in Japan, Saicho wrote the following explanation about his desire to study Buddhism in China: "I

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[39] Isabella L. Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan: An Account of Travels in the Interior Including Visits to the Aborigines of Yezo and the Shrines of Nikkô and Isé* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1881), 207.

have long regretted the absence of a commentary which would explain the profound import of the Lotus Sutra. By good fortune I have procured a copy of the excellent discourse of the T'ien-t'ai sect. I have studied it a number of years, but errors and omissions in the text make it impossible to grasp the fine points. If I do not receive instruction from a master, then even if I were to get [the meaning], I should be unable to believe in it."[40] It is possible that during the formation of Mori's views on Russia, Great Britain had become a teacher of sorts to him. It was not important for him to understand what Russia really was in its essence. Rather of higher importance was the Englishmen's point of view on Russia's economic, military potential, as well as its domestic and foreign policy. Mori had created his idea of Russia according to the rules of Chinese art, where students were to learn to draw mountains by copying the works of great masters rather than nature. Notions of Russia in the United Kingdom had become for Mori a master and trusted authority.

Why the United Kingdom? There are numerous explanations for this. First of all, the British influence can be explained by the fact that at the time Mori authored the letter and diary, he had been studying in the United Kingdom, which made information in English the most accessible. This, however, was not the only reason. Mori was a native of the Satsuma domain. The authority of the United States as the country that discovered Japan was not obvious to residents of the principality of Satsuma. Their acquaintance with the military power of the West occurred in August 1863, when the ships of the squadron of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain virtually destroyed with artillery fire an important port of Kagoshima, the capital of Satsuma. Demonstrating its naval forces, England managed to gain in Japan the status of a landmark and a teacher. That status was maintained throughout the subsequent years of the

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[40] Nakamura Hajime, *Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples: India, China, Tibet, Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1971), 450.

Bakumatsu period, and during the Meiji era, when representatives of the Satsuma domain, who were among the main advocates for restoring the ruling imperial power in Japan, occupied important positions in the new government. During the Meiji period, the United Kingdom's image as a reliable mentor and teacher of Japan became further established. The results of the Crimean War (1853-1856), in which Russia lost to an alliance of Great Britain, France, the Ottoman Empire, and Sardinia, was yet another reason for the Japanese to trust the United Kingdom.

Respecting the status and authority of a teacher, especially a foreign teacher, was something the Japanese came to adopt earlier through China, which went on to become firmly established in traditional Japanese ways of learning. An old Japanese proverb says that the student "should go seven steps behind the teacher, and not step on his shadow." Apparently, Mori also seems to have taken up this saying's principle in solving the puzzle of "Russian reality." Mori was unable to find all the pieces, so the ones that he did manage to find were sometimes warped by the "English point of view." That is perhaps why he failed to detect a more complete and realistic portrayal of the Russian Empire. Nevertheless, a trip to Saint Petersburg proved to be fruitful, for it brought about some unexpected outcomes.

Unexpected Outcomes from the Trip to Russia

Observing life in the Russian capital and talking to Japanese students studying in Saint Petersburg gave food for thought to the inquisitive, searching mind of the young Mori Arinori. The thoughts on problems he witnessed for himself and heard about first hand from stories told by bakufu students became seeds which Mori later on cultivated into complete ideas and theories.

Having arrived in Saint Petersburg, Mori and Matsumura stayed in the Hotel de France, one of the capital's best hotels and not far from the Winter Palace. High-ranking members of the Iwakura mission stayed at

the same hotel during a visit to Russia in 1873, thus it was quite an expensive choice for students, which gives reason to assume that in addition to the money from Satsuma domain, the two students also received financial support from other sources, possibly British. In fact, Mori mentions in his diary that a prominent English entrepreneur called Morgan took care of them in Saint Petersburg. They were invited to a dinner party at Morgan's country residence. Morgan also accompanied them during a visit to the British Ambassador in Russia Sir Andrew Buchanan, to whom the Japanese students were recommended by letters from Laurence Oliphant. Mori often gratefully mentions Morgan's name in his notes, stressing that he surrounded them with care and attention that made their stay in Saint Petersburg extremely comfortable.

In contrast, the Japanese students sent by order of the bakufu were living in the Russian capital under deplorable conditions, according to Mori. The idea of sending several Japanese students to Russia to learn the Russian language and other sciences originated from Iosif Goshkevich, the Russian consul in Hakodate. He actively promoted this idea, especially after it became known that the bakufu had decided to dispatch a few young samurai to the United Kingdom to study exact sciences and naval matters. Obviously, Goshkevich was motivated by the desire to preserve a balance of foreign influence upon the Japanese government and prevent an unchallenged British domination. Unfortunately, the desire to win the sympathy from the Japanese and to acquaint them with Russia was not backed up by concrete actions. The six samurai Ozawa Seijirō, Yamanouchi Sakuzaemon, Ogata Jōjiro, Ōtsuki Hikogoro, Ichikawa Bunkichi, and Tanaka Jiro selected to receive five years of training in Russia did not end up being provided with the necessary support and interest once they arrived in Saint Petersburg.[41] Ahead of the trip to Saint

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[41] Miyanaga Takashi, *Bakumatsu o Roshiya ryūgakusei* [Japanese Students in Russia during the Bakumatsu Period] (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1991).

Petersburg, Mori had been worried about meeting with the Japanese who were officially sent there by the central government because he had violated the ban on leaving Japan by going to London to study. His fears turned out to have been groundless when the bakufu students welcomed them warmly, glad to meet their compatriots. Their stories about the Russian climate's harshness, the difficulties of learning the Russian language, and domestic problems the Japanese faced in Russia convinced Mori that he had been lucky enough to be sent to the United Kingdom.

About Russian language

Among the bakufu students, Mori became close with Yamanouchi Sakuzaemon. The latter told him that one of the most serious issues for the Japanese in Saint Petersburg was to study the Russian language, which proved to be extremely difficult. Progress in learning was slow, mainly because the students lived together in one apartment rented for them by Iosif Goshkevich with money he procured from the Japanese government. Inevitably, they were speaking in their native language at home. Despite all their requests for separate apartments in order to enter a new environment for language learning, Goshkevich kept them all together. As a result, they could hardly express themselves in Russian after spending nearly a year in Russia. According to Mori, bakufu students regretted coming to Russia. Yamanouchi was sure that they would not learn anything useful over the years spent in Russia, and would only be able to master the Russian language at best, though the language did not have a notable international status and was used only within the Russian Empire's territory.

It is quite possible that while discussing with bakufu students in Saint Petersburg in the summer of 1866 about the impracticality of studying extremely difficult languages limited to local use, Mori came up with the idea of officially adopting a simpler and internationally more widespread language in Japan, such as English, to help his country in the

process of integrating with Western civilization. Seven years later in 1873, being in the state diplomatic service and working in the United States as Japan's Plenipotentiary Envoy, Mori decided to publicly express this radical idea, professing that the Japanese language was not used as a means of communication in any other country in the world except for Japan. The future, he thought, would inevitably be superseded by English. He outlined this idea in the preface to the publication *Education in Japan*, a collection of letters addressed to Mori Arinori by various public figures and politicians in the United States, covering issues and problems with Japanese education and exploring ways to solve them to move forward.[42] Mori also once commented that the Japanese language was originally primitive, and would have remained so had it not been influenced by the Chinese language and literature. He wrote,

> Without the aid of the Chinese, our language has never been taught or used for any purpose of communication. This shows its poverty. The march of modern civilization has already begun its advance across Japan and has touched the heart of the nation; English suppresses the use of both Japanese and Chinese. The commercial power of the English-speaking race, which now rules the world, drives our people into some knowledge of their commercial ways and habits. The absolute necessity of mastering the English language is thus forced upon us. It is requisite of the maintenance of our independence in the community of nations. Under the circumstances, our meager language, which can never be of any use outside of our islands, is doomed to yield to the domination of the English tongue, especially when the power of steam and electricity shall pervade the land.[43]

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[42] Mori Arinori, *Education in Japan: A Series of Letters Addressed by Prominent Americans to Mori Arinor*i (New York: D. Appleton, 1873), l-lvii.

[43] Ibid., lvi.

In other words, Mori believed that because of its underdevelopment, the Japanese language had been bound to require the assistance of other languages. In due time, the Chinese language entered the scene as a kind of linguistic donor to help revive the Japanese language. Linguistic borrowing from China was accompanied by an incorporation of Chinese notions of culture, religion, science, ideology, philosophy, and many other aspects. As a result, the integration of Chinese with the national language became a strong incentive for the development of Japan. However, by the mid-nineteenth century, China became less appealing to Japan as an example to follow. China's economic dependence on the United Kingdom as a result of the 1840-1842 and 1856-1860 Opium Wars had demonstrated the backwardness of the Celestial Empire, and its inability to protect its own economic and political interests. In the eyes of the Japanese, the United Kingdom and the United States began to epitomize modern progress after proving their superiority over China and Japan. Since the official language in these countries was English, there was nothing surprising in the fact that Mori drew an analogy with Japan's borrowing from China and arrived at the conclusion that adopting the English language as Japan's state language would naturally lead to the country's entrance into the world of Western civilization.[44] The premium the English language could offer as a language of international communication was obvious from Mori's point of view. The fact that Russia did not use this language much compared to its popularity among the Germans and French was, in his opinion, further proof of the Russian Empire's backwardness.[45]

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[44] As the minister of education, Mori took the initiative of introducing the study of English to the higher elementary course, and greatly encouraged it in middle schools. Kanda Naibu, who accompanied Mori to America as his youngest student in 1870 and who later became a professor of English at the Tokyo University of Commerce, remembered Mori as "a champion of the cause of Anglo-Saxon civilization in Japan." Kanda Naibu, *Memorials of Kanda Naibu* (Tokyo: Toko shoin, 1927), 8.

[45] Mori, "Korō kikō," 24-25.

From the Problem of Abandoned Children to the Structure of Japanese Education

In the summer of 1866, Mori was only nineteen years old. Despite his personal desire to focus on the specifics of the Russian state structure, his attention was inevitably drawn toward other matters that had been troubling his young mind. In his records of his trip to Russia, he devoted an entire page to the topic of infidelity and one of its consequences—the problem concerning abandoned children. This issue came up during a conversation with Yamanouchi Sakuzaemon. While discussing the nature of Russians, Yamanouchi mentioned that their most negative features surfaced in two cases: hereditary disputes and marital infidelities. From the topic of infidelity, the two moved on to the subject of survival in Russian orphanages. Mori tried to give his own assessment of this social phenomenon in his diary. He agreed that establishing state orphanages gave abandoned children a chance to survive. However, on the other hand, he was convinced that the existence of such a system would further corrupt society because the state was in fact providing its citizens with a legal opportunity to absolve themselves from the responsibility of child rearing.[46] In 1866, Mori was unable to determine whether state care for abandoned children had more advantages or disadvantages.[47]

The Russian state system of orphanages was also mentioned in the chronicles of the Iwakura Embassy. The Iwakura Mission secretary Kume Kunitake refrained from analyzing the moral and ethical reasons for its existence and approached the issue in a pragmatic way. His conclusion after visiting an orphanage in Saint Petersburg was that the existence of children's homes was helping to solve a demographic problem in Russia.

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[46] Ibid., 26-27.

[47] Mori tried to reason as a representative of the Japanese culture, where very often parents killed their children and then committed suicide if they were not able to feed the children. In Japan, it was considered more humane to kill a child rather than leave him/her alone to survive.

Giving a detailed description of its organization in his chronicles, Kume correctly notes that such public institutions not only accepted illegitimate children, but also children whose parents were under financial distress and could not afford to feed them.

> In recent years, the average number of children left here [in shelters] is about 7,000 children a year. 18% of that number are killed in shelters, the other 18% die in families [that take children in and educate them] thus only 64% of those who were left in infancy at the orphanages reach their maturity age. They say that the annual expenses of the state for their life in orphanages and after [from payments made to the families that took children in for their education] are about one million rubles per year.[48]

As may be seen from above, Kume approached this issue economically as a public service, without involving unnecessary emotions. It took Mori several years to catch up to the same approach on the issue. In 1874, Mori began to publish a series of articles in the journal *Meiroku zasshi* under the title "Saishōron" designed to convey his own views on matters of family life, marriage, and the status of women within families and society.[49] Some Japanese scholars and biographers who have traced Mori's life believe that the trip to Russia and the talks about abandoned children left under the care of the state became the starting point of Mori's thoughts on relationships in Japanese families and the upbringing of healthy, intelligent, and happy children. In "Saishōron," Mori criticized polygamy in Japan, which had not been uncommon during the Edo

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[48] Kume Kunitake, *The Iwakura Embassy, 1871-1873: A True Account of the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary's Journey of Observation through the United States of America and Europe*, ed. Graham Healey and Chushichi Tsuzuki, trans. Peter Kornicki, vol. 4, *Continental Europe, 2* (Chiba, Japan: Japan Documents, 2002), 84.

[49] Mori Arinori, "Saishōron" [About Wives and Mistresses], Pts. 1-4. *Meiroku zasshi* 8 (May 31, 1874); 11 (June 28, 1874); 15 (August 7, 1874); 20 (November 29, 1874).

period. He approached the matter of individual sexual morality as a social problem, assured that voluntary renunciation of chaotic sexual encounters was an indicator of a society's attained level of civilization and development. In the same paper, Mori called for women to be introduced to compulsory education, through which they could cultivate qualities necessary to become a good wife and mother. In order to protect the rights and status of women as wives and mothers, he proposed the use of *kon'in keiyaku*, or marriage contracts. He even decided to set a personal example by signing a marriage contract with his first wife Hirose Tsune to prove the necessity of such contracts. In other words, according to Mori, only a healthy monogamous marriage could become a stable basis for the Japanese nation's reproduction. Marriage in which the husband took care of the family's financial health and the educated wife devoted most of her time as a homemaker, raising children to become future productive members of Japanese society.[50] This kind of family model started to be employed in Meiji Japan and still remains dominant in today's Japanese society.

Concluding Remarks

Russia had not been considered as a model for Japan's transformation into a modern state during the extensive reforms that occurred in the Meiji period. Yet, analysis of Mori Arinori's *Korō kikō* reveals that Russia still managed to play a role in the process of creating a new state system in Japan, even as an anti-archetype. Becoming acquainted with problems Russia encountered while attempting to follow Western Europe as an example for some reforms allowed the Japanese an opportunity to recognize and assess in advance the difficulties and pitfalls along the path

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[50] Mori stressed the need for women's education, as he believed that a child's degree of development directly depends on the level of education of his/her mother.

of mimicking Western civilization. Proof of this would be an opinion paper written about reforms, which was based on the results of *Kaigai ryūgakusei seimei chōsa* [Survey of the Names of Japanese Students Overseas] released on July 3, 1870. Published ahead of the enactment of *Kaigai ryūgakusei kisoku* [Rules on Studying Overseas], by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs as of February 11, 1871, the paper recommended the United Kingdom, the United States, France, and Prussia as the only countries to which Japanese students should be sent to study. As for Russia, according to Meiji governmental instructions, only students who wished to "observe the process of national building" were allowed to go there for studies.[51]

To summarize this analysis of the only remaining written evidence allowing us to understand the views on Russia Mori held as a representative of progressive-minded Japanese intellectuals from the Bakumatsu period, the following conclusions may be derived. In 1866, Japan's future Minister of Education and father of its educational system formed his views of the Russian Empire based on English sources. He was therefore heavily influenced by a Russophobic mood that prevailed among the United Kingdom's public in the mid-nineteenth century as the political interests and ideologies of the two countries collided. British statements about Russia as a country lagging behind the advanced West, but having high expansionist ambitions, were considered by the Japanese as the "Master's interpretation" of the situation, one that seemed to matter more than the actual situation itself. While there is little doubt that Mori as a young man was highly intelligent and inquisitive, some of the conclusions he drew with regard to Russia were not necessarily correct and appear to have been strongly influenced by common British notions prevalent at the time. Hence, in terms of acquiring new knowledge and

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[51] For more details see Watanabe Minoru, *Kindai Nihon kaigai ryūgakuseishi* [A History of Overseas Students in Modern Japan], vol. 1 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977), 213-220.

understanding about Russia, Mori did not benefit much from the trip to Saint Petersburg.

Still, the trip to Russia caused this young Japanese man to think about some important and urgent problems which had previously been hardly obvious to him. Over the following years, the ideas inspired from the summer of 1866 in Saint Petersburg developed into complete theories and programs. Some of them, such as the idea of replacing the Japanese language with English, were too radical and failed to garner broad support. Others related to marriage and family received understanding and support by both the government and the public of Japan. Thus, even in spite of some misguided interpretations about Russia, it is clear that the trip to Saint Petersburg greatly impressed Mori and set the foundation for policies, theories, and ideas he would later attempt to implement in the Japanese society.

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The Propaganda Impact Still Belongs to the Russians: Letters Home from Kobe, 1957-1960

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The Propaganda Impact Still Belongs to the Russians: Letters Home from Kobe, 1957-1960

This article uses personal correspondence of an American couple to examine everyday life in Japan between 1957 and 1960. It uses the notion of "soft power" to show how they were part of a Cold War network of American influence and exchange, connected to world events as they unfolded in this era of transition between the immediate postwar years of the Occupation and later decades of high-speed economic growth. While in many ways embodying American ideals of progress and equality, their experiences also illuminate the challenges and contradictions faced by this couple as they negotiated their place on this global stage.

Keywords: microhistory, postwar Japan, cultural Cold War, soft power, American expatriates, Kobe College, Bank of America, Wellesley College, Stanford University

The Propaganda Impact Still Belongs to the Russians: Letters Home from Kobe, 1957-1960

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An American Couple Abroad

In early June 1958, Heman and Evelyn Greenwood of Jacksonville, Vermont, received an aerogram from their daughter-in-law, Joan Voss Greenwood, an assistant professor of English at Kobe College. Joan, a graduate of Wellesley College and Ph.D. candidate in the English Department of Stanford University, had been teaching composition and literature classes at this prestigious college for Japanese women for about a year. Her husband John, a Dartmouth graduate with a Stanford MBA, worked for the Bank of America at its Osaka branch office.[1] Her seasonal greeting began like this:

> We are eating strawberries constantly these days, and love them. I have them at school for lunch, as the neighborhood is famous for them, and

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1 On the history of Kobe College, see Noriko Kawamura Ishii, *American Missionary Women at Kobe College, 1873-1909: New Dimensions of Gender* (New York: Routledge, 2004). On the early history of the Bank of America, with a focus on its founder A.P. Giannini, see Gerald D. Nash, *A.P. Giannini and the Bank of America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992).

> Monday I'll pick up six big boxes—for a total of fifty cents—for Teiko-san to make jam from. I had quite a time making this arrangement with the incredulous old farm woman who probably never expected to talk to any of the foreigners she must see going up and down the hill to the college.[2]

This portrayal of the physical and human landscape, replete with everyday details of the young couple's social interactions and personal observations of post-Occupation Japan, is typical of Joan's weekly correspondence with John's parents. As John explained in an email more than sixty years later, Joan wrote to Heman and Evelyn so faithfully, "in part, to express gratitude for their having given her a round-trip air ticket to Japan in 1954 when I was deployed by the Marine Corps to 2/4, 3rd Marine Division, part of the United Nations forces during the Korean War."[3] After a cross-New England courtship in college, John and Joan were married on June 15, 1953, several hours after the Wellesley Commencement ceremony.[4] As Joan informed her classmates on the occasion of their 50th reunion, "While John was in the Marine Corps, we traveled together and worked in

[2] The collection of these weekly letters from Joan and her husband John, written between 1957 and 1960, were lent to the author by John Greenwood following Joan's sudden death in 2004. Joan was an illustrious member of the English Department at California State University, Fullerton, since the 1960s, where she taught classes in Japanese literature in English translation, as well as a course on haiku poetry. While having never known Joan personally, the author is extremely grateful to her good friend John, their son Neil and especially their daughter Mary Faley and her family for their generosity in sharing with the author their memories of Joan over the past several years. Special thanks also to the members of the Wellesley Class of '53 who shared their expertise and memories of Joan, Wellesley and the status of women in the 1950s, especially Lorine Parks, Sarah Milledge Nelson, Rollene Waterman Saal, and Harriet Feinberg Segal.

[3] Personal correspondence between the author and John Greenwood on February 9, 2015.

[4] Their love affair lasted a lifetime, as recorded in a collection of haiku poems originally written by Joan on "small leaves of memo pad sheets and Post-it notes… staying up late at night, working, penning these poems, and leaving them on a table or counter, somewhere they'd be found by her husband the next morning." See the introduction by editor Irena Praitis to Joan Voss Greenwood in Joan Voss Greenwood, *Stirring Dawn: Selected Haiku and Poetry*, ed. Irena Praitis (Indian Trail, NC: D-N Publishing, 2009).

[Camp Lejeune] North Carolina; Barstow, California; and Nara, Japan."[5] While John was stationed at Army Camp Nara as a logistics officer (S-4), Joan lived with a wealthy couple from a prominent family in Tokyo, the Kishidas, in their half-Japanese, half-European, Cotswold style home.[6] The Kishidas exposed Joan to a wide range of Japanese cultural experiences, "from pachinko to Noh theatre, a win-win situation, as they had no children of their own, and Joan was an eager learner."[7]

Thus, when they arrived in Kobe in 1957, in addition to formal academic study of Asia in college, on subjects ranging from religion and politics to geography and history, they also had a good deal of familiarity with Japanese culture from these first-hand earlier encounters.[8] While in Nara, as John recalls, "I had much free time. Joan joined me frequently and usually for extended periods… Camp Nara had many American

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[5] *Wellesley College Class of 1953 Record Book, 50th Reunion, June 6-9, 2003* (Kenilworth, IL: The Kenilworth Press, 2003).

[6] In the late 1940s, as vice president of Carrier Corporation's international division, Heman traveled to Japan and became good friends with a Mr. Nakagawa, head of Toyo Carrier Corporation. When Joan came to Japan in 1954, Mr. Nakagawa's driver, a nephew of Mr. Kishida, made the introduction for the arrangement between Joan and his uncle and aunt who generously took her under their wing during her six-month stay in Japan. Joan's host, the first Japanese to earn a Ph.D. in horticulture from Cambridge University, was the brother of the prominent playwright Kunio Kishida and uncle of the famous actress Kyoko Kishida. On the Kishida family's samurai heritage, see J. Thomas Rimer, *Toward a Modern Japanese Theatre: Kishida Kunio* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974) : 57.

[7] According to personal communication from John on numerous occasions. Certain aspects of Japanese etiquette had been overlooked, however, as indicated by the following in a letter sent by Joan on November 26, 1957: "The teacher's luncheon for the Japanese YWCA (Wellesley 1915) was funny—sushi in boxes, which one is supposed to eat, then wrap boxes as if never touched. Mine was a mess of course, as I didn't know this."

[8] In an exchange dated February 14, 1958, regarding T. Lobsang Rampa's, *The Third Eye: The Autobiography of a Tibetan Lama* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1956), Joan references her academic coursework in the following passage: "The unmasking of T. Lobsang Rompa was particularly funny. I didn't read the book, but I know I've read almost everything he did about Tibet (assuming he is not an authority on eastern languages), and he must have done extensive research, but I never came up with anything like his tale—or his royalties. From what John told me as he read it, it was a clever mix of fact and fancy which sometimes goes directly against Tibetan facts. Oh well, I guess his book would never have qualified in my course in Asiatic Geography."

women civilian employees; and even in the Officers' Club, Joan was not conspicuous."[9] Since Joan was not there in an official capacity, they stayed at the Nara Hotel for a couple of dollars a night, but never asked permission from the Marine Corps because as John recalls at age 85, he "would have been sent to a remote place."[10] In anticipation of their upcoming departure for Japan in July 1957, John writes to his parents on May 18: "Returning to the Kansai area of Japan will be something like going home. Our short stay in Nara, before, was idyllic, and we found Kyoto to be an extremely interesting place." Indeed, as Joan describes in a letter to Vermont on the day after their fifth anniversary in 1958, in the company of the visiting parents and brother of one of her Wellesley classmates, the Greenwoods toured Nara and took their guests "to the main shrines and temples, fed the deer, and had lunch in our old home, the Nara Hotel. Then we came out to Kobe, drove them around, took them for a swim at the Kobe Club and had dinner here. Teiko san did everything very well, and they enjoyed it."[11]

John's parents had first-hand experience with the life abroad of expatriate Americans, having moved to China in 1917 after Heman graduated from the University of California, Berkeley, and took his first job teaching aeronautical engineering at Yale University in China, through the introduction of one of his Chinese classmates in California.[12] By the

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[9] John Greenwood, "Four Experiences in Japan," March 3, 2011. This essay was written as part of a Creative Writing class at California State University, Fullerton's Osher Lifelong Learning Institute (OLLI). http://creativewritingroom21.blogspot.com/2011/03/four-experiences-in-japan.html (accessed April 2, 2015).

[10] According to personal communication on January 21, 2015.

[11] The visitors were Dr. and Mrs. Waterman and their son, who was in the Navy. Joan also has this to say about her classmate, Ronnie Waterman Saal: "Ronnie, by the way, is now the book editor for the *Saturday Review*, tho cause she's only 26 she's called associate. But she has no boss, plans layout, does writing. It's quite a job, but she loves it, her writer husband has many of the same interests, and I'm proud of her."

[12] Heman was part of a multi-faceted American effort to transform China in the early twentieth century where "Economic institutions and reform organizations interacted with each other and together penetrated China…. As is demonstrated by the work of Yale-in-China and of rival groups

1930s, after a stint in Brazil with General Electric, Heman moved his family to the suburbs of New York City where John and his future wife Joan both attended Scarsdale High School.[13] Their rigorous academic preparation and family history of American influence abroad, gave them a solid foundation for the opportunities they cultivated in Japan at work, at home, and in the community.

Joan's letters to Heman and Evelyn, often humorous and literary in tone, provide a rare glimpse into the day to day activities and social gatherings that animated their cosmopolitan home in postwar Japan in the late 1950s. These personal correspondences are the foundation for a microhistory of globalization, set in locations ranging from the Sassoon Apartment building where the Greenwoods lived overlooking the harbor, to the campus of Kobe College, to the Osaka branch of the Bank of America, to the Kobe Club where they regularly played squash, swam, and socialized with other foreigners, to the myriad of local restaurants, movie theaters, and neighborhood sites such as nearby Ikuta Shrine mentioned regularly in Joan's 45-yen typed aerograms. As a social history focusing on "a variety of human activities difficult to classify except in such terms as 'manners, customs, [and] everyday life,'" this study is driven by an "expressed desire to examine and reveal the interplay among economics, politics and culture."[14]

This article follows Dale Tomich and Michael Zeuske's lead in

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founded at such institutions as Wisconsin, Princeton, and Brown, education was not simply an outlet for missionary fervor but a means to shape a new civilization in the Far East, one that would be as Christian and professional as American society." Jerry Israel, "'For God, for China and for Yale'- The Open Door in Action," *The American Historical Review* 75, no. 3 (February 1970): 796, 801.

13 Soon after World War II, Heman "was elected president of the American Brazilian Association at a meeting of the board of directors … in the Metropolitan Club," succeeding Joseph T. Wilson, world trade manager of IBM Corporation. "American Brazilian Group Elects Him President," *New York Times*, March 30, 1946.

14 Mark M. Smith, "Making Sense of Social History," *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 1 (October 2003): 165, 167.

proposing "microhistory as 'world history from the perspective of the individual'… characterized by a reduction in scale, concern with the contingent, the unique, the fragmentary."[15] From week to week, we can follow world events as they unfold on a global stage while at the same time gaining a sense of how these events are mediated through the lens of domestic space and face-to-face encounters with neighbors and friends. Headline news is literally couched in between regular updates on the progress of Joan's dissertation on one end, with inquiries about Ma Greenwood's latest dental procedure on the other. It is precisely these unique, fragmentary moments of daily life in this particular three-year period of postwar Japan history that make these letters so valuable. While in many ways a personal story, we can extrapolate from the numerous references to economic, political, social, and cultural change depicted in that story to better understand and appreciate the nature of historical variability at the local and international level. It is this complex interplay between local actors and Cold War era international events that exposes the networks and contingencies of world history at the microlevel in a most interesting and engaging way.

For example, on Valentine's Day of 1958, Joan acknowledges her mother-in-law's suggestion to start keeping track of their many visitors, while also thanking her for the latest delivery of news clippings sent from the United States. In the same paragraph, she touches on the Cold War arms race with an indirect reference to the October 4, 1957 Sputnik launch, but in a way that exudes a sense of resignation, not imminent threat. In Joan's letter dated February 14, she notes the spin of the Japanese media in the following passage:

> Thank you for the pretty Valentine, and also your note, Mother. A Guest

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15 Dale Tomich and Michael Zeuske, "Introduction, the Second Slavery: Mass Slavery, World-Economy, and Comparative Microhistories," *Review* (*Fernand Braudel Center*) 31, no. 2 (January 2008): 97.

> Book would be a good idea—we have quite a few empty album like books around—and it would make a nice record. As yet, though, we have had no overnight guests, so it won't be inaugurated for a while. We do keep track of dinner guests, though, in a calendar and usually save the calendars. We also appreciated the envelope of clippings, though we found the page of scientific material on the new satellite, etc. very technical for us while also very interesting. I'm afraid that although I suppose we had to have one, too, the propaganda impact still belongs to the Russians, if Japanese press coverage is any indication.

In conventional political histories of this era, this Soviet accomplishment is generally depicted as "a feat that intensified Cold War fears and generated charges that Eisenhower's conservative spending policies had caused the country to lag behind in missile and satellite development."[16] In contrast to the Greenwood's living room, primary source evidence from the chambers of the National Security Council (NSC) on October 10, 1957, gives a different picture of the tensions raised during discussions of the ramifications of this Soviet first. Records from that meeting include the following summary of comments by Arthur Larson, director of the United States Information Agency (USIA): "While we could not permit ourselves to be panicked by the Soviet achievement, we did wonder whether our U.S. plans were now adequate with regard to the next great break-through. If we lose repeatedly to the Russians as we have lost with the earth satellite, the accumulated damage would be tremendous."[17]

These varied accounts of a pivotal moment in Cold War history speak to the analytical power of social history which provides an "openness to the historical construction of various aspects of the human experience, the valuation of relatively ordinary people as historical

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[16] Dennis Merrill and Thomas G. Paterson, *Major Problems in American Foreign Relations: Since 1914*, 7th ed., vol. 2 (Boston: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2010): 278.

[17] Ibid., 284.

subjects and agents, and some sense of key historical causes and big changes in the human experience overall."[18] Reduced to a clipping tucked in among a calendar of dinner guests and Valentine hearts, we see how the latest Soviet technology has been integrated into the daily life of Americans overseas. Such a perspective compliments recent scholarship that confirms "the Cold War was much more than a diplomatic confrontation and nuclear competition. It pervaded all aspects of life."[19]

In the following pages, the Greenwoods' letters are quoted at length in order to convey both the range of their experiences as well as the level of detail provided about their everyday activities. Joan's academic training as a student of literature is reflected in the vivid portrait she paints of postwar Japan. Almost works of literature themselves, her letters in particular capture the nuance and complexity of social relations among the foreign community and the Japanese friends, students, and colleagues she and John met during their three years as residents of Kobe. These observations are always situated within a framework of the swiftly changing political environment of the late 1950s. Here as well, their academic preparation and commitment to continued intellectual development allow them to place their own experiences in a wider global context. Although these are personal letters to close family members, the public sphere of international relations is ever present in their correspondence.

Grassroots Cold War Soft Power

In addition to hosting dinner guests at home, the Greenwoods regularly socialized with other Americans, Japanese, and ex-patriates from around

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[18] Peter N. Stearns, "Social History Present and Future," *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 1, Special Issue (Autumn 2003): 12.

[19] Michael F. Hopkins, "Continuing Debate and New Approaches in Cold War History," *The Historical Journal* 50, no. 4 (2007): 934.

the world during their time in Kobe. The following account from November 12, 1957, gives a vivid picture of one of these gatherings:

> Sunday we went to a meeting of the Stanford Alumni of Kansai, which took place in a lovely restaurant, in which a huge Stanford banner was tacked up across the kakemono in the tokonoma. We met a girl I worked with at Hoover, back here working in a TV station as a director, because after being a Fulbright scholar she must return home even though this requirement is waived for her husband, a PhD in electronics needed at Stanford Research. Rather nasty McCarran act.[20] Fortunately we could introduce her to the USIA man at our consulate, who will speak to the consul and try to help. We also met a number of interesting older men who graduated between 1907 and 1913, loyal alumni even though most of them have not been in S.F. since its bridges were built. The funniest is an English professor (though when he teaches I don't know) a member of the prefectural legislature, and at the same time a lobbyist for Hyogo prefecture who spends his time chasing Diet members all over the country. He spends the rest of his time on rocks overlooking the ocean trying to catch big fish all alone in the middle of the night, and he came equipped with a beautiful pole he made himself and ink prints of the actual fish he had caught recently.

