

*A Memorial Sent from Captivity*

YOUR SERVANT KANG HANG, THE FORMER ASSISTANT SECTION Chief in the Board of Punishments, ranked junior sixth grade, after purifying myself, having bowed one hundred times facing west and wailing, respectfully sends this memorial to Your Majesty, the Great King of Correct Principle, Established Perfection, Great Virtue, and Far-Reaching Brilliance.<sup>1</sup>

In the *chōngyu* year [1597], your servant, a lower-ranking official, was assigned to Yi Kwangjōng, Deputy Minister of a branch office of the Board of Taxation, to help amass food provisions in Honam [Chōlla Province], to transport them to troops under Commander Yang.<sup>2</sup> By the time provisions were ready, the enemy's vanguard army had already reached Namwōn,<sup>3</sup> and Kwangjōng had left for Seoul. I and Kim Sangjun,<sup>4</sup> the assistant to the governor, sent out open letters of exhortation to many villages to raise a Righteous Army (K. *ūibyōng*) of volunteers.<sup>5</sup> Patriotic scholars responded to the call and came forward, but they numbered only several hundred; even this group, fearing for their families, soon disbanded.<sup>6</sup>

Reluctantly, I placed my father, elder brother, younger brother, and my wife and children on a boat. We intended to go north to Seoul by way of the West Sea. The boatman was unskilled, and while he lingered by the coast, we were overtaken by an enemy ship. Realizing that we could not escape, I and all the members of my family jumped into the sea. The boat was in shallow water, however, and everyone except my father, who escaped by boarding another boat, was captured by the Japanese. Moreover, several hundred appointment documents that [showed the means by which] the Board of Taxation had amassed army provisions sank into the water.<sup>7</sup> I have committed a

serious dereliction of duty, bringing dishonor to the government. There is no way I can avoid receiving severe punishment.

The enemy immediately recognized us as an official and an official's family. They tied me and my elder and younger brothers to the ship planks, turned the ship around, and took us to the edge of the sea in Muan County.<sup>8</sup> In that space stretching about 2 *ri*, there were about six or seven hundred enemy ships docked closely together. About half of the people on board were men and women of our country and half were Japanese, but they were mingled together. Loud wailing was heard from each ship, and it echoed through the seas and mountains. Upon our arrival at the headquarters of the Left Province Navy Commander in Sunch'ŏn County,<sup>9</sup> a general of the enemy army, [Tōdō] Sado no kami [Takatora], put me; my brothers, Chun and Hwan; my father-in-law, Kim Pong;<sup>10</sup> and all our families on a ship and took us to his country.

A week after the ship left Sunch'ŏn, it arrived at An'gol Port,<sup>11</sup> and a day later at Tsushima, where the ship docked for two days because of a storm. When the ship sailed, it arrived at Iki Island in the evening of that day; Hizen Province the following evening; Shimonoseki, in Nagato Province, the evening after; the evening after that, Kaminoseki, which is also called Akamagasaki, in Suō Province;<sup>12</sup> and, a day later toward evening, finally at Ōzu, in Iyo Province.<sup>13</sup> They kept us in this town. Ōzu was one of the three castle towns that belonged to [Tōdō] Sado no kami [Takatora].<sup>14</sup>

I discovered that this town had more than 1,000 Korean men and women who had been taken captive and brought from our country. Newly arrived people formed themselves into throngs that roamed the streets from morning till night, crying and wailing loudly. Those who had been captured earlier, however, their paths to return completely blocked, were halfway to being acculturated as Japanese. When your servant stealthily suggested to them that we plot an escape, no one responded. Then, toward the end of the fourth month the following year [1598], one man, a former resident of the Chuksō district in Seoul, who was captured and brought in 1592, fled the Japanese capital and went to Iyo Province. He spoke Japanese fluently. When I floated to him the idea that we plan our escape westward together, he responded positively. I did not know a word of Japanese, so unless I was accompanied by an interpreter, I could not move around at all.

On the twenty-fifth day of the fifth month, under cover of darkness of night, we escaped and walked west for three days. We rested hidden in the bamboo forest by the seashore, and we noticed a Japanese monk of about sixty years of age bathing in a waterfall. Afterward, he sat on a rock and ap-

peared to be dozing. My companion approached him and cautiously told him the reason we had arrived there. He lamented sympathetically a couple of times and then offered to take us to Bungo Province.<sup>15</sup> We were deliriously happy. Before we took ten steps descending the slope after the monk, suddenly, a man named Dōhei, an underling of [Tōdō] Sado no kami [Takatora], appeared before us. He was leading a number of soldiers. Our escape had been discovered. We were forcibly returned to Ōzu and placed under much stricter surveillance.

There was a monk named Kōjin, from Kinzan Shussekiji temple, who was quite learned. He pitied me and treated me with particular respect. He showed me various documents relating to his country, among them a geographical gazetteer and a table of the administrative offices of Japan with no omission. As soon as I returned [to my residence], I copied them. I also heard that [Tōdō] Sado no kami [Takatora]'s father, Hakuun, possessed an extremely detailed map of Japan, and so I had an interpreter examine it. I wrote what I had learned [from these records] and what I had observed with my own eyes, placing this information in the context of the long-term defense strategy of our country. On occasion, I inserted my own ideas, although I am afraid that only one of one thousand might be useful.

Alas! A general who has been defeated in battle cannot speak of courage. How dare I, captured by the enemy and living shamefully in the enemy's cave, discuss national policies or the gains and losses of the state? I am painfully aware that this is utterly ludicrous, and [I] cannot escape being severely punished. On the contrary, we are told that there was in olden days a person who remonstrated with his corpse,<sup>16</sup> and another who did not forget on his deathbed to send his ideas on national policy. Thus, I feel that it is not right not to speak up, even though I am a criminal, if there is any chance of benefiting our country.

Since this place is separated from our country by an expanse of 10,000 *ri* of open sea, and since things are planned within the closed gates of the palace of these beasts, Your Majesty might not have been able to penetrate into the cunning schemes of these thieves. Envoys came and went on a fixed schedule and moreover, because of tight surveillance and prohibitions, the information they could obtain cannot have been detailed or extensive. As for those captives who managed to escape, most were from the lower orders. Illiterate and unlearned, they had a limited sense of what was important and what was not, and thus what they saw and heard was likely to have been diffuse and fragmentary. In consideration of these facts, in shame, I record this. When I

copied those documents of the Japanese monk, I translated those portions written in Japanese *kana* into Korean so that they may be used in interrogating and acquiring information from Japanese who have surrendered to Chosŏn.