The following summer, on July 1, 1958, John makes mention of the same USIA employee and informs his parents about his upcoming fishing trip with the politician from Hyogo:

> Dear Folks; Almost one year has passed since we arrived in Kobe. Time

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[20] Joan is referring to the 1952 McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act that "retained the discriminatory national origins quota system." Michael G. Davis, "Impetus for Immigration Reform: Asian Refugees and the Cold War," *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 7, no. 3/4 (October 1998): 130.

has passed very quickly. Almost a year to the day after we arrived, we went to a "going away party" for an American couple who are being transferred from Kobe to Rangoon with the USIA. The party was given by the Kansai Stanford Alumni Club, and as with previous meetings, most of the members in attendance were Japanese gentlemen in their seventies. One, who is a successful politician (member of the prefectural assembly), is going to take us fishing in Kobe Harbor or the inland sea sometime in August. I was pleased by his invitation because he is an interesting fellow, especially in that he is as glib as a successful politician should be, and also since he enjoys answering my questions about Japanese politics and his own activities. (He was in the class of 1910 or 11 at Stanford). Anyway, he is happy, because his party won the last election for the national Diet.[21]

I am sending Pop an airmail edition of *The Japan Times* which used to be *The Nippon Times*. It has some interesting feature articles about the Japanese steel industry, but I think he will enjoy seeing the latest thing in Japanese "international" publications.[22]

As noted in the NSC Sputnik discussions, the USIA mentioned by Joan and John was a key institution in American public diplomacy in the late 1950s. As explained by Martha Bayles, "During the Cold War, the US government worked hard to promote culture… by supporting activities aimed at 'telling America's story' (its ideals and way of life), sharing its

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[21] Here John is referring to the general election held on May 22, 1958. The Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) received 61.5% of the votes, compared to 35.1% for the Japan Socialist Party (JSP). Masumi Junnosuke, *Contemporary Politics in Japan*, trans. Lonny E. Carlile (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995): 23.

[22] A "rationalization" plan carried out in Japan between 1956 and 1960 "nurtured the export competitiveness of the Japanese iron and steel industry. It entailed several varieties of officially sanctioned cartels, organized by and for the largest producers… in the direction of integrated mills and reliance on iron ore rather than scrap, which was less efficient and more unstable feed stock." Richard J. Samuels, *"Rich Nation, Strong Army": National Security and the Technological Transformation of Japan* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994): 75.

high culture with foreign audiences, and even at times promoting certain aspects of its popular culture."[23] In 1953, the USIA was created under the authorization of the 1948 US Information and Educational Exchange Act (the Smith-Mundt Act). Martha Bayles describes that, "In the stilted language of its charter, USIA's primary goal was 'to submit evidence to peoples of other nations by means of communication techniques that the objectives and policies of the United States are in harmony with and will advance their own legitimate aspirations for freedom, progress, and peace.'"[24]

With regard to the particular relationship between Japan and the United States during these years, developments around the time of Kishi Nobusuke's election as prime minister in 1957 can be summed up as follows: "Although the Japanese realized they were 'not as yet strong enough militarily and industrially to dispense with the present U.S. defense arrangement,' they chafed under the terms of the security treaty and had begun 'seriously talking about "adjusting" relations with the United States in the direction of "greater equality".'"[25] Michael Schaller points out that such a shift in attitude "prompted the NSC's Operations Coordination Board to expand efforts to influence Japanese opinion by placing 'favorable news and features in the Japanese press, periodicals, radio, and television' that stressed the importance of close ties to the United States."[26]

The timing of John's assignment with Bank of America coincides

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[23] Martha Bayles, *Through a Screen Darkly: Popular Culture, Public Diplomacy, and America's Image Abroad* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014) : 5.

[24] Ibid., 114. In her discussion of USIA, Bayles draws heavily from Nicholas J. Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945-1989* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008). See footnotes 4, 7, and 14 on page 280 of Bayles, *Through a Screen Darkly*.

[25] Michael Schaller, *Altered States: The United States and Japan since the Occupation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997): 130.

[26] Ibid., 124. NSC stands for the National Security Council.

almost exactly with the election of Kishi in July 1957 and his resignation on June 23, 1960 in the wake of mass demonstrations over the revised security pact between Japan and the United States. As J. Victor Koschmann explains, "Although the protests failed to prevent ratification of the treaty, they vividly crystallized the political struggle in postwar Japan between the forces of democracy that sought to defend and extend the postwar democratic reforms, and reactionary forces that were reviving prewar and wartime values of remilitarizing the nation."[27] The widespread unrest caused Eisenhower to cancel his visit to Japan and as Christina Klein notes, "The riots, which were widely reported in the U.S. press as a product of communist agitation… produced humiliation for the U.S.: they provided a worldwide audience for the public denunciations of the United States as an 'imperialist' power."[28]

Against this backdrop, it may be argued that Joan's role as a professor of English literature at Kobe College, and to some extent John's job at Bank of America, as well, was embedded in a dynamic of American "soft power" in the Kansai region in the late 1950s.[29] As Takeshi Matsuda has shown in his study of U.S. cultural policy and the establishment of American Studies programs in Japan, funding from the Rockefeller Foundation and cooperation with Stanford University was initially solicited by National War College professor Claude A. Buss with the

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[27] Victor Koschmann, "Modernization and Democratic Values: The 'Japanese Model' in the 1960s," in *Staging Growth: Modernization, Development, and the Global Cold War*, ed. David C. Engerman et al. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 2003): 230.

[28] Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003): 142.

[29] Joseph S. Nye Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004). As Frances Saunders notes in her study on the cultural Cold War, CIA operatives were cheered by the news in 1957 that the Rockefeller Foundation was "renewing its largesse" in like-minded efforts "to promote an idea: that the world needed a *pax Americana*, a new age of enlightenment, and it would be called The American Century." Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York: The New Press, 1999): 2, 312.

following proviso: "I would expect to proceed only in step with Japanese desires. We would never attempt to 'force democracy down any one's throat.' I would want to be very careful that Japanese themselves assume a large measure of responsibility and display a degree of intellectual curiosity that only American assistance could satisfy."[30] The realization of such plans is evidenced in the following passage regarding the extension of American Studies in Kansai, with the involvement of Charles B. Fahs of the Rockefeller Foundation:

> Commenting on the problem of communism or Marxism in the universities, Namba Monkichi, president of Kobe College, considered the influence of communism on campus still serious, particularly in the faculties of economics—even at Doshisha University—although he considered Kyoto University and Ritsumeikan particularly bad… The membership of the general committee on Kyoto American Studies was opened up in 1955, the year in which Namba… joined the committee. Fahs was pleased with the participation of Namba in the general committee.[31]

While not expressly political or ideological, in the Greenwoods' letters, we get an intimate look into the private and public spaces of professors like Joan at the start of her career. And more importantly, we see how the

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[30] Takeshi Matsuda, *Soft Power and Its Perils: U.S. Cultural Policy in Early Postwar Japan and Permanent Dependency* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007): 168.

[31] Ibid., 199-200. Matsuda traces the history of American cultural centers in postwar Japan "for the most part strategically located near the greatest concentration of U.S. security forces and thus where potentially the greatest local friction might be engendered… The U.S. embassy in Tokyo recognized that the information centers were effectively winning friends for the United States through an educational and cultural approach to which the Japanese proved to be particularly susceptible." (p. 25). During the Occupation, a key figure in the Information Division of the Civil Information and Education Section (CI&E) was Women's Army Corps Captain Glenna Crew, secretary to CI&E chief Lt. Col. Donald Nugent, who "was well informed on Japan, because she had been a secretary of Kobe College before the war." (p. 32).

private lives overlapped with the public personas of the individuals that come to life on these pages. Through their family and alumni connections, Joan and John had a range of encounters with Japanese friends and colleagues in academia, banking, industry, government and politics. They were both excited about their future prospects, as John exclaimed in a letter sent within the U.S. on May 18, 1957:

> Dear Folks: AT LAST! We go to Osaka on about the 1st of July. I was told yesterday; and we have already started passport applications and physical examination appointments. Joan is very happy. She has many contacts with faculty members of Kansai area universities, as a result of her work in the Japanese collection of Hoover Library, and the area offers unlimited cultural resources for more study and teaching.

The Greenwoods soon arrived in Tokyo and made their way to Osaka by train on July 7, 1957. They unexpectedly found themselves in the company of a prominent American family, as John enthusiastically reports in this hand-written note penned en route in the train, though not yet traveling at bullet speed:

> Dear Folks,
>
> In one more hour we arrive in Osaka, and the last leg is completed. We are traveling on the daytime luxury express train, the "Tsubame," which connects Tokyo and Osaka. Our traveling companions in the lounge car were Nelson Rockefeller, his wife, three children and a niece. He is a Dartmouth graduate and his wife a trustee of Wellesley. They were interested in our assignment in Osaka. Also, Nelson Rockefeller spoke well of the B of A's international activities, especially in Latin America. Anyhow, as a result of this 'expense account' routine and the generous accommodations provided by the bank, we are momentarily feeling affluent! The flight from Honolulu to Tokyo was very comfortable. The

food was quite lavish for an air trip—all the champagne we could drink. Mr. Nakagawa's two daughters and Mr. Sato of Toyo-Carrier met us at the airport in Tokyo. Also, two Japanese friends from Stanford days were there as well as the bank's man. So we felt very properly welcomed. Enough for now. We will probably live in Kobe.
Love,

John

This particular letter reveals the ways in which the Greenwoods' experiences intersected with more explicit efforts to sway the direction of U.S.-Japan relations in the late 1950s. Despite the gap in socio-economic status and political influence between the Rockefellers and Greenwoods, the presence in Japan of both families at this juncture in the postwar period played a significant role in shaping mutual perceptions and cultivating closer ties among Americans and Japanese, albeit at varying levels. As can be seen above, there is also a certain candor that is revealed in these letters to home. John's comments about the surprising perks and fleeting nature of the luxuries provided by the Bank of America indicate how different his experiences were at the level of more ordinary Americans at this time.

A View of Kobe from Below

Once in Kobe, in their eager pursuit of stimulating intellectual exchange among friends and acquaintances, Joan and John benefitted greatly from a variety of personal and technical networks of communication, as they kept up-to-date on current events with a wide range of reading material sent from home. As they prepared for their first holiday season, Joan wrote on November 26, 1957:

Here it seems like Christmas already. This morning the large envelope

sent air mail arrived and was put away in a closet for a while. And the first copy of my *Atlantic* subscription also arrived a few days ago and we are enjoying it very much. The Japan news analysis section is very good. It has been removed from the magazine rack, because the two small kittens we will still have till the end of the week like to teeth on paper, and we'd like to keep this magazine.

About a month later, she thanks "Mother and Dad" by saying, "We are already enjoying the magazines… with the articles in *Atlantic*, *National Geographic*, and *Foreign Affairs*." And soon after the New Year, she writes on January 4, 1958, "John's *Economist* birthday check came, and I also have to say thank you for it, because I certainly enjoy it (I have just caught up on four weeks of them over the New Year holiday). We also received the *New Yorker* yesterday addressed to me, and since no card arrived from the magazine, assume it was your gift." Such presents from home were also useful in the workplace, as John noted in this letter to his parents, dated June 23, 1958:

Thank you for the Council on Foreign Relations book on India. I very much look forward to reading it, after which I will talk eruditely with some of the bank's Indian clients.[32] Incidentally, the Indians in our neighborhood add a lot of color with the women's saris and the children's big, dark eyes. As Joan may have told you, our Moslem neighbor's children come up occasionally and visit the pussy cats. They

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[32] Soon after their arrival in 1957, John tells his parents about the range of his international contacts at Bank of America in Osaka in this letter of August 31: "Much of my work involves writing to our banking correspondents in the course of collecting money for good exported from Japan. I have a little personal contact with customers, mostly Indians and Arabs, also a few Iranians. I hope this facet of the job grows." Burgeoning economic ties between Japan and India were highlighted on page 4 of the *New York Times* on August 24, 1957 under the headline "Japan Getting India Iron Ore" where it was noted "Morarji Desai, Minister of Commerce and Industry, said today that India had reached an agreement with Japan to supply 7,200,000 tons of iron ore before March 1962."

> are nice little kids who don't remember much about Bombay. Their first language is English, and they almost always address their parents in English, although when there are elderly Indian guests, they speak Gujarati. Most of the Indians in the neighborhood are Hindus.

A couple of months later, the demographics in their neighborhood had shifted, prompting John on August 19 to include the following observations about his compatriots, as well as the latest news on the business dealings of his father's former employer:

> Joan probably wrote about the influx of American families into our neighborhood. A large group of engineers from Lockheed Co. were assigned to a local aircraft factory for several years. Our maid calls the Sasson Apartments, "American Machi," (American Village); and since our new neighbors talk as loudly as any normal American, the area actually has taken on a distinctive American atmosphere in terms of sound… This morning's *Japan Times* carried an article about Carrier's airconditioning an atomic cargo vessel. Love, John

In the closing paragraph of one of Joan's early letters, from July 31, 1957, she adds her own description of their neighborhood, including a reference to apparently more than one "indigent" person roaming the streets near the Sasson Apartments.

> Next time I'll say more about our exotic neighborhood. We have the ward Shinto shrine, a mosque, a Catholic Church and an Episcopal one within a couple of blocks, a Latin Quarter—very plush—nightclub two doors down, a Japanese hotel catering to unaccompanied men—better than TV any night—across the apt. courtyard, the Dominican Consulate nearby, and a combination of shacks and mansions of all kinds climbing the mountain. The most conspicuous indigent has curly red hair and beard and blue eyes—one of many White Russians I guess. In the a.m.

we see HK Shroff of Bombay reading the Koran under our room.

In one of John's early letters to his parents he expresses relief that they live on the third floor, a position that presents greater obstacles to potential burglars. Even with more than a decade of postwar rebuilding and economic recovery, such challenges continued to be part of the Kobe landscape. Just one year before, bureaucrats in Tokyo had released the 1956 *Economic White Paper* with the pronouncement that "the postwar period was over," implying that the post-1945 phase of recovery and rebuilding in the wake of the devastation of World War II had been completed. "It was a signal to begin the process of Japan's unfettered economic expansion that lasted well into the early 1990s."[33] Japan was now poised to rejoin the international community and global economy on a more equal and competitive footing. However, in Joan's letters we see evidence of visible, lingering wartime legacies, especially in a city like Kobe that had fallen victim to widespread firebombings in the final stages of the war.[34] For example, on August 6, 1957, Joan reports:

> We went to an American double feature, a good one, in a nice new theater Saturday for 30 cents apiece. Sunday we took a long walk up the mountain behind the apt. We walked among many of the big old western houses, built in the 1890's I suppose, with very high walls and narrow streets. John says it reminds him in some cases of the Caribbean, and one can see that once it was a very exclusive neighborhood.[35] There are

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[33] David J. Lu, *Japan, a Documentary History: The Late Tokugawa Period to the Present*, vol. 2 (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1997): 525.

[34] Shinshū Kobe-shi shi henshū iinkai, *Kobe-shi shi, Rekishi-hen IV: Kindai – Gendai* [Kobe City History, History Volume 4: Modern – Contemporary] (Kobe, Japan: Kōbe-shi monjokan [Kobe City Archvies], 1993): 885-891. See also the pictures of the utter destruction and crowds of displaced families in photographs no. 7 and 8 included before the preface to this volume.

[35] When John was in high school, his father arranged for him to visit Cuba where Heman's employer, Carrier, had been contracted to install a refrigeration system for a company there.

still many lovely homes, but many of the biggest have been bombed or let fall into disrepair, and in many of these are now Indian families. There seem to be more Indians around than any other foreigners, and they live with very bare houses. There are also new houses and apts on bombed sites.

Her observation about the Indian community in Kobe is born out of the population statistics of 1960 which indicate that she and John were among 484 Americans living in Kobe around this time, followed by 395 Indians from South Asia. There were 363 English residents, 241 from West Germany, and 962 classified as "other."[36] In mid-1958, Joan references the "many Indians John has met on the train" during his commute from Kobe to Osaka, in the course of telling her in-laws how much she and John "look forward each day to the evening hours when we can hear the armed forces newscast in English and find out about France, Lebanon, etc." In that same letter, she elaborates on an encounter she had recently with a fellow train passenger while discussing "the French situation" at that time, although it is not entirely clear which elements of French politics were debated. Given the reach of the French empire from

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This connection gave John the chance to explore this part of the Caribbean under the pretext of observing American business practices. During the day, John would wander around the site, clipboard in hand, but with no particular task assigned to him. In 2014, John recalled fondly that he spent free time on dates with young ladies accompanied by their grandmothers. He also speculated that his father arranged that summer in Cuba as an alternative to John's own proposal to go on an excursion to Antarctica, a trip Heman may have worried was due to the excessive influence of the Boy Scouts on his son.

[36] Shinshū Kobe-shi shi henshū iinkai, *Kobe-shi shi, Gyōsei-hen II: Kurashi to gyōsei* [Kobe City History, Administration Volume 2: Lifestyle and Administration] (Kobe, Japan: Kōbe-shi monjokan [Kobe City Archvies], 2002): 792-793. This source indicates that in July 1960 there were 31,700 foreigners living in Kobe, from 51 different countries. However, two thirds of them (21,734) were categorized as Koreans ("*Kankoku oyobi Chōsen*") and 7,561 were Chinese. Especially for the large number of Resident Koreans, their postcolonial situation and classification as "foreigners" was quite different from the ex-patriate community the Greenwoods interacted with on a regular basis. See Satō Katsumi, *Zainichi Chōsenjin no shomondai* [Various Problems of Korean Residents in Japan] (Tokyo: Dōseisha, 1973).

Indochina to North Africa in the nineteenth and twentieth century, it is quite probable that newscasts at the time were not limited to updates on Lebanon. On May 31, 1958, Joan writes:

> Several days ago on the train I made friends with an Indian gentleman by discussing the French situation—for once he couldn't be morally superior to ME, as they so often are, or give ME advice—we could both act superior to the French. He thinks only American and U.K. democracy work; he is not so sanguine about India—an honest comment not always heard. All this started because he couldn't control his curiosity. He had to find out where I went, where I worked, where I came from, why I was reading *The Economist* (it is the easiest thing to manage and to carry with other books on the jammed trains).

It seems that Joan and her Indian friend had found a common bond in their critique of French postcolonial chaos at the time, and it is also likely that Joan's comments are related to the fall of the government of Félix Gaillard in mid-April 1958. As noted in the *New York Times* report of April 20, "M. Gaillard's Government was the nineteenth under France's Fourth Republic. It was the third in a year to be ousted on issues generated by Algeria. Its fall came amid growing doubts about the future of the French parliamentary system." The report continues, "France's failure to find an Algerian solution grows out of the deep political divisions in the country.... To form a Government and keep it in office, a majority of the 596 deputies must be united. One-third of the deputies—Communists and semi-fascist Poujadists—are anti-democratic and consistently oppose the Government for opposite reasons."[37]

Meanwhile, the situation among British cabinet members at the time regarding Western military assistance to Lebanon can be characterized as

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[37] "The World - France: Crisis No. 19," *New York Times*, April 20, 1958.

follows:

> It was felt that the French should be dissuaded, however, as their participation could prejudice the attitude of the Arab states to western intervention. The chiefs of staff were told that, although it was understood that the Americans would play the major military role, the cabinet felt Britain should be associated with any action. The Admiral of the Fleet, Lord Mountbatten, pointed to the difficult position of a US commander who held NATO appointments being employed in operations not supported by all the NATO countries; nevertheless, it was recommended that the British forces should be placed under the US commander in the area.[38]

World News as Everyday Experience

Joan's reference above to headline news from the Middle East, mixed in with personal evaluations of issues like the state of democracy around the world, are common in her letters. And unlike the official, confidential records of the British cabinet stored away in an archive, the aerograms from Kobe come to us situated more broadly in the context of how Joan and John received word of such political developments in the English-language media available to them in Kansai, or through conversation with a wide network of well-read, well-traveled friends and colleagues.[39] In

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[38] Ritchie Ovendale, "Great Britain and the Anglo-American Invasion of Jordan and Lebanon in 1958," *The International History Review* 16, no. 2 (May 1994): 288.

[39] For example, on November 5, 1957, Joan reports: "Sunday night we were taken to dinner by Miss Roehm, a former prof and foreign student adviser at Wellesley, her widowed sister, and a retired housemother. We had a wonderful time with them and they are seeing and doing as much as possible, are lively, interested people, and have had some quite unusual experiences, like going to Korea to meet the families of girls at Wellesley from there. This week they are taking a tour of the Inland Sea, and we will have them here for dinner when they return to Kobe Saturday. They will then spend the winter in south east Asia, mostly Hong Kong, and return here in the spring, after which Miss Roehm is thinking about teaching here for a year." A later correspondence notes their

this way, an examination of the Greenwoods' experiences in Kobe allows us to "recover the history of daily life," while connecting "with more conventional historical topics" so as "to offer a more complete 'portrait of a period, beyond the findings of strictly political or intellectual history'."[40] One summer day in late July, Joan alludes to the midday radio broadcast soon after their arrival in 1957: "Dear Mother and Dad, I am now listening to the noon news on the Far East Network, and I must admit that being unable to understand any other broadcasts makes one appreciate at least this aspect of military operations. And the ads are brief and unobjectionable—Buy bonds, drive safely, enjoy Japan, etc." Sometime later, in the course of describing how she has not "done much but grade batch after batch of papers… and have also done the Japanese studying I didn't have time for last weekend"[41] she laments:

> I haven't even had time to read a newspaper for a week, and with the news incomprehensible over the radio except for general subject matter, and our magazines always at least a week late, I can get very ignorant very fast that way. We did have an aerial put on our radio today, so we can get the English news from now on at least in the evenings from the Army station at Nagoya. We also had to have a tube repaired, and have decided as our anniversary gift, to buy an FM tuner. It can be used for good music two hours a day here now, more later, and will be very useful, as well as a real bargain, in California.

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travels to Cambodia during this time.

40 Smith, "Making Sense of Social History," 168. Here Smith is drawing from Peter N. Stearns, "Toward a Wider Vision: Trends in Social History," in *The Past Before Us: Contemporary Historical Writing in the United States*, ed. Michael Kammen (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1980).

41 Joan and John both had regular lessons in spoken and written Japanese during their stay and comment frequently on their efforts to master new vocabulary and more difficult levels of Chinese characters (*kanji*).

In late January 1958, after they had settled in to their new routine, Joan comments on the latest news from Latin America with this light-hearted expression of gratitude for the monthly news source provided by Heman and Evelyn:

> We had just been laughing over the cartoon in the Dec. 28 *New Yorker*, in which the Latin dictator is telling the newsman he is keeping in close touch with the situation while soldiers with machine guns control the rebellious crowd outside, when the news of Perez Jimenez's overthrow came. This all goes to show not only that bad men can be undone, but that we enjoy the *New Yorker* very much. The stories and articles are very good—I have enjoyed the series on Puerto Ricans, and a story in the first issue that came, Dec. 7, I think, was by Robin White, who was at Stanford with me doing creative writing. He is the son of missionaries in India, so he usually writes about that country, and has published several in the *New Yorker*. Anyway I appreciate the gift very much.[42]

John's letter of January 27 takes a similar tone, yet with even more explicit detail and a demonstration of his astute familiarity with Latin American history and politics. His educational trajectory from Scarsdale, New York, to Hanover, New Hampshire, to Quantico, Virginia, and Palo Alto, California informed the following observation:

> Dear Folks, Thank you again for continuing to keep us well supplied with otherwise unavailable reading material. I was pleased to read that my birthday was celebrated by the news of Perez Jimenez's overthrow in

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[42] Among the many books related to Asia given to the author by John from Joan's library is *Elephant Hill* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959) by Robin White, with a stamp on the inside cover indicating that Joan bought this copy in September 1961 when they lived in River Forest, Illinois. It begins, "As the jutka left off West Veli Street and headed up the drive toward Madurai Junction, the pony slowed from a leisurely trot to a walk. Beth Sumner leaned out to see what the trouble was this time." (p. 3)

> Venezuela. Poor old J.D. Peron has fewer and fewer choices every year for places to spend a comfortable political exile. There must be a special dormitory in the Dominican Republic to house the exiled subordinates of former Latin American dictators.

John also provides rare insight into the workings of the global economy and the nature of economic ties between Japanese exporters and Latin American countries in this May 9, 1958, description of his daily tasks at Bank of America:

> I continue making my modest contribution to Japan's export efforts by processing lots and lots of shipping documents that enable Japanese bankers to finance exports for their customers. We also have a few customers, but most of the papers I see come to the B of A through the Japanese banks and we lend them dollars, pounds, or occasionally deutsch marks, kroners, or guilders. Since the majority of exports covered by the shipping documents I process are going to Latin America, I have acquired quite a bit of practical knowledge of the dodges used by South American buyers to delay paying the Japanese exporters. The rawest trick is to let the merchandise sit in a customs warehouse and tell the correspondent bank in South America that there is a legitimate gripe against the Japanese exporter. Finally, when the merchandise is just about to be confiscated by the Customs Authorities, the buyer generously offers to settle for a 50% etc discount. For some reason, the Customs penalties which accrue during storage always exceed any price that the merchandise brings at an auction, so the poor Japanese seller is lucky to get 50%. This happens so often, I think that some of the South American banks have a form letter describing the situation with the amounts and reference numbers left blank.[43]

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[43] On the role of foreign banks in Japan in the 1950s and 1960s that "provided commercial services

> I also know a little more about the effect of South American countries' moratoriums on their international debts. There are always a couple of countries in financial trouble (Bolivia all the time), and I get a chance to read explanations from our correspondents describing the same sad story in a variety of ways.

We also get a view of the global economy and Cold War posturing, as presented to the general public in Osaka, in this note from Joan, dated April 25, 1958:

> Last weekend we went to a movie Saturday and then to Osaka Sunday afternoon to see the trade fair. The Russian pavilion was such an object of curiosity (I think that was the only motive of the thousands lined up, no matter what the Russian trade official may write home) that we couldn't get in, and everything was crowded. The Czechs, probably with USSR financing, had their own lovely little pavilion stressing glassware and photos of castles, the Germans a slightly bigger one stressing chemicals. Ours was very practical, showing how various products could be used in Japan. A number of the exhibits of countries like Cambodia and Indonesia and the handicrafts of the various prefectures were interesting, too. John went back one lunch hour to see the Russian pavilion, and apparently they are trying to exhibit one of everything to prove that they make it—and sputniks, too. From what I saw of the machinery and what John saw, their things lack style—very important in Japan. And I guess they aren't interested in selling at that.

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such as confirming letters of credit and accepting drafts validated in overseas money markets, and acted as intermediaries for Japanese companies, arranging bond issues and investments," see Catherine R. Schenk, "The Rise of Hong Kong and Tokyo as International Financial Centres after 1950," in *Centres and Peripheries in Banking: The Historical Development of Financial Markets*, ed. Philip L. Cottrell et al. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007): 93.

A more personal encounter with Russia came across the airwaves when Joan and John apparently tuned into a broadcast of "Meet the Press" on November 10, 1957, to listen to an interview with Alexander Kerensky. This leader of the Provisional Government Russia in 1917 later settled in the United States after World War II, where he was closely affiliated with Russian studies at Stanford University.[44] The Greenwoods of Jacksonville Vermont had heard the same radio program on the 40th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, as can be pieced together from Joan's reply on November 19:

> We heard Kerensky, too, and enjoyed what he had to say. He really is a sweet old gentleman, courtly in the European way, kind, interested in people. He was very friendly to everyone at Hoover library, and came up to me specially to wish us well in Japan when they had the party for me before I left, and I wasn't even anyone who worked there full time or with him. I have never been able to imagine him as one who could rule sternly either, though I do know he is interested very vitally in Russia and feels he still has a share in explaining the more moderate point of view.

As noted earlier in her Valentine's greeting, Joan openly admitted to being challenged by the technical aspects of Cold War satellites. However, when it came to history, politics, and culture and style more broadly, she was in her element. She and John enjoyed numerous cultural events, most of

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[44] The following is listed in the "Week's Radio Programs" under the section "Today, Sunday, November 10: Leading Events on Radio Today" from 6:30-7: "Meet the Press: Alexander Kerensky, Provisional Premier of Russia in 1917, is interviewed by newsmen" on WRCA, AM 680, FM 97.1. *New York Times*, November 10, 1957, p. 156. The previous week, the same paper ran a full-page spread of eleven photographs entitled "Red Russia, 1917: The Curtain Rises," beginning with one captioned "Rehearsal: In the weeks before the revolution, picked workers from the Petrograd factories were organized into the Red Guard—the shock troops of Lenin's bid to wrest power from the moderate government." Another shows Kerensky's "last stand" as "he exhorts a soldier at a review." *New York Times*, November 3, 1957, p. 216.

which exposed them to a rich program of international offerings in the company of people from around the world, a mini United Nations of sorts, as encountered in Osaka the weekend before she wrote this letter of April 19, 1958:

> We've continued to be very busy. Last weekend we heard the British Amadeus string quartet play an all Beethoven program excellently in Osaka on Saturday. Sunday we went to the N.Y. Ballet, and went along with the younger man who works in Kobe B. of A. and his wife for supper first in the grill of the new Osaka Grand Hotel. Eating in the grill, riding 2nd class, etc were all a lot of nonsense, but the girl seems to put great emphasis on such trivialities, so we went along with her. The food was good, the service awful because it is so new, but the people to be seen interesting anyway: the Austrian family putting on puppet shows—very good ones, Salzburg Marionettes, and the first violinist of the quartet were eating near us, and the lobby was filled with members of the Leningrad Philharmonic—who look rather like the Russians in the U.N., large people in the same baggy brown suits.

The following letters from March 21 and May 31, 1958, respectively shed light on the way Russian literature (as portrayed on the silver screen) and food were an integral part of the Greenwood's daily life in Kobe. They also illustrate the ways they participated in an emerging topography of postwar leisure and consumption with their Japanese neighbors.

> We enjoyed 'The Brothers Karamazov' very much Sunday—and a Russian meal after it—convenient to the theatre and appropriate… Sunday was another nice day, so we went for a drive along the coast. One passes through most of Kobe, as we live in the eastern part, through factory areas, then into suburbs where mountains meet beaches, where many people live and others come for weekend fun. There is a nice aquarium there, too. We drove on, and surprisingly found ourselves on a

wide, gently rolling plain with many artificial lakes and ponds, sloping down to the sea, along which apparently from Kobe to Himeji, the next big city, there is a continuous row of factories. We came home and had borscht, rolled stuffed cabbage and meat pies in our little Russian restaurant—the best full dinner I know of for about 70 cents apiece.

Cross-Cultural Domestic Encounters

Less familiar to Joan and John were the more distant smokestacks of industrial production that drove Japan's thriving export economy. By the time they left Kobe in 1960, the *New York Times* was printing stories about huge-scale developments like this one: "The Prudential Insurance Company has lent $30,000,000 to the Kobe Steel Works, Ltd., one of Japan's largest steel producers… [P]roceeds of the loans, together with additional capital funds raised in Japan, would be used for the expansion of iron and steel production to meet increased demand in Southeast Asia."[45] Closer to home, although the Greenwoods frequently ate out when left to their own devices, they could also count on the resourcefulness of Teiko and her personal connections in the neighborhood for frugal meal planning. Soon after they arrived in Kobe, Joan expressed her appreciation for this situation as follows:

> We are realizing that we are particularly fortunate in our maid. She is such an excellent cook that I don't tell her anything and leave her more or less on her own. We had tempura Saturday which was good; then she stayed till 10:30 ironing, for which I felt badly. Now she is making marmalade. She wastes nothing, has friends in all kinds of shops who get things done for her quickly and cheaply. But she is a little scared of appliances, which she has to be shown very carefully. She comes

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[45] "Kobe Steel of Japan Gets Prudential Loan," *New York Times*, June 15, 1960.

from Matsuyama, southern Shikoku, where she left her husband, who kept their son, a number of years ago, because he and his mother made her life miserable. She doesn't think much of Japanese husbands and is determined never to marry again. Since then she has worked for a German, American, and English family. She is so industrious that her lot before must have been terrible.

Clearly at home with the technology of the modern American kitchen, Joan had to act as a guide to make sure Teiko could manage these newfangled devices on her own. This role of guide extended beyond the walls of the apartment as well, as in this encounter described in Joan's letter of June 21, 1958, which illuminates the complexities of the racial hierarchy in their neighborhood. She writes,

I've just had one of our very rare fights with our maid. She is so kind, but somewhere along the line I suspect her foreign masters and mistresses have filled her head with stupid prejudices she can't analyze. She yelled at some children playing house in our ugly front yard because 'the appearance wasn't nice, what would guest think, the lady on the second floor would be angry—the one who thinks plants are more important than children—and children should always play in their own yards.' I told them to stay and enjoy themselves, seeing they did no harm, and I'm sure she would have agreed before some

Joan Greenwood

> snob told her once to chase children away. And she really hates Indians, won't admit any saris can be pretty—there were a lot of lovely ones at a party at our neighbors' yesterday. Today, to top it off, the two neighbor children, very cute and well behaved, came to see the cats and she had to be nice to them!"

This is one of several instances where Joan's interactions with Teiko reveal differences on a variety of levels, based on culture, level of education, and professional status. Joan's letters indicate a desire to educate Teiko in a way that will help her overcome misguided stereotypes that may have rubbed off from other foreigners and even other domestic workers. On more than one occasion, both Joan and John write about Teiko's uneasiness with their hosting so many Japanese guests in their home. Apparently Teiko had internalized a hierarchy among domestic workers that pushed her closer to the bottom due to the fact that the Greenwoods entertained Japanese visitors with some frequency. Teiko's own position is compromised by the presence of Japanese people who have diluted the purity of the ex-patriate world she had become so accustomed to during her many years of domestic service in the homes of foreigners living in Kobe. Needless to say, Joan was not bothered by this, and if anything, saw this as another opportunity to teach Teiko a lesson about inclusivity and the artificial, problematic nature of social and racial hierarchies.

After several months together, Joan seems to have heard more of the details of Teiko's past, and combines them here with her own commentary on the status of women in the postwar period. John's parents sent Teiko a Mexican basket for Christmas and on January 17, 1958, Joan thanked them with the description below of the interaction in their apartment that followed:

> Teiko-san *was* interested to know the basket came from Mexico, though she had no very clear idea of where that was, even knowing the name.

> So I got out the Atlas and gave her a brief lesson in geography. She is a very bright person, as her imaginative efforts in the kitchen testify, and it is sad that she did not even get enough education to read and write more than a little and to outgrow medical superstitions. But she is an example of female emancipation after the war. Her husband was cruel, and kicked her, her mother in law was crazy, and so she, living on a small island in the Inland Sea near Hiroshima, kicked and bit him back and walked out. She says she will never have anything to do with a Japanese man again, but it is sad that she never sees her little boy as a result of the long trip between here, where she is comparatively well off, and the island. I will never believe apologists who say that Japanese women like to be subjugated.

These encounters between Joan and Teiko are infused with the "principle of reciprocity" proposed by Christina Klein in her study of the American imaginary, *Cold War Orientalism*.[46] In the chapter entitled "How to Be an American Abroad," Klein focuses on publications such as the *Saturday Review* and the role of author James Michener who was for his American audience "an intermediary, or medium, who can make available to the reader the thoughts, emotions, and life experiences of a young Japanese woman… Michener wants to supplant the old knowledge about Asia—that presented it as 'mute,' 'mysterious,' and 'remote'—with a new knowledge that renders it familiar, articulate, and approachable."[47] Although obviously not writing for a public readership in the same way, Joan's letters follow Michener's model of "the middlebrow ideal of a curious and open-minded American presence in Asia."[48] In both her private and public life, Joan was critically attuned to the social forces that

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[46] Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*, 130.

[47] Ibid., 131-132.

[48] Ibid., 133.

inhibited women from taking full advantage of the postwar "emancipation" referenced above. In many cases, Joan notes that the greatest obstacle to the realization of women's abilities and talents could be women themselves who did not seek out challenges or were content to conform to prescribed limitations. We can see this in the way Joan seeks out intellectually stimulating conversation and looks for role models among her peers and others.

After about a year in Kobe, on August 8, 1958, Joan raves about "one of the most enjoyable parties we've been to here, given by our young first floor neighbors, raised in China of White Russian parents, later taken to Israel, now American citizens." The letter gives detailed insight into the international composition of the Kobe foreign community in the late 1950s, along with illuminating first-hand observations, particularly regarding the role and local activities of women at this social gathering.

> Aside from us, the guests were members of the local Jewish community, and we did not feel at all awkward among them. They first of all drink much less than people like the Burkes and their peers, they are all much more intellectual in the sense of being willing to discuss something beyond trivia or to express convictions without having everyone gasp, so most of them were fun to talk to. We agreed they are the most interesting group of people we've met here. They come from all over the world, and among them one can hear Spanish, French, German, Hebrew, Russian, Arabic and English spoken as first languages. They are very sophisticated, most have been driven out of at least one country in their lives—only one family are native born Americans. The women do not take their leisure as much for granted. They either recognize that they aren't doing anything and have ideas, or they do something. The one New York woman studies Japanese full time with our teacher, though she has three small children and teaches at the American cultural center. Another helps with her husband's business. Many give language

> instruction of various kinds. They seem more concerned about the quality of their children's education as a criterion for their future plans, than, for example, some of John's fellow workers. I'm sure you know many such communities, but it was all new to us. They live just as graciously as other foreigners, but they don't seem to think the amenities are an end in themselves, perhaps again because most of them have undergone hardship. Anyway it is a pleasant thing to discover a whole new group of nice, interesting people.

Such enthusiasm over this gathering may be contrasted with the more mixed evaluation of a dinner earlier that year with colleagues from the Bank of America. On January 24, she writes of her fellow Americans:

> Last weekend we had the younger man from the Kobe branch and his wife for dinner. He is very nice, quiet, intelligent. She is often foolishly ignorant, but alert, and a person of more interest than I thought. She was a secretary at our consulate till their first baby was born; since then she has been very ill a number of times which is sad indeed. I say this because the first time I met her she said "I am a great student of the economics and politics of Japan. I have just started to read a fine book (after six years here) *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*." And when I said you might visit, she said, "Oh, it's so much more fun getting around Japan when one doesn't speak the language. I'm glad I don't speak a word of it." And on the other hand I find she is an accomplished pilot—and stunt flyer, was almost an Olympic swimmer, and has considerable ambitions for her career in govt work when her health is straightened out and she leaves here, where the Kobe manager doesn't like wives to work—which of course is the most patent interference in what is no one else's business and which no one should listen to, if it is really true, which from my experience I rather doubt. I think the Kobe manager and his very intelligent Russian wife, whom I mentioned, just aren't tolerant of the verbal foolishness of this girl, which if you pass over, reveals

quite a substantial person in many ways. I didn't mean to bore you, but simply find these different people interesting in their own ways. We also played squash, saw a movie, had a good Russian supper over the weekend.

Postwar Academic Life

While Joan was not an officially employed working woman when she arrived in Kobe in the summer of 1957, she did have professional ambitions that were soon fulfilled as a professor of English literature. In this sense, Joan was part of a trend among American women who experienced "the rising employment of married women, which grew by 42 percent during the 1950s" and among whom "employment rates rose fastest among middle-class women."[49] As noted earlier, Joan was enrolled as a graduate student in the English Department at Stanford when John finished his training in overseas operations in Bank of America's international division and was subsequently assigned to their Osaka branch office. In December 1955, Joan had completed her Master's thesis, "The Development of Theme and Plot in Henry James' Short Stories." By the time she left for Japan, she had completed all the Ph.D. coursework, leaving her to finish her dissertation on Edith Wharton. Her study is described as follows in the foreword to the completed version, filed in November 1961:

> I intend to analyze and evaluate a selection from Edith Wharton's eighty-five short stories and eleven *nouvelles* in order to show that Mrs. Wharton has created works of thematic and technical merit in these genres. I will introduce my analyses by means of a brief discussion of

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[49] Susan M. Hartmann, "Women's Employment and the Domestic Ideal in the Early Cold War Years," in *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*, ed. Joanne Meyerowitz (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994): 86.

> Mrs. Wharton's ideas on these genres and on some of the components of fiction—milieu, character, and style. Her comments on the moral purpose and artistic excellence which she seeks are also helpful when one judges her work.[50]

In her letters to Vermont, Joan provides frequent updates on the progress of her dissertation. While she was alone in the apartment during the day, she applied herself diligently during the first winter break in 1957 to "mostly work on the dissertation." On Christmas Eve, she reports:

> I have got the basic organization in shape, and should begin writing in a day or two, but it is a longer harder job at every step than I imagine, though often enjoyable. My working conditions alone are ideal in one way, but it requires more self-discipline than I naturally have to sit down for 9 or 10 hours a day and really keep at it, though if I don't my conscience won't let me rest.

By January 11, her work had resulted in finishing "a very detailed sentence outline… with examples listed, of over 100 pages, which is a start." She benefitted from an honest intellectual exchange with John who provided feedback along the way, a process for which she expresses gratitude on February 5, 1958, when she writes, "This week so far I have been able to plug along on the dissertation, which John kindly listens to and criticizes, as it is hard to work in a vacuum, and one gets stale on one's own writing." By that summer, Joan was revising a finished draft and preparing one chapter for submission to a Kobe College publication, as she writes on August 16, 1958.

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[50] Joan Voss Greenwood, "A Critical Study of Edith Wharton's Short Stories and Nouvelles" (Doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, 1961).

> I went on revising my dissertation and got one chapter in shape to send to Kobe College *Studies*, also to Kyoto U., and wrote a letter to my Stanford adviser on my progress. It was hard work getting it in the best possible shape, and John was very helpful in reading it over and criticizing style and clarity. Working by oneself one tends to think after a while that everything one has been thinking about for weeks is obvious, and therefore it becomes hard to judge the results.[51]

Soon after her arrival in Kobe in 1957, Joan had an interview with Kobe College, facilitated by her status as an alumna of Wellesley College. Administrators at Wellesley had fostered exchanges with prominent women's colleges in Japan going back to the early twentieth century, as Sally Hastings has shown in her examination of ties with Tsuda College in Tokyo, whose acting president from 1919, Tsuji (Okonogi) Matsu, was a Wellesley graduate. In Hastings' discussion of Wellesley English Department Professor Sophie Chantal Hart, she notes that "[d]uring her sabbatical year in 1917-1918, Hart had visited the Philippines, Japan, and China, developing an especially strong interest in Japan."[52] Regarding the early days of these institutions, Joan replies on January 17, 1958, to the Greenwoods in Vermont,

> I was interested to hear the minister's wife had two aunts teaching once in Kobe College. There used to be a lot more Americans and missionaries than there are now, too, and it was founded in 1875 by an American. It's hard to believe it is the same age as Wellesley, and it must

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[51] On June 16, 1958, Joan explained, "Today I was asked to contribute an article to Kobe College *Studies* for next fall. It is badly printed, but it will be a help to me professionally to get something published, and I have the summer to think about what material having to do with my dissertation I will use."

[52] Sally A. Hastings, "Traveling to Learn, Learning to Lead: Japanese Women as American College Students, 1900-1941," in *Modern Girls on the Go: Gender, Mobility and Labor in Japan*, ed. Alisa Freedman et al. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013): 202.

> have been quite an innovation in Japan at that time. I also heard that when the first "eta" student came—a long while ago, but I'm not sure when, there was also quite a fuss, even among the Christian students, who, though she was a brilliant girl, did not wish to sit in the classroom with her, much less eat or sleep [with her].[53]

Joan talks about her first meeting with the faculty at this pioneering college in her letter of August 6, 1957: "I went out to Kobe College last Friday to talk to the head of the English Dept, a Japanese lady who graduated from Michigan, spent a year at Wellesley as a guest just before I went and with whom I have many common friends." By October, she adds this about her students: "I will certainly benefit from 2 ½ years teaching them, getting a chance to prepare more advanced courses than I would ever have at home." This quote shows that despite the stereotype of Americans being more advanced in providing educational opportunities for women, Joan was actually able to advance her career more productively at Kobe College than she could have at Stanford.[54] That same month, she describes the campus and her work environment with another reference to a Wellesley graduate from the early twentieth century, a missionary named Miss Buell:

> The College itself continues to make a good impression. I even like the walk up hill from the station, except when the path, actually a dike between rice fields, is covered with a night soil cart. I share an office

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[53] On the history of this outcast class, see Ian J. Neary, "Burakumin in Contemporary Japan," in *Japan's Minorities: The Illusion of Homogeneity*, ed. Michael Weiner (London: Routledge, 1997): 50-78. Joan's comments may have been influenced by "a usually wide interest in the problem" (p. 62) of discrimination against Burakumin in 1957 and 1958, a time when the Japan Communist Party "produced its own Buraku policy which linked the issue more closely to the reactionary rule of US imperialism and Japanese monopoly capitalism." (p. 61)

[54] Joan's career aspirations melded well with Kobe College's goals in the 1950s to develop research facilities and establish scholarly publications. Kōbe Jogakuin no 125-nen henshū iinkai, *Kōbe Jogakuin no 125-nen* [Kobe College's 125 Years] (Nishinomiya, Japan: Kōbe Jogakuin, 2000): 70.

with a missionary teacher, Wellesley about 1910, who retires in the spring to Boston, and she is a very bright, lively lady. She taught in China for 30 years, was released by the present regime about 52, and is just finishing out her period for her pension now. She speaks Chinese—of whatever kind—fluently, but she says, although she can read a lot of Japanese, she was too old to learn another Oriental language.[55]

While at first Joan attempted to interact with her Japanese colleagues on a regular basis, after a couple of months, we get a glimpse into the barriers that resulted in her switch back to a more familiar American environment. On November 26, 1957, she writes:

> I have taken to eating a hot lunch in the house where American teachers live, as the heat doesn't go on till Dec. 1, and then I think a hot lunch will be nice, as well as a walk at noon and some conversation. Eating with the Japanese teachers was not as worthwhile as I thought it would be. The men are usually a silent, pompous lot, and I can't understand more than one third of what goes on. Several are very nice to me, but I can't join in the regular conversation without impeding them and I must admit I would prefer black tea to green tea with my lunch, and a warm place to eat it. And since there are only 20 minutes to eat in, why not please myself, be comfortable and not worry about learning about Japanese culture—which is not what they talk about, they gossip about other teachers, etc.—in that time. Things like this are amusing to find out.

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[55] Joan's letter of April 25, 1958, makes another reference to Miss Buell's China connection: "Last night there was an English Dept. dinner for Miss Buell who leaves next week, for one returning teacher, the Fulbright prof, me and another girl my age who is a new instructor just back from getting an M.A. in the states. It was too early for John, and since it was at a small house he wasn't included. I wish he could have gone, though, to share the food prepared by the lady's Manchurian cook. Since Miss Buell spent 30 years in north China it was an appropriate farewell and the "jozei"—like a big ravioli, and other dishes were wonderful."

Over the course of the next several months, the Greenwoods socialized regularly with Joan's colleagues, including hosting a buffet supper of curry on January 10, 1958, that included Miss Buell, who no doubt livened up the gathering, based on the following account: "My wry New England office mate is very quick witted, has a good sense of humor and is quite impossible to shock: not the stereotype of a missionary at all." Such sentiments were repeated at the time of Miss Buell's departure on May 3, 1958, as Joan recounts:

> … after lunch we drove out to Kobe College—it was the first time John had seen it in daylight, and picked up my retiring office mate, Miss Buell, and took her to the ship and through customs with her baggage. But the freighter was delayed by a stevedore strike, so we didn't see her off finally till six tonight, and were glad we could be of help, as she is a fine person. I will miss her scant words of wry New England wit very much—and her very intelligent helpfulness, too. But I am sure we can drop in on her at Wellesley when we return.[56]

Further details of her departure are provided in the next week's correspondence of May 10:

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[56] This is likely an example of the labor union's "spring offensive" (*shuntō*), typical of the "annual ritual" of tactics invented by the General Council of Japanese Trade Unions (Sōhyō) in 1956. Karel van Wolferen, *The Enigma of Japanese Power: People and Politics in a Stateless Nation* (London: Macmillan, 1989): 92. In April that year, Reuters reported that "more than 150,000 Japanese chemical workers, coal miners and electric company workers began tonight a twenty-four hour strike in an effort to force the managements to grant immediate wage increases and other fringe benefits." "One Day Strike in Tokyo," *New York Times*, April 6, 1958. Later that month, "Thirty-five thousand teachers stayed home today from Tokyo's middle and primary schools and kindergartens. The teachers, members of the Japanese Teachers' Union, were on strike against a teachers' efficiency rating system that went into effect today." "Tokyo Teachers on Strike," *New York Times*, April 24, 1958.

> Last Sunday we went to see off Miss Buell on her Japanese freighter. She was the only passenger leaving from here; in fact the line doesn't like the idea and only took her if she would eat the crew food—not western style. She, who after all her years in China, doesn't like the cold food so common here, said yes, and took aboard a big box of things from Kenwood House, where the American teachers live at the college. There was quite a crowd to see her off, streamers, a record if not a band, and even the crew got in the spirit to keep her company. As the ship turned going out of the slip, the officer on the bow took off his hat and made a huge comic bow.

The Wellesley alumnae network extended beyond the Kobe College campus, as evidenced by Joan's description of an extravagant social event held in December of 1957:

> Last night we went to a huge party given by the International Women's league, an organization backed by wealthy Japanese women with some vague purpose of good will. The head of it is the step mother of my Wellesley classmate in Tokyo, and the woman in the Kansai area is the wife of a big oil company president, who paid for it. All kinds of food, eastern and western, ice cream, drinks, music from Hawaiian guitar to koto, in the New Osaka Hotel ballroom. And we were each given marrons glacees, flowers, and a coin purse on leaving, and a corsage of artificial flowers. It was not as corny as it sounds, though, as I think there was good will in it and I met a number of interesting Japanese women as well as (we decided) another very circumspect, not too sharp foreign service officer and other people. And for an elderly Japanese woman to give a cocktail party for all kinds of people on her own, and also to work in her husband's company and write articles on world politics is quite unusual and probably a beneficial thing in this society.

Although some of Joan's comments like this one imply a trajectory of

emancipation that puts American women ahead of their Japanese counterparts, these are balanced with other instances that are more nuanced and even contradict simple dichotomies of progress and cultural lag. This is the case as she writes in anticipation of the batches of exams and papers to be submitted by her students in early February 1958, "I hope the papers in the novel course are good, as the group reports the girls have given have all been excellent. There is nothing inferior intelligence wise in these girls compared to my students at Stanford or the girls I knew at Wellesley, but the language barrier is a problem." Other comments at the start of the new school year in April 1958 are even more positive and clearly reflect a sense of personal fulfillment in her role as teacher and mentor: "I am having a wonderful time teaching. With either English majors or the one best class of freshmen I have no serious language problems and it is such fun to discuss literature and introduce the students to new ideas—for example, the fight and drink way of life of the early Germanic tribes." A week later, on April 25, 1958, she elaborates further:

> Work goes on as usual. I continue to be busy—what most gives me this impression are the ten minutes between each class when I am besieged by students. I do enjoy it, and am having fun advising my seminar. I was pleased to find the head of the dept. agrees with my theories on scholarship and criticism, which makes it easier to work without trouble; for example that a student should read the author she is studying first, and the critics only very secondarily and cautiously, a point of view not shared by all Japanese teachers.

Meanwhile, Joan sympathizes with John and the boredom he faces at his job by this time. While she is invigorated and satisfied by her teaching and interactions with the students at Kobe College, her administrative obligations are more taxing, as described here on April 19, 1958:

> I have 300 students, and with all the Tanakas and Yamamotos I'll never

know them all. I am having to work very hard, with about 200 tests and papers a week, but it is well worth it even though one set can get tiresome. The only really boring thing is the monthly faculty meeting in Japanese—lasting three or four hours on straight chairs, with every aspect of a problem covered too often, much tea served etc.—from what John says the same routine as in Japanese business. I can at least knit, and as I said I only wish John were so generally pleased with his day to day work.

By the middle of that semester, Joan and John host a "simple buffet" that brings together his colleagues at the bank and a number of women from Kobe College. It is self-consciously of a different character from both the gatherings of other ex-pats, as well as the events more familiar to their Japanese guests. With some trepidation, Joan's June 7, 1958, letter explains,

> Perhaps we are too ambitious, with 40 to 45, but it will be simple and informal and we do have space. So few foreigners bother to entertain their Japanese associates, but I think it should be more fun than the everyone-outdo-the-next-one formal dinner parties. But I have told John to say no married Japanese man may come without his wife unless she is ill or away; I won't welcome anyone to my home who perpetuates such reactionary social policies, because while older women have long since accepted such things, younger women hate them.[57]

A few weeks later, John provides a full description of their unconventional soirée, including the reasons given by his colleagues for their unaccompanied status.

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[57] In the margin is Joan's hand-written comment, "he agrees!" attesting to this being a joint decision between her and John.

John Greenwood, seated in second row, third from left

We had a big party for all the 'up-stairs' staff of the Osaka branch of the B of A, and some of Joan's younger colleagues at Kobe College. 32 people from the bank came, and about 10 from the college. We ate a lot of beans and drank a lot of beer and orange pop (the boys drank beer and all the girls drank orange punch)…. Everybody was painfully shy at the beginning of the party. We decided that the party was going to be an "American" party without any organized game and with wives in attendance. We got away with a "disorganized" party, but none of the married boys brought their wives. Several made excuses about no babysitters in Japan, which is true to some extent. Buffet supper broke down some of the reticence and showing our photograph albums also helped to loosen up the atmosphere. It was fun but it will be at least another year before we do it again.

Conclusion

In Peter Stearns' overview of social history, he explains the twin premises of this approach to understanding the past, "that ordinary people not only have a history but contribute to shaping history more generally, and that a range of behaviors can be profitably explored historically beyond (though also including) the most familiar political staples."[58] As can be seen in the preceding pages, while Joan and John Greenwood can be characterized as "ordinary people" in many ways, their day to day encounters and willingness to defy convention at times were in some cases extraordinary. For Joan in particular, she was able to advance her career as a budding scholar and set an example for her students that she continued to develop over the course of her teaching at Rosary College in Illinois and California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), even beyond the time of her retirement when she came back to teach classes at the request of the

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[58] Stearns, "Social History Present and Future," 9.

CSUF English Department on a regular basis. In her post-tenure review of August 15, 1984, Dean Tom Klammer wrote: "Dr. Joan Greenwood's long record of invaluable contributions to the department, the university, and her students has continued without interruption." One student in her "Literary Relations: East and West" class wrote the following evaluation: "The instruction I received was of the highest order. Pragmatic and humanistic: this is Dr. Greenwood."

The citations included in the preceding pages just scratch the surface in terms of illuminating the personal and professional trajectories of Joan and John. In order to fully understand and appreciate their correspondences from Kobe, we have to go further back in the twentieth century to the footprints left by Heman and Evelyn who went through the "Open Door" of China in the 1910s. By the time Bank of America sent the younger Greenwoods to post-Occupation Kansai, relations between the United States and Japan had reached a new stage of interdependence in the various realms of politics, economy, and culture. Their jobs in Osaka and Kobe were an integral part of those changes and as Joan wrote in 1957: "I suppose it is an ideal situation to find considerable challenge now, be very happy with one's work, and yet always be looking ahead."

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History Education and Historical Reconciliation in East Asia: Focusing on the History Textbook Dialogues between South Korea and Japan

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History Education and Historical Reconciliation in East Asia: Focusing on the History Textbook Dialogues between South Korea and Japan

East Asia, with its rapid economic development, is expected to play a constructive role for world peace. Peaceful regional cooperation presupposes a historical reconciliation, for which dialogues on textbooks will be important. To bring about reconciliation, and not to repeat the past misery, we must not turn away from the uncomfortable history, but face it with sincerity. East Asian peace and prosperity will be accomplished through the establishment of the East Asian Community as successfully as the European Union, and through the East Asian identity to function as its basis. The efforts to develop the main concepts of East Asian regional history will take great effort and a long time. In this regard, lessons learned from the cases of Europe and other regions in making joint history textbooks will be a good guideline and offer encouragement. Above all, we can learn much from the new concepts and methods of history education in Europe and the efforts to promote a European consciousness which will help us to overcome the too strong national perspectives in the East Asian region.

Keywords: history education, South Korea, Japan, reconciliation, textbook dialogue, national history, regional history, East Asian community, history conflicts, common textbook, European integration, European Union, UNESCO

History Education and Historical Reconciliation in East Asia: Focusing on the History Textbook Dialogues between South Korea and Japan

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Opening

Many discussions regarding an East Asian Community are ongoing, but few people are optimistic about the realization of such a community in the near future. To begin with, even the scope of East Asia is defined differently among those engaged in such discussions. For many Koreans, East Asia refers to the region consisting of China, Japan and the Republic of Korea, as well as Taiwan and North Korea. Some would add Vietnam, which belongs culturally to the Sinosphere, while some may add Mongolia for its historical involvement with China and Korea. However, considering that China and Japan have not been particularly responsive to the discussions in South Korea, an East Asian community based on a narrower definition of East Asia seems impractical. It would then be advisable to include ASEAN member states, even at the expense of cultural cohesiveness within the community. In addition, the European conceptions of East Asia also embody ASEAN and Northeast Asia, including China, Japan, and South Korea. Hence, this paper shall accordingly take the wider definition of East Asia that embraces Northeast

Asia and Southeast Asia.[1]

A consensus seems to be forming that coming to terms with the past and achieving historical reconciliation is a prerequisite for establishing an East Asian Community. Japan's "third textbook attack" in the mid-1990s aggravated historical conflicts and tension in East Asia. This crisis, on the other hand, prompted East Asian civil societies to engage in dialogues about history textbooks, which produced meaningful results in the 2000s. This paper therefore examines how European dialogues surrounding history textbooks have influenced dialogues in China, Japan, and South Korea. This paper also points out what East Asian dialogues have accomplished as well as the limitations they face, focusing on the cases of Japan and South Korea. The efforts made by the Council of Europe and other bodies to strengthen the European identity shall also be covered in search of implications they may have for an East Asian Community.

1. UNESCO Activities in Promoting International Understanding and European Cooperation on Textbooks

Some of UNESCO's major programs have attempted to promote international understanding through textbook revision, inheriting invaluable achievements of the interwar period. In the aftermath of World War I waged as imperialist conflicts between European countries and by their radical nationalisms, there emerged discussions to use textbooks for international understanding necessary to achieve peace. Established in 1922, the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations showed a willingness to contribute to a peaceful

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This paper has been developed from a contribution published in *Korea Forum Spezial* no. 1 (2013) under the title "East Asian Historical Reconciliation Can Learn from European Cooperation on History Textbooks: Focusing on the Role of UNESCO."

1 Cf. for other scholars who present a wider definition of East Asia, see Shin Ju-back, *Yeoksa hwahae wa Dong Asia hyeong mirae mandeulgi* [History Reconciliation and Building an East Asian Form of Future] (Seoul: Sunin, 2014), 323-352.

Europe through textbook revision when it adopted the Casares Resolution in 1926. This Committee developed into UNESCO, the international organization founded on November 16, 1945. UNESCO's mission was to promote educational, scientific, and cultural cooperation among people and to contribute to peace and security with a view toward building an international society where justice, law, human rights, and fundamental freedom are universally respected. Mindful of its mission, UNESCO carried forward textbook revision for international understanding as one of its main activities. The Preamble to the Constitution of UNESCO explains why the organization stressed textbook revision: "That since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed; that ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war."[2]

UNESCO's textbook revision activities were carried out in two ways. One was to function as the international network and clearinghouse by gathering relevant actors from around the world, for instance, by holding teachers' seminars. The other was to provide international practical guidelines for textbook analysis. At its first session in Paris in 1946, the General Conference of UNESCO adopted a nine-point program, which requested the organization to establish a center to collect textbooks from all its member states, and have each National Commission for UNESCO review their own as well as other countries' textbooks in collaboration with relevant institutions and submit their opinions on the issue.[3]

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[2] Kim Seung-ryeol and Lee Yong-jae, *Hamkke sseuneun yeoksa: Dogil gwa Peurangsseu ui hwahae wa yeoksa gyogwaseo gaeseon hwaldong* [Writing History Together: The French-German Reconciliation and Joint Activities to Improve History Textbooks] (Seoul: Dongbuga yeoksa jaedan [Northeast Asian History Foundation], 2008), 87.

[3] Otto-Ernst Schüddekopf, *Mirae reul geonseul haneun yeoksa gyoyuk: 1945-1965 yureop yeoksa gyogwaseo gaeseon hwaldong* [Zwanzig Jahre westeuropäischer Schulgeschichtsbuchrevision

UNESCO published *A Handbook for the Improvement of Textbooks and Teaching Materials as Aids to International Understanding* in 1949, based on the interwar experiences. Kim Seung-ryeol and Lee Yong-jae wrote, "This handbook was the first to provide standards for revising/making textbooks that can promote international understanding, and still remains as a classic to researchers who conduct comparative study of textbooks."[4] The handbook presented six principles in its Model Plan for the Analysis and Improvement of Textbook and Teaching Materials: accuracy, fairness, worth, comprehensiveness and balance, world-mindedness, and international cooperation. Accuracy meant that "the information included in textbooks and teaching materials should be accurate and up-to-date" and that "there should be no factual distortion." This principle extended beyond text to illustrations, charts, graphs, and maps. Fairness meant that "minority groups, other races, and other nations and nationalities should be treated fairly and due representation should be given to their contributions" and that "unpleasant facts and undesirable conducts should not be ignored, but they should be placed in perspective, and controversial issues should be presented objectively. If the scholars of two or more countries cannot agree on the facts or interpretation of important events in their relationships with each other, fair statements of the different points of view should be presented."[5] These principles were taken into consideration for post-World War I textbook cooperation, as did the French-German dialogues about history textbooks.

Although the French-German agreement on history textbooks was reached in 1935 at the initiative of the French Association of History and Geography Teachers, European cooperation on textbooks was halted altogether upon the outbreak of World War II in 1939. After this war, a

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1945-1965. Tatsachen und Probleme], trans. Kim Seung-ryeol (Seoul: Yeoksa bipyeongsa, 2003), 51.

4 Kim and Lee, *Hamkke sseuneun yeoksa*, 88.

5 Ibid., 91.

cooperative mood was formed among French and German historians and history educators in the French occupation zone in Germany, owing to amicable cultural policies. This helped resume in 1950 the French-German Textbook Conference, which finally led to the 1951 French-German agreement on history textbooks consisting of 40 provisions. Leading this cooperation was the French Association of History and Geography Teachers, and the International Institute for Textbook Improvement in Germany, founded by Georg Eckert. The 1951 Accord clarified the items previously agreed upon in 1935 and resolved unsettled issues, expanding the scope of their mutual consensus.[6]

The cultural agreement between France and West Germany in October 1954 reasserted the necessity of a mutual revision of their history textbooks: "Article 13. The High Contracting Parties shall ensure, in accordance with the means at their disposal and with their domestic legislation, that in all branches of education questions concerning the other Party shall be presented with the greatest objectivity, and that textbooks, particularly history textbooks, are free from all comments of an emotional nature which might be detrimental to goodwill between the two peoples."[7] Their bilateral relationship further improved with the Élysée Treaty of 1963, based on which the French-West German Youth Office was founded to promote mutual understanding between young people of the two countries.

The French-West German Textbook Conference was held seventeen times from 1951, when the two countries reached the 1951 Accord, until 1967. The next meeting was held in 1981, where the Conference supplemented the 1951 Accord with the 1987 Accord. While the former Accord focused on abolishing one party's negative ideas about the other, the 1987 Accord highlighted integration of important historical aspects of

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6 Ibid., 103-112.

7 Ibid., 110-112.

one's country into the other's history textbooks—especially, the history of the Weimar Republic into French history textbooks and the history of the French Third Republic into German history textbooks.[8] This series of dialogues reached a climax with the publication of their joint history textbook. In 2003, the French-German Youth Office gathered in Berlin to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the Élysée Treaty. There, the office called on West German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder and French President Jacques Chirac to publish a joint history textbook of the two countries and its request was granted. The joint history textbook project thereby attempted to provide a foundation on which French and German students could cultivate their mutual historical awareness about the process of the European integration. The publication guidelines made in 2004 reflected the previous Accords. For instance, in compliance with the 1987 Accord, the histories of the Weimar Republic and the French Third Republic were given sufficient emphasis. Based on the guidelines, a group made of five teachers from each country published in 2006 the joint history textbook's third volume about the post-1945 period, the second volume in 2008 covering from the 1815 Congress of Vienna to 1945, and the first volume in 2011 concerning Europe and the World from ancient times to 1815.

The dialogues between France and West Germany, the leaders of the postwar European integration, became a bilateral model of history textbooks for other European countries. First, historians, history education experts, history teachers, and textbook authors from the two countries would organize a bilateral committee for textbook consultations. Then, the committee would carry out a cross analysis and evaluation of textbooks to draw up joint recommendations to be used as a basis to improve

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[8] Ibid., 115-118; "Togil-Peurangseu yeoksa gyogwaseo hyeobnyeok e daehayeo" [Regarding the French-German Cooperation on History Textbooks], *Dongbuga yeoksa jaedan* [Northeast Asian History Foundation], n.d., accessed February 15, 2015, http://www.historyfoundation.or.kr/?sidx=122&stype=1.

textbooks. In follow-up meetings, controversial issues between the countries would be identified and discussed for resolution, and the outcomes would be recorded as publications. This has been considered a classic model of bilateral dialogue for joint textbooks.

Stages of Textbook Consultations[9]

Working agreement Preliminary meetings with researchers/textbook authors/teachers to define aims/methods/duration of the project **Textbook exchange** Pretest
Textbook consultations **Analysis/Reviews** Basic lectures
Publication of Recommendations Research and documentation on effects of recommendations
Follow-up conferences on specific topics teacher/textbook author training seminars; production of teaching aids

Following the model of the French-West German Textbook Conference, the West German-Polish Textbook Commission successfully drew up joint recommendations on history and geography courses. Granted that the work of Enno Meyer in the 1950s was pioneering, it was the Warsaw Pact in 1970 that made possible full-scale dialogues on textbooks between West Germany and Poland. Georg Eckert, the Chairperson of the (West) German National Commission for UNESCO, and Władysław Markiewicz, the Chairperson of the Polish National Commission for UNESCO met at the sixteenth session of the UNESCO General Conference in Paris in 1970 to exchange opinions on possible improvements that

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9 Falk Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision*, 2nd ed. (Paris: UNESCO, 2010), 21.

could be made to their history and geography textbooks. It took two years of arrangement before the national commissions began consultation meetings in February 1972 to produce joint recommendations on history and geography courses. Since the first edition was published in German and Polish in early 1977, over 300,000 copies of the recommendations were distributed until the early 1990s. The commissions have subsequently been publishing every year the outcomes of their joint research on major historical themes and periods related to their bilateral relationship, and the outcomes of their textbook analysis. In the late 1980s, they went as far as to develop a medium to present the results of their dialogues as an education tool. The democratization of Poland in 1989 and the unification of Germany in 1990 brought a turning point for the two countries' bilateral relationship. In 1991, Germany and Poland concluded a good neighbor and friendship treaty to establish a political basis for vitalizing their cultural exchanges. In 2001, their cooperation on textbooks that had been growing increasingly active since the 1990s led to the publication of a teacher's handbook on twentieth century modern history.