I met a Korean captive named Kim Sŏkpok, who was from Ulsan.<sup>17</sup> He told us that he had been a slave belonging to the family of Commander Kwŏn Yul and had been captured and brought to Iyo Province in the fall of the *kyesa* year [1593].<sup>18</sup> He also said that he had been planning to lease a Japanese ship at a high price and go westward to home. I immediately entrusted him with the copy that I had made. If he does not meet misfortune on the way and this writing reaches Your Majesty's penetrating gaze, even though Japan is located far across the sea, all the secrets of these Japanese thieves will vividly appear to Your Majesty. [If this were to happen,] although these thieves are despicable creatures who engage in hundreds of deceptions and tricks, they will be awed by Your Majesty's prescience and will regard Your Majesty as a god. I also hope that this memorial, even in the smallest degree, will help in planning national defense policy and handling [the outside threat].

On the eighth day of the eighth month of that year [1598], the Japanese relocated me and my family, and we arrived at Osaka on the eleventh day of the ninth month. The evil ruler of these Japanese thieves, [Toyotomi] Hideyoshi, had already died, on the seventeenth day of the seventh month.<sup>19</sup> Osaka is Japan's western capital, and after several days there we were again moved, to Fushimi Castle. Fushimi is the new capital of Japan.<sup>20</sup> As soon as the head of the Japanese thieves died, the politics and the situation of Japan changed drastically. Lest our government miss this golden opportunity, I and Kim Ujŏng from Tongnae and Kang Sajun from Chinju, both scholar-captives who were in the capital of Japan, bought one silver coin every day with what we saved from food [rations]. We hired a Korean interpreter who spoke Japanese fluently enough not to reveal his foreign origin, providing him with travel expenses and funds to hire a boat, and he was able to reach beyond the border area. Before he could dispatch a letter [to Chosŏn], however, many Japanese had already retreated [from Chosŏn].

I searched for and schemed many different ways to escape. I had no money, so reluctantly, I decided to sell my calligraphy to Japanese monks and in this way amassed fifty silver coins, with which I was able to secretly purchase a ship. Several of us, including Kim Ujŏng, Sin Tŏkki from Seoul, and Chŏng Yŏnsu from Chinju, a boatman, planned an escape to the west. One day, before I, my brother Hwan, and my father-in-law, Kim Pong, were ready, my brother Chun, along with the boatman and interpreters, went ahead to the

place where we were supposed to board. Someone near the seashore must have informed [Tōdō] Sado no kami [Takatora]. He immediately dispatched soldiers, who searched and arrested everyone present. They imprisoned them and, after twenty days, killed all the interpreters. The rest were released, but after a long while. Thus, a thousand ideas of mine and a hundred schemes I devised came to naught. Must it not have been because my devotion [to you] was insufficient and thus incapable of moving Heaven and Earth that I met so many obstacles?

When the Qin state discarded ritual and upheld efficiency, Lu Zhonglian wished to go to the Eastern Sea.<sup>21</sup> Although King Wu, with his benevolence, subjugated the tyrant [Zhou],<sup>22</sup> Bo Yi still went to the Western Mountain and starved himself to death there. How much worse the present situation is! The filthiness of these thieves and the remoteness of this godforsaken place from our country are beyond compare. These thieves are the worst enemies of our people ever! Moreover, as a humble man from the south, I passed the higher civil service examination and, despite lowness of rank and brevity of experience, I was appointed a temporary recorder in the Royal Secretariat during the autumn and winter of the *kabo* year [1594], and thus had the honor of attending to Your Majesty about twenty times. The brightness of the sun and moon [the king's countenance] shone near me, and, in that warm Heavenly voice, Your Majesty even inquired after your servant's name. In the *pyōngsin* year [1596], I was even promoted to Assistant Section Chief in the Board of Punishments.<sup>23</sup> From the top of my forehead to the soles of my feet, I am completely indebted to Your Majesty's boundless grace. Yet, without being able to repay it in the smallest degree, I fell into this den of beastly barbarians in a distant land beyond the pale. For living so shamelessly even for one day, I deserve death ten thousand times over.

It is not because I value my life, which I hold as lightly as goose feathers, or because I cannot bear the momentary pain of dying that I am alive. It is because dying now would be like strangling myself in a dark abyss to vanish without trace, thus annihilating my name. It would make me unable to repay the state by acts of loyalty and integrity and make it impossible to leave an honorable name by choosing the right moment to die. I would be merely a skeleton felled by an enemy sword, like illiterate women and small children—who remembers their deaths? As for being taken captive and having to plan for the future, it was [a fate that] even such a famous loyal minister as Wen Tianxiang and such a brave general as Zhu Xu could not avoid.<sup>24</sup> Yet historians did not judge them to be at fault and awarded them the verdict of



absolute integrity (K. *chŏnjŏl*). This is because even though their bodies were captured, they did not allow their integrity to be compromised.

Your servant is shallow and stupid and is not worth one ten-thousandth of these ancients. When it comes to having a loyal heart that desires to do good for the country, however, I cannot concede to them an inch. Even though my life is worth no more than the life of an insect, as long as I have even one breath remaining, my loyalty is like that of a dog or a horse that cannot be broken even after ten thousand blows. It would be much better, even if having escaped to my country by using my wiles, I were to be punished by death, my head and body sliced in half at the middle in the courtyard of the Royal Court, than to be buried in this barbarian land.

Now, with my understanding of the conditions of this den of thieves, if Heaven turned the situation to our favor and we could seize an opportunity, even with this meager body, I would at once place myself at the vanguard of our royal army. Under [the protection of] the awesome spirit of our royal ancestors, I will, above all, wipe away the humiliations inflicted upon the royal graves and the Temple of Royal Ancestors,<sup>25</sup> and after that avenge the unbearable shame of those years in captivity. Then, I would like to receive the punishment of our royal court to pay for the crime of having lived shamefully amid the enemy. This is why your servant arises in the middle of the night to stroke the sword, and this is why his intestines twist nine times a day.

To quote the old saying that even the ancients lamented being held in a distant land is simply platitudinous. As long as I live, I will not be able to resume the dignity of an official at our royal court; but if I could pass Tsushima and have one look at Pusan, even to see it in the morning and die that evening, I would have no regret.

What follows are the report on the state of things in Japan and the cunning schemes that erupted after the death of the enemy head [Hideyoshi]. I sincerely hope that Your Majesty will not discard my words just because I am living shamefully. I believe that, if Your Majesty reads these documents occasionally, when the sun dispels the shadows, or when the lightning strikes and the wind arises, they will not be completely useless in charting policies and recalibrating plans. In prostration, I beg that Your Majesty test this and give them some attention.