Recently, Poland and Germany have reached an agreement on publishing a joint history textbook. Frank-Walter Steinmeier, the German Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs, proposed the collaboration to Radosław Sikorski of Poland and obtained his consent when they met in January 2008. The agreement of 2003 to publish a German-French joint history textbook seems to have acted as a stimulus for a Germany-Poland joint history book, just as the textbook talk in the 1970s had. The Germany-Poland Textbook Commission set its aim to publish an authorized textbook that meets curriculums in both countries for it to be adopted by as many schools as possible. The textbook is expected to facilitate a better understanding of the history of Eastern Europe through a broader depiction of European history as well as global history, and will also include an increased coverage of Germany-Poland relations

compared to other textbooks.[10] The first book of the project for middle schools is expected to be published this year.

However, much higher barriers stand in the way of the Germany-Poland Textbook Commission. Among them are the large-scale massacres by the Nazi regime, forced labor, anti-Semitism and the holocaust, drastic territorial changes, the deportation of Germans and so forth. Relations between Germany and Poland are described much less in history textbooks in Germany than in Poland. Nevertheless, the experts council composed of historians and history educators, under the lead of both chairmen of the Germany-Poland Textbook Commission, made a great contribution in overcoming these obstacles by compiling recommendations for a common history textbook.[11]

2. Influences of European Cooperation on History Textbooks on the Northeast Asian Dialogues on History

"The Past That Will Not Pass," the short piece written by Ernst Nolte, triggered the "historians' dispute" (G. *Historikerstreit*) in West Germany in the mid-1980s. This term perhaps better fits to describe East Asian cultures of memory. The long-standing issue concerning the unsettled past has been furthered by "integral nationalism" and "policy of remembrance" of conservative politicians and cultural elites of Japan. In China and South Korea, ethnic sentiments have been stirred against this, escalating ethnic conflicts in the Northeast Asian region. This crisis,

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[10] See "Deutsch-polnisches Geschichtsbuch," accessed February 15, 2015, http://www.gei.de/forschung/europa/europa-und-der-nationale-faktor/deutsch-polnisches-geschichtsbuch.html. See also recommendations for the common textbook: Steuerungsrat und Expertenrat des Projektes "Deutsch-Polnisches Geschichtsbuch," *Schulbuch Geschichte. Ein deutsch-polnisches Projekt – Empfehlungen* (Berlin, Warsaw, 2010), accessed February 15, 2015, http://www.gei.de/fileadmin/gei.de/pdf/abteilungen/europa/Schulbuch_Geschichte._Ein_deutsch-polnisches_Projekt-Empfehlungen.pdf.

[11] *Schulbuch Geschichte. Ein deutsch-polnisches Projekt – Empfehlungen*.

however, encouraged civil societies to act for future-oriented transnational solidarity.

In 1982, the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture attempted to replace the word *shinryaku* (K. *chimnyak* 侵略 invasion) in a high school history textbook, which referred to Japan's invasion into the Asian continent, with a morally neutral concept called *shinshutsu* (K. *jinchul* 進出 advance). This gave rise to fierce resistance from China and South Korea. This instance was called Japan's second textbook attack, following the first attack when Ienaga Saburō had to suffer from lawsuits criticizing descriptions of Japanese imperialism in the history textbook he had authored. The Japanese government eventually withdrew the attempt out of concern that it may disgrace itself internationally and inserted a "neighboring countries clause" into government guidelines for textbook screening. Japanese history textbooks first began including the dark side of Japanese history—the 1937 Nanjing Massacre, Comfort Women, and Unit 731 where atrocious biological experiments were conducted upon prisoners of war in Manchuria.[12] This change in the Japanese memory politics reached its climax in the mid-1990s with the Murayama Declaration, an apology made by then-Prime Minister of Japan Murayama Tomiichi.

Progressive Japanese historians such as Nishikawa Masao and Bandō Hiroshi took note of the West German-Polish textbook consultations in reflecting upon the second textbook attack in 1982. Their focus was, however, on highlighting what was problematic about the Japanese textbook monitoring system in contrast to Germany's permit system, rather than on collaborating with neighboring countries to revise history textbooks.[13] Japanese conservative scholars argued against

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[12] Sven Saaler, "Implikationen der jüngsten Debatte um japanische Geschichtslehrbuecher für die japanisch-koreanischen Beziehungen," in *Japan und Korea auf dem Weg in eine gemeinsame Zukunft. Aufgaben und Perspektiven*. (Munich: Iudicium verlag, 2003), 126.

[13] Shin Ju-back, "Hanil gan yeoksa daewha mosaek gwa hyeobnyeok model chatgi (1982-1993)

learning from the West German-Polish model of textbook dialogues. Watanabe Shōichi rejected the West German model, asserting that it would be inequitable to compare prewar Japan with Nazi Germany. Nishi Yoshiyuki distortedly interpreted the West German-Polish joint recommendations and discussions that occurred in West Germany. He commented that leaving the Katyn Forest Massacre out of the recommendations was because resistance from the Soviet Union had been expected. Thus, what Bekki Atsuhiko considered as a strategy to maintain peace was deemed a submission to politics by Nishi. Some South Korean historians also viewed the West German-Polish textbook consultation process as a role model that Japan should adopt.[14] Yet, this series of discussions was insufficient in dealing with the historical background of European textbook dialogues, or the direction to improve history textbooks in Japan and South Korea. In 2002, in-depth discussions on dialogues concerning the West German-Polish and French- West German textbooks and their implications for textbook dialogues in East Asia resulted in several major research outcomes that responded to Japan's third textbook attack.[15]

[Pursuing the Japanese-Korean History Dialogue and Finding a Cooperation Model (1982-1993)]," in *Dong Asia eseo yeoksa insik eui gukgyeong neomgi* [Going Beyond the Borderline of Historical Awareness in East Asia] (Seoul: Sunin, 2008), 19-21.

14 Moon Ki-sang, "Dogil eui yeoksa gyoyuk: Dogil Poland yeoksa gyogwaseo hyeobeuihoe chucheon munhang eul jungsimeuro" [History Education in Germany: With a Focus on the Recommendations by the German-Polish Textbook Commission], *Yeoksa gyoyuk* 34 (1983): 223-257; Lee Min-ho, "Dogil-Polandeu gyogwaseo hyeobui" [The German-Polish Textbook Consultation], in *Dogil, Dogil minjok, Dogilsa: Bundan Dogil eui yeoksa euisik* [Germany, German people, and German history: Historical Awareness during the Division of Germany] (Seoul: Neutinamu, 1990).

15 Kim Yu-gyeong, "Gieok eul dulleossan galdeung gwa hwahae: Dogil-Peurangseu mit Dogil-Polandeu eui yeoksa gyogwaseo hyeobeui" [Conflicts and Reconciliation Surrounding Memories—The French-German and German-Polish History Textbook Consultations], *Yeoksa bipyeong* 59 (2002): 363-385; Unsuk Han, "Yeoksa gyogwaseo sujeong eul tonghan Dogil-Polandeu ganeui hwahae noryeok" [Efforts for Reconciliation through the Textbook: Revision between Germany and Poland], *Seoyangsaron* 75 (2002): 203-236; Kim Seung-ryeol, "Sukjeok gwangae eseo hyeobnyeok gwangae ro: Dogil-Peurangseu yeoksa gyogwaseo hyeobeui" [From

In the 1990s, conservative Japanese politicians, especially those of the Liberal Democratic Party, fiercely resisted the so-called masochistic view of history in Japanese textbooks. The Association for the Advancement of the Liberal View of History led by Fujioka Nobukatsu tried to radically revise the self-critical perspective of postwar historical studies. The Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform (*Atarashii rekishi o tsukurukai*) was founded in 1996 as an assemblage of historians, journalists, cartoonists, politicians, and economic personalities who purported to research history education so as to nurture in students "healthy nationalism" and "pride in being Japanese." What this society actually intended to achieve was to forbid atrocious historical facts of Comfort Women or Unit 731 from appearing in textbooks. The Tsukurukai's *New History Textbook* for middle schools published by Fusōsha in 2001 provides its readers with a glorified version of Japan's history that would surely boost their pride as Japanese nationals.

The memory politics of Japanese conservative elites naturally came to face vehement disputes with neighboring countries. Their endeavor to establish neo-nationalist identity essentially entailed a violation of the 1982 neighboring countries clause. This third textbook attack provoked NGOs in Japan and Korea to take firm actions in solidarity. They carried out joint movements against permission and distribution of the Tsukurukai's *New History Textbook*, and a years-long project to jointly create an auxiliary history textbook. These joint actions generated several publications including the following: *Korean Mission to Japan, History that Opens the Future, The Modern History of Korea and Japan: From the Perspective of Women, History of Korea and Japan Face-to-Face I*

Hereditary Enemy to Cordial Partner: The Franco-German History Textbook Work], *Yeoksa wa gyeonggye* 49 (2003): 139-170; Han Unsuk et al., *Gahae wa pihae eui gubun eul neomeo: Dogil-Polandeu yeoksa hwahae eui gil* [Beyond the Distinction Between Aggressor and Victim: Towards the French-German Historical Reconciliation] (Seoul: Dongbuga yeoksa jaedan [Northeast Asian History Foundation], 2008); Kim and Lee, *Hamkke sseuneun yeoksa*.

and II, and *A History of Mutual Exchanges.*[16]

Among these publications, *History that Opens the Future*, the result of collaboration among China, Japan, and South Korea, has attracted the greatest attention and controversy. The Asia Peace and History Education Network in Korea, the Children and Textbook Network 21 in Japan, and, from China, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Shanghai Normal University, and the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall have worked together as the main agents of this trilateral cooperation. Starting with the Nanjing Conference held in March 2002, eleven sessions of international academic conferences have been convened to publish in May 2005 a joint auxiliary textbook for the modern and contemporary histories of China, Japan, and South Korea.

This publication project began as a reaction to the distortion and glorification of Japanese colonialism and the Asia-Pacific War in Japanese right-wing history textbooks. The central themes were Japanese imperialism and resistance against it, victimized people, persons who acted beyond their national interests, requests for Japan's apology and repentance, and the process of reconciliation. The following is a list of this joint textbook's limitations and remaining challenges identified by

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[16] Hanil gongtong yeoksa gyojae jejaktim [Korea-Japan Common History Textbook Production Team], *Joseon tongshinsa* [Korean Mission to Japan] (Seoul: Hangilsa, 2005); Hanjungil samguk gongdong yeoksa pyeonchan wiwonhoe [China-Japan-Korea Common History Compilation Committee], *Mirae reul yeoneun yeoksa* [History that Opens the Future] (Seoul: Hankyoreh shinmunsa, 2006); Hanil yeoseong gongdong yeoksa gyojae pyeonchan wiwonhoe [The Korea-Japan Women Joint Publication Committee on History Textbooks], *Yeoseong eui nun ero bon Hanil geunhyeondaesa* [The Modern History of Korea and Japan: From the Perspective of Women] (Paju, South Korea: Hanul, 2005); Jeonguk yeoksa gyosa moim [Association of Korean History Teachers] and Rekishi kyōikusha kyōgikai [Council of History Educators in Japan], *Majubonun Hanilsa I, II* [History of Korea and Japan Face-to-Face I and II] (Paju, South Korea: Sakyejul, 2006); Yeoksa gyogwaseo yeonguhoe [Association of History Textbook Researchers] (Korea) and Rekishi kyōiku kenkyūkai [Association of History Education Researchers] (Japan), *Hanil yeoksa gongtong gyojae. Hanil gyoryu eui yeoksa: Seonsa eseo hyeondaekkaji* [History Education Material for Joint Use in Korea and Japan. A History of Mutual Exchanges: From Prehistoric to Modern Times] (Seoul: Hyean, 2007).

readers as well as by the authors:[17]

- Written predominantly from a nation-state perspective
- Overly weighted toward political history
- Considered Japanese imperialism as the agent of history, and the people of China and Japan as mere objects
- Controversial discussion over exactly when Japan emerged as an imperialist nation
- Controversial discussion over whether treaties signed until the Japanese annexation of Korea were internationally legitimate
- Lack of scientific verification of the statistics provided for victims of genocide and compulsory mobilization
- No concept established for East Asian history

The authors seem to have accepted the main points of criticism.[18] Since 2006, the participants of this trilateral project have been working on two books aimed at systematically providing an understanding of the development of East Asian modern history in the context of world history. The authors made great efforts to explain the structural changes of the political system and mutual relations of South Korea, China, and Japan in the context of their international relations, not only within but also beyond

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17 Asia Peace and History Institute, ed., *Dong Asia eseo yeoksa insik eui gukgyeong neomgi* [Going Beyond the Borderline of Historical Awareness in East Asia] (Seoul: Sunin, 2008). The third part includes reviews of *History that Opens the Future*. Iwasaki Minoru and Narita Ryūichi raise fundamental questions about the book's goal "to share historical understanding about Japan's war of aggression." See Ryuichi Narita and Minoru Iwasaki, "Writing History Textbooks in East Asia: The Possibilities and Pitfalls of 'History That Opens the Future,'" in *Contested Views of a Common Past: Revision of History in Contemporary East Asia*, ed. Steffi Richter (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2008), 271-283.

18 Hanjungil samguk gongdong yeoksa pyeonchan wiwonhoe, *Hanjungil i hamgge sseun Dong Asia geunhyeondaesa 1: Gukje gwangye eui byeondong euro ikneun Dong Asia eui yeoksa* [Modern and Contemporary East Asian History Written by South Korean, Chinese, and Japanese Historians: The History of East Asia in the Context of Changes in International Relations] (Seoul: Humanist, 2012), 5.

East Asia and especially in the context of their relations to the West. The two books were published in 2012.[19] The first of the two books treats chronologically the structural changes in the modern histories of the three nations, while the second thematically covers people's lives and exchanges among them. The authors strived to overcome earlier criticisms and to deepen the understanding of East Asian modern history by "bearing in mind the common goal of building a peace community in East Asia."[20]

3. Accomplishments and Limitations of Northeast Asian Dialogues on History Textbooks

3.1. Prerequisites for Dialogue: The Role of a National Government in Resolving Historical Conflicts

State support may be very helpful to long-term projects. The Northeast Asian History Foundation in South Korea is contributing to the East Asian historical reconciliation process by supporting numerous bilateral and multilateral projects such as encouraging transnational cooperation, promoting in-depth understanding of neighboring countries' histories, eliminating national prejudices, supporting programs for developing a regional (East Asian) identity, sponsoring bilateral and trilateral projects to publish auxiliary history textbooks, and supporting various events including the China-Japan-South Korea Youth History Summer Camp, teacher training programs, and the International NGO Conference on History and Peace. These activities of the Foundation, financially supported by the South Korean government, prove that a national

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[19] See footnote no. 16 in ibid. and Hanjungil samguk gongdong yeoksa pyeonchan wiwonhoe, *Hanjungil i hamggesseun Dong Asia geunhyeondaesa 2: Tema ro ikneun saram gwa gyoryu eui yeoksa* [Modern and Contemporary East Asian History Written by Korean, Chinese, and Japanese Historians: Thematic History of People and Their Exchanges] (Seoul: Humanist, 2012).

[20] *Hanjungil i hamgge sseun Dong Asia geunhyeondaesa*, 7, 360-361.

government can contribute to East Asian dialogues. One should, however, take note that the Foundation is inherently subject to national politics due to that national-level support. This places the Foundation at risk of being more mindful of public or political responses toward the more conspicuous issues, such as territorial disputes, and less attentive and critical when it comes to issues concerning South Korean history textbooks and education.

In contrast, the South Korean-Japanese Joint Committee for History Research made only limited achievements in spite of national support. When the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture monitored and licensed the Tsukurukai's *New History Textbook*, historical conflict escalated between Japan and South Korea. Thus, the two governments agreed upon establishing a committee to resolve the situation and launched the "South Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee" in March 2002. Made up of 22 committee members and chairmen, the committee faced conflicting opinions between South Korea and Japan surrounding the choice of a research methodology. While South Korea proposed to focus on controversial issues between South Korea and Japan and reflect the research outcomes in the history textbook to be compiled, Japan suggested that research themes be selected from the academic viewpoint instead of mainly covering history textbook-related issues. After more than three years of joint research and debate, the committee released a final report and halted its activities as of June 2005.

A second committee was subsequently formed with a total of 34 scholars assigned to four different research groups, one more group than the initial committee, which had been divided into ancient history, medieval and modern history, and modern and contemporary history. The second committee published a final report in February 2010 after two and one-half years of joint research.

The Japanese government has since appeared to be unwilling to commit a concerted effort to overcoming the uncomfortable past. It has appointed as committee members Japanese historians who are negative or

passive toward historical reconciliation, making it difficult to reach a consensus on controversial issues. Despite its limitations, the South Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee and its academic activities are still significant for being the first joint research attempt by historians of both countries with governmental support, and for identifying the great gap between the two countries in their awareness of history. In total, 49 South Korean and Japanese historians took part in five and one-half years of joint research throughout the two committees. This was a considerable achievement that expanded the exchange of research between South Korean and Japanese scholars. Their research achievements will help people of both countries gain a better understanding of current historical issues between South Korea and Japan. Depending upon cases, such achievements can also be used in compiling textbooks. Difficulties raised in the process of collaborating for research shall also be helpful for scholars of history in both countries for challenging them to more thoroughly study the history of Korean-Japanese relations.[21]

3.2. Accomplishments: Changes in Perspectives and Attitudes of the Participants, Overcoming Nation-state/Nationalist Viewpoints, Improved Understanding of the Histories of Neighboring Countries, and Lessons Learned from Exchanges over History Education

Joint discussions on textbooks have been an enlightening learning process. Those who participated in such discussions were not able to entirely shake off their nation-state perspective of history, but they were able to considerably revise it. This has been especially true for historians and history educators from China and South Korea rather than their

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[21] On the accomplishments and limits of the South Korean-Japanese Joint Committee for History Research, see Shin, *Yeoksa hwahae wa Dong Asia hyeong mirae mandeulgi*, 193-204.

Japanese counterparts. Even so, progressive and conscientious Japanese historians and school administrators were able to realize through these trilateral dialogues that their postwar historical perspective has been unacceptable for China and South Korea. Their knowledge of neighboring countries' history, along with their understanding of different interpretations of history, has therefore been further enriched. Moreover, all participants were able to learn from European textbook experts, including those from the Georg Eckert Institute in Germany.

One oversight many South Korean participants particularly make as they recount the discussions they had on East Asian textbooks is that they have unconsciously learned and gradually internalized many things from Japanese participants in terms of historical studies and history pedagogy, including their cosmopolitan values. As the influx of Europeans and Americans from the mid-nineteenth century caused turmoil, Japanese elites began adopting as their motto "Leaving Asia and Entering Europe" (脫亞入歐). Japanese historians and history educators accepted and internalized developments in European historical studies and history pedagogy earlier than China and South Korea. Social history and comparative history became integrated into historical studies, and in history pedagogy, historical consciousness came to be more highlighted than knowledge transfer. This trend encouraged textbooks to be developed into self-teaching materials. While South Korean scholars have long believed that "the historical truth" exists, Japanese scholars have valued the possession of multiple perspectives. Emulating this Japanese style of gradual learning might be able to facilitate having constructive bilateral discussions on textbooks. That is not to say Japanese historians and history educators are without shortcomings, one of which is that they are often trapped in relativism and have not been consistent or bold enough to continuously reflect their scholarly developments into textbooks.

3.3. Obstacles

The nation-state perspective still exerts a strong influence on bilateral or trilateral dialogues on textbooks, which is most prominent in Chinese committee members, followed by South Korean members. Japanese committee members, who had been involved in history textbook dialogues since the 1980s, thought on the other hand that history textbooks must not be swayed by joint historical interpretation because historical studies and narratives are bound to be infused with national culture and socio-educational goals. To them, understanding and respecting differences between their own historical interpretations and those of neighboring countries was what they sought to achieve from textbook dialogues. On the other hand, South Korean historians considered it improper to abandon the nation-state perspective, advocating progressive roles played by nationalism in cases such as Korean national liberation movements under the Japanese colonial rule and reunification movements after Korea's national division. We need not overestimate the nation-state perspective as an impassable obstacle to textbook dialogues, which may progress even as such a perspective is maintained.

Rather than its distortion of history in textbooks, Japanese provocation surrounding the sovereignty of the South Korean island Dokdo was what mainly provoked nationalist sentiments among South Koreans. This is where the most fundamental type of Korean thoughts and arguments can be encountered when it comes to historical disputes: few South Koreans listen to arguments from the Japanese side or look at their evidential documents. Wada Haruki, a Japanese expert on Korea, once remarked that Japan should have accepted Dokdo as South Korean territory, which then would have presented an opportunity for bilateral reconciliation. Japan should learn from the case of Germany that accepted the Oder-Neisse line as the border between Germany and Poland for historical reconciliation at the expense of an area larger than South Korea. There are several areas in East Asia that are suffering from territorial

disputes. Each of the concerned parties in such disputes should learn to relativize their own arguments and to understand each other's stances if they are not able to accept them. That is the point where a dialogue for a reasonable solution could be launched.

Voices from outside criticizing Japan's moral aspects have evoked defiance among many Japanese people, for their emotions of self-defense have been replaced by anti-Korean sentiments. These days, some Japanese intellectuals even say that it is better to let go of the past. Most South Korean intellectuals, however, adhere to their belief that a genuine apology from Japan for its atrocities, or Japan's coming to terms with the past, is a precondition for achieving historical reconciliation between the two countries and establishing an East Asian Community. This wide disparity between Japan and South Korea in their respective memories about the uncomfortable history they share remains the biggest obstacle to their reconciliation.

With South Korea's democratization in 1987, the South Korean memory culture also underwent a drastic democratization. Under the dictatorship of former presidents Park Chung-hee and Chun Doo-hwan, South Korean people felt that their memory about Japanese colonialism had been strongly suppressed. Once they were freed from suppression, however, they came to focus more firmly on their sufferings and censure wrongdoings committed by Japanese perpetrators. The situation has been further aggravated by the conservative memory politics of Japanese elites. Nevertheless, Japanese attitudes toward the settlement of the past should not be devalued by comparison with European cases, which will only frustrate attempts to resolve the conflict and to bring about reconciliation. What is needed is the willingness to slowly and steadily proceed together, beginning with learning to respect even the slightest efforts made by either side.

3.4. Search for Alternatives: Reconsidering Historical Thinking and Improving Teaching Methods and Concepts

The aforementioned recommendation for the German-Polish history textbook (hereafter as German-Polish recommendation) offers many important lessons for the improvement of history education in East Asia. It reflects the accomplishments of the historiography and history education in Europe over the past few decades. It underlines at first that history is always a construction.[22] Historical thinking here is far from being the process of searching for the truth. The students should learn that there is no "one history." However, many South Korean historians still believe that there is a single historical truth. This belief greatly obstructs dialogue between South Korean and Japanese historians. Historical conflicts cannot be solved if the contending parties continue to insist on a single truth. One party would always accuse the other of distorting the historical truth.

For several decades, multiperspectivity has been one of the central principles in historical learning in Europe through which historical issues are described based on perspectives of various persons involved. The diversity of perspectives seems to have developed from different themes including gender, interests, religious beliefs, or other convictions. Klaus Bergmann points out three dimensions of multiple perspectives in historical education. A perspective is consciously or unconsciously revealed in historical resources that were left behind by persons who were involved in certain historical events (multiperspectivity, G. *multiperspektivität*). Interpretations of historical issues based on various perspectives lead to controversies in the historical sciences (controversiality, G. k*ontroversität*).[23] German history textbooks refer to many

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[22] *Schulbuch Geschichte. Ein deutsch-polnisches Projekt – Empfehlungen*, 13.

[23] Klaus Bergmann, "Multiperspektivität," in *Handbuch Methoden im Geschichtsunterricht* (Schwalbach am Taunus: Wochenschau Verlag, 2004), 55-56.

historical sources and various interpretations by historians. They promote the plurality of views and judgments among students as they let the students grapple with resources that project multiple perspectives and controversial interpretations.

The German-Polish recommendation admits itself to new principles of international history education. It takes into consideration, above all, the concepts of multiperspectivity and controversiality. Historical resources in the textbook have to reflect historical events from various points of view, for example, juxtaposing central with peripheral, poor with rich, women with men, and the colonized with the colonial ruler. The recommendation, on the other hand, advises deployment of the interpretations of historians and the texts of textbook authors in such a way that they stimulate reflection and facilitate alternative interpretations, according to the concept of controversiality. "The students should be thus encouraged and enabled to recognize the given narratives, to evaluate, to assess critically and, if necessary, to discard (evaluating competence). They should be capable of dealing with this plurality of opinions and evaluations on historical events and in doing so, they should bear in mind their current situation or actual circumstances (action competence, G. *handlungskompetenz*)."[24]

This paper proposes the following strategies of interpretation:

- The authors' texts should not dominate, but be paired with visual historical resources with enough room for controversial evaluations or comments.
- The resources should not only confirm the statements of the authors' texts, but also complement or object to them, leaving students with chances to critically consider them on their own.

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[24] *Schulbuch Geschichte. Ein deutsch-polnisches Projekt – Empfehlungen*, 15.

- The change of perspectives should be emphasized in order to reinforce the ability to critically analyze and interpret historical data as well as their evaluation.
- The students should be able to apply methods of deconstruction and reconstruction to all available materials. For this, textbook authors should make their own perspectives known and encourage students to discuss them.
- Various encouragements should be offered to take up projects or other initiatives (action and product orientation, G. *handlungs- und produktorientierung*) for approaching history.[25]

Historical materials that reflect perspectives of other countries regarding mutual controversies should be provided to students in tandem with formal history textbooks, so as to eliminate unnecessary adherence to a single nation-state interpretation of history. Competence in democratic citizenship can be nurtured upon becoming freed from traditional history education that views history textbooks as the scripture of an official nation-state history and standardizes historical knowledge. Textbooks should be developed into self-teaching materials with different historical interpretations and supplementary data to become a better tool for peace education, with which students may make their own historical judgments. Far more pages and classes are needed for that to happen.[26] In the early 2000s when Japan's third textbook attack enraged South Koreans, some of them took it as an opportunity to self-reflect on their own history education. At the Third Symposium on South Korean History Textbooks organized by the Civilian Movement for Correcting Japan-Distorted Textbooks, Ji Su-geol criticized the national/nation-state perspective in South Korean textbooks, arguing that a textbook raising many good

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[25] Ibid., 15-16.

[26] The proportion of narrative texts by authors in Germany's history textbook is as low as 25-30% of all pages.

questions is desirable rather than a textbook that forces a single answer upon students.[27]

From National to Regional History

One of the challenges in bilateral or trilateral textbook dialogues is to identify an alternative for the nation-state perspective on history. Efforts are being made to discover a new East Asian perspective: how should we define East Asia in terms of physical space? Are the use of chopsticks and the presence of the monsoon essential factors, as Reinhard Zöllner of the University of Bonn has argued? What about Chinese characters or Confucianism? Some have raised criticisms against the book *History that Opens the Future* for failing to cover Vietnam, Mongolia, North Korea, and Taiwan. How to establish criteria to define East Asia has remained an ongoing question. Interests in East Asian discourses vary in size and type among China, Japan, and South Korea. Influenced by their traditional Sino-centrism, Chinese historians do not seem much interested in such discourses. Japanese intellectuals are skeptical because the concept of such discourses invokes "the Great East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" propaganda of the Japanese military regime during the Asia-Pacific War, a half-hearted stance that may also be ascribed to their motto of "Leaving Asia and Entering Europe." East Asian discourses have become most active in South Korea since the 1990s. The South Korean Ministry of Education, Science and Technology has adopted an optional East Asian history course for high school curricula from 2012. In South Korea, however, perspectives on regional history have not been sufficiently

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[27] Ji Su-geol, "Guksa kyogwaseo gukjeong cheje eui munjejeom gwa daean mosaek" [Problems of and Alternatives to the National Management of Korean History Textbooks], in *Hanguksa gyogwaseo eui huimang eul chajaseo: 21-segi Hanguksa kyogwaseo wa yeoksa kyoyuk eui banghyang* [Finding Hope for Korean History Textbooks: Direction of Korean History Textbooks and History Education in the 21st Century] (Seoul: Yeoksa bipyeongsa, 2003).

developed. To achieve further progress, it may be worth attempting to draw implications from the efforts made earlier by the European Union and the Council of Europe to foster a European identity through history education.

Although the founding of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951 triggered European integration and the Council of Europe endeavored early on to reinforce European awareness among students, a clear improvement in Germany's history education only appeared as late as the 1990s. Reinforcement of the European identity among young Germans and their awareness of the European integration came to be considered as an urgent challenge in the turmoil of events such as the fall of the Berlin Wall, the German unification, and the European Union's expansion. The revision of German history textbooks entailed an increase in pages to include Europe's common developments and to highlight a comparison between the history of Germany and that of other European countries.

West Germany, as one of the leaders in the European integration, worked together with the European Union and the Council of Europe in strengthening a European dimension in education at each country. The European integration took steps to gradually expand its scope, so that most of the eastern European countries have joined the European Union since the 1990s. However, it should be noted that there had long been discussions and research on common European cultural heritage, which made a crucial contribution to the later social and economic integration of Europe. On the contrary, in East Asia, where political integration is far out of reach, countries need to first seek a common cultural identity upon which they can build a common political community. This rings true, especially considering that conflicts surrounding history are the biggest obstacle for an East Asian community.

The concept of a European tradition originated from western and central European cultures, but has been extended as the European integration proceeded and expanded its scope. Until the 1980s, defining a

European tradition referred to highlighting the Western European civilization that has subsisted amid the flow of ancient Greece, the Roman Empire, medieval Christian society, the Renaissance in Italy, the Reformation in Germany, the Age of Discovery and European colonialism led by Spain and Portugal, the French Enlightenment, the Industrial Revolution that started from Great Britain, and European imperialism. Then in the 1990s when the European integration spread into Eastern Europe, other historical entities and events—the Byzantine Empire, the Greek Orthodox church, and confrontation against and interaction with Muslims—were given significance as part of the European tradition. Defining "European" has now become a far more complicated and difficult challenge. Thus, it is necessary to recognize diversity in European culture along with efforts to find its common roots. In addition, emphasis is being put on the need to teach about the European integration's political and economic aspects, and of relevant ideas and organizations that have developed since 1945.

The European integration tells us that defining a common Asian cultural tradition should start with a narrower scope, such as Northeast Asia or Southeast Asia, which would then be expanded into East Asia based upon ample research. Comparative historical studies could identify commonalities and differences among countries and sub-regions in terms of various cultural factors such as Chinese characters, Confucianism, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity. Pursuing an understanding of commonalities as well as differences may help in examining how each of the East Asian countries confronted threats from imperialism and how each case of confrontation led to differences in their later historical development. This also holds true for the formation and progress of the Cold War structure in East Asia. Once an East Asian historical tradition has been uncovered by identifying the region's common cultural foundation and its different modes of confrontation against external challenges, preparations shall have been made for cultural and economic interactions to be promoted across the whole of Asia. While the European

integration is trying to establish a "Europe of (diverse) regions" upon common cultural grounds of a single Christian civilization, Asia may aim for a loose community where different civilizations interact with one another. Therefore, defining an Asian identity, which will be harder than the European case, should be carried out in a different way. More attention should be given to researching the exchange of cultures and goods between Asian civilizations. For instance, apart from the Silk Road, cultural and economic exchanges made through the maritime trade route that connected Bohai Bay, Japan, the South China Sea, the Indochina Peninsula, the Indian Ocean, and the Arab region would count as an important topic.

History education should be geared toward conveying the outcomes of such academic research on forming an Asian tradition. An international organization may be established at the Asian level, beyond the East Asian level, to improve history education. Education policies of the European Union, the Council of Europe, the Georg Eckert Institute, and each government for raising European awareness in school curricula should all be good references to consult. Transnational/regional interaction and understanding among teachers and students through exchange programs, youth camps, cooperation projects, and contests would be able to function as vehicles for developing an East Asian, or Asian identity.

Global History

At the turn of the century, some South Korean historians, especially those studying Western history, began to take interest in global history. Remarkable publications from Europe, the United States, China, and Japan were introduced into South Korea, kindling local discussions on global history.[28] The main topics of such publications translated into the

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[28] Han Unsuk, "Globalisierung aus asiatischer Sicht: Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Diskurse

Korean language are as follows:

1) Theoretical studies on global history[29]
2) Criticism of Eurocentric interpretations of world history[30]
3) Asian, Islamic, Latin American, and African histories, which have so far been insufficiently dealt with in world history[31]
4) Interaction between different regions of the world, and issues that can be properly understood only in a global context[32]

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um Global History in Südkorea," *Berliner Debatte Initial* 23, no. 4 (2012): 92-98.

29 Pamela Kyle Crossley, *What is Global History?* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2008). In the preface to the following co-edited book on global history, Sebastian Conrad and Andreas Eckert present relevant studies in a very organized manner: Sebastian Conrad and Andreas Eckert, "Globalgeschichte, Globalisierung, multiple Modernen: Zur Geschichtsschreibung der modernen Welt," in *Globalgeschichte: Theorien, Ansätze, Themen* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2007), 7-52.

30 Giovanni Arrighi, *Janggi isipsegi: Hwape gwollyeok geurigo eurisidae eui giwon* [The Long Twentieth Century: Money, Power and the Origins of Our Times], trans. Baek Seung-Wook (Seoul: Greenbee, 2008); Giovanni Arrighi, *Beijing eui Adam Smith: Isipilsegi eui gyebo* [Adam Smith in Beijing: Lineages of the Twenty-First Century], trans. Kang Jin-a (Seoul: Gil, 2009); Andre Gunder Frank, *Riorienteu* [ReOrient], trans. Lee Hee-jae (Seoul: Yeesan, 2003); Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Eureob paeggwon ijeon: Sipsamsegi segye cheje* [Before European Hegemony: The 13th Century World System], trans. Park Heung-sik (Seoul: Kachi Publishing, 2006); Steven Topik and Kenneth Pomeranz, *Seoltang, keopi geurigo pognyeok: Gyoyeok euro ikneun segyesa sanchaek* [Sugar, Coffee, and Violence: A Walk Through Trade in World History], trans. Park Kwang-sik (Seoul: Simsan, 2003); James M. Blaut, *Eureob jungsimjueui reul bipanhanda: Yeoksahak eui hamjeong* [Criticizing Eurocentrism: The Trap of History], trans. Park Gwang-sik (Seoul: Pureunsup, 2008); John M. Hobson, *Seogu munmyeong eun dongyang eseo sijak doeeotda* [Western Civilisation Originated from the East], trans. Jung Gyeong-ok (Seoul: Ecolivres, 2005); Paul A. Cohen, *Hakmun eui jegukjueui: Orientallizeum gwa jungguksa* [Imperialism of Study: Orientalism and Chinese History], trans. Lee Nam-hee (Seoul: Sanhae, 2003); Sandra Halperin, *Eureob eui jabonjueui: Jasaengjeok baljeon inga, jongsokjeok baljeon inga* [Capitalism of Europe: Autonomous or Dependent Development?], trans. Choi Jae-in (Seoul: Yongeui sup, 2009). In addition to these, some Chinese and Japanese papers have been translated into Korean.

31 Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *Marshall Hodgson eui segyesaron* [Marshall Hodgson's Thoughts on World History], ed. Edmund Burke, trans. Yi Eun Jeong (Seoul: Sakyejul Publishing, 2006); Walter D. Mignolo, *Latin America, madeureojin daeryuk: Sikminjeok sangcheo wa talsikminjeok jeonhwan* [Latin America, a Made Continent: Colonial Scars and Postcolonial Switch], trans. Kim Eun-joong (Seoul: Greenbee, 2010).

32 William H. McNeill, *Jeonyeombyeong eui segyesa* [Plagues and Peoples], trans. Kim Woo-young (Seoul: Yeesan, 2005); John R. McNeill and William H. McNeill, *Hyumeon web: Segyehwa eui*

5) The big history that studies the relationship between humans and nature from the perspective of cosmic, geographical, and environmental history[33]

Studies on the fourth topic involving global history mentioned above could present a new direction that may help to overcome nation-state historical perspectives in textbooks. Current phenomena—industrialization, dominance of industrial capitalism, environmental problems, rise and fall of races in the process of globalization process, colonialism and imperialism, deportation and the diaspora, homogenization/differentiation among cultures, change in perception of time and space, changes in transportation and communication, and the emergence of the information society—can no longer be explained within the nation-state framework. Rather, the formation of the nation-state framework itself—nationalism, nation-states, and national markets—could be better understood in a wider context of colonial interventions and global capitalism. As researchers have begun to take note of such interactions at a global level, increasing attention is being given to the history of macro-spaces such as ancient empires, the Mediterranean Sea, the Atlantic Ocean, and the Indian Ocean.[34]

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segyesa [The Human Web: Globalization of World History], trans. Kim Woo-young and Yoo Jung-hee (Seoul: Yeesan, 2007); William H. McNeill, J*eonjaeng eui segyesa* [World History of War], trans. Shin Mi-won (Seoul: Yeesan, 2005); William H. McNeill, *Segye eui yeoksa* [A World History], trans. Kim Woo-young (Seoul: Yeesan, 2007).

33 David Christian, *Geodaesa: Bikbaeng eseo isipilsegi kkaji geullobeol neteuwokeu eui yeoksa, segyesa eui saeroun daean* [Big History: A Global Network's History between the Big Bang and the 21st Century, a New Alternative to Global History], trans. Kim Seo-hyung and Kim Yong-woo (Seoul: Seohaemunjip, 2009); Cynthia Stokes Brown, *Big Hiseutori: Uju, jigu, saengmyeong, ingan eui yeoksa reul tonghap hada* [Big History: Merging the Histories of the Cosmos, Earth, Life and Man], trans. Lee Geun-young (Seoul: Pressian Books, 2009).

34 For studies on the Indian Ocean as a topic of the trans-regional historical narrative, see Ulrike Freitag and William Gervase Clarence-Smith, *Hadhrami Traders, Scholars and Statesmen in the Indian Ocean, 1750s-1960s* (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Michael Naylor Pearson, *The Indian Ocean* (London: Routledge, 2003); Markus P. M. Vink, "Indian Ocean Studies and the 'New

East Asian Style Textbook Dialogues versus European Style Textbook Dialogues?

Are the French-German, or German-Polish dialogues on history textbooks unrealizable and unsuitable for the East Asian region? Shin Ju-baek underlines the point that East Asian textbook dialogues take a different direction than European textbook dialogues due to disparities in regional situations. He emphasizes that it would be difficult to expect dialogues on textbooks to take place at a national level in East Asia where they would need to be supported by immediate political measures. In this context, progressive intellectuals in civil society should take the lead by swiftly publishing joint auxiliary textbooks, sensitizing the public, initiating discussions, encouraging the continuation of textbook dialogues, and urging governments to take actions.[35]

It should, however, be kept in mind that the outcomes of textbook dialogues cannot be reflected in formal textbooks without official support from concerned governments. The Japanese-Korean auxiliary textbook project, carried out by a small group of progressive or Korea-friendly Japanese scholars and teachers, was not accepted by the Japanese public or academia. To make a greater impact on Japanese civil society, it is necessary to expand the scope of such dialogues to reach even centrist and conservative Japanese historians. When a consensus and trust between Japan and South Korea develops further, it should be worth trying European style textbook dialogues. If it proves difficult to gain governmental support, it will then be necessary to convince more Japanese historians and history educators to support such dialogues, which would in turn help obtain support from the Japanese civil society—a process likely to require much patience and time.

Thalassology,'" *Journal of Global History* 2, no. 1 (2007): 41-62.

35 See Shin, *Yeoksa hwahae wa Dong Asia hyeong mirae mandeulgi*, 204-215.

Closing

East Asia, with its rapid economic development, is expected to play a constructive role for world peace. Peaceful regional cooperation presupposes historical reconciliation, for which dialogues on textbooks will be important. To bring about reconciliation, and not repeat misery from the past, we must not turn away from uncomfortable history, but face it with sincerity. East Asian peace and prosperity can be accomplished through the establishment of an East Asian Community as successful as the European Union, with an East Asian identity as its basis. Developing main concepts of East Asian regional history shall take great efforts over an extended period of time. In this regard, lessons learned from the cases of Europe and other regions in composing their joint history textbooks should offer a good guideline and encouragement. Attention should above all be paid to the fact that new principles and concepts of history education contributed much to the revision of history textbooks and to historical reconciliation. Only when freed from the belief that historical truths alone should be represented can real dialogues be initiated between neighboring countries. History textbooks should no longer be used as an instrument to indoctrinate students with national or nationalist spirit. They should have much more space to introduce historical resources from various perspectives (multiperspectivity) and different interpretations among historians about historical events (controversiality). History should be taught as a thought provoking subject that promotes the plurality of views and judgments. Textbooks should no longer be treated as cannons that drill in historical truths. They should be downscaled to leave much more room for other materials that can stimulate students to think critically. History teaching should overcome the narrow perspective that solely focuses on national history and should incorporate more regional and global perspectives. Small innovations in the classrooms will slowly but steadily contribute to historical reconciliation in East Asia.

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Conference Report

“Koguryo Stele Inscriptions as Historical Sources”: A Panel at the Association of Asian Studies 2014 Annual Conference

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"Koguryo Stele Inscriptions as Historical Sources": A Panel at the Association of Asian Studies 2014 Annual Conference

I. Introduction

The 2014 annual conference of the Association for Asian Studies (AAS) was held from March 27-30 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in the United States. For this conference, a group of researchers from the Northeast Asian History Foundation organized the panel "Koguryo Stele Inscriptions as Historical Sources" in celebration of the 1600th anniversary of the erection of the Gwanggaeto Stele, the most valuable historical source from Koguryo.[1] The four researchers gave their presentations in the following order:

1. Kyung-sook Keum, "The Gwanggaeto Stele and the Myth of Koguryo's Founder"

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[1] The panel members wish to express their deep gratitude to Professor John Duncan, of the University of California, Los Angeles, not only for chairing the panel session, but also for providing much valuable advice in organizing the panel. The panelists look forward to meeting again with scholars of East Asian studies from around the world to further discuss issues concerning the ancient Korean kingdom of Koguryo.

2. Seong-je Lee, “The Historical Significance of the Gwanggaeto Stele”
3. Hyun-sook Kim, “Research Trends in Tomb Guards in the Inscriptions of the Gwanggaeto and Koguryo Stelae in Ji’an”
4. Kwang-eui Ko, “What Stelae Reveal about Koguryo’s Written Culture”

The main purpose of this panel, which was chaired by John Duncan, Professor of Korean History at the University of California, Los Angeles, was to introduce recent findings and current research trends in Korean scholarship on Koguryo stelae. With the paucity of written documents from early Korean history, the value of the inscription on the Gwanggaeto Stele can never be over-emphasized. The stele text was composed by Koguryo people in the early fifth century, and it reflects their own perspectives on their politics, international status, and society. Although the inscription on the Gwanggaeto Stele has been researched extensively from many different angles since its discovery in the late nineteenth century, Koguryo stelae discovered subsequently in Korea in 1979 and in Ji’an in 2012 generated new insights into the Gwanggaeto Stele’s significance and interpretation of its inscription. By introducing the recent scholarly development among Korean historians, the panel offered a more comprehensive understanding of Koguryo’s politics, society, and culture and facilitated an exchange of ideas among international scholars.

Throughout the presentations and discussion, the panel agreed that the Gwanggaeto Stele was created in an effort to evince the world view held by Koguryo’s royal family in the early fifth century and that it represents the status Koguryo held in the world of Eastern Yi (東夷). In ancient societies, inscriptions on stone monuments served a vital role as official documents. In this regard, the Stele’s great value as historical material cannot be stressed enough for not only disclosing the Koguryo royal family’s thoughts on private possessions in the fifth century, but also containing highly important details which cannot be found in other written sources.

II. Presentation Highlights

The session began with a brief introduction of the Gwanggaeto Stele. The Gwanggaeto Stele was erected in 414 CE, the second year of King Jangsu's reign. This stele is immense in size, at a height of 6.4 meters, a width of 1.45 meters, and an estimated weight of 35 to 37 tons. Simple and minimally adorned, its structure has an independent style different from other contemporary Northeast Asian tombstones, and the calligraphy of the inscription is unique and aesthetically admirable. The inscription on the Gwanggaeto Stele has 1,802 characters and is broadly composed of three parts: first, a genealogical biography of King Gwanggaeto that identifies Jumong as the kingdom's founding father; second, a chronicle of King Gwanggaeto's territorial conquests; and third, administrative records and instructions regarding tomb guards. Aspects of these three parts were discussed by Kyung-sook Keum, Seong-je Lee, and Hyun-sook Kim, while Kwang-eui Ko highlighted the calligraphic style of the inscription from the viewpoint of comparative cultural history.

Kyung-sook Keum's presentation focused on the first part of the Gwanggaeto Stele's inscription, in particular, the myth of Koguryo's founding father, Jumong. The Gwanggaeto Stele's inscription states that Jumong was from Northern Buyeo, whereas *Samguk sagi* (三國史記 History of the Three Kingdoms) states that Jumong was from Eastern Buyeo. By comparing the times when these differing accounts of Jumong's origin were recorded, Keum argued that these conflicting accounts were politically motivated by the ruling household of Koguryo, which desired to claim the authenticity of its royal line and secure its position in power.

Seong-je Lee examined the second part of the Gwanggaeto Stele's inscription, which sheds light on the regional order among the ancient kingdoms in Northeast Asia. Lee claimed that the stele carries historical significance in the following regards: (i) Koguryo erected an immense monument with a unique appearance, distinguished from other

conventional stelae in the region, as a medium to proclaim a new national order (ii) The inscription on the stele supplements the limitations of Chinese documents written from the perspectives of Chinese dynasties, providing Koguryo's perspectives on the political and military order of the Liaodong (遼東) region, an arena of competition in ancient Northeast Asia (iii) Finally, the Gwanggaeto Stele provides evidence for a "regional world" led by Koguryo, independent from a world revolving around China.

Hyun-sook Kim compared the description of tomb guards on the Gwanggaeto Stele with that on the Koguryo Stele recently discovered in Ji'an in 2012. While the Ji'an Koguryo Stele contains a fairly similar description of tomb guards, it also has accounts that are dissimilar to those in the Gwanggaeto Stele inscription. This has spawned debate among Korean scholars over tomb guards of that period, which Kim covered by introducing research trends in Korean academia on tomb guards described in the two stele inscriptions. The importance of understanding the tomb guard system lies in its direct connection to social and economic issues in ancient East Asia.

Finally, Kwang-eui Ko showed that the appearance of the Gwanggaeto Stele and the calligraphic style in its inscription provides important clues to further understanding the history and culture of Koguryo. The unique stone-pillar shape of the Stele is clearly different from the style common to other monuments erected at the time in East Asia, demonstrating that Koguryo had sought for an identity of its own while maintaining communication with its neighbors, including central China. Ko also introduced diverse calligraphic styles that can be seen in other remains from the Koguryo era.

III. The Main Issues Discussed

Comments made during the discussion that followed the presentations include:

1. The founding myth of Koguryo provides a new understanding of the relationship between Koguryo and Eastern Buyeo. Comparative studies of the myth by applying an East Asian perspective should be able to contribute in making further progress.

2. Discussing the Koguryo-oriented regional order, developing separately from a world order centered around the Sui (隋) and Tang (唐) dynasties, is significant since such a discussion extends to those on the history of pre-modern Korea as well as Joseon.

3. Research on the social status of tomb guards that appear in the inscription on the Ji'an Koguryo stele should be approached within a broader historical context, such as the social structure of Koguryo at the time.

4. The unique forms of Koguryo stelae and the characteristics of calligraphic styles found in their inscriptions provide important clues to understanding the history and culture of Koguryo.

In response to the first comment, Kyung-sook Keum discussed her plan for comparative research on the foundation myths of various East Asian peoples. The important motif of Koguryo's foundation myth came from Northern Buyeo, and it also shares similar elements with those of the Tuoba clan and Mongols. Therefore, she believes that comparative research on such myths will reveal universalities and particularities in Koguryo's own story about its foundation. The comments and suggestions that emerged during the discussion will be consulted in the future to improve the papers presented at the panel.

The Gwanggaeto Stele and the Myth of Koguryo's Founder

Kyung-sook Keum

Introduction

Tombstones and inscriptions on tombs, as well as documents, provide significant information about ancient times. As there are not enough written documents remaining from the early period, such inscriptions engraved in stones are important historical materials. Their value therefore lies in the fact that the materials were created at that time. In this regard, the historical significance of the Gwanggaeto Stele erected 1,600 years ago cannot be stressed enough.

The Gwanggaeto Stele was erected in 414, the second year of the reign of King Gwanggaeto's son King Jangsu. The inscription on the tombstone is largely comprised of three parts. The first part describes the founding myth of Koguryo along with its royal genealogy and the life history of King Gwanggaeto. The second part chronicles King Gwanggaeto's external activities and achievements. And the third part concerns the tomb guards (*sumyoin* 守墓人) of royal tombs. This presentation today will introduce the trends of research in Korean academia on the myth of Jumong, or the founding myth of Koguryo.

1. What the Founding Myth of Koguryo (The Myth of Jumong) Tells Us

The Gwanggaeto Stele is 6.39 meters tall and from 1.3 to 2 meters wide. It is estimated to weigh more than 34 tons. At present, among the inscriptions on the tombstone, 1,775 characters are legible. The first part is comprised of 242 characters and is relatively well maintained compared to the rest of the inscription. The inscription begins by briefly covering the founder Jumong's origin, birth, south-bound migration, and the founding of Koguryo. The description is highly significant in that it was recorded by Koguryo people themselves, reflecting the ruling class's own recognition of the kingdom's founder. The inscription on the Gwanggaeto Stele can be said to be the closest resemblance to the founding myth passed down across the domain of Koguryo.

The first paragraph of the Gwanggaeto Stele inscription includes the following: "The first ancestor King Jumong (鄒牟王) laid the foundations of our state. He came forth from Northern Buyeo (北夫餘) as the son of the Celestial Emperor (天帝). His mother was the daughter of the Earl of the River (河伯). He was born by cracking an egg and was endowed with heavenly virtue. (After going through many challenges) he built a fortress and established his capital upon the mountain west of Holbon (忽本) in Piryu Valley (沸流谷). On the hill east of Cholbon, the King ascended to heaven."

The founding myth engraved in the tombstone narrates in the order of Jumong's "birth–travel–foundation of a state–ascension." This corresponds to a narrative structure common to founding myths. The unique circumstance of Jumong's migration in order to found Koguryo could have been the cause for adopting such a common structure. The founding myth of Koguryo makes multiple appearances in Chinese and Korean records, as well as in epigraphs. Its contents vary: some are very brief, others are more detailed or complicated, and some share similarities while others contain details that conflict with those in other records.

Inscriptions in stone include those on the Gwanggaeto Stele and the Moduru tomb epitaph (牟頭婁墓誌). Chinese history texts such as *Book of Wei* (魏書), *Book of Liang* (梁書), *Book of Zhou* (周書), *Book of Sui* (隋書), and *History of the Northern Dynasties* (北史) have separate sections on Koguryo (高句麗傳). Korean history texts which describe Koguryo history include *Samguk sagi* (三國史記 History of the Three Kingdoms), *Samguk yusa* (三國遺事 Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) and *Dongmyeong-wang pyeon* (東明王篇 Lay of King Dongmyeong) in *Dongguk Yi Sangguk jip* (東國李相國集 Collected Works of Minister Yi) written by Yi Gyu-bo.

By reviewing how the name of the founder has been recorded, the lineage of all these materials can be identified. Koguryo epigraphs refer to the progenitor as King Chumo (鄒牟王), while Chinese documents say Jumong (朱蒙). On the other hand, *Samguk sagi* and *Dongmyeong-wang pyeon* describe that "the founder's royal title (王號) is Dongmyeong (東明) and his given name is Jumong." *Samguk yusa* states, "King Dongmyeong's given name is Jumong, but it is also written as Chumong (鄒蒙)." As Jumong and Chumo are different written expressions of the same pronunciation, they can both be considered as referring to the forefather of Koguryo. Despite differences in detail or in the length of the stories found in documents such as *Samguk sagi* and *Dongmyeong-wang pyeon*, they all seem to have been derived from *Gu Samguksa* (舊三國史 Old History of the Three Kingdoms). Given that the kingdoms Buyeo, Koguryo, and Baekje all identified their founder as King Dongmyeong, the myth seems to have been passed down among them, and as tribes of the same Buyeo descent split off and migrated, they modified or recreated the original myth.

There are largely two arguments regarding how the Jumong myth came to be created and established. One argues that the reason the Gwanggaeto Stele inscription states that Jumong was from Northern Buyeo, while *Samguk sagi* records that Jumong was from Eastern Buyeo is because the myth's establishment took place throughout two different

periods. Scholars supportive of this theory take the fifth-century tombstone inscription describing that Jumong came from Northern Buyeo as evidence identifying when the Jumong myth was established. Another basis for this theory are descriptions in *Koguryo bongi* (高句麗本紀 Records of Koguryo) in *Samguk sagi* referring to the north while tracing Koguryo's trade relations with Buyeo.

How then do these scholars understand the relationship between Northern Buyeo and Eastern Buyeo? The answer to this question calls for a brief overview of the history of Buyeo. Centered in Jilin (吉林), Buyeo was invaded by Murong Xianbei (慕容鮮卑) in 285. The invasion was a deathblow to Buyeo, resulting in the loss of its capital and its king's suicide. It also forced some groups to flee in the direction of Northern Okjeo (北沃沮). Buyeo was later able to reclaim the Jilin area with the support of Jin (晉). When Koguryo conquered Longshan (鹿山), or modern Jilin, in the early fourth century, Buyeo moved west, closer to the Former Yan (前燕). Nevertheless, the invasion by Murong Huang (慕容皝) in 345 left Buyeo irreparably damaged and barely surviving. Consequently, Buyeo surrendered to Koguryo in 494. Given this history, Buyeo moved to Northern Okjeo at the end of the third century and later returned to its original capital in Jilin around the fourth century, which shows that they had regarded the Northern Okjeo area, where the remaining Buyeo people resided, as Eastern Buyeo.

Koguryo conquered the center of Buyeo over the first half of the fourth century. Koguryo also suffered great damage in 342, the twelfth year of the reign of King Kogugwon (故國原王), when King Murong Huang of the Former Yan invaded its capital. In order to overcome the national crisis, Koguryo conducted institutional reforms during the rule of King Sosurim (小獸林王). After stabilizing domestic affairs, King Gwanggaeto strengthened Koguryo's national power by expanding its territory. Territorial expansion and population growth allowed Koguryo's royal family to internally and externally declare themselves as descendants of heaven. King Jangsu's erection of a huge monument after

King Gwanggaeto's death declaring that the first ancestor of Koguryo was from Northern Buyeo thereby emphasized Koguryo's authority and symbolism. However, as conflicts over succession to the throne diminished Koguryo's royal authority and changed its political system in the mid-sixth century, those from Eastern Buyeo seem to have altered the myth to emphasize the influence of Eastern Buyeo. Later historical documents such as *Samguk sagi* are believed to reflect these alterations.

A different argument posits that the myth of Jumong was created from the beginning of Koguryo. Scholars who support this explanation take its basis from not only the Gwanggaeto Stele inscription, but also from tales involving Jumong that are cited in *Onjo-wang bongi* (溫祚王本紀 Records of King Onjo) in *Samguk sagi*, which contains Baekje's version of the story. This argument understands the Jumong myth to have been created when the Gyeru tribe (桂婁部), which was Jumong's major supporter, founded a state in the areas of Cholbon (卒本) and the Gungnae Fortress (國內城). The structure and episodes of the Dongmyeong myth, handed down among the Koguryo royal family and the Buyeo tribe, were borrowed and developed into the Jumong myth. This puts the myth's creation at around the third month of the third year of King Daemushin's reign, when the tomb of King Dongmyeong was constructed. According to this argument, the basic structure of a myth is created when it is necessary, and once the myth is nationally accepted and recorded, it earns a sanctity which cannot be easily changed. This interpretation therefore supposes that although it may be possible to make small adjustments as a myth is transmitted, such adjustments do not affect its basic structure.

In terms of the birth of Jumong, this argument highlights what is recorded in *Samguk sagi*. The part which describes the reign of King Dongmyeong notes that Jumong was born in Eastern Buyeo, founded according to a heavenly order by Buyeo's King Haeburu (解夫婁) at Gaseopwon (迦葉原) on the eastern coast of the Korean Peninsula. Given the description that Haemosu (解慕漱), the alleged son of the Celestial Emperor (天帝), took power in Buyeo's old capital after Haeburu (解夫婁)

moved out, it seems that Haeburu's group migrated to the east due to conflicts with Haemosu's group. Yuhwa (柳花) had sexual relations with Haemosu and gave birth to Jumong. In this regard, Jumong was born in Eastern Buyeo, but his paternal line came from Buyeo. This argument is interesting for presuming that Eastern Buyeo was established before Jumong was born and that Jumong had certain relations with Buyeo, unlike the other argument which insists Eastern Buyeo was created in the third century.

2. The Function of the Founding Myth of Koguryo

Central to the Jumong myth are the premises that Jumong is the "son of the Celestial Emperor" and that his mother is the "Earl of the River" (河伯). These premises mean that the Koguryo king's legitimacy was rooted upon the belief that the king is the son of heaven and a descendant of Habaek (河伯), the god of agriculture that guarantees prosperity. The Moduru tomb epitaph's reference to Jumong as the son of heaven demonstrates that noble families also wanted to display their close relationships with the royal family. The phrase "the grandson of the Earl of the River, the son of the sun and moon" (河伯之孫, 日月之子) is repeated three times in the Moduru tomb epitaph. Such repetition emphasizes that their ancestors came from Northern Buyeo along with Jumong, revealing the long history of these noble families and their close relationship with the royal family from the early days. This sort of ostentation would have been connected to the practical interests of solidifying a noble family's political standing.

How, then, was this symbolic founding myth of Koguryo sustained and recognized anew? The royal family and the ruling class passed down the founding myth by engraving it in epigraphs. This would have contributed to legitimizing the royal family's authority since inscriptions on stone monuments also served as official documents. In addition, the myth might have been expressed in the form of a heavenly ritual called

dongmaeng (東盟), held as a national harvest ceremony (國中大會) of Koguryo. Reenacting the myth through ritual procedures would have helped people remember the founding father of Koguryo. These ancestral rites for the celestial god (天神) and the progenitor Dongmyeong (東明) would have been performed by people from Buyeo according to their own tradition ever since they arrived at the Cholbon (卒本) area. They would have presented a convincing image of the divine mother Sinmo (神母) of Koguryo's founder, inspired from the well-known earth goddess Jimosin (地母神), who was widely worshiped in the agricultural Buyeo society. On the other hand, this reenactment of the founding myth through ancestral rituals at national ceremonies would demonstrate that the divine authority of Koguryo's founder was being materialized through the present king. The king thereby secured the sanctity of royal authority as well as the legitimacy of his reign. The significance of the founding myth for ancient states is not simply to portray historical facts. By mythicizing their founder, they tried to gain legitimacy for the royal family and their successors as well as justification of their rule. As such, the myth of a state's founder in ancient times was closely linked to the matter of building legitimacy for the state's royal family.

Conclusion

This text covers the trends of Korean academia regarding the content of Koguryo's founding myth inscribed on the Gwanggaeto Stele. By describing the founding myth, the royal family tree, and the life history of King Gwanggaeto, the first part of the Gwanggaeto Stele's inscription clearly reveals the Koguryo royal family's view on fifth century history. For this, the inscription on the tombstone becomes invaluable historical documentation.

Records about the myth of Koguryo's founder and interpretations of them vary. In studying the histories of Buyeo and Koguryo, more attention should be paid to determining the identities and geographical

locations of the states called Buyeo, Northern Buyeo, and Eastern Buyeo. Identifying exactly when Eastern Buyeo was established is a particularly important topic for gaining a better understanding of not only Koguryo's founding myth, but also the history of Koguryo throughout the fourth and fifth centuries.

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Presented Paper 2

The Historical Significance of the Gwanggaeto Stele

Seong-je Lee

Anyone interested in early Korean history knows of the Gwanggaeto Stele. However, it is unlikely that he or she knows the tombstone is an important historical record of Koguryo and the oldest and largest stone monument in Korean history. In preparing this presentation with most participants being from the Western academic world, the priority therefore is how best to introduce and discuss what is inscribed on the Gwanggaeto Stele to those who may not be familiar with the stele's text. This presentation will also cover the tombstone's significance from an East Asian perspective.

1. The Unique Appearance of the Gwanggaeto Stele

The Gwanggaeto Stele is 6.39 meters tall and 1.3-2 meters wide, and weighs almost 34 tons. Such a huge stone monument is rarely found even in China where such tombstones were first erected and developed. The Wuzi bei (無字碑), or the Wordless stele, in Qianling, Xian of China is well-known as a tombstone for Empress Wu Zetian (則天武后) of the Tang Dynasty. Though larger and heavier than the Gwanggaeto Stele, this

monument's historical significance does not match its popularity, for no characters were inscribed into this stone.[1] The Gwanggaeto Stele, on the other hand, is a historical record of that time with its inscription of 1,775 characters presenting a substantial amount of content. The inscription on the tombstone mentions that King Jangsu erected the monument to commemorate his father's accomplishments.

There are other features to this national monument that make the stele physically unique. It resembles little of what one may consider to be the conventional shape of a tombstone. Comparing the stele with the Wuzi bei reveals even more clearly its uniqueness. The Wuzi bei has a squarely trimmed body, and has a head and pedestal. Its surface is perfectly smoothened though no inscription has been carved into it. Conversely, the Gwanggaeto Stele is made of a barely refined huge stone that retains most of its raw form. Were it not for the inscription, it might be difficult to identify it as a tombstone. The surfaces where characters have been inscribed are also very uneven, suggesting that it must have been difficult to carve those characters.

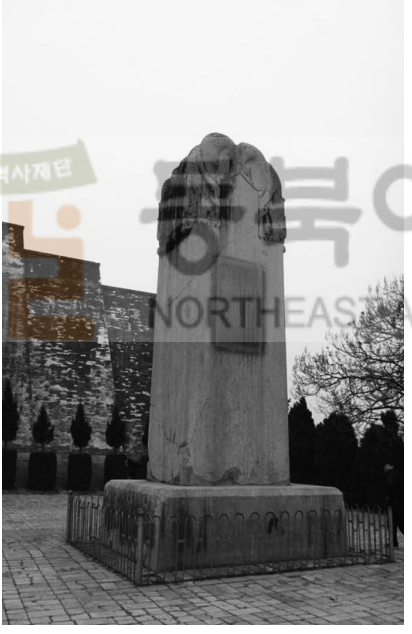

Figure 1. Wuzi bei

Given its shape, it may be suggested that technology in that period was not sufficiently

[1] The Wuzi bei monument is 7.53 meters tall, 2.1 meters wide, and 1.49 meters thick and weighs approximately 98.8 tons.

refined to better embellish the tombstone. However, this assumption is not valid as sophisticated stone craftsmanship was found in royal tombs created in the same period. The recently discovered Ji'an Koguryo Stele also displays the formulaic appearance of a tombstone. That is to say, the monument has a head, body, and grip to be inserted into the pedestal. Furthermore, its body is squarely trimmed and its surface has been smoothened enough to carve characters. The Ji'an Koguryo Stele therefore has the conventional look of a tombstone.[2] Although it is still not clear as to exactly when the Ji'an Koguryo Stele was produced, its date is thought to be not far from when the Gwanggaeto Stele was erected. This supports the conclusion that those who created the Gwanggaeto Stele deliberately chose not to follow the standardized form of tombstones.

Why, then, did King Jangsu choose to have such a huge monument shaped uniquely rather than follow a common style? Returning to the Wuzi bei, that stele stands within the boundaries of the Qianling mausoleum, meaning that it was a monument belonging to the tomb. However, despite the presence of several royal tombs nearby, it is difficult to determine to which of them the Gwanggaeto Stele belongs. Given this fact, the tombstone is regarded as an independent monument without an affiliation to any particular tomb. The tombstone stands in the last district of a complex of royal tombs. The erection of the Gwanggaeto Stele marked the completion of that royal tombs complex at Koguryo's second capital, Gungnae Fortress (國內城), in present-day Ji'an. Its location and the time of its construction demonstrate the closing of an era. These conditions seem to represent how King Jangsu used the unique appearance of the tombstone as a means to highlight what was written on it and to solemnly declare the establishment of a new national order.

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[2] Though it has not yet been discovered, the monument tombstone's root-like grip implies that it had a pedestal at first.

2. The Ancient Northeast Asian World's Historical Perspective in the Epitaph

The Gwanggaeto Stele inscription is largely comprised of three parts. The second part chronicles King Gwanggaeto's achievements of conquest. This is also the lengthiest part and covers various powers surrounding Koguryo as targets of the king's military accomplishments. Among those powers mentioned are Wa (倭) of the Japanese archipelago, Baekje (百濟) and Silla (新羅) in the south-central part of the Korean Peninsula, Eastern Buyeo (東夫餘), and the Paeryeo (稗麗) and Baeksin (帛愼) tribes. While some may find the inclusion of Wa intriguing, it should be kept in mind that Wa was recorded not because it had a significant influence, but because it could be used as a tool to highlight the king's accomplishments.