Hardly able to bear the extreme awe, the profound sorrow, and my desperation, your servant hereby respectfully submits this memorial.

The tenth day of the fourth month in the twenty-seventh year of Wanli [1599]

## APPENDIX 1

JAPANESE DAIMYO IN THE INVASION OF CHOSŎN  
AND OTHER INFORMATION

(See below. Because this list will be repeated and the treatment below provides greater detail, I will not also place that text here.)

In ancient times, there was a person called Fukiaezu no mikoto.<sup>1</sup> He was also called Tenjin. It is said that he descended to Hyūga Province bearing one sword, one jewel, and one mirror. He made Hyūga his capital, and later moved the capital to Yamato. He also moved the capital to Toyora in Nagato Province and to Yamashiro Province. The capital of Japan today is in Yamashiro Province. Since the time of his establishment of the capital, the rulers have inherited one family name, and this has not changed even today.

When I read this chronology of Japan's history and acquired *Azuma kagami* [Mirror of the East] (It is said that one's own good points and bad points are soon seen in one's wife. If one observes one's wife, one can know his good points and bad points. For this reason, the history book was titled thus), I realized that 400 years earlier the so-called Emperor of Japan had not lost his majesty. From earlier generations, the emperor has appointed a Minister (J. *daijin*) and entrusted him with governing the country. (The Senior Counselor [J. *Dainagon*], Prime Minister [J. *Dajo Daijin*], Shogun [J. (*Sei-i*) *Taishōgun*], Imperial Regent, and other officials carried out the policies.) The minister also oversaw the execution of the commands of the emperor. (The emperor [J. *tennō*] was also called *tenson*.<sup>2</sup>)

Since the Kantō Shogun Minamoto no Yoritomo, governance has been entrusted to the Imperial Regent, and the emperor has conducted state rites. After Hideyoshi, the evil ruler of the thieving Japanese, succeeded [Oda] Nobunaga, the overthrow of those above by those below (J. *gekokuujō*) became extreme. The emperor's lands in the Kinai provinces were all taken by the leader of the thieving Japanese. Hideyoshi divided those lands and distributed them among his retainers. (The stipends [J. *hōroku*] of the emperor's supporters are quite low, and even those with larger stipends receive but a few thousand *koku*. As with [Tokugawa] Ieyasu and [Mōri] Terumoto,<sup>3</sup> the prebends of those with larger stipends reach eight or nine provinces, and their stipends exceed 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 *koku*.)

Numerous lands for deputies (K. *taegwan*, J. *daikan*) have been established in the provinces. The generals who possess those lands are forced to jointly administer the deputies' lands. And the generals are forced to forward

to the capital the silver cash obtained through the trade of the yield from those lands. The silver cash is used for state purposes. If a deputy's land is valued at 30,000 *koku*, the person who manages that land takes 10,000 *koku* for himself. Thus, a person who manages many lands of deputies becomes extremely wealthy. There are many examples of this. In earlier times, men who possessed lands considered it shameful to take the entire yield from the farmers. Because they left half the yield and gave it to the farmers, the farmers were not exceptionally poor and the generals were not exceedingly wealthy.

Upon the leader of the thieving Japanese Hideyoshi's succession of Nobunaga, the collection of yield changed in the extreme. Because nothing produced in the fields, even straw, belonged any longer to the farmers, even if the wealth of the generals could be compared to that of Hideyoshi, the farmers were poor and had not even enough rice for the next day.<sup>4</sup>

The so-called Regent in earlier times was appointed from among the four great descent groups of the Fuji[wara], the Tachibana, the Minamoto, and the Taira.<sup>5</sup> Because men born to high status succeed to high status and men born to mean status succeed to mean status, Japanese who held positions of power prized names and did not stray as they wished from the way. Nobunaga was killed by his retainer Akechi.<sup>6</sup> Hideyoshi rose from base status, attacked and killed many high-ranking officials, and called himself the Imperial Regent. He then tried to request of the King of Japan the surname of one of the four Regent families,<sup>7</sup> but all the king's close advisers said, "We will follow your orders in other matters, but we will not permit him to be granted [such] a surname." Hideyoshi became angry and left, and on his own [he] took the surname Taira. Later, he changed his surname to Toyotomi.<sup>8</sup>

The men in positions of power today all are of ordinary background and sons of merchants (men of slavlike status or criminals), and relying upon Hideyoshi, [they] have quickly become wealthy and successful. And among monks, they say no matter their position, "Since the founding of Japan, Japan has never been turned upside down as it is now." (The leader of the thieving Japanese was first called the Imperial Regent but later rose higher and was called *Taikō*. He adopted his nephew [Toyotomi Hidetsugu], who later was called the Imperial Regent. But in the *ūmi* year [1595], Hideyoshi heard an untruthful secret report and ordered Hidetsugu and his retainers to kill themselves, it is said.<sup>9</sup>)

During the reign of the first Emperor of Qin, Shi Huangdi, Xu Fu took to the sea with young boys and girls in boats and reached Mount Kumano, in Japan's Kii Province.<sup>10</sup> Still today there is a shrine for Xu Fu on Mount Kumano. His descendants are today's Hata family, who over the many generations have



referred to themselves as Xu Fu's descendants.<sup>11</sup> It is not true that Xu Fu's descendants became the emperors of Japan. During the Hongwu period,<sup>12</sup> the Japanese monk Zekkai Chūshin entered Ming China to deliver tribute [from the Muromachi *bakufu*].<sup>13</sup> The Hongwu emperor ordered Zekkai Chūshin to compose a poem. Zekkai Chūshin wrote:

Before the peak of Kumano stands Xu Fu's shrine;  
The mountains abound in herbs thanks to the rains.  
Now the billowing waves of the sea are calm;  
A favorable wind blows ten thousand miles—it's time he went home.<sup>14</sup>

The Hongwu emperor bestowed upon Zekkai Chūshin a poem:

At Kumano's soaring craggy tines, a shrine that descendants will so  
nourish  
At roots of clinging gnarled pines, the precious amber will so flourish  
That year Xu Fu had but one urge, of finding that Immortal Potion  
From then 'til now the present verge, of returning there is no notion.<sup>15</sup>

There was a monk called Kōbō Daishi.<sup>16</sup> He was from Sanuki Province.<sup>17</sup> Traveling through [Tang] China, he reached India, where he studied the Buddhist law, and upon completion of his studies [he] returned to Japan.<sup>18</sup> People called him the living Buddha. Because Japanese could not understand Chinese characters, he divided spoken Japanese into forty-eight sounds and created *kana* for writing. That script is similar to our vulgar script (K. *ōnmun*).<sup>19</sup> When *kana* are mixed with Chinese characters, at its worst it resembles our *idu*.<sup>20</sup> When *kana* are not mixed with Chinese characters, at its worst it resembles our vulgar script. Those people in Japan with a reputation for skill in reading Chinese are used only for translation. Japanese do not understand Chinese characters well.