The Paeryeo mentioned in the inscription refers to a nomadic Khitan (契丹) tribe, which had recently debuted in historical records.[3] At that time, the territory of Koguryo spread across the northern part of the Korean Peninsula and Manchuria, with the Liao River (遼河) as its western boundary. According to the inscription, the king crossed the Liao River, conquered Paeryeo at the Xilamulun River (西剌木倫河), and made a triumphant return with many trophies in 395. In other words, although there is no such indication in other historical records, the inscription informs that Koguryo had participated in talks with Khitan, which was gaining power to the west of the Liao River. Securing Khitan, a major power in the ancient Liaoxi (遼西) region, was regarded by most of the powers that had attempted to advance into this region as a starting point in governing the area. This also applied to the Sui (隋) and Tang (唐)

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[3] The *Book of Wei* (魏書) notes that when the Emperor Taizu (太祖) of Northern Wei (北魏) attacked Kumoxi (庫莫奚) in 388, he also defeated the Khitan, which was to east of Kumoxi. However, given that the Khitan thereafter continued to remain as a collectivity of several tribes, the inscription of the Gwanggaeto Stele offers a more detailed description involving the presence of the Paeryeo tribe.

dynasties later. King Gwanggaeto's expedition to Paeryeo demonstrates that Koguryo had advanced into the Liaoxi region since the fourth century. Here lies a clue as to why Koguryo became an obstacle to the Sui dynasty's expansion into the Liaoxi region at the end of the sixth century.

Meanwhile, the Liao River at that time could not yet be considered as the territory of Koguryo. Koguryo was battling with the Later Yan (後燕) to the west in order to occupy the Liao River's eastern side. This implies that the Koguryo king's expedition to Paeryeo would have been unable to use the route passing through Liucheng (柳城), which was the Later Yan's base point in Liaoxi and what is now Chaoyang (朝陽), and heading north thereafter toward the Xilamulun River. However, the history of exchange in ancient Northeast Asia shows that by traveling upstream along the west of the Liao River, it was possible to cross the northern part of Liaoxi as well as the Xilamulun River, leading to the world of nomads in the north. This suggests that in order to attack Paeryeo, the Koguryo army partially used the "Steppe Roads" connecting the northern part of the Liaoxi region with the northern nomadic region.

The understanding of ancient Northeast Asia is largely based on what is written in Chinese historical records. However, due to the nature of these historical records centering their description around the Chinese dynasties, coverage of historical perspectives in ancient Northeast Asia is extremely limited. In this regard, the account of the Paeryeo expedition in the tombstone's inscription provides invaluable information showing that the Liaoxi was a geopolitically important region where Koguryo, the northern nomadic tribes and Chinese powers, the three axes of ancient Northeast Asia, encountered one another.

The inscription also conveys the reality of specific relations in the region. For example, from the Han (漢) dynasty on, Liaodong (遼東) served as a pivot to Chinese dynasties for advancing into the east. Therefore, studying political and military developments that took place in Liaodong becomes critical to understanding international political situations in ancient Northeast Asia. Regarding this, the tombstone

inscription lists several locations the king passed on his way back to Koguryo after defeating Paeryeo. Interestingly, this triumphal parade did not cover Xiangping (襄平), which is modern Liaoyang (遼陽), or Ping Guo (平郭), which is modern Gaizhou (蓋州). If Koguryo had already conquered the Liaodong area, these two locations could not but be part of the expedition's route home. Hence, the inscription hints that the Later Yan had lost its bases in Liaodong one after another from Koguryo's intensive attacks and had been driven into a corner of the Liao River by 395.

3. Another Investiture-Tributary Relationship: Subject Peoples (屬民)

Seen from East Asian history, the Gwanggaeto Stele is significant for demonstrating the existence of a "regional world" formed around Koguryo. That is, the inscription presumes that the powers in the area surrounding Koguryo are members of a world led by Koguryo and explains that such powers therefore became targets for King Gwanggaeto to conquer.

The inscription explains that Koguryo went on a conquest of Eastern Buyeo because they discontinued paying tribute to Koguryo, which had been their duty as "subject people" (屬民). The same explanation is applied to King Gwanggaeto's expedition to Baekje as it describes the people of Baekje who went from being subjects of Koguryo to those of Wa (倭). The term "subject people" in the inscription refers to targets of conquest, meaning they were subjects of Koguryo. Not only the people of Eastern Buyeo and Baekje, but also those of Silla, Paeryeo, and Baekje were subject people, as they too had become the targets of King Gwanggaeto's expedition.

Besides the term "subject people," the mention of "tribute" (朝貢) while describing the relationships Koguryo had with its surrounding

powers reveals that they were all part of a world of their own. It is well-known that a tribute was a kind of ritual found in international relations in East Asia where the ruler of a vassal state regularly visits its suzerain state (宗主國) to offer the vassal state's local specialties as a tribute, thereby reaffirming the hierarchical, bilateral relationship. Thus, although the inscription uses the somewhat unfamiliar term "subject people," the relations between Koguryo and its subject people described in the inscription is very similar to the "investiture-tributary relations" (冊封朝貢關係) often found in East Asian international relations.

It is also worth taking note of the inscription defining the military actions of King Gwanggaeto as "suppression" (討伐). The term suppression signifies inevitable military action aimed at redressing a counterpart's unlawful acts. In other words, the inscription infers that Eastern Buyeo discontinuing tributary payment or Baekje becoming a subject of Wa were unlawful acts which inevitably required military action like the Koguryo king's use of suppression to rectify such acts. This perspective accordingly projects a world consisting of the suzerain state Koguryo and the subject people who belong to Koguryo.

Meanwhile, there is also the question of why the inscription places weight upon Wa. It would be insufficient to interpret the inscription's inclusion of Wa as a recognition of it as a strong power at that time. The reason why the inscription mentions Wa should be understood within the inscription's logical context. The Koguryo king embarked upon a suppression of Baekje because Baekje had turned from being a subject of Koguryo to being a subject of Wa. The reason Koguryo came to Silla's rescue was because Wa attacked Silla, a vassal state of Koguryo, in an attempt to acquire Silla as its own subject. In either case, Wa is portrayed in the inscription as a state seeking to disturb the relations between Koguryo and its subject people. Hence, Wa was not a vassal state or a potential target for subjugation, but an external influence outside the Koguryo-centered world seeking opportunities to interfere. According to the inscription's logic, Koguryo had a duty to maintain the world order

and rectify any acts undermining that world's peace and safety. Under these circumstances, the existence of Wa was highlighted in the inscription in order to glorify the Koguryo king's military achievements in protecting the Koguryo-centered world order. Therefore, Wa's influence in the inscription may be considered a deliberate exaggeration, notwithstanding its actual presence.

As explained above, it is clear that the regional world described in the inscription reflects Koguryo's unilateral, self-centered perspective. However, it would not be appropriate to deem that as pure fiction. This is because the description of Baekje's pledge to pay tribute and swear obedience to Koguryo shows that, although temporarily, Baekje did in fact recognize itself as a subject people of Koguryo. The Koguryo-centered international order displays some aspects, such as tribute or suppression, which must have been derived from the logic of investiture-tributary relations. What, then, did Koguryo accommodate and assimilate through such an order? This could be better determined in the future through a review of cases in which the Koguryo-centered regional world transformed influences it received from the Sino-centric world order to meet its own needs.

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Presented Paper 3

Research Trends on Tomb Guards in the Inscriptions of the Gwanggaeto and Koguryo Stelae in Ji'an

Hyun-sook Kim

1. Introduction

Not only in Korea, but also in China and Japan, there was a system for placing *sumyoin*, or tomb guards (守墓人), to maintain royal mausoleums. Documentation on early Korea mentions that after a king or high-ranking aristocrat passed away, guards were assigned to their tombs in the kingdoms of Koguryo and Silla. The term *sumyoin* literally refers to those who guarded and cleaned tombs. They were in charge of cleaning and maintaining the entire mausoleum as well as its facilities, and also were responsible for conducting ancestral rites. Descriptions on tomb guards occupy more than one-third of the Gwanggaeto Stele's inscription.

In the morning of July 29, 2012, Ma Shaobin (馬紹彬), a resident of Maxian village (馬線鄉), in Ji'an (集安), Jilin Province (吉林省), in the People's Republic of of China, found a Koguryo-era stele about 100 meters from an old bridge across the Maxian River (麻線河). This stele, too, contains descriptions of tomb guards. The new discovery of a tombstone with inscriptions regarding the management of royal tombs immediately attracted international attention, especially within the Korean

academic society where there have been discussions regarding descriptions concerning tomb guards in the Gwanggaeto Stele inscription. This presentation shall introduce research trends on Koguryo-era tomb guards among South Korean scholars.

2. The Ji'an Koguryo Stele and the Gwanggaeto Stele

The Ji'an Koguryo Stele is a granite tombstone standing 173 centimeters tall, 60.6 to 66.5 centimeters wide and 12.5 to 21centimeters in thickness, and weighing 464.5 kilograms. Out of a total of 218 characters inscribed on the front face, 156 characters are decipherable. Though slightly chipped on its upper right corner, the stele does not seem to have been moved far from its original position, given its size, weight, and the degree of abrasion to the broken areas. There are numerous tombs from the Koguryo era in the Maxian area where the stele was found, including royal tombs. Among those royal tombs are Cheonchuchong (千秋塚 Tomb of One Thousand Autumns) about 450 meters northwest from where the stele was found, and Seodaemyo (西大墓 Great Western Tomb) and the Maxian tomb no. 2100, which are approximately 1,150 meters east and 650 meters southwest, respectively, from where the stele was found. For being the nearest tomb, some scholars believe that the stele belonged to Cheonchuchong. However, considering the Maxian River's location, the locations of the nearby old tombs and the distance from those tombs to where the stele was found, it is unlikely that the stele belonged to one particular tomb.

The inscription on the Ji'an Koguryo Stele explains that Koguryo was founded by King Chumo and has been sustained by his descendants. The text subsequently describes that tomb guards of royal tombs have conducted ancestral rites in all seasons throughout the year in the river's downstream area. It also states that according to rules on guarding tombs, the guards were to clean and maintain tombstones erected at the tombs of late kings, and mentions that such tomb guards had been traded by the

rich. According to the inscription, the names of twenty heads of tomb guardian households had been inscribed to make them known to their descendants so to thereafter prohibit tomb guards from being traded, even by the rich, and those who violated this ban would be subject to punishment.

The Gwanggaeto Stele was erected by King Jangsu in 414, two years after the death of his father King Gwanggaeto. It seems that King Jangsu erected the tombstone upon completing his three-year mourning and official burial of his father. With Yushan (禹山), where many royal tombs are concentrated, to its back and the Yalu River to its front, the Gwanggaeto Stele stands leaning about 45 degrees eastward in a southeastern direction. Many tombs of varying sizes are dispersed around the tombstone. The most notable among them are Taewangreung (太王陵 Tomb of the Great King) which is about 360 meters southwest from the stele, and Janggunchong (將軍塚 Tomb of the General), which is about two kilometers northeast from the stele. Janggunchong, the Gwanggaeto stele, and Taewangreung are aligned straight in a southwest direction. Now designated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, the Gwanggaeto Stele is protected by a transparent cover, which was reconstructed in 2003. The stele is 6.39 meters tall and weighs around 34-37 tons. Made from welded dacitic lapilli-tuff with tiny pebbles embedded on parts of its surface, the barely trimmed stele resembles a natural rock, adding a more sacred and arcane touch to this huge dark-grey tombstone.

The content of the inscription on the Gwanggaeto Stele is largely divided into three parts. The first part provides the founding myth of Koguryo and the royal family genealogy. This part briefly describes the founding of the country, the succession to the throne from King Chumo to King Yuryu and King Daejuryu, and the life history of King Gwanggaeto. The second part chronicles King Gwanggaeto's activities of conquest and the subsequent accomplishments after his enthronement. Finally, the third part treats the tomb guards.

The first paragraph of the third part begins with the term *sumyoin*

yeonho (tomb guardian households), and specifies which region and what form of household the 330 men each were selected from. This is followed by the record of an order made by King Gwanggaeto during his reign: "In the reigns of preceding kings, local people residing nearby were chosen to clean and maintain tombs. However, I am concerned that such people may grow weak. Thus, in order to ensure that the management of tombs are maintained for as many as 10,000 years after my death, I hereby order to assign the cleaning and maintenance of tombs to those among *sinraehanye* (新來韓濊), the people from the Han (韓) and Ye (穢) tribes whom I brought over." The inscription explains that following the order of King Gwanggaeto, 220 families were selected from the Han and Ye tribes, while 110 families were additionally chosen from the local people out of the concern that the newly assigned people might have difficulties in learning tomb maintenance rules. Subsequently, the previously and newly assigned families totaling 330 were reassigned so that 30 of them were designated as *gukyeon* (國烟) and the remaining 300 became *ganyeon* (看烟). The inscription thereafter reads "As tombstones have not been erected for tombs since the ancestor king, tomb guard families became disorganized. [However,] only the Great King Gwanggaeto (國岡上廣開土境好太王) erected a tombstone upon the ancestor king's tomb and inscribed the record of tomb guard families to prevent confusion." The closing paragraph states that "tomb guards are prohibited from being traded, so that even those who have wealth and power cannot buy them. And should anyone violate this order, those who sold shall be punished and those who purchased shall serve as tomb guards."

As such, the Ji'an Koguryo stele and the Gwanggaeto Stele are closely related through this content on royal tomb guards. The discovery of the Ji'an Koguryo Stele was thus expected to answer many questions regarding the tomb guard system, but contrary to such expectations, it has added new controversies.

3. Discussion of the Koguryo-era Tomb Guards

Since the Gwanggaeto Stele was re-discovered in the 1880s, research on the stele's inscription has largely been focused on the mention of what happened in the *sinmyo* (辛卯) year 391. However, increasing interest in the social history of Koguryo since the mid-1980s has encouraged further studies on tomb guards. Such studies significantly stimulated historical research on Koguryo as they allowed researchers to explore diverse areas beyond the tomb guard system, such as Koguryo's society, culture, and politics in the fourth and fifth centuries. However, the lack of sources for researching the tomb guard system led to differing interpretations among scholars over the system's various aspects. The discovery of the Ji'an Koguryo Stele therefore raised expectations among many scholars that the tombstone would provide clarifications. Unfortunately, the content of the Ji'an Koguryo Stele text was less diverse than many scholars had hoped. The stele was erected primarily to warn that the trading of tomb guards would be strictly punished. It also remains uncertain as to when this tombstone was erected. Moreover, a new entity called "Yeonhodu" (烟戶頭), which is not mentioned in the Gwanggaeto Stele's inscription, appears in this stele text. Thus, the excavation of the Ji'an Koguryo Stele added further complexity to discussions of tomb guards.

According to the Gwanggaeto Stele's description, tomb guards were recruited in units of *ga* (家 household) or *yeonho* (烟戶 household-based unit). Tomb guard families were comprised of the two groups each called *gumin* (舊民), the previously subjected people, and *sinraehanye* (新來韓濊), the newly subjected people from the Han and Ye tribes. In addition, tomb guard families were classified into *gukyeon* and *ganyeon*. The Gwanggaeto Stele's inscription explains that there were 10 households designated as *gukyeon* and 100 households as *ganyeon* among the 110 previously subjected households, while among the 220 newly subjected families, 20 households became *gukyeon* and 200 households became *ganyeon*. Out of the total of 330 recruited households, the ratio between

gumin and *sinraehanye* was 1:2, and the ratio between *gukyeon* and *ganyeon* was 1:10.

In Korean academia, the tomb guardian households inscribed on the Gwanggaeto Stele have been discussed in terms of their organization, characteristics, social status, and arrangement of their work units. The discussion that has gained foremost attention is that about *gukyeon* and *ganyeon*. Interpretations offered regarding the two terms include: ① *gukyeon* referred to tomb guard managers, while normal workers were referred to as *ganyeon*; ② *gukyeon* referred to those who moved to the old Koguryo capital of Gungnae Fortress and served as tomb guards, while *ganyeon* referred to those who provided necessary resources for the guarding of tombs from other areas; ③ *gukyeon* indicated tomb guards deployed at the King Gwanggaeto tomb, while *ganyeon* indicated guards dispatched to other royal tombs located at Gungnae Fortress; and ④ both *gukyeon* and *ganyeon* took turns in going to Gungnae Fortress to serve as tomb guards for three years each.

Opinions differ regarding the social status of tomb guards depending on where their residence was based. There are broadly two interpretations. One interpretation understands them to have been migrants who permanently resettled in Ji'an to manage the royal tombs. The other acknowledges them to have normally resided in their original towns and temporarily re-located to the capital in Ji'an to carry out their duties. The interpretation of permanent migration diverges into two different opinions with one considering the social status of tomb guards as slaves. The other opinion regards tomb guards to have belonged to a status lower than free commoners (良人) and were a group with a special mission (特殊職役人集團) that was under the direct control of state agencies and to have inherited the duty of tomb maintenance. The interpretation of temporary relocation, on the other hand, postulates the status of tomb guards to have been equal to free commoners.

The argument for considering tomb guards as slaves is based on two points. One is that tomb guardian households all were people who had

become subjects of Koguryo. The newly subjected *sinraehanye* referred to those who were subjugated from the regions conquered by King Gwanggaeto, while the previously subjected people were from the areas conquered before King Gwanggaeto's reign. The other point is that tomb guards had been objects for sale, which the inscriptions of the Gwanggaeto Stele and the Ji'an Koguryo Stele both state. Meanwhile, the argument for considering them as free commoners is based on the fact that they were described in units called a family unit or a household-based unit, which means that they lived in units of families. Further, tomb guards were also allowed to account for their own finances (自己經理), and their personal safety was guaranteed by the prohibition against trading tomb guards.

Given that they were recruited by household, that they were able preserve their families regardless of having been recruited from subjected tribes, and that trading tomb guards was originally prohibited, it is difficult to assume that tomb guards were slaves. Nevertheless, the inscriptions on the Gwanggaeto Stele and the Ji'an Koguryo Stele both end with rules of punishment for violating the prohibition against trading tomb guards. This demonstrates that trading tomb guards occurred at that time, which then makes it equally difficult to consider tomb guards as free commoners taking turns to provide mandatory labor, in their cases in the form of tomb maintenance. Thus, it seems valid to conclude based upon available historical sources that tomb guards were not slaves, but people who belonged to a social class lower than commoners residing in naturally established villages, and that tomb guards were recruited in units of households to be relocated and collectively settled in the capital to serve for generations as tomb guards. The Ji'an Koguryo Stele's inscription further introduces the new term *yeonhodu*. Some scholars understand *yeonhodu* as the head of a tomb guardian household, while others see it as the head of all tomb guards, who may therefore also be referred to as *gukyeon*.

4. Conclusion

The Gwanggaeto Stele and the Ji'an Koguryo Stele show that Koguryo created and enacted laws against the rich trading tomb guards who were in charge of cleaning and managing royal tombs as well as conducting memorial services in the fourth and fifth centuries when this surfaced as an important issue. Regarding the tomb maintenance system of Koguryo, Korean academia has up until now been divided in terms of whether tombstones were erected with descriptions of royal tomb maintenance during the reign of King Gwanggaeto, exactly when the tomb guard system and relevant laws were established, how *gukyeon* and *ganyeon* differed, where the 330 tomb guard families inscribed on the Gwanggaeto Stele were affiliated, and how the labor required for tomb maintenance was assigned into units. The recent discovery of the Ji'an Koguryo Stele was expected to answer many of these issues. However, as scholarly opinions turned out to vary over multiple aspects, such as when the tombstone was erected, the nature of *yeonhodu*, to where the tombstone belonged, and when the tomb guard system was revised, debate regarding Koguryo's tomb guard system is likely to continue.

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What Stelae Reveal about Koguryo's Written Culture

Kwang-eui Ko

1. Introduction

According to *Samguk sagi* (三國史記 History of the Three Kingdoms), Koguryo compiled the history book *Yugi* (留記) soon after the country's foundation, and the second ruler King Yuri (瑠璃王) wrote a poem titled *Hwangjoga* (黃鳥歌 Song of the Yellow Bird) in Chinese. Koguryo's third ruler King Daemushin (大武神王) used documents (文書) as a tool in negotiations while at war with the governor of Liaodong, and the sixth ruler King Taejo (太祖王) left a stele inscribed with his accomplishments before returning from his patrol of fortresses at the kingdom's eastern frontier.

After the fourth century, Koguryo made use of writing to carry out policies, for instance, to proclaim laws and regulations, to establish the national educational institute Taehak (太學) and private schools called Gyeongdang (扃堂), to extensively erect royal tombstones. Actual examples that the Koguryo society used writing may be seen through texts such as stelae (石碑), seals (印章), inscriptions on stones (刻石), metal crafts (金屬器銘), the haloes of Buddhist statues (佛像 光背銘), roof-end tiles (瓦), bricks (塼), earthenware (土器銘), murals of ancient tombs (古墳

壁畵), and ink wash paintings (墨書). All of these historical records and relics allow us to understand how Koguryo used the culture of writing in consolidating its state system. Hence, this paper will explore the characteristics of Koguryo's culture of writing, particularly through stelae from the Koguryo period and their forms.

2. Shapes of Koguryo Stelae

Three stelae from the Koguryo period have so far been discovered. The Gwanggaeto Stele became known in the late nineteenth century in Ji'an, in China's Jilin province. Then in 1979, a Koguryo-era stele was found in Chungju, part of South Korea's North Chungcheong province. Most recently, in 2012 another Koguryo-era stele was excavated again in Ji'an, China, making it possible to compare the different forms of the three stelae and explore the development of Koguryo's written culture.

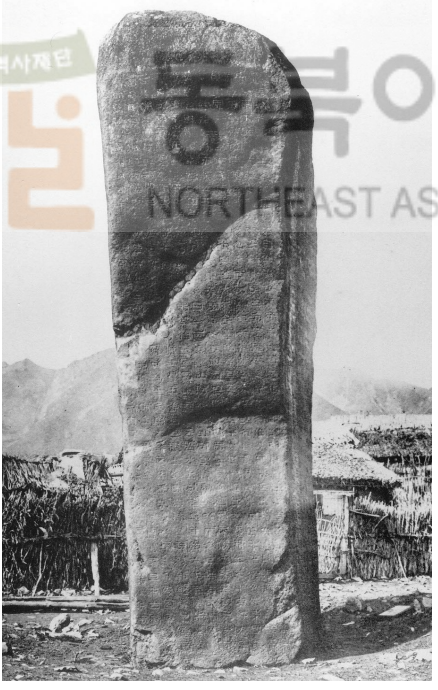

Figure 1. Gwanggaeto Stele

The inscription on the Gwanggaeto Stele reads, "As tombstones have not been erected at tombs since the ancestor king(s), tomb guard families have become disorganized and confused. The Great King Gwanggaeto (國岡上廣開土境好太王) thereupon erected tombstones at the tomb(s) of ancestor king(s) and inscribed on each a record of the tomb's guardian family to prevent

misidentifications." This shows that there were no tombstones for royal tombs in Koguryo, but during the reign of King Gwanggaeto, tombstones with inscriptions listing tomb guards began to be erected in order to complement the existing tomb maintenance system.

Ji'an, China, where the Gwanggaeto Stele stands, has gained further attention since a stone monument was recently discovered near the Maseon River (麻線河). Called the Ji'an Koguryo Stele (集安高句麗碑), the monument is 173 centimeters in height, 60.6-66.5 centimeters in width, 12.5-21 centimeters in thickness, and 464.5 kilograms in weight. The stele's body is flat on its front and back with a triangular head and a protruding bottom part made so that it may be inserted to stand upon a pedestal. Tombstones with this style of head and body were popular in the Han, Wei, and Jin (漢魏晉) periods in China. It seems that Koguryo emulated this Chinese style when new forms of tombstones were first being designed.

King Jangsu (長壽王), who succeeded his father King Gwanggaeto, erected a stele two years after his father's death in 414 to commemorate his father's accomplishments. That stele is now known as the Gwanggaeto Stele. It stands 6.39 meters tall with irregular widths from between 1.3 meters to 2 meters on each side and weighs approximately 40 tons. Made of tuff, a kind of volcanic rock, the stele's overall shape of a huge stone pillar resembles that of a natural rock. Such tombstones erected by

Figure 2. Ji'an Koguryo Stele

Figure 3. Chungju Koguryo Stele

King Gwanggaeto and King Jangsu violated the policy strictly prohibiting the erection of tombstones in central China, which demonstrates that Koguryo had independently made policy decisions at the time. This stone pillar style can also be found in the Chungju Koguryo Stele (忠州高句麗碑) discovered in what once was the southernmost part of Koguryo territory, which had been incorporated through King Jangsu's southward expansion policy. This 126-144 centimeter tall and 31-55 centimeter wide stele looks like a square pillar with each side irregularly shaped. The stele's resemblance to the Gwanggaeto Stele is close enough to deem it a miniature. These common features of the two tombstones erected in different areas throughout a certain interval illustrate that the form of tombstones had become stylized in Koguryo society.

What, then, is the origin of this natural rock-like stone pillar style? It is well-known that megalithic cultures of erecting stone pillars to pass down certain messages had been traditionally present in ancient Northeast Asian countries and steppe empires. A number of erected stones serving as milestones are still found in Korea and in the Mongolian region, and scholars have noted the similarity in their appearances with the Gwanggaeto Stele. More recently, some researchers have speculated that the Gwanggaeto Stele was made out of a sacred stone people used to worship. This theory can be given some credence since it is more than

likely that a huge stone could have been placed at a good position overlooking royal tombs so as to especially publicize the accomplishments of King Gwanggaeto and proclaim laws regarding the tomb guard system, which was an issue in Koguryo society at that time.

The Gwanggaeto Stele's somewhat unusual and unique appearance can be considered as a turning point that enabled the diversification of stele appearances later in Koguryo. Such a premise is supported by the fact that even more uniquely shaped tombstones emerged together with a change in the architectural style of tombs after the fifth century. So far, three tombstone relics have been found from Koguryo-era stone chamber tombs covered with earth mounds. These relics were discovered at Ji'an from the Sanseongha ancient tomb no. M1411, the Usanha ancient tomb no. M1080, and in between the Sahoe ancient tombs (four tumuli 四盔墳) no. 2 and no. 3. Given that pedestals still remain intact atop the earth mounds of Sahoe ancient tombs no. 1, no. 2, and no. 3, many more tombstones must have been erected. These tombstones seem to have absorbed considerable damage from wind and rain, although they originally seem to have had no inscriptions on them.

This unique Myosangibbi (墓上立碑) style of Koguryo tombs topped with tombstones seems to reflect a structural modification of stone-piled tiered tombs. A number of high-quality construction materials such as roof tiles and bricks have been discovered at tombs of this style, including at Seodaemyo (西大墓), Chunchuchong (千秋塚), and Taewangreung (太王陵) in Ji'an, which are presumed to be royal tombs. Furthermore, on the top part of the tomb Janggunchong (將軍塚), which is considered to have been constructed later than the aforementioned tombs, there are holes about 10 centimeters in diameter born into it at regular intervals and these seem to be traces of a certain structure's pillars. The stone-piled tiered tombs' tradition of building structures on top seems to have become difficult to preserve as stone chamber tombs with earth mounds gradually emerged as the new construction style for tombs in Koguryo after the capital's relocation to Pyongyang. It has been understood that with such a

change, tombstones were erected to replace what naturally and customarily used to be on top of tombs.

3. Calligraphic Style of the Koguryo Period

Analyses on hand-written documents from the Koguryo era show that in terms of calligraphic style, clerical script (隸書) experienced a gradual decline as opposed to increased use of the new clerical script (新隸體) after the fourth century, during which the semi-cursive script (行書) evolved and the regular script (楷書) matured, as well. A similar change and evolution of calligraphic styles also took place in China throughout the Eastern Jin and the period of the Southern and Northern dynasties (東晋南北朝). This shows that the overall development of calligraphic styles in Koguryo did not differ much from that in central China. The written culture of Koguryo indicates that it developed some unique features as it followed the general trend of written culture based on Chinese characters in East Asia. A representative example can be found in the calligraphic style of the Gwanggaeto Stele constructed in the fifth century.

Since the Gwanggaeto Stele's rediscovery, various assessments have been made to define the stele inscription's calligraphic style. Among those are the old clerical script (古隸), Han clerical script (漢隸), clerical official script (八分), half-clerical, half-regular script (隸楷之間), regular script (眞書), Eastern Jin clerical script (東晋隸書), clerical script (隸書), old stone inscription script (舊體銘石書), official state script for rituals (儀式用 國定書體), Koguryo official script (高句麗 官方書體), Gwanggaeto Stele script (廣開土太王碑體), and Koguryo script (高句麗體). The reason why opinions have differed so much among scholars regarding the inscription's calligraphic style is because it is difficult to appropriately identify the features of characters through conventional methods of classification.

Names of scripts have changed over time depending on their purpose, the material on which a script was written, and a writer's

personal character. For example, inscriptions on bones and tortoise carapaces were classified as oracle bone script (甲骨文), and inscriptions on bells and cauldrons as bronze ware script (鐘鼎文 or 金文), all after the material upon which inscriptions were carved. Regular script (楷書) used to be called the Wei tablet script (魏碑體) during the Northern Wei (北魏) era for being used on tombstones or tombs. Calligraphic styles reflecting a particular writer's distinctive characteristics or artistry include Ouyang script (歐體), Yan script (顔體), and Chusa script (秋史體), respectively named after the calligraphers Ouyang Xun (歐陽詢), Yan Zhenqing (顔眞卿), and Kim Jeong-hui (金正喜), whose pseudonym was Chusa (秋史).

At this point, it may be worth considering what to call the Gwanggaeto Stele inscription's calligraphic style. Rather than identifying the style as old clerical script (古隸) or clerical official script (八分), it would be safer to take into account the shape and configuration of characters inscribed on the Gwanggaeto Stele. This would classify it as clerical script (隸書), which embodies both the old clerical and the clerical official script. However, considering the artistry the Gwanggaeto Stele embodies as well as what the tombstone especially meant to the Koguryo society at the time, it might be more reasonable to settle for a more idiosyncratic name for the inscription's calligraphic style, such as the "Gwanggaeto Stele script."

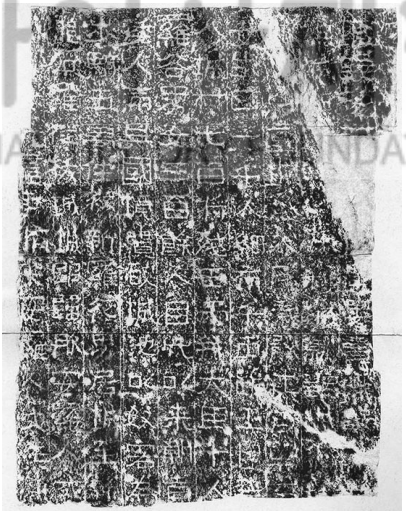

Figure 4. Rubbed copy of the Gwanggaeto Stele's inscription from the collection of Mizutani Teijirō (Middle of the second page)

For the inscription's purpose, the "Gwanggaeto Stele

script" could be classified as a stone inscription script. In this sense, Koguryo had been developing its own unique stone inscription scripts such as the Gwanggaeto Stele script while the clerical official script (八分) was generally being used for stone inscriptions in central China during the Wei and Jin periods. The new clerical script (新隸體) chiefly found in roof tile inscriptions from the first half of the fourth century seems to have had a certain influence over the creation of Koguryo-style inscription scripts. The calligraphic style of inscriptions found in the Chunchuchong and Taewangreung stelae displays an adaptation of an old style of character shapes and configurations with straight-lined strokes, an overall appearance which closely resembles that of the Gwanggaeto Stele. Calligraphic styles of this type had already been invented by the Koguryo royal court to represent the authority and majesty of the royal tombs, even before inscriptions were carved on the Gwanggaeto Stele. The Gwanggaeto Stele script thereby emerged as an independent calligraphic style amid the inscription script's development in Koguryo, and under the special circumstance of constructing a tombstone for the Great King Gwanggaeto (國罡上廣開土境 平安好太王).

Figure 5. Rubbed copy of the inscription 'Gwanggaeto taewang' on a bronze bowl from Houchong Tomb

Once completely formed, the Gwanggaeto Stele script made a significant impact on Koguryo's handwriting and scribal culture for a period of time. Inscriptions on bottles and bowls (壺杅) created in 415, one year later than the stele's erection, were ritual tools used for memorial services for the late King Gwanggaeto. Although such bottles and bowls had been created with a variety of materials at different times,

the calligraphic style of inscriptions carved on them were similar to that of the Gwanggaeto Stele script. Moreover, the calligraphic style of a seal's inscription, estimated to have been created ten years later, around 423, is nearly similar to the Gwanggaeto Stele script's style. In the Wei and Jin periods, the seal script (篆書) was normally used for seals, making it extremely rare for clerical script (隸書) such as the Gwanggaeto Stele script to be used on seals. Given that inscriptions on official seals at Koguryo between the third and fourth century bore the seal script, the Gwanggaeto Stele script inscribed on a personal seal from around 423 can be considered evidence that the script had already been recognized as a common script that had grown out of its original official nature of commemorating the late king. Calligraphic styles tended to be chosen most conservatively for seals, so the fact that the Gwanggaeto Stele script had been applied to seals suggests that the script had firmly rooted itself in Koguryo by the early fifth century. It is this script, along with the Gwanggaeto Stele's unique pillar-shaped natural rock tombstone, that became carried over on to the Chungju Koguryo Stele and

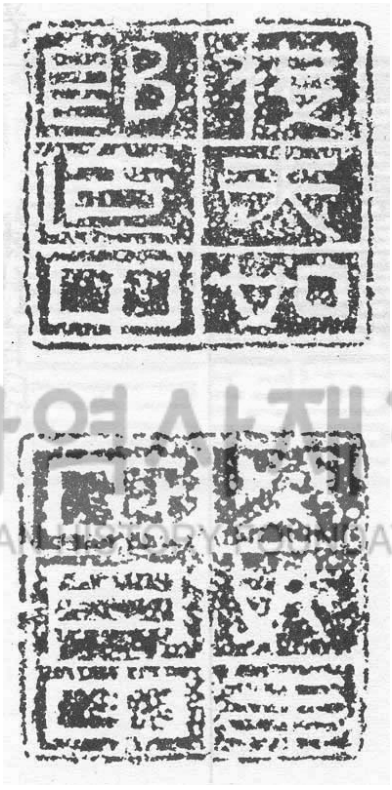

Figure 6. Rubbed copy of the inscription 'Gyehae-nyeon' [Year of Gyehae] on a seal from around the year 423

Source: Zhang Ying, *Jilin chutu gudai guanyin* [Ancient Seals Excavated from Jilin] (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1992), 7.

formed the key features of Koguryo's handwriting and scribal culture.