However, among Japanese who read Chinese well, their nature is rather different from typical Japanese, and they are amused by the generals.

Earlier, someone showed me a text that Kōbō Daishi is said to have written. When I saw the postscript to that map, I read that Japan is composed of eight circuits, that there are 66 provinces, and that Iki and Tsushima are not counted as provinces. There are two islands, 92,000 districts (J. *gō*) (a place that has a fort and a pond is called a district), 109,856 villages, rice fields totaling 899,160 *chō*, and other fields totaling 112,148 *chō*. (In Japanese measure, our country's 5 *ch'ōk* is 1 Japanese *ken*, 55 *ken* is 1 *chō*, and 36 *chō* is 1 *ri*.<sup>21</sup> The

Japanese *ri* is exactly 10 *ri* in our country's measure. However, in the Kantō area, only 6 *chō* equals 1 *ri*. Wet rice paddies are called *den*, and mountain fields are called *hatake*.) There are 2,958 Buddhist temples, 27,612 Shinto shrines, 1,994,828 males, and 2,904,820 females. Even if the increase and decrease of the population over time is not equal in each period, in general, the population can be estimated.<sup>22</sup>

Further, it is said that at the far east of Japan is Mutsu Province and at the far west is Hizen Province. From eastern Mutsu to western Hizen is 415 *ri*. At the far south is Kii Province and at the far north is Wakasa Province. From southern Kii to northern Wakasa is 88 *ri*. From Hiraizumi, in Mutsu, to Ezo is 30 *ri* by sea.<sup>23</sup> The Bandō road is 180 *ri*.

Previously, I thought that Japan was not as large as our country. I met a Japanese monk named Ian.<sup>24</sup> He is from the capital of Japan. His grandfather and father had studied in China,<sup>25</sup> and by Ian's generation the family knew mathematics, astronomy, and geography well. Earlier, Ian had built a clock for measuring the sun's shadow, and he knew more or less the circumference of the earth and the distance to a mountain or to a river, it is said.<sup>26</sup>

As was said earlier, "During the Imjin invasion, Japanese brought all of the land registers from the Board of Taxation to Japan. I have heard that half of those land registers do not surpass Japan's land registers." The person who said that is honest, thus he can probably be believed. This comment may be considered not unfounded. Moreover, if we were to calculate the size of Japan based upon the distance from the Kantō to Mutsu Province, compared to our country it is extremely large.

Illa, a man from Silla, came to Japan.<sup>27</sup> The Japanese respected him and made him the Great Tengu Tarōbō.<sup>28</sup> After his death, Illa was revered and enshrined as a protective spirit for the protective deity of the Mount Atago avatar (*J. gongen*).<sup>29</sup> Even today, there are people who throw coins and rice and pray for good fortune.

In general, Japanese are sharp at reading lesser things and know little of important things. People intently follow what is praised without examining it carefully, and once they are fooled they will never realize it until they die. The vulgarity of the barbarians is like this.

The three circuits of Tōkaidō, Tōsandō, and Hōkurikudō are far from our country. For this reason, they were not involved in the invasion of our country from the *imjin* year [1592]. The four circuits of Kinai, Sanyōdō, Sanindō, and Nankaidō were forced to send troops in rotation to our country. The

Seikaidō circuit is extremely close. For this reason, it[s generals] continually stationed troops in our country from 1592. The number of Japanese troops in the *imjin* invasion was 165,000. (This figure includes soldiers but does not include sailors.) The Japanese generals were:

[Mōri] Aki Chūnagon Terumoto<sup>30</sup> (He was in Sangju.)

His adopted son [Mōri] Aki Saishō Hidemoto<sup>31</sup>

[Ukita] Bizen Chūnagon Hideie<sup>32</sup> (He intruded into the Southern Detached Palace.<sup>33</sup>)

[Kobayakawa] Chikuzen Chūnagon Kingo [Takakage]<sup>34</sup>

Mashita [U]emon[no jō] Nagamori<sup>35</sup> (He intruded into the capital.)

[Date] Chūjō Masamune<sup>36</sup> (He intruded first into Chinju. He had only one eye and was brave but rough.)

Wakisaka Nakatsukasa [no shō Yasuharu]<sup>37</sup>

Nagaoka Etchū no kami [Hosokawa Tadaoki]<sup>38</sup>

Toda Jibu no taifu [Katsutaka] (He intruded into Hwanghae Province.

After the invasion ended, he returned to Japan and died there.)<sup>39</sup>

Ishida Jibu no shō [Mitsunari]<sup>40</sup>

Satsuma no kami Shimazu Hyōgo no kami Yoshihiro<sup>41</sup>

Hizen Province *jinushi* Ryūzōji [Masaie]<sup>42</sup>

Asano Danjō [Nagamasa]<sup>43</sup>

His son Asano Sakyō no daibu [Yukinaga]<sup>44</sup>

Ikoma Uta no kami [Chikamasa]<sup>45</sup>

His son [Ikoma] Sanuki no kami [Kazumasa]<sup>46</sup>

Chōsokabe Tosa no kami Morichika<sup>47</sup>

Hachisuka Awa no kami Iemasa<sup>48</sup>

Ikeda Iyo no kami Hideo<sup>49</sup>

Tōdō Sado no kami [Takatora]<sup>50</sup>

Ōtani Gyōbu no shō [Yoshitsugu]<sup>51</sup>

Katō Sama no suke [Yoshiaki]<sup>52</sup>

Ogawa Sama no suke [Suketada]<sup>53</sup>

Miyabe Hyōbu no shō [Nagahiro]<sup>54</sup>

Fukutaka Uma no suke [Naotaka] (“Fukutaka” might also be written as “Fukuhara.”)<sup>55</sup>

Nakagawa Shūri no daibu Hidenari<sup>56</sup>

Katō Kazue [no kami] Kiyomasa<sup>57</sup> (Another name [for Kiyomasa] was Toranosuke. He intruded into Hamgyōng Province.)

Konishi Settsu no kami Yukinaga<sup>58</sup>

Kuroda Kai no kami [Nagamasa]<sup>59</sup>

Mōri Iki no kami [Katsunobu]<sup>60</sup>  
 Mōri Minbu no taifu [Takamasa]<sup>61</sup>  
 Matsura Hōin [Shigenobu]<sup>62</sup>  
 Takenaka Gensuke [Takashige]<sup>63</sup>  
 [Ko]bayakawa Shume no kami Nagamasa<sup>64</sup>  
 Yanagawa Tachibana Sakon [no e Shōgen Muneshige]<sup>65</sup>  
 Terazawa Shima no kami Hirotaka<sup>66</sup>  
 Hashiba Tsushima no kami [Sō] Yoshitoshi<sup>67</sup>

The number of soldiers in the *chōngyu* invasion was less than half [the number in the *imjin* invasion]. They totaled 104,500 men. The Japanese generals were:

Aki Saishō [Mōri] Hidemoto  
 [Ukita] Bizen Chūnagon Hideie (He intruded into Nūngsōng and Hwasun.)  
 [Kobayakawa] Chikuzen Chūnagon Kingo [Hideaki]<sup>68</sup>  
 Asano Sakyō no daibu [Yukinaga]  
 Shimazu Hyōgo [no kami] Yoshihiro (He established a base at Sach'ōn.)  
 Hizen Ryūzōji [Masaie]<sup>69</sup> (His retainer Nabeshima Kaga no kami [Naoshige] served in his stead.<sup>70</sup>)  
 Katō Kazue [no kami] Kiyomasa<sup>71</sup>  
 Konishi Settsu no kami Yukinaga (He established a base at Sunch'ōn.)  
 Kuroda Kai no kami [Nagamasa]<sup>72</sup>  
 [Hachisuka] Awa no kami Iemasa (He reached Muan by boat.)  
 Ikoma Sanuki no kami Kazumasa  
 [Chōsokabe] Tosa no kami Morichika (He intruded into Naju.)  
 Katō Sama no suke [Yoshiaki] (He reached Muan by boat.)  
 Fukutaka Uma no suke [Naotaka] (He reached Muan by boat.)  
 Hayakawa Shume no kami Nagamasa  
 Mōri Iki no kami [Katsunobu]<sup>73</sup>  
 Mōri Minbu no daiu [Takamasa]<sup>74</sup> (He reached Muan by boat.)  
 Yanagawa Tachibana Sakon [Muneshige]<sup>75</sup>  
 Tōdō Sado no kami [Takatora] (He reached Muan by boat.)  
 Terazawa Shima no kami Masanari<sup>76</sup>  
 [Ikeda] Iyo no kami Hideo (He intruded into Kwangju; the killings were most extreme there. He died aboard ship after reaching Chindo.)

Kakimi Izumi no kami Kazunao<sup>77</sup>  
 Matura Hōin [Shigenobu]  
 Kumagai [Ō]kura no jō Naoshige<sup>78</sup>  
 Hashiba Tsushima no kami [Sō] Yoshitoshi  
 Kurushima [Izumo] no kami [Michifusa]<sup>79</sup> (He died by an arrow shot  
 by Yi Sunsin.<sup>80</sup>)

There is Ankokuji Ekei.<sup>81</sup> He is a Japanese monk. He first served [Mōri] Terumoto. Traveling back and forth between Terumoto and the leader of the thieving Japanese, Ekei ended the fighting between these two armies and eventually brought about a truce between the two men [in 1582]. Ekei did not take many of the lands that the leader of the thieving Japanese had provided as his reward and accepted only 20,000 *koku*. At the second invasion, Ekei became a commander, and he bragged greatly about his resources. All of the Japanese monks were good at the beginning, but later they became bad, he said, laughing. He has endeavored to achieve peace and from the beginning until now has done so.

There is the Taichōrō Saishō Shōtai. He brags of his skill in written Chinese. He curried favor with, and served, the leader of the thieving Japanese, and even received more than 10,000 *koku* of lands. Through Japanese monks I obtained and read *Gakumon ki*, which Saishō Shōtai had prepared for the leader of the thieving Japanese,<sup>82</sup> and the record of the conversation with Shen Weijing.<sup>83</sup> But these texts are greatly exaggerated. A particularly terrible example is: “The Great Ming heard the wind and came to Japan. Chosōn, being immoral, we attacked.” Truly, my heart hurt and my bones felt as if they had been cut.

And there is Ankokuji Saidō. (In our country, we call him Genso.<sup>84</sup>) He became an assistant to [Sō] Yoshitoshi. It is said that he writes Chinese very well, and that many of the letters that slander and express scorn for our country come from his hand.

In Japan, those who have gained merit in battle receive rewards of land. The largest extend across eight or nine provinces, or across several provinces. The next levels of reward are to govern a province, to govern several castles, and to govern one castle. The smallest reward is several divided villages. Or, they sometimes receive a few provinces or districts from another general. If one does not gain merit in battle, then one’s social position is reduced, one’s lands are reduced, and one may even be ignored. If one loses in battle, one commits suicide without waiting for punishment.



A military leader who dies in battle is succeeded in his position by a son or younger brother. When Ikeda Iyo no kami Hideo died of illness at Chindo, his son Magoshirō immediately received his father's position in the army.<sup>85</sup> And when Kurushima [Izumo] no kami [Michifusa] died in battle at the Chōlla Province Right Naval Commandery, his younger brother went to Kurushima's fort.

If a dispute occurs and it expands into a decisive battle, after killing the enemy, the victor will cut off his own head or cut open his own stomach. People will say, "He is a true man," be impressed, and spare no regret. People will point to his descendant and say, "He is the descendant of a samurai who killed himself." That person will be able to marry well.

People who possess lands divide those lands and give plots to retainers who have earned merit. The retainers will recruit specially picked soldiers and support them with the yield from those lands. The retainers will recruit those who are brave and strong, those who have practiced sword fighting, those who shoot arquebuses, those who fire arrows, those who swim well, those thoroughly versed in military strategy, those who run fast, that is, those who have one skill or one talent. In the case of generals holding several provinces, their soldiers will be in the tens of thousands. In the case of lesser generals, their soldiers will number in the thousands. If there is an attack, the leader will immediately send commands to his generals, who will then send commands to their retainers, and the retainers will send commands to the various units. The organization of the army, even if only the necessary select and stalwart soldiers are chosen, has flexibility. The peasants cling fast to their wet fields and dry fields and supply military provisions.

Because the retainers of a general will be his officers and soldiers, there is no difficulty in securing men and weapons. Because the storehouses of a province supply the military provisions, there is no worry of exhausting food. This is the situation of the villages of the barbarians. Because the military units have already been decided and training is conducted regularly, they are successful.