4. Conclusion

From the early days of its founding, Koguryo made active use of writing and had created by the fourth century tombstones and a written culture that were characteristically distinctive from those of central China. As inscribed on the Gwanggaeto Stele, Koguryo had promoted tombstone construction and accordingly erected the Gwanggaeto Stele during the reign of King Jangsu, contrary to the order prohibiting tombstones at that time in central China. The pillar-shaped tombstone mostly retains its natural rock-like form, displaying a unique, original style rarely found in central China. Furthermore, the characters inscribed on the stele, carved especially to commemorate the late king's great accomplishments, demonstrate the creation of a calligraphic style idiomatic enough to be named the Gwanggaeto Stele script. Thus, key features of Koguryo-era tombstones and written culture can be identified through the tombstone construction policy that King Gwanggaeto and King Jangsu independently adopted as well as through the advent of an original style of tombstones and calligraphy to which the Gwanggaeto Stele attests.

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Book Reviews

A Korean War Captive in Japan, 1597-1600: The Writings of Kang Hang

edited and translated by JaHyun Kim Haboush and Kenneth R. Robinson.
New York: Columbia University Press, 2013

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With the publication of *A Korean War Captive in Japan*, the late JaHyun Kim Haboush and Kenneth R. Robinson have made a valuable contribution to the Anglophone history of early modern northeast Asia. The text includes a complete, annotated, and highly engaging English translation of *Kanyangnok* (看洋錄), Kang Hang's account of his three-year captivity as a prisoner of war in Japan in the last years of the sixteenth century. The text also offers a scholarly introduction that nimbly frames the translated text in the literary, political, and cultural currents of the time so as to render the work accessible and legible to the broadest of audiences. The work as a whole is a fascinating and illustrative exploration of the fear, loss, and dislocations of war, the complexities of the navigations of cultural difference, and the negotiations of power and identity amid overlapping and potentially conflicting discourses of the local and the universal.

The power of Haboush and Robinson's translation is apparent from the first chapter, "Encounters with the Adversities of War." Kang's account of the confusion and terror of the Japanese invasion of Korea in 1597 assaults the reader with the cries of abandoned children swept into

the sea and the wailing of those captured and shipped to fates unknown in Japan. The death and despondence continued in captivity with the loss of the young and the weak. Kang wrote:

> "On the fifth, Yewŏn, my third brother's daughter, died of illness. On the ninth, Kahŭi, my second brother's son, died of illness. We brothers carried them and buried them by the sea. Of six children born of us, three drowned and two died in Japan, leaving only one, a little girl. This is exactly what a poem by Sandu describes:
> 'I have killed you; it is my fault.
> My shame and pain will last a hundred years; will tears ever dry?'
> How pitiful! We deeply grieved but also envied their oblivion." (8)

Through a near frictionless translation, Haboush and Robinson bring to the fore a combination of the raw emotional exhaustion of a parent's loss of a child and the terrified helplessness of the abductee. This is typical of the at times brutal narrative of the first chapter and the anti-Japanese polemics of the second chapter, and even continues in the more formal reports on conditions in Japan to the Chosŏn government in the final chapters of the work, which has been translated with a consistent quality throughout.

The second chapter, "An Exhortation to Koreans Still Held Prisoner in Japan," is of a wholly different rhetorical form from the first, yet the translation remains smooth and effective. Kang sought to exhort Korean captives to persevere, remain loyal, and refuse to submit to their captors as he recounted the violence exercised upon the people of Korea during the Japanese invasions:

> "Let us speak of what they did to earn the undying enmity of our own people. They burned our family shrines and disinterred our ancestors; they raped and assaulted our women, old and young, and bound and seized our brothers and children. Those bodies cut in two at the waist, those were our parents who gave birth to us and raised us; those

> bodies that fell from their spears as if in a dance troupe, those were our beautiful and lovely young children. We could not keep our betrothal vows to our spouses, nor could we aid our brothers in need. This was a disaster to common humanity! This is what the affections of kin suffered!" (25)

The imagery of the broken and violated bodies of women and men, adults and children, and even the living and the dead, together with the frustration of having failed to honor the deepest and most intimate of emotional obligations makes for a clarion call of unrelenting persuasiveness. Here again, Haboush and Robinson maintain an immediacy in their translation that communicates the strength and urgency of Kang's prose.

As graceful and arresting as the translation is on its own, Haboush and Robinson have also done an exemplary job in rendering it understandable to a general readership in their greatly enriching translators' introduction. They locate Kang's account in a genre of war captive diaries in which the former captive must account for being captured and yet returning alive; in this context survival is suspect (xi-xii). The most important function of Kang's account was to establish his loyalty to the Chosŏn throne and assure the authorities that he did not cooperate with the Japanese even though the very fact that they did not kill him would suggest some kind of *quid pro quo*. Read in this light, Kang's frequent declarations of rage over Japanese atrocities and of general Japanese savagery and inferiority appear not only as the wholly understandable reactions of one who has undergone the trauma of war, but also as a forceful yet delicate declaration of loyalty in an atmosphere of acute political peril. There can be no doubt that Kang measured every word carefully by this metric and Haboush and Robinson have done the reader a great service in thus framing the text as a "starkly political document" (xvii).

In explicating the fourth chapter entitled, "A Memorial Sent from

Captivity," Haboush and Robinson characterize the document Kang submitted to the Chosŏn throne as "…a tour de force display of the Confucian rhetoric of loyalty; it also articulates a sense of Korean ethnicity and of Chosŏn as homeland" (xvii). These are the themes around which Haboush and Robinson have built the analytical portion of their introduction. Kang's longing for his homeland Chosŏn is unproblematic and requires no interrogation here, but the first two assertions raise questions. First, Confucianism emerges throughout the introduction as a conceptual category to which the translators assign significant explanatory power. Kang's text, Haboush and Robinson write, is a "master tale of Confucian loyalty" (xi). Moreover, in searching for an explanation for the allegedly loyal Kang failing to kill himself to avoid captivity, they write, "One of the duties of a Confucian man in the patriarchal system was to preserve his line, and Kang, leading his family, might have felt compelled to abide by this" (xii). They also understand Kang's identity as "informed by the Confucian concept of loyalty" (xiv). Finally, they state that Kang's memorial is "entirely informed by a Confucian political sense of self" (xvi). Loyalty is indeed an important quality in this context, but is there a particular form of loyalty that is uniquely Confucian? As for Kang's deciding to survive in order to sustain his family line as a "Confucian man," one might speculate that he was motivated by a more generic self-preservation simply as a man. Furthermore, would it be different to suggest that Kang's writing is informed by a political sense of self rather than a Confucian political sense of self? Whether considering Kang's interest in loyalty to the Chosŏn throne or his motivation for surviving in Japan, the value of Confucianism as a heuristic here is dubious. Would any analytical power become lost if the reader considered Kang's loyalty without the Confucian modifier? A consideration of what "Confucian" means in this context would be beneficial.

Second, in establishing a case for Kang's articulation of a Korean ethnic identity, Haboush and Robinson propose that there is in his writing a contradictory sense of civilization in which the civilized is at once

geographical, and thus exclusive to a particular place and its people, and yet also manifest as a set of universal values transcendent of place and thus inclusive of all those who share them (xiii). While it is clear that Kang felt very strongly that the adoption of particular values marked one as what we might now call civilized, the exclusive spatiality of this civilization is a more difficult question. The translators point to Kang's "An Exhortation to Koreans Still Held Prisoner in Japan," stating "this letter articulates most clearly and vociferously the notion of an exclusive civilization, without ambiguity" (xv).[1] The letter is indeed a rousing call to perseverance in the face of captivity and clearly illustrates a strong politics of identity, but the nature of this identity appears differently based on particular translation and punctuation choices. Haboush and Robinson's translation of the opening passage reads:

> "Though miserably incarcerated in isolation, we hail from a country of civilization, a place where the ideas of Confucius and Mencius infused government academies, village schools, and family beliefs. All of us were born and raised in this culture. There is none who has not heard and learned of the way of kings Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu, and the Duke of Zhou, and of Confucius." (23)

In this rendering, the "country of civilization" from whence the prisoners hail, namely Chosŏn, is itself the site of the moral qualities that set it apart from the land of their captors where they are "miserably incarcerated in isolation." Here we see the exclusive notion of civilization the translators pose in their introduction. We can also perceive the inclusive notion as

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1 The original title is *Ko puinggyŏk* (告俘人檄) and so might be translated without ethno-national identifiers as "An Exhortation to Prisoners." See this in a bilingual Literary Sinitic-Korean edition of Kang Hang's *Kanyangnok* in Minjok munhwa chujinhoe, trans., *Gukyeok Haehaeng Chongjae* [Korean Translation of *Haehaeng chongjae* (海行摠載)] (Seoul: Minjok munhwa chujinhoe, 1977), 29b. The page number refers to the original Literary Sinitic text.

well in that Koreans are civilized by virtue of their adherence to universal norms of the civilized as defined by Confucius, Mencius, and the sage rulers of the past.

The translators, however, alert the reader in an endnote at the end of the first sentence of the passage that indicates that the original text "…has 'Zou and Lu' (鄒魯). Zou refers to the home state of Mencius. Lu was the home state of Confucius" (145). What this note indirectly indicates is that Haboush and Robinson have omitted the reference to the states of Zou and Lu in their translation. A translation unbereft of these references might read, "Though subjected to exile and misery, we all come from districts of Zou and Lu where scholarship flourishes" (哀此流離瑣尾之屬盡出文明鄒魯之鄉).[2] Kang identified Chosŏn with districts of the ancient kingdoms of Zou and Lu, suggesting that the universal values of the sage rulers of the past are neither literally nor inherently tied to a particular time or place; those who adhere to the teachings of Mencius of Zou and Confucius of Lu all hail from Zou and Lu regardless of where they actually come from. In other words, any place where people share the values of Mencius and Confucius may be considered figuratively as Zou and Lu. This metaphorical spatiality of civilization is not a marker of exclusiveness, but rather a universal inclusiveness that transcends the bounds of the historical and geographical. It was not Chosŏn itself as a demarcated territory that bore the marks of civilization; it was the collective adoption of civilized ways of being on the part of the individuals therein that removed both people and place from the realm of the coarse and unlearned.

In further asserting an articulation of a Korean ethnicity, Haboush and Robinson suggest that Kang's fervent desire to see Pusan again is a "poignant expression of his sense of Korean ethnicity" and couple that with his identification of Korea as "the locus of a civilized people" (xvii).

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2 Ibid.

However, as seen above, the notion of Korea as a space of civilization is not necessarily an exclusive ethnic claim, but more a transcendent claim of sharing in the universal traits of true humanity. In fact, the reader is hard pressed to find reference in Kang's writing to anything that might be considered particular to a specifically Korean ethnicity and its possible identification with civilization. Kang understood ethnicity as local socio-cultural practices at variance with the universal values of the sage rulers of antiquity and indeed located ethnicity thus conceived at the very foundation of his anti-Japanese polemic. In Haboush and Robinson's translation, Kang wrote:

> "Look at this repugnant place where teeth are blackened! These slit-eyed ones are genuinely of a different race! This is a place not yet graced by King Yu's influence, where even the cart wheel is different from that of Zhou." (24)

The translation of *iryu* (異類 different kind or category) as "different race" in this context is arguably anachronistic.[3] However, the remainder of the passage shows that Kang's criticism of the Japanese was not a matter of their being ethnically *Japanese* per se, but that they were ethnic at all, as signaled by the cultural practice in which some Japanese women blackened their teeth. It was their very ethnic-ness, their local practices at variance with the universal, that separated the Japanese from the civilizing

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[3] An alternate translation might read, "This repugnant land of blackened teeth, however, is truly [populated by] a different kind of people" (顧玆漆齒之陋邦實是橫目之異類). Kang is now turning his attention to the people of Japan and their uncouth ways after describing Chosŏn participation in the universal values of human civilization. See Ibid. Rather than "slit-eyed ones," a seemingly modern racial slur of peculiar positionality on Kang's part, one can read *hwoengmok* (橫目, horizontal eyes) as a reference to human beings in general who are distinguished from other living beings in that their eyes are arranged horizontally across their faces. For the origins of this interpretation in the *Zhuangzi* and other texts, see the entries for 橫目, 橫目之民 [people of horizontal eyes], and 橫目縱鼻 [horizontal eyes, vertical nose] in Morohashi Tetsuji, comp., *Dai Kan-Wa jiten*, vol. 6 (Tokyo: Taishūkan shoten, 1985), 569.

influence of King Yu and the other sagely exemplars. For Kang, being ethnic is at the root of Japanese inferiority, while the adoption of the universal and the elision of the ethnic are hallmarks of Chosŏn's inclusion in the civilized world.

According to the above formulation, then, there is no tension between two conceptions of civilization because Kang only had one: a universalism built upon shared understandings of scholarship, propriety, and socio-political order as embodied by Kings Yu and Tang, Kings Wen and Wu, the Duke of Zhou, Confucius, and Mencius. It is therefore not only not surprising, it should be expected that while he was in captivity, Kang would develop a friendly relationship with people such as the Japanese Neo-Confucian scholar Fujiwara Seika. Haboush and Robinson suggest that this relationship was characterized by the tension between inclusive and exclusive notions of civilization they propose in their introduction, but the friendship between Kang and Fujiwara was based on a transcendence of their respective ethnic and geographic identities. The translated text does not make clear what civilizational tensions there were between the two or even within their own minds individually. Ethnicity and geographic location were not markers of civilization for these men; it was the adoption of universal values and practices that separated the civilized from their opposition.

These differences of interpretation, however, impinge neither on the overall power and quality of the translation nor on the value of this work as a contribution to the English-language literature on this period. This translation is an important piece of scholarship that illustrates in very human and immediate terms the material and corporeal struggles of civilians during war and the larger articulations of political and civilizational identity precipitated by combat and captivity that are rarely accessible to those unable to read the source languages. Haboush and Robinson have raised important questions and provided a great service to students and scholars of early modern East Asia in translating and annotating this important work.

Empire and Identity in Guizhou: Local Resistance in Qing Expansion

by Jodi L. Weinstein
Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2013

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In her intriguing book *Empire and Identity in Guizhou*, Jodi Weinstein successfully combines two strands of scholarship that in recent decades have strongly influenced the discipline of history. On the one hand, she focuses on local history and ethnographic sources, thereby consciously not taking a major ethnic minority as an object of research, as has been done with the Manchu and the Mongols in the many publications since the 1990s that led to the foundation of the New Qing History (*Xin Qingshi*) school. On the other hand, she asks what defines China as a collective nation. Scholarship on the latter question in the past two decades has shown how the country is basically until today suffering from the failure to transform an empire into a functioning nation-state able to circumnavigate the shallow waters of ethnic conflict and disintegration. The well-known publications by Prasenjit Duara (1995), Marc Matten (2009), Thomas Mullaney (2011), and Mark Elliott (2001), to note just a few, have all shared the conviction that the European model of the nation-state cannot simply be transferred to China, despite the almost century-

long paradigm of Western impact and Chinese response.[1] Already in the 1990s scholars such as Myron Cohen described the Chinese self-perception as "amazingly devoid of elaborated cultural content." Lucian Pye understood China as a "civilization pretending to be a nation-state," and John Fitzgerald called China a "nationless state."[2] While publications by these scholars noted a lack of national consciousness or identity in modern Chinese history, thereby partly implying a deficit in modernization, the postcolonial turn in historiography has abandoned this simple model of political modernization. Yet, in many cases it has been unclear with what to replace it in order to explain the conflict-ridden relations between the Han ethnic group and the many minorities that persist until today. The sole answer to this question that is able to avoid the postcolonial trap is to concentrate on authentic sources that are closer to the historical subject, such as diaries, recordings of oral history, and, last but not least, the sources used by Weinstein so eloquently, that is, archival materials, indigenous folk narratives, and ethnographic research. Her book is a valuable contribution to the research on ethnicities at the margins, and similar to the dissertations of C. Patterson Giersch, John Hermann, and Jacob Whittaker that will hopefully all be published and made available soon. In contrast to their works, Weinstein tries to go beyond the elitist discourse and tries to recover indigenous agency.

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1 Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Marc André Matten, *Die Grenzen Des Chinesischen: Nationale Identitätsstiftung im China des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, Germany: Harrassowitz, 2009); Thomas S. Mullaney, *Coming to Terms with the Nation: Ethnic Classification in Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Mark C. Elliott, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001).

2 Myron L. Cohen, "Being Chinese: The Peripheralization of Traditional Identity," *Daedalus* 120, no. 2 (April 1991): 126, 128; Lucian W. Pye, "How China's Nationalism Was Shanghaied," *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* 29 (January 1993): 130; John Fitzgerald, "The Nationless State: The Search for a Nation in Modern Chinese Nationalism," *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* 33 (January 1995): 75-104.

In the first chapter of her book, Weinstein introduces a geo-economic approach to understand the livelihood of Guizhou and its impact on the socio-political context. Livelihood—a concept taken from Jean Michaud—serves in Weinstein's analysis as an epistemological principle, which allows her to grasp the close and interwoven relationship between man and nature that had an impact on the integration of Guizhou into the Qing empire. Seen from the center of the empire, this province in southwest China was defined by "harsh terrain, limited economic prospects, and unruly non-Chinese inhabitants." For these reasons, it proved in the eighteenth century to be difficult to integrate the province into the civilizational realm of the Qing. Taking the Zhongjia (now called the Buyi)—a Tai-speaking ethnic community of western Guizhou province—as a case study, Weinstein wants to show what difficulties the Qing met when first implementing their policy of "reforming the native and returning to the regular" (*gaitu guiliu*). Her purpose is twofold, namely, to provide a first introduction into the role of the Zhongjia in the late imperial era, and to show how they created a livelihood that was able to ensure their economic survival and likewise maintain their identity while negotiating their integration into the Qing empire. Her approach is promising and convincing as the local informs the national. She shows that legal and cultural norms, even if introduced by force, cannot avoid being adapted to local ethnic, social, and economic conditions. The Qing were very conscious in providing social and economic mobility for those among the Zhongjia who behaved properly, yet persecuted those who engaged in illicit activities. This is not surprising for the Qing state that was since the late seventeenth century eager to succeed in state-building and transforming the periphery into governable spaces.

The second chapter of this eloquently written and concise book focuses on the consolidation of Qing rule. The *gaitu guiliu* as endorsed by Emperor Yongzheng emphasized the role of imperial law and Confucian ethics to firmly integrate indigenous people into the central state, which, according to her, is both "an imperial and colonial phenomenon." Seeing

the Qing as an empire is certainly not a new finding (Weinstein bases herself here on previous works by Hostetler, Millward, Crossley, and Dai Yingcong), but the author shows here that the imperial court was eager to exert direct control, partly also in order to gain access to the rich natural resources in parts of Guizhou. By defining the settlement area of the Zhongjia as semi-state spaces, she shows how difficult the integration of that area into the Qing statehood actually was. The ensuing description of the efforts of Kangxi and Yongzheng provide a detailed picture of how their relations with Zhongjia translators, local chieftains, and native prefects shaped the administrative, political, and economic changes in that region. In the end, the Qing government succeeded in creating new administrative units that were now directly responsible to the court.

The hopes of the imperial authorities were high that the reforms of Yongzheng would be successful and transform the Zhongjia into law-abiding subjects. Their creativity to generate income from different, also illicit, sources, and unorthodox beliefs originating in superstition or secret societies were all expressions of their distinct livelihood characterized by the widespread "poverty with no source of income" (*chipin wulai*). This made the fight against law-breakers and criminals an important issue for the Qing, as Weinstein argues with her detailed analysis of three criminal cases dating from the mid-eighteenth century. Taking an ethnohistorical standpoint, she shows convincingly that crime was related to economic hardship and religious beliefs.

The most complex of these three cases was the Huang San Case of 1743 in which a man of that name propagated millenarian notions and tried to find or fabricate silver. Seeing himself as a master of the magical form known as *duangong*, Huang San sold amulets that promised good luck. He boosted his sale of amulets by telling customers that he knew where to find spirit silver (*guiyin*). When the authorities became aware of his activities, they discovered that Huang had even claimed to be the new king and ordered his arrest. This arrest was made possible by three individuals of Zhongjia origin who, from the perspective of the Qing,

demonstrated their sinicization by turning Huang in to the local chieftain (*tingmu*). The *tingmu*, himself a member of the indigenous elite, had been appointed by the Qing to guarantee stability. The Qing was thus able to maintain stability by installing a liaison between the rural residents and the imperial state, i.e., installing a form of indirect rule, that in the end prevented the outbreak of rebellion. To the authorities, however, the case attested that the indigenous residents of that area had their own cultural, economic, and religious priorities that persisted despite the *gaitu guiliu* policy. Similar to the Huang San case, two other cases in 1766 were primarily consequences of economic hardship, and even if the Qing suspected otherwise, in none of these three cases was there the intention of mounting a political rebellion. Rather, one of the protagonists in the cases viewed Confucian education as a means to protect and promote economic interests.

Three decades later, the Zhongjia started an uprising against the Qing state, laid siege to the prefectural seat, and threatened to kill all Han Chinese and the representatives of Qing rule, including the local chieftains. This Nanlong Uprising proved to be a regionally limited, yet powerful insurrection in which the Zhongjia were not simply bandits, but well-organized guerrilla fighters who gained strength from charismatic leadership and magical beliefs. Though making use of charms and rituals to neutralize the Qing's military superiority, the uprising failed. Yet, it was remembered positively in folk narratives, Weinstein argues, where voices of indigenous men and women recount the events as a military defeat, but a spiritual victory. A great achievement of the book is that, by making use of these folk narratives and their inscription into the cultural memory of the Buyi, the author succeeds in reading against the grain, presenting the uprising as something more than a struggle against feudalism and class oppression (as later Marxist historiography would claim when presenting every rebellion as a peasant uprising). The ethnic consciousness of the ethnic minority in Guizhou that was defined by culture, religion, and ethnicity culminated in the "Song of the Nanlong Resistance" and laid the

foundation of an "enduring culture of resistance," as Weinstein calls it. As argued in the concluding chapter, this resistance is still visible today, despite the many attempts of the Communist Party to firmly integrate Guizhou into the state.

What is left is a fragile hegemony that the Qing tried to uphold by depicting itself as a multiethnic empire, as highlighted in the *Qing Imperial Illustration of Tributaries*. Though this and other sources clearly contain expressions of Han chauvinism, it at the same time established a governmental logic that saw ethnicity in non-political terms. To be a legitimate ruler did not depend upon ethnicity. This political principle prevailed in the early Republic after the anti-Manchu movement waned and gained momentum again after the founding of the People's Republic of China. These developments make it difficult to see China as a nation-state in the traditional sense. Rather, its heterogeneity and the Qing's multiethnic empire conception that both persist until today show that certain analytical frameworks are not suitable for the Chinese case.

It is thus not surprising that Jodi Weinstein considers the ethnic integration of China to be less symptomatic for the local Guizhou ethos where the circumstances of livelihood made it possible—and even legitimate—for followers of the various social and political movements to participate in illegal activities and rebellions. This was a highly rational choice for them and shows that political integration was not of primary importance. For this reason, the author concludes, state hegemony in Guizhou "remains at best incomplete" despite Qing colonialism, which she explains by Emma Teng's notion of superfluity where ethnic groups are situated at the margins of the empire and struggle for preserving their indigenous livelihoods in a region far away from the political center, even if it meant opposing state directives. However, when aiming at leaving behind the elitist discourse and trying to recover indigenous agency, Weinstein's study would have profited from discussing hegemony as a counterforce to agency. This would have strengthened her book in terms of theory and provided a fuller picture of how statehood imagined by the

center is propagated in the periphery. Observing the exotization of the Buyi by the Han Chinese majority in Guizhou and outside this province strips the Buyi of their own voice, resulting in a representation that is far from being authentic. The great strength of this book is to delve deeply into sources that are often neglected in standard historical accounts. The author is thus able to provide a far richer and multi-faceted picture of what it meant to live at the margins of the empire, and how to cope with changing political and cultural circumstances. Weinstein's book is here a significant contribution to sinological scholarship.

Portuguese, Dutch and Chinese in Maritime Asia, c.1585-1800: Merchants, Commodities and Commerce

by George Bryan Souza
Farnham, Surrey, UK: Ashgate Variorum, 2014

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As part of the prestigious Variorum Collected Studies series, this volume continues the series' philosophy of making available for the academic world a wide range of articles and papers usually buried in far-flung journals, proceedings, and workshops, only known to a small number of people. Its publication is also a sign of distinction for the author, since his name appears alongside the likes of Charles R. Boxer, A. R. Disney, Om Prakash, and Sinapah Arasaratnam, just to name a few authors with volumes published in the same field of study.

The author George Bryan Souza is a well-known historian with a reputable academic career across several continents, and whose scientific output of quality has been acknowledged since the 1980s. His groundbreaking doctoral dissertation *The Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea, 1630-1754* published by Cambridge University Press in 1986 and reissued in paperback in 2004, remains to this day a must-read study to understand the resilience of the Portuguese home-traders of Macao and their networks in the Far East and in Southeast Asia in an age of turmoil and change for the *Estado da Índia*, the name given to the Portuguese Empire in Asia.

The dissertation shifted the focus of research from the official Crown structures, traditionally analyzed especially by Portuguese historians, to the less studied private traders, particularly those active in Macao, though Charles R. Boxer had already made some remarkable contributions to this field.[1] Souza used a wide range of sources for his study, notably those stored in Dutch archives, to reconstruct the economic and commercial life of the Macao home-traders, thus circumventing the lack of private papers in Portuguese archives and libraries. His study was also innovative in terms of the way he presented the relations between Portuguese home-traders and the Dutch East India Company officials, the Chinese as well as other Asian merchants as a bustling complex trading world full of "strange, un-natural" partnerships unlike portrayals in traditional historical literature, which had been too fond of presenting a more black and white image.

Of course, Souza benefited from a shift of historical paradigm that Asian and Eurasian studies began sensing since the 1970s, when an increasing number of scholars, many of whom were Asians, started questioning the long held view of European dominance after 1500, as defined by the Indian historian and nationalist K. M. Panikkar in 1953.[2] European dominance fell out of favor for the "Age of Partnership," at least since the publication of the namesake book in honor of Holden Furber in 1979.[3] The book presented a more balanced view of the European impact in Asia, particularly in the seas and in commerce, with a more assertive and robust Asian trading presence, far from the peddler image drawn decades earlier by the Dutch sociologist and historian J. C.

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1 Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon: Annals of Macao and the Old Japan Trade, 1555-1640* (Lisbon, Portugal: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1959).

2 Kavalam Madhava Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance: A Survey of the Vasco da Gama Epoch of Asian History, 1498-1945* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1953).

3 Blair B. Kling and Michael Naylor Pearson, eds., *The Age of Partnership: Europeans in Asia before Dominion* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1979).

van Leur. Less than ten years later, in 1988, another collective work edited by Jean Aubin and Denys Lombard put the record straight regarding the importance, survival, and resilience of Asian commercial networks and traders, some of whom were greater merchants than their European "partners" or rivals, even during the colonial period.[4] Since then, at least two great historical paradigms have dominated the debate over this period of Asian history: globalization and convergence/divergence. The former sees the birth of a more closely related and interconnected world with the beginning of the European Expansion, especially after 1500 with a rapid circulation of men, goods, capital, ideas, and plants. The latter identifies with a more recent phenomenon that began only in the nineteenth century with the convergence of prices from the Industrial Revolution in Europe, particularly in Britain, which led to an economic divergence between the Western industrialized countries and the rest of the world, including Asia, at least until the 1960s when the world economic nexus began re-orienting to the Asian continent.

The above introduction serves to acquaint the reader of this book with the historiographic background that influenced the thirteen articles in the book, since many of the themes and debates against such a background surface continuously in the book from being at the core of Souza's research. Souza presents himself as an empirically driven historian with a multi-disciplinarian approach and methodology from the social sciences such as anthropology, archaeology, economics, history, and sociology. His studies are focused on the social life of products, their economic chains, and mercantile networks. The questions, hypotheses, arguments, and analyses he applies are articulated with what can be observed and measured statistically in order to produce better informed, qualitative observations anchored by archival or other evidence (VIII, 61).

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[4] Denys Lombard and Jean Aubin, eds., *Marchands et hommes d'affaires Asiatiques dans l'Océan Indien et la Mer de Chine 13e-20e siècles* (Paris: Éditions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1988).

Hence, Souza's work is more complex and sophisticated than what his empirical statement might lead readers to believe. A careful look at the footnotes demonstrate that Sousa has been an eager and attentive reader of debates and theories involving the aforementioned historiographic background, and is therefore no stranger to them since much of his own research revolves around themes connected to globalization, trade networks, commercial partnerships, and rivalries in the Early Modern Age, especially in the South China Sea.

The thirteen papers reunited in this volume have been published over a span of twenty five years from 1984 and 2009 although it has actually been less than ten years since eight of them have been published. In spite of the title's geographic conception, Maritime Asia, nine papers deal with realities in and about the South China Sea, which has after all, been an area of recurrent research for Souza. Not all papers published in this volume have been rescued from journals and proceedings of conferences, since the third had never been published and the tenth is a working paper. Apart from the introduction, Souza chose to divide the book into two sections: "Portuguese and Other Merchants and Administrators" and "Commodities and Commerce." Such a division seems awkward for the papers because it points to a divide of sorts between the Portuguese and "the others," contrary to the notion of a more shared, lively Maritime Asia dominant in historical studies of the region since the 1980s, despite Souza pointing out that the division had been "roughly" organized (xii). The book's title is also more embracing and ecumenical than what the section titles allow readers to believe.

Souza writes the book's preface to purposely justify his selection of the thirteen articles and to provide a general overview of them. He also uses the preface to explain his own research and historical itinerary, as well as his choice to study the formal and informal Portuguese presence in Asia, including Macao's economic and social involvement in the South China Sea region in particular, given its importance in the history of European Expansion. Souza has a more notably open and modern vision

of the role played by the Portuguese in Asia since the sixteenth century. His analysis steps away from the traditional metropolitan perspective to view the intra-Asian maritime commerce and society, thereby avoiding the usual trap that unfavorably compared the Portuguese with the Dutch and the English East India Companies. To overcome the lack of Portuguese sources, Souza employed other documentation, namely Dutch, which allowed him to paint a more complete image of a complex and sometimes contradictory mixed world (xiii). Unsurprisingly, the seventh paper deals with his attempt to reconstruct long-term price series in Asia using Dutch materials, and proposes an in-depth comparative economic study to analyze the impact of key commodities in Asia and in other continents. Time and again, this lively multi-racial, mixed, married, and settled society established in and around Macao and the South China Sea appears along with the Chinese, Dutch, Spanish, Armenians, and others in most of the thirteen papers, evincing an interconnected and dependent global world.

The author, however, should have given some explanation regarding his choice for using the expression "Maritime Asia" in the book's title, since most of the articles deal with the South China Sea, while the Western Indian Ocean and adjoining seas are conspicuously absent from the book. In addition, there is no clear justification for the book's choice of chronology. Most of the articles cover from around 1600 and beyond, except for the third in which the period 1587-1598 holds transient importance solely for the involved towns of Cochim and Malacca. If 1800 is the round date that has been repeatedly used since the 1970s to mark the end of the pre-Colonial Period, circa 1585 carries no weight and gives no clue as to its relevance in Asian or in Estado da Índia history. Moreover, the "Long Eighteenth Century" (1678-1791) should have been explained for the benefit of the reader, as it explicitly appears in the title of the seventh and eighth papers and implicitly in the twelfth paper's title, notwithstanding the marginal difference in the terminal dates (1684-1796). The "Long Eighteenth Century" was, to the best of the reviewer's

knowledge, coined by J. Kathirithamby-Wells in an essay titled *The Long Eighteenth Century and the New Age of Commerce in the Melaka Straits* written for a collective volume of studies edited by Leonard Blussé and Femme S. Gaastra.[5] The book significantly reassesses the contributions to Asian history made by van Leur, from which sprang the discussion on the eighteenth century as a category in Asian history. Again, the choice of chronology and terminology seems to be more connected to the world of the South China Sea than with all Maritime Asia, which Souza should have stressed in the title.