## APPENDIX 2

### *SUGGESTIONS FOR MILITARY REFORM AND WAR STRATEGIES*

Your servant, in prostration, dares say that our country neither has trained officers nor has instructed civilians [in warfare]. When the war broke out, the

government rounded up peasants and placed them on the battlefields. Those possessing a modicum of influence or money managed to escape either by bribery or through connections; only the poor with no connections were sent to fight. Moreover, a general does not have a group of soldiers assigned to him, nor does a common soldier follow a particular leader. Half the villagers belong to the Mobile Inspector and the other half belong to the Army Commander.<sup>1</sup> The same soldier is under the Mobile Inspector in the morning and under the Supreme Field Commander in the evening.<sup>2</sup> Since the positions of generals and soldiers are shifted constantly, there is no time to check and organize matters and no established line of command. Nor can a semblance of hierarchy be preserved. Under these conditions, how is it possible to send troops into battle and to expect them to kill the enemy?

We have so many different offices; orders and ordinances issued from one do not coincide with those issued by another. The officers and soldiers of a county are sent away, and provisions in the village storehouse are moved elsewhere. When the enemy arrives, no one but the magistrate remains guarding the empty fort. Even if Zhang Liang, Han Shin, Liu Bei, and Yue Fei could be brought back to life today, they could not but take flight.<sup>3</sup>

That Yi Pongnam was the magistrate of Namwŏn [County] in the morning,<sup>4</sup> the magistrate of Naju [County] in the evening, a Defense Commander one day, and an Army Commander the next makes no sense.<sup>5</sup> If he was thought unsuitable as a Defense Commander, how could he be made an Army Commander? If he was deemed suitable to be an Army Commander, then why relieve him of the post of Defense Commander? Frequent shifts in military leadership leave soldiers undisciplined; their general will be like an empty fort to them. In the event of a sudden encounter with the enemy, will the general command obedience?

Yi Sunsin used the sea as a long defense wall. With no indication of a crime, he was abruptly jailed and replaced with Wŏn Kyun.<sup>6</sup> This was truly an error. Those who had become prisoners of war during the first invasion in the *imjin* year [1592] and been forced to fight in the enemy army all spoke of the battle of the fifteenth day of the seventh month of the *chōngyu* year [1597].<sup>7</sup> The Japanese general chose several gunners and placed them on a boat to spy on our warships. Every boat seemed full of dozing soldiers, and snoring filled the area. The enemy fired two empty shots into the air. A spectacular commotion ensued—soldiers ran around in frenzy, some of them cutting down sails and some rowing. The enemy moved swiftly, advancing all their warships as one. We lost Hansan Island.<sup>8</sup> The enemy pushed ahead directly to the West-

ern Sea. But when they arrived at the Right Naval Headquarters of Chōlla Province,<sup>9</sup> Yi Sunsin lay in wait with a dozen or so ships. With indomitable will, this small navy destroyed the Japanese fleet.<sup>10</sup> In this battle, the Japanese general Kurushima [Izumo] no kami [Michifusa] was killed.<sup>11</sup> [Mōri] Minbu no kami [Takamasa] was thrown into the sea, barely escaping death, while lesser generals and officers died in numbers. By this account, one can readily compare Wōn Kyun's senseless leadership with Yi Sunsin's remarkable strategy by which he destroyed the enemy with such a small fleet.

Once the Hansan defense broke, the enemy came to Honam. It was an error to replace Mobile Inspector Pak Hongno with Hwang Sin at this time.<sup>12</sup> In the interval between Hongno's replacement and Hwang Sin's arrival, military units fell into disarray; there was no way to maintain order. Of the fifty-three counties,<sup>13</sup> not one summoned soldiers. Thus, the enemy's unchecked rapacity reached an unprecedented extreme.<sup>14</sup> That Honam among all the provinces suffered incomparable damage was due to the fact that not even the governor was in charge.<sup>15</sup>

Another error was that only when Hansan was broken and the enemy had surrounded Namwōn did the government appoint O Ŭngt'ae as Chōlla Province Defense Commander<sup>16</sup> and Kim Kyōngno as Chōlla Province Auxiliary Defense Officer.<sup>17</sup> At the time, your servant served in Tamyang County,<sup>18</sup> and thus witnessed Kyōngno's assumption of his post. There was not one soldier under his command. The imminence of the enemy attack did not allow time to assemble a force. On horseback, he had to gallop to the governor and borrow two assistants from him; then he managed to join with soldiers who had been in hiding.

In such conditions, even a great general of the caliber of Guo Ziyi would not have found a way.<sup>19</sup> From the point of view of the government, replacing an official or appointing an agent may not seem a matter of significance. However, it is an exceedingly serious affair. Many in the three southern provinces might perish by the sword of a vicious enemy, and the very safety of the dynasty stands exposed. In prostration, I beg Your Majesty to be extremely cautious in appointing or replacing a general in the provinces. Your Majesty should not evaluate candidates by such measures as whether they are civil officials or military officials or whether their status is adequate. Nor should You look for someone whose conduct is as correct as that of Weisheng or as filial as that of Xiaoji,<sup>20</sup> or whose familial prestige is as great as that of Zui, Lu, Wang, or Xie.<sup>21</sup> Choose those with boldness and vision, who have displayed

this in actual battles with the Japanese. They should be appointed as the generals of Honam and Yŏngnam.

Along the coasts, choose places that would be most suitable as points of defense and construct large fortifications (K. *chin*) about every one hundred *ri*. Relocate some families from outlying areas and have them surround the fortification. **Permit sons to inherit the posts of their fathers.** Place them in charge for a long time, just as Emperor Taizu of Song China entrusted Xi-shan to Guo Jin for twelve years and Yanmen to Pan Mi for fifteen years.<sup>22</sup> If they achieve merit, raise their rank, and if they make errors, lower their rank. However, even if You receive a stream of slanders and accusations against them, punish them only if they are defeated in battle and lose their fort. If they accomplish great merit, they will advance in rank and prestige. Just as certain posts of Tang China and Song China were administered, do not allow these generals to leave their forts. Let them be in charge of educating and training those in the fort, and, beyond the tax required by the central government, military expenses should be assigned priority in disbursements made from local taxes.

It is essential that other offices or units be prohibited from taking soldiers or provisions from these fortifications. Generals in the provinces must train soldiers, purchase necessary equipment, refurbish warships, care for forts, and faithfully carry out their day-to-day duties. When an emergency occurs, generals in charge lead the army under their command, helping and coordinating the entire unit. In this way, there will be enough provisions, generals and soldiers will trust each other, and order will be naturally established. Generals will have power in their own hands, and thus there will be no scrambling for leadership.

Then there is the matter of the needs of these generals. They would wish for comfortable living quarters and abundant clothing and food, and they would like to enjoy the attendance of wives and concubines. This is a natural human inclination. Even those with great knowledge cannot escape it. How much more so must it be with military men? Under our current system, generals in the provinces depend on the officers and soldiers beneath them for their livelihoods. How can they not exhort and pressure them?

The soil of numerous small islands off the southern coast is incredibly rich. Furthermore, the profits of the fisheries and of salt mining even exceed the profits from crops on land. For this reason, control of these areas is sought by the powerful. One can see this by something that happened after

the war broke out. During the war, villages grew empty, and fertile fields and beautiful houses fell into ruin and were overgrown by weeds. Powerful local families, by coaxing and threatening the magistrate, obtained rights to these lands, gathered peasants and runaway soldiers, and had them till the land. During the investigation and survey of these lands, officials had their hands tied. They did not dare inform on the powerful families. When the enemy approached, the powerful families filled cart upon cart with their wares and escaped. Who among our people create more trouble?

In prostration, I dare suggest that Your Majesty clearly send messages to the officials in charge. Choose islands with profitable fisheries and salt mines, and fertile, cultivable lands, and join them with fertile coastal lands that have fallen to waste. Distribute them among deserving generals as salary lands (K. *sigŭp*). Hire people wandering about after having lost their homes and have them cultivate the land. The young and strong among them can be trained as soldiers, while the income from the land can be used for military expenditures. If these grants are made heritable and sons can inherit their fathers' grants, not only will the wealth and power of a general depend on his doing a good job, so will the wealth of his descendants. Thus, he will regard guarding and fighting for the fort as his own affair. Officers and soldiers will increase in number, provisions for them will grow, warships will be maintained, the people's livelihood will be secured, and the state will not have to worry about transporting provisions to them by boat. Only after these matters are settled for them can the state hold them responsible to guard their forts and to defend them from enemy attack. If they can be depended upon to hold their forts, why scrimp on their share of land? If they can defend against the enemy, why begrudge their accumulation of riches?

Your servant hears that in times of peace most of the crops taken in taxes from the Yŏngnam region are transported to Tongnae and Pusan, where they are used to provide for the needs of visiting Japanese envoys. After I came here as a prisoner of war, I heard a detailed explanation [of envoys] from a Japanese monk. The so-called Japanese envoys were all private individuals sent by the Governor of Tsushima, and their so-called state letters (K. *kuksŏ*) were all fabrications written by him. Not only did other Japanese not know about them, even military men in Iki and Hizen Province had not heard of them. There is not even an acre of cultivable land in Tsushima. With the rice they acquired by deceiving us, they funded public and private expenditures. There is a rumor that when Kim Sŏng'il's diplomatic mission was in Japan,<sup>23</sup> a Japanese monk, hearing of the situation from our translator, was about to en-



lighten us, but a Tsushima translator, fearing that the truth might be revealed, stopped the monk by waving his hand and silencing him.

The war originated with [Sō] Yoshitoshi's scheming. [Konishi] Settsu no kami Yukinaga is Yoshitoshi's father-in-law.<sup>24</sup> Yoshitoshi could not communicate directly with Hideyoshi, so he sent a detailed report on the defenses of our country through Yukinaga, who also volunteered to take charge [of the invasion]. The war resulted. Because a great many Japanese also died, Japanese resentment toward him runs bone deep. They say that it was Yukinaga who started the war. Even that frightful [Katō] Kiyomasa is said to have declared that it was Yukinaga who stirred up the war.<sup>25</sup> While Yukinaga understands that there is no hope for an ending favorable to Japan, he is afraid that, should Japan withdraw precipitously from Chosŏn, we would punish Yoshitoshi and not permit [Tsushima] to engage in trade. He exerts himself strenuously to conclude peace negotiations to benefit Yoshitoshi.

Is this not truly infuriating? The crop of a whole province produced by the sweat and blood of our people was spent to indulge the greed of an ugly, evil thief. We suffered such calamity from his schemes and betrayals. It would be much better to reduce the tax and add it to the expenses of local generals.

Regarding castles, [in Japan] they are constructed thus. They are invariably on the peak of a lone mountain with a river or sea on one side. The four sides of the peak are cut and polished smooth so that even one with the skills of a monkey could not climb them. The top of the castle is pointed; its grounds are broad. A tall house of three stories is built on the four-cornered base. The lord of the castle resides here. Military provisions and weapons are all stored in this house. There is one gate, and one roadway through which people enter and exit. Inside the gate are piles of sand and stones. Outside the castle, there is a long wall about one *jō* high surrounding it,<sup>26</sup> but every two steps there is a hole through which cannonballs can be fired. Outside the wall, a moat eight or nine *jō* deep is dug and filled with water drawn from the river.<sup>27</sup> Beyond the moat is a wooden gate. In the adjoining river or sea, many boats and ships are moored, and people and workers are encouraged to engage in aquatic recreation. Well-trained and brave soldiers live around the castle.

When I asked why castles were constructed in this way, this was the answer. A lone mountain peak allows you to look down and survey what goes on below but does not allow the enemy to climb up. You can shoot down, but they cannot shoot up. Because of the river or sea, you need not worry

about [defending from] that direction. Thus, with half the forces you can accomplish twice the tasks. The base is broad so that it would be difficult to destroy or collapse it, while the top is tall and pointed to make it easier to survey below. Allowing only one entrance and one path permits an undivided defense, and piling stones inside the gate makes them accessible to the old or the young so that they might throw them. Placing the boats in rows in the water beside the castle defends the water passage, and encouraging water play prepares the populace for sea battles. Having well-trained soldiers live around the castle makes them available for defense in case of sudden attack.

Our fort structure, however, is very different from that of the thieves. In the invasion of the *chōngyu* year [1597], the thieves looked at forts in Chōlla Province and laughed at them, thinking them poorly constructed. They thought them fragmented. Only when they saw Kūmsōng, in Tamyang [County],<sup>28</sup> and Kūmsōng, in Naju [County],<sup>29</sup> were they alleged to have said that had the people of Chosōn defended these forts to the last, they would not have been able to take them. These are the stories I have heard directly from the interpreters who had accompanied Japanese [to the war].

In your servant's view, our mountain forts are well situated, but because they are distant from towns, residents of towns can be led into the forts only when they have been forewarned of emergency. When the situation has eased somewhat, ordinary people wish to tend to their livelihoods and are reluctant to stay in a distant and inaccessible fort. When the arrival of the enemy is imminent, unwilling to listen to orders, these people flee to mountains and fields, helping the old and carrying the young in search of hiding places. How much less chance is there for residents of adjoining towns to enter the fort?