Not all of the thirteen papers have aged graciously as they were written over a quarter of a century (1984-2009), but the author intelligently opted not to add revisions to the original texts. This is a wise choice, since most of the studies are fairly recent, dating back to less than ten years ago, and even the second essay, Souza's oldest published text in the book, is still a valuable essay today despite its "ripe old age." Much of what Souza has written on Macao, its commercial networks, and the Portuguese home-traders, their agents, and commodities edging into the wider trading world of the South China Sea, has changed and reconstructed existing perceptions of them. Therefore, it would make little or no sense to change the text, to introduce new unimportant data, or to modernize the bibliography, given their initial historiographic relevance. Nevertheless, Souza must have felt the need to include in the preface a lengthy explanation for his heuristic, hermeneutic choices and for the evolution of the book's first paper (xii-xiii), which serves as an introduction to the book and was published in a collection of studies dealing with India and the Indian Ocean edited by Ashin Das Gupta and Michael N. Pearson.[6] What is notable is that this contribution once again

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[5] Leonard Blussé and Femme S. Gaastra, eds., *On the Eighteenth Century as a Category of Asian History: Van Leur in Retrospect* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1998).

[6] Ashin Das Gupta and Michael Naylor Pearson, eds., *India and the India Ocean, 1500-1800* (Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1987).

involved China and the South China Sea.

Commerce and commercial history is the nexus binding these thirteen texts with its agents and commodities during the Early Modern Age when globalization put into contact distant and different men, markets, and merchandise. Souza clearly favors an earlier globalization in place and working since the sixteenth century, siding with Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez in their debate against Kevin O'Rourke and Jeffrey G. Williamson. His own research led him to conclude in the sixth and eleventh papers that a few commodities were qualitatively important to establish a first global age after 1500, when merchandise like tobacco traveled around the world a few years after its discovery in America and directly impacted the lives and purses of people living in Asia and elsewhere. The same is true for other Asian commodities, including the traditional spices, among which Souza studies the Sri Lankan cinnamon (*Cinnamomum verum* J. Presl) in the book's final paper. An innovation led by the Portuguese in world trade, Sri Lankan cinnamon brought social changes to the island as the Portuguese pressed the locals to produce more and tried to manipulate Sinhalese caste obligations to increase production in the early seventeenth century. Yet, he could have pointed out more cases, namely Indian indigo (*Indigofera tinctoria* L.). Portuguese New Christian private traders abandoned the trade of Indian indigo to Europe around 1615 because they had easy access to the more abundant and cheap Guatemalan variety. Moreover, globalization produced dependencies, changed habits, and introduced disruptions in traditional producing markets. In the sixth paper, for instance, Souza refers to the introduction of Brazilian tobacco in Asia as an attempt to revive the declining *Carreira da Índia* by connecting Bahia with Goa and Macao and by introducing a monopoly for its sale in *Estado da Índia* to boost revenues. However, he fails to understand that the Portuguese had once more lost the world distribution battle to the Dutch and the English in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, which led the Brazilian plantation owners to try to find surrogate markets in order to survive. These

surrogate markets, namely in Asia, proved to be too small and competitive for Brazilian tobacco: the Dutch and the English started sending their own Caribbean and American tobacco to Asia, where their mildness put the harsh Brazilian brand out of business and restrained its consumption to the *Estado da Índia* and little else. If Souza had read Jean-Baptiste Nardi's paper on this trade, he would have discovered that the Portuguese authorities in Goa were burning old and damaged tobacco since the end of the 1600s because of a decrease in local demand.[7] Curiously, Brazilian tobacco was preferred in China, which explains the interest to establish direct commercial voyages between Brazil and Macao in the eighteenth century, and the wish to create a company and a monopoly in this trade around 1735, which failed to come to fruition as the Crown wanted to maintain its own monopoly. For a historian so interested in the history of the social lives of things, he could have noticed this connection and globalization from orders of "tobacco leaf" porcelain by and for the Portuguese and British markets in the eighteenth century.

Other commodities had a more regional impact in Asia than a global drive, namely opium, zinc, sugar, and alum, though Souza notes that the effects of globalization could be witnessed in the Asian textile industry from the use of American dyes like brazilwood (*Caesalpina echinata* Lam.) with the traditional sappanwood (*Caesalpina sappan* L.). These commodities have a life, and some, such as opium and tobacco, were acquired tastes in regions outside their place of origin. Such a case was that of modern-day Indonesia in the eleventh paper, though the inducer in this case had the monopoly of sale, a characteristic shared by European empires in Asia in spite of the existence of an open market for opium and tobacco buyers. Yet, commodities depend on markets and its agents, which is the other significant and important part of this collection of

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[7] Jean-Baptiste Nardi, "Le commerce du tabac vers l'Inde Portugaise du XVIIe au XIXe siècle," *Moyen Orient et Océan Indien* 6 (1989): 165-176.

papers, because Souza gives equal importance to every trading group involved in commerce. As previously mentioned, he has been innovative in terms of identifying connections between Portuguese home-traders of Macao, their networks, trading diaspora, and their "contra natura" relation with Dutch Batavia. Archives and libraries in Portugal are less rewarding for the period earlier than 1700 in regards to long-term series and private entrepreneurs beyond the Crown control. From conducting research in Dutch archives, Souza seems to have discovered how to assess Portuguese home-trade in Asia using the old Batavian records and the surviving documents seized in Portuguese owned ships, as can be seen through the fourth and fifth papers. He thus tries to avoid the Eurocentric trap and provides an analytically rich and diversified image of the trading world of merchants: dealing with opium in Batavia beyond the general denomination of "Chinese," opening the road to reconstruct individual and group biographies, strategies, and itineraries, and crossing references with sources of other types (epigraphy) or origins.

As Souza himself is well aware of, it is not always possible to clearly identify by name a merchant trading in a given place, since sources usually describe him as belonging to a broader social category (e.g., "Malays" or "Indians"), or because his name appears regularly broken beyond repair, sometimes through multiple readings. This seems to be the case of the name of the ship used by a Portuguese colonial administrator called Manuel de Sousa de Meneses. The name in this case appears as Fatemurad [Fateh Murad], but is rendered Fateh Moula by Souza based on the advice of Lakshmi Subramanian, when it seems phonetically impossible to transform the "r" sound into that of "l" (V, 49). This excellent study is about the involvement in private trade of an official whose biography has been reconstructed and whose career repeats an established pattern known since the sixteenth century of having given birth to the social hybrid of the squire-merchant. The study also reconstructs the complex trading world of late seventeenth century India, when Indian merchants used European figureheads for their business or

had them as minor partners to avoid the capture of their ship by Dutch, English, French, and even Portuguese patrolling vessels. Souza seems less at ease with the reality to the west of the Strait of Malacca, as it is a world and culture different from the South China Sea that has been dominated by the Overseas Chinese, although the Indian trader is a familiar sight and presence in continental and insular Southeast Asia since the first centuries of the Christian Era. This can also be seen in the third paper about imperial defense and Cochim's financial assistance to Malacca. Despite the massive readings done by Souza and the fairly complete bibliography for the Spanish side of the Catholic Monarchy (1580-1640), the paper does have major bibliographic deficiencies: namely, the study of António Manuel Hespanha on the early modern Portuguese state, with more recent demographic data regarding Portugal's demography, as well as the studies by Teresa Ferreira Rodrigues on the same subject.[8]

Most of the essays in the book are set in and around the complex and multiform world of trade in the South China Sea. Still, Souza establishes connections with a wider arena to include the trans-Pacific commercial route to America, and the connections with India and Europe, which shaped the first globalization. It is an economic history of commerce, referring to key commodities and heralding a new global world characterized by a quicker circulation of goods, capital, and men with an ever present social dimension. Souza vividly portrays this multifarious world with empirical abundance provided by countless hours spent in archives and libraries around the world, but always structured in sound ideas so that the reader is offered a solid text to study and to reflect upon.

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[8] António Manuel Hespanha, *As vésperas do Leviatã: Instituições e poder político em Portugal, século XVII* (Coimbra, Portugal: Livraria Almedina, 1994).

Wrongful Deaths: Selected Inquest Records from Nineteenth-Century Korea

compiled and translated by Sun Joo Kim and Jungwon Kim
Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2013

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Wrongful Deaths: Selected Inquest Records from Nineteenth-Century Korea is a new and immensely useful translation of inquest records—mostly from the nineteenth century—by Sun Joo Kim of Harvard University, whose particular expertise is in the social history of nineteenth century Korea, and her former student Jungwon Kim of Columbia University, who has been pursuing work on inquest records since her dissertation. The translators provide annotated translations of eight inquest records (*kŏman* 檢案). The texts themselves cover an interesting range of dates, including one from the late eighteenth century, four from the nineteenth century but before the Kanghwa Treaty of 1876 which opened Joseon first to Japanese and then to European capital, and two from the period following the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895, during which Korea pursued a series of modernizing reforms in the context of growing imperialist pressure.

The subject matter of these inquests is immensely informative of the social context of late Joseon Korea, and reveals well the jealousies, lusts, economic conflicts, and desperate attempts at survival of villagers in late Joseon. Of course, as inquest records, they reveal these social pathologies

only when they have become so severe that they result in either suicide or murder, and so the reader can reasonably suspect that such conflicts were otherwise quite common, if perhaps generally on a less extravagant scale. The first inquest record translated in this collection records the investigation of a man who was stabbed to death and then burned in his house by the murderer. The murderer, as the investigators determined, was an angry husband whose wife had either been raped by the murder victim or had committed adultery with him. Several other cases also involve adultery, either supposed or real. The fourth case concerns a suicide, this time of a widow, Madame Chang, who was accused by another widow, Ms. Eun, of adultery and killing an illegitimate child, while the seventh case concerns the murder of a tanner by the adulterous lover of the tanner's wife. Two cases involve conflict concerning burial grounds, with the second case recording the murder of a woman, Ms. Pak, who was beaten to death by the retinue of a local magnate when she tried to remove bones illegally buried by the magnate in the grave of her late husband, and the ninth case involving the owners of a violated tomb who tortured two of the offending parties to death. Other cases involve economic and status conflicts, such as the third case, which concerns the suicide of Yi Pong-dol, who drowned himself out of desperation when a local *yangban* (gentry) man, with whom he came into conflict over a fish farm, smashed his sauce jars; the fifth case, which concerns a wet-nurse who, insulted by the man whose baby she was nursing, strangled the baby with a towel; and the sixth case, which concerns a man who beat a peddler's wife for receiving a stolen rice-cake, causing her to both miscarry and die.

The translators ably describe in the introduction the limits of these texts as historical sources. For one, inquest records were edited texts. During the Joseon period, the original investigation transcripts were rewritten to fit standard formats for the records, and were corrected to remove vulgarity or fictitious stories. As the translators inform us, these records do not "represent transparent real lives or absolute truth" (9). Still, enough of the voices of ordinary people do shine through these texts that

we may obtain new insights into their lives and thoughts.

Less emphasized by the translators is the insight that these records also give concerning the prejudices of the investigators, but for this reviewer, at least, this was a most interesting aspect of these texts. For instance, in the first case, involving the investigation into a murder by an angry husband, Hong Chin-o of the lover or rapist of his wife, the investigating officials pushed the husband to declare the relationship between his wife and the murdered man to be not a rape but an adulterous relationship—as a result, the wife was also punished by beating before being returned to her husband. In his first confession Hong Chin-o merely said that his wife had complained of harassment by Yang. It was only after several interrogations by the officials who clearly considered that to be insufficient motive for the murder that he confessed to his wife's adultery and even declared the regret that he had not killed his wife, as well. Interestingly, moreover, the role of the wife in confessing her adulterous connection was held against her. This may be seen in the wording of the inquest's conclusion to the case, "When Mr. Yang was frequently coming and going across the yard, there were many suspicious behaviors. Mr. Hong as husband became resentful and jealous. When the husband unexpectedly returned that night, the thickheaded wife said something strange. Having had prior suspicions that were now newly fanned, Mr. Hong ran straight to Yang's house, searched and got hold of a knife, and stabbed Yang again and again. … Ms. Kim, having committed adultery, dared to tell her husband words not to be spoken in order to hide traces of her own filthy act" (44). Were the words that are not to be spoken the assertion that she had been raped or committed adultery? If so, then it would seem that whatever the interrogators thought about adultery, they would very much have preferred her to keep quiet about the matter. This gives an interesting insight into the supposed emphasis placed by Joseon officials on female chastity. As is well known, female chastity was not the norm but an ideal, yet this inquest record might almost suggest that it was not so much an ideal but a poorly maintained fantasy that was barely

believed even by its official advocates.

A great merit of the translation, as it stands, is that the translators do not overload their translation with excessive commentary, although what commentary they do provide is generally excellent. Nevertheless, the translators, in their introduction, clearly reveal an intention to use this translation to comment on debates concerning social change in nineteenth-century Korea. A good example of this is the third case from 1843, which concerns the suicide of a slave, Yi Pong-dol, a man of servile origin who drowned himself after a quarrel with a prominent local *yangban* man called Sin P'il-ho. The context of the quarrel was Sin P'il-ho's act of placing a fishnet in a fish farm built by Yi Pong-dol. Yi Pong-dol removed this trap, and when Sin P'il-ho criticized him for his act, Yi Pong-dol responded angrily and rudely to Sin, shouting, "A yangban catches fish; a commoner should not?" (58). Out of revenge for this insult, Sin P'il-ho went to Yi Pong-dol's house and destroyed all the vital jars of preserves and sauces which Yi Pong-dol would have needed to survive the winter. This violence resulted in Yi Pong-dol becoming dejected and committing suicide by drowning himself in a pond.

The translators interpret this account as revealing the persistence of distinctions of social status during the nineteenth century, although they also point out that these distinctions clearly had become blurred. The response of the Joseon court officials, the translators argue, reveals a concern to limit the "blurring of social status lines … because they believed that status distinctions were the foundation of society and that laxity in such matters meant institutional instability" (55). Ultimately, the inquest did not hold Sin P'il-ho responsible for the murder, since the inquest officials considered Yi Pong-dol's rude response to Sin P'il-ho to represent an extreme violation of propriety, one which would certainly merit a scolding. In this sense, they seem to have accepted Sin P'il-ho's self-defense that, "Pong-dol's wife is a hereditary slave of my household. Pong-dol himself is also the son of a slave owned by my relatives, so the matter was related to propriety" (59). They did, however, punish Sin P'il-

ho for what might be termed conduct unbecoming a *yangban*. "As a man of well-established yangban family" Sin was expected to embody proper conduct, but instead of simply scolding Yi Pong-dol, he acted injudiciously by destroying the sauces and not acting immediately to prevent Yi Pong-dol from committing suicide. As a result, the magistrate had Sin P'il-ho subjected to one round of beating (probably around 30 strokes), although another relative of Yi Pong-dol who was also judged to have not done enough to prevent the suicide was subjected to 40 strokes.

Surely, the translators are right to see an attempt to preserve the system of social status in the magistrate's decision to broadly take the side of the *yangban* Sin P'il-ho on the subject of Yi Pong-dol's violation of propriety. The reviewer finds it most notable that Sin P'il-ho's action of fishing in another's usufruct (theft, one would imagine), was not criticized or even investigated as part of the inquest. Yet, it is key that the magistrates were policing not just Yi Pong-dol for rude language and actions against Sin P'il-ho, but also Sin P'il-ho for acting in a manner that showed little of what would be expected of a *yangban*. Additionally, if the magistrates were concerned about maintaining social distinctions, the inquest records reveal that they were fighting an uphill battle. Even the people recording the inquest, presumably responding to local village culture, did not maintain these distinctions in the proper manner. Thus, the magistrate was forced to criticize them for using the title *choi*, properly used for commoner women, for someone otherwise recorded as a female slave. The magistrate also criticized the officials for recording the surnames of private slaves.

The fourth case, which concerns the suicide of Madame Chang, provides an interesting example of the rhetorical use to which the language of social status could be put. Ms. Eun, a widow, accused another widow who lived nearby called Madame Chang of losing her chastity. Ms. Eun made this point graphically by hanging up animal bones and declaring them to be from the illegitimate child of Madame Chang. This humiliation caused Madame Chang to commit suicide. Ms. Eun was

briefly bound as a result, but was able to escape to a neighboring village. Notably, Madame Chang's own relatives did not seek revenge until Ms. Eun foolishly returned to claim her property. Ultimately, the magistrate had Ms. Eun sentenced to one round of beating and imprisonment.

In the commentary, the translators expend some effort in establishing Ms. Eun's precise position in the status hierarchy. Their reasons are that, in contrast to Madame Chang, who is given the *yangban* title "*ssi*" (氏), Ms. Eun is given the title "*nyŏ*" (女) which just means "woman" without specific status implications. The translators state twice in the notes that they assume that she may have been the daughter of a *yangban* concubine (no. 3 of 233, and no. 10 of 234). The second of the two notes annotates a statement in the inquest that "Although she carried the title of a yangban, her conduct and personal character did not befit those of a [yangban] lady" (雖有班名不齒婦女).[1] Perhaps the officials in charge did not think that she should be categorized as a yangban lady because she was the child of a concubine, but the translators provide no clear evidence for this. Indeed in the introduction the translators state that *nyŏ* was merely a title that "carries somewhat derogatory implications, though not all of the time" and even point out that it could also be used with reference to local *yangban* (*hyangban* 鄕班) women (xiv). The inquest itself is not at all concerned with ancestry, but with morality and deportment. In fact, the investigating officials seem to have exactly the same objections to Ms. Eun as they had to Sin P'il-ho above—she was *yangban* in status, but not in conduct. Madame Chang, no doubt because of her very act of suicide, was understood by the investigating officials as the very model of chastity, and thus appropriately a *yangban* lady (*punyŏ*), while Ms. Eun, whose guilt was determined by Madame Chang's very act of suicide, was marked in the inquest as a *yangban* woman who

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[1] For the original text, see *Geoman-ch'o* (檢案抄) (Seoul: Gungnip jungang doseogwan [National Library of Korea] Collection), vol. Gon (坤): 94.

had failed to fulfill the moral characteristics of her status group and so was rhetorically removed from those ranks. If she was, in fact, the daughter of a concubine, then it is interesting that the investigating officials were not interested in pursuing this matter.

That, however, is a quibble. The translation is well-written and accurate, and the commentary is informative without being heavy-handed. It would be immensely useful as a textbook in a class on the social history of the Joseon dynasty, or legal history, or indeed in a more general class on East Asian history or comparative history. So rich is the collection, and so lively are the cases recorded within, that the reviewer can imagine using it both in introductory courses and in advanced classes. For that matter, scholars interested in the legal or social history of the Joseon period, or who wish to better understand the changes that occurred in nineteenth century Joseon will find this translation immensely useful.

Manchukuo's Intoxicating Cultural History: Japanese-Occupied Northeast China and the Precarious Manchurian Environment

A Critical Examination of Intoxicating Manchuria: Alcohol, Opium, and Culture in China's Northeast

by Norman Smith

Vancouver, Canada: University of British Columbia Press, 2012

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Introduction: Contemporary Contexts for Manchukuo Studies

Over 83 years ago, the creation of the "new state" of Manchukuo elicited controversy, similar to the "history issues" currently plaguing foreign relations in East Asia, with only a baker's dozen of nations including Nazi Germany and fascist Italy officially recognizing Japanese-occupied northeast China.[1] Indeed, the rich number of propaganda materials still extant in libraries in the United States represents the contemporaneous "soft power" initiatives of imperial Japan aimed at convincing scholars of the legitimacy in their taking over the region. Japanese consular representatives today continue to hand out colorful brochures about contested issues, illustrating the Japanese government's view of issues surrounding the Senkaku Islands (referred to as the Diaoyu Islands by China), which are under Japanese administrative control, but increasingly

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[1] It seems interesting that the United States actually did have a resident consul, Gerald Warner, representing Americans in Manchukuo, despite its lack of official recognition for the country.

being claimed by China. Similar brochures exist for Takeshima/Dokdo as well as the issue of relocating the Futenma U.S. military base in Okinawa. Of course, China and South Korea have their own organizations and means to represent such issues to foreigners, but it seems that such efforts are increasingly well-funded and organized within Japan to garner a much wider global reach. Such a climate warrants a timely reinvestigation of Manchuria/Manchukuo, since it directly affects the mutual histories of Japan, China, Korea, and even the United States.

The state of the field of Manchuria/Manchukuo studies in North America is currently undergoing an invigorating new stage, with more international conferences and writings focused on hot topics such as environmental history and cultural or literary studies. The political and economic history of northeast China has been well documented in English-language scholarship since the 1990s, primarily in North America, with the exception of Mexico where East Asian studies are much less developed. However, cultural history has only recently begun gaining popularity as a field of inquiry. Louise Young's seminal 1998 text contains an excellent general discussion of cultural policies, along with Prasenjit Duara's 2003 study on sovereignty issues featuring the cameo role the writer Liang Shanding's literary endeavors played in Manchukuo.[2] Yet, only as of late have scholars such as Norman Smith and others begun to systematically investigate literary and cultural activities in Manchukuo.[3]

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[2] Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003).

[3] Norman Smith, *Resisting Manchukuo: Chinese Women Writers and the Japanese Occupation* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007); Annika A. Culver, *Glorify the Empire: Japanese Avant-Garde Propaganda in Manchukuo* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013). *Glorify the Empire* is the first comprehensive study of the cultural endeavors promoted by imperial Japan in Manchukuo, where the new state attracted formerly leftwing intellectual or avant-garde artists with its utopian promises for a new, multi-ethnic culture, which later embodied principles of Pan-Asianism and co-opted earlier ideas expressed by Sun Yat-sen.

Literature was, of course, also of primary importance to Republican China. During the May Fourth period roughly between 1919 and 1932, Chinese writers, including Lu Xun (1881-1936), believed literature to be a tool of political awakening and a means to engage the masses. Writers in northeast China often expressed similar ideals in their works, and continued to do so during the Manchukuo period as did well-known revolutionary writers Xiao Jun (1907-1988) and Xiao Hong (1911-1944), even in the event of deciding against going into exile south of the Great Wall. In the case of occupied Manchuria, the cultural framework erected by the Japanese after 1938 was often the only means for Chinese (and some Russian) cultural producers to showcase their work, while maintaining economically stable jobs.

Intriguingly, the study of the cultural construction of Japanese-occupied northeast China reflects important foci that represent the crux to understanding the long wartime period, which became merged into World War II by late 1941. For imperial Japan, a mutual pan-Asianist culture was an important means to amalgamate occupied countries with disparate languages and cultures, while Manchukuo served as a template for the cultural construction of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. This was evidenced in multiple empire-wide writers' conferences, and even presciently mentioned by the future 1968 Nobel Prize winner in literature, Kawabata Yasunari (1899-1972). Kawabata wrote in the introduction to a 1942 volume of multi-ethnic literature in Manchukuo about how imperial Japan's success in Manchuria was critical to its endeavors elsewhere. (Indeed, the literary collection he helped edit curiously depicts an opium poppy on its cover, an odd image framing a volume envisioned as "groundbreaking" and supportive of Sun Yat-Sen's legacy of Pan-Asianism!) In a 1943 address to the Greater East Asian Conference, the

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Earlier studies like Smith's have emphasized literary production, but no prior texts besides *Glorify the Empire* have critically examined imperial Japan's role in the arts, whether in painting or photography.

collaborationist leader of China Wang Jing-Wei (1883-1944) mentions Manchukuo first in a list of occupied nations as a "friend" to China, and frames the building of the Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere as a bulwark against American and British colonialism and wartime "aggression." The reviewer's recent book, inspired by daring trailblazers such as Louise Young, Prasenjit Duara, and Norman Smith, illustrates how in Manchukuo, this early multi-ethnic culture, through the arts, provided a means for the ideological and cultural construction of Pan-Asianist aims through conquered territories in Southeast Asia. In addition, a cohort of younger scholars is also beginning to examine the role of photography in bolstering state propaganda in Manchukuo.[4]

Literary Views of Intoxication: Propaganda and Products

Norman Smith has emerged as North America's leading scholar of Manchukuo literature, initially focusing on Chinese female authors such as Dan Di (1916-1992) and Mei Niang (b. 1920). His 2007 study reveals how their works reflected an equivocating view of the new state, and argues that, as women, their often gloomy depictions of the supposedly utopian new state slipped past the radar of patriarchal Kantō Army censors who overlooked the appeal of female writing. The study's strength lies in an intimate portrayal of these female writers' personal and professional lives, gleaned from friendships as well as interviews with

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[4] Recently, art historian Kari Shepherdson-Scott of Macalaster College and cultural historian Phillip Charrier of the University of Regina have investigated Japanese photographer Fuchikami Hakuyō's role in depicting the state in propaganda images and pictorials. See Kari Shepherdson-Scott, "Utopia/Dystopia: Japan's Image of the Manchurian Ideal" (Doctoral dissertation, Duke University, 2012). There is also an essay on Fuchikami Hakuyō and the aesthetic abstraction of war in Asato Ikeda, Aya Louisa Mcdonald, and Ming Tiampo, *Art and War in Japan and Its Empire, 1931-1960* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2013), and see Philip Charrier, "Fuchikami Hakuyō and the 'Manchukuo Pastoral' in 1930s Japanese Art Photography," *Japanese Studies* 34, no. 2 (May 2014): 169-192.

their children and their generous sharing of proprietary personal writings. Smith has influenced the reviewer's own research, and he continues to receive inquiries from scholars while mentoring the transnational study of Manchurian literature by students in Canada, the United States, China, and even South Korea.

His most recent 2012 work, *Intoxicating Manchuria*, is part of the Contemporary Chinese Studies series published by the University of British Columbia Press. The book's enjoyable, well-researched narrative directly confronts topics darkly depicted by Chinese female writers in Manchukuo. At first blush, the work appears to be a historical study of intoxicants, advertising, and even crime in occupied northeast China, but it is instead a deft confrontation of more complicated issues. A subtext of Smith's work depicts a precarious culture perched on the brink of destruction in an environment beset by political dangers and moral peril. Like Mark Driscoll's controversial 2010 study, Smith unveils the prevalence of Japanese opium circulating through northeastern cities with devastating results.[5] Yet, he also reveals the complicated politics of intoxication—whether from drink or drugs—providing great solace in the face of mundane concerns, while also serving as a barometer for the general physical and moral health of the population. Smith outlines how an emerging discourse of national health and the actions of puritanical reformers de-mothballing earlier Confucian principles of the body grew alongside an oblivion-producing hedonism practiced by an occupied people caught in the net of a military government making intoxicants readily available to seemingly weaken political resistance.

The last decade is marked by increased knowledge about recent opium regimes like the Taliban running Afghanistan in the 1990s, where production continues despite the Karzai democracy. In the early and late

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[5] Mark Driscoll, *Absolute Erotic, Absolute Grotesque: The Living, the Dead, and Undead in Japan's Imperialism, 1895-1945* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).

twentieth century, military states like imperial Japan and other totalitarian regimes also used intoxicants to finance their activities during wartime. Even the Chinese communist guerillas led by Mao Zedong were partially financed by opium revenues during the Yan'an period, though after Liberation in 1949, the Chinese state successfully eliminated addiction and commercial poppy farming. All of these regimes attempted to communicate a moral discourse against addiction, while directly profiting from sales of drugs.

More recently, elaborating on themes touched upon by Smith, and inspired by Frank Dikötter's pivotal 2004 history of drugs in China, Miriam Kingsberg's 2014 study on narcotics in imperial Japan and beyond presents this interpretation in a chapter curiously entitled "Cultural Producers and Manchukuo."[6] This study by Kingsberg looks at how Japanese ideologues attempted to use the Kingly Way discourse to specifically target Chinese opium addiction, though Japanese also suffered under its sway while their empire reaped its benefits. According to Smith, in 1938, reports by *Shenjing shibao* stated that over ten percent of registered addicts in Harbin, the city most impacted by drugs, were Japanese (44). Appearing later in 2014, Kathryn Meyer provides a case study of a Harbin slum apartment building to examine the ecology of opium addiction and crime in a corrupt environment darkly contrasting with the state's seemingly bright promises.[7] She illustrates in microcosmic form Manchukuo's endemic social problems revealed by Driscoll, and penetrated by Smith through his keen lens into cultural notions of intoxication. Yet, as Smith seems to hint at first, the most powerful intoxicant of all was political belief—bolstered by state authorities and

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6 Frank Dikötter, Lars Laamann, and Xun Zhou, *Narcotic Culture: A History of Drugs in China* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 2004); Miriam Kingsberg, *Moral Nation: Modern Japan and Narcotics in Global History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014).

7 Kathryn Meyer, *Life and Death in the Garden: Sex, Drugs, Cops, and Robbers in Wartime China* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014).

propaganda ideologues—wherein culture served an important role in keeping the masses befuddled by a rhetoric intimating that they were living in a utopian place of multiethnic harmony.

Smith's scholarship is unique in its strong literary angle to explore the intoxicating utopian promises of the state and its underlying discontents—rhetoric adopted or challenged by both producers of culture (writers) or commercial products (companies). In the period before what Smith calls the "Holy War" (*shengzhan* in Chinese, and *seisen* in Japanese, 1941-1945), a multiplicity of discourses existed for and against intoxicants.[8] In addition, multiple state and informal mechanisms developed to keep them strictly controlled, ranging from moral suasion, hospital treatment, state monopolies, and even the media's manufacturing of a "hostess scare" (also the title of Chapter 6) to arouse popular misogyny against alleged female sex workers. Yet, the exact gender balance of Manchukuo would have been worth mentioning, since it had an impact on addiction, intoxication, and public safety because single men were more likely to commit violent acts and support prostitution—Smith's study could have benefited from a more thorough statistical analysis of these gender-related issues. Nevertheless, through sources from popular media, Smith most notably creates an objective and compelling glimpse into the politics of intoxicants at the time, and views their place in advertising and popular culture, primarily in China's northeast, famed for its harsh climate necessitating strong drinks and the medicinal or numbing effects of opium.

In Chapter 3, "Evaluating Alcohol," and Chapter 4, "Selling Alcohol, Selling Modernity," Smith's clever exploration of commercial

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[8] Smith defines "Holy War" as Japan's fight against Anglo-American imperialism (2). Scholars of modern Japanese history like Samuel Yamashita also view the late 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor as an opportunity for Japanese ideologues to reinvigorate home front civilian interest in the China conflict, according to remarks in a round table discussion honoring Japanese scholar of fascism Yoshimi Yoshiaki at the Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting in Chicago, March 28, 2015.

advertising intersecting with public health messaging (arguably a form of propaganda), shows how newspaper ads first celebrated liquor, but then published essays to excoriate it as wartime demands began to impinge on Manchukuo's subjects. The tone of essays written about alcohol and opium consumption, covered in Chapter 5, "Writing Intoxicant Consumption," additionally changed from promoting recreational use in the 1930s to blaming intoxicants for ruining lives as wartime exigencies necessitated a productive, but prohibitionist populace by the early 1940s. Chapter 7, "Reasoning Addiction, Taking the Cures," shows the proliferation of concoctions supposedly combating physical depredations caused by drink or opiates now sold for purposes of "health" in tandem with state propaganda aims to help the war effort. In addition, for the more sober members of society, lack of nutritious food due to wartime rationing arguably necessitated supplements like Ruosu, containing probiotics, various vitamins, fish liver oil, and extracts from minerals possibly mimicking hormones—all common attributes of contemporary products popular in North America today. A more in-depth view into and statistical data emphasizing rationing's impact on Manchukuo would have additionally lent support to the author's intriguing claims.

Most interesting is Smith's analysis in Chapter 7 of ads echoing propagandistic rhetoric like Ruosu, billed as a "Kingly Way" medicine (150). Companies like Wakamoto, which produced Ruosu, boasted a long and venerable history in making patent medicines and enjoyed deep connections to colonial territories including Manchuria. Ruosu's development paralleled other Japanese patent medicines, with advertisements emphasizing nationalistic messages, like the breath freshener *Jintan* appearing in the wake of the 1904-1905 Russo-Japanese War. The chapter might have been further enhanced by a discussion of the widespread popularity of Japanese patent medicines throughout northeast Asia, believed to have been effective due to Japan's scientific skills and imperialist prowess. This phenomenon continued into wartime, which seemed to little impact the largely Chinese purchase of products produced

by a militarily aggressive empire. For example, Smith analyzes a 1944 Ruosu ad, in which the supplement seems to reinvigorate a (Chinese) man enervated by drink, women, and other temptations, into instead "becoming a more productive hero" (which the reviewer read as a plan to enlist in the military), who dreams of producing a baby with a woman (153-155). It is apparent that this advertisement also supported Manchukuo subjects engaging in military duty because the man sheds his Chinese dress for a Japanese uniform, while the baby reflects the pro-natalism of the wartime regime.[9]

Points of Departure

Smith's most recent work presents many intriguing points of departure for future study, and will hopefully inspire further research on how people from ethnic groups beyond Chinese or Japanese viewed intoxicants, and how the regime treated them in particular. He does mention the historically multinational production of beers, liquors, and rice wines in Manchuria, with particular drinks appealing to certain peoples. It would therefore be fascinating to investigate a cross-cultural approach to addiction, which seems framed as a primarily Chinese problem, and thereby necessitating the intervention and control of the Japanese-led state. Does occupation beget intoxication, and if so, what are the state's methods of intervention for each ethnic character? How might varying kinds of intoxication either foster or threaten "harmony" (*xiehe* in Chinese, and *kyōwa* in Japanese) in a political and metaphorical sense? All of these questions point to the compelling role of culture in presenting an enduring lens through which to interpret politics in Japanese-occupied northeast China.

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[9] Annika A. Culver, "Constructing a Rural Utopia: Propaganda Images of Japanese Settlers in Northern Manchuria, 1936-1943," in *Manchuria and the Environment*, ed. Norman Smith (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, forthcoming).

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