Now, forts and towns in Honam and Yōngnam have been razed and destroyed. It would be wise to take advantage of this destruction and transfer the Tamyang County office to the mountain fort of Kūmsōng, relocate several towns into the fort to make it larger, and make the residents and officials of the adjoining area live in the fort. Adopt the ancient system that placed half the population in the fields and half in the town. Men would leave their families inside the fort in the growing season and go out to the fields to tend to crops. During the harvest, they would gather what was grown in the fields and bring it to the fort. The commanding general should repair the fort during the slack season, but should it be attacked, utilizing the fort and its residents, he should defend it against the enemy. The official in charge of the fort should be a person versed in civil and military arts, someone who has the leadership to care for the people [in the fort]. He should be entrusted with

the responsibility of [managing the fort] for a long period, and he should be treated in the same way as generals. It may be beneficial to send governors or army commanders to forts from time to time and to let them handle their affairs in connection with the local officials on site.<sup>30</sup>

I suggest that Chŏngŭp and Changsŏng be moved to Imam,<sup>31</sup> and that the model of Kŭmsŏng be followed. Move Tongbok and Ch'angp'yŏng to Ongsŏng in the same manner.<sup>32</sup> If the mountain forts of Yŏngnam were to be constructed and governed in this way, then they would be able to keep watch upon and assist one another. If this were done, the enemy would not dare to encroach upon us as they did. Some might say that because the roads to forts are long and hazardous, it is exceedingly inconvenient to gather and distribute crops. We could consider revising the old system of storehouses. Let the crops in the nearby towns go directly to a fort, but let the crops from distant places be secured in storehouses. Use the crops inside the fort as provisions for the military; the crops in the storehouses could be distributed to the people.

Regarding Honam, two forts, Hŭngdŏk and Kobu, are in good shape, but the magistrates of both counties and their residents display a strong distaste for guarding them. They desert their forts and evacuate to mountain forts. Should an emergency occur, chances are they will desert their forts. Is this situation not terrible?

The objective of the construction of ramparts at regular intervals along the coast, like that of surveillance of the sea from high places, was to be prepared for naval battles. However, these ramparts have turned into children's playthings and create nothing but problems. Those officials in charge of them receive payments [for taking care of them], but they use the money to support their families. Since the war broke out, almost all the sailors in the navy have been killed, and what remains are unattended ramparts. To make matters worse, the residents of Yŏng'am are sent to defend Haenam Port,<sup>33</sup> while the residents of Posŏng are transported to guard the ramparts in Sunch'ŏn.<sup>34</sup> The difficulties these people experience in going back and forth are tremendous. What is worse, however, is that many of them desert and are dispersed, and it is exceedingly difficult to track down runaways and return them to their posts.

One way to solve this problem is to demolish small and sundry ramparts along the coast and to centralize the coastal structure. Assign the villages along the coast to important, strategically located towns. Soldiers of associated ramparts should be expected to reside in the towns, with the under-

standing that it is the people of these towns—residents and soldiers—who should guard their own fort. Aside from military training, soldiers should not be subject to other demands, such as *corvée* labor. And apart from training in naval warfare, they should not be assigned to grooming horses or other miscellaneous tasks.

During peace, construct warships and have them stay at sea. Count both civilian males and soldiers, organize them into units, and, by turns, train them in the use of weapons and in naval warfare. At the time of a military attack, place them all under the Regional Navy Commander, each with his own task. Then the defense of forts and victory in naval warfare will both be accomplished.

Referring to others, Japanese use such terms as *sama* or *tono*. They apply these terms indiscriminately to everyone from the shogun to commoners, which displays their barbarian insensitivity in refinement and hierarchy. From generals to their underlings, they carry two swords, one long and one short. Sitting or lying down, they do not let go of them. This shows that the whole country is a battlefield. The so-called regents of the government seldom live long lives.<sup>35</sup> Everywhere in all four directions, they attacked and seized from one another; hence, only force was viewed as supreme. Then, the leader of the Japanese [Hideyoshi], employing schemes and manipulation, succeeded in forcing his contenders to succumb to him. He summoned a number of generals from the east to Fushimi and gave them the project of constructing a new castle, while the generals in the west were ordered to invade our country by turns. This was all part of his scheme of making it impossible for other generals to challenge him.

I hear that by the sixth month of the *chōngyu* year [1597], many Japanese forces had left [our country], but about ten armies led by [Katō] Kiyomasa, [Konishi] Yukinaga, [Kuroda] Kai no kami [Nagamasa], [Shimazu] Yoshihiro, [Nabeshima Naoshige], that is, the replacement for Ryūzōji Hizen no kami, [Sō] Tsushima no kami [Yoshitoshi], and others still remain in our country. Kiyomasa and Yukinaga disliked each other from the start, and after the war their hostilities deepened. Though Hideyoshi availed himself of every means to bring about reconciliation between them, he could not dissolve their antagonism. It is said that when Kiyomasa meets Yukinaga, he invariably shouts in anger, but Yukinaga responds outwardly in a calm and polite manner.

Ancient strategists aimed to create fissures between trusting lords and their vassals and among equally devoted generals of the enemy camp. In a situation in which two enemy generals are actually at each other's throat, one wonders why we have not been able to exploit it by fanning their animosity and using it with the dexterity of Bian Zhuangzi.<sup>36</sup> We cannot credit our generals for excellence in strategy or clever ideas.

[In Japan], peasants are not permitted to carry swords. Though peasants are given land to till, there is not even an inch of it that does not belong to officials. From land into which one *to* of seeds is sown,<sup>37</sup> they invariably take one *koku* of rice.<sup>38</sup> Their one *koku* is about 25 of our *mal*. Even though they work hard, they cannot produce enough to pay their rent. When they cannot pay rent, they borrow. But if it is still insufficient, they send their children to work as servants. If this is still not enough, they are thrown into prison, and they are tortured. Only after their amount is fully collected are they released. Thus, even during a good harvest year, peasants eat husks. They climb mountains and gather ferns and roots for their morning and evening meals. They still have to attend to their masters by turns, gathering firewood and drawing water for them. Among the Japanese, the most pitiful are powerless peasants.

When they treat their own people in this [cruel] way, what can be expected for how they treat the subjects of another country? It is difficult to live even one day [under them]. Our people along the coast in Yŏngnam are living a terrible nightmare.

Because castles and towns are filled with trained soldiers while peasants have only hoes or shovels, peasants bear the situation, but once in a while they arise as a mob and attack and destroy the main office of the local government. This is why, when the Japanese invaded our country, they had to leave half their troops to guard castles. Their fear of their own people is shown by this.

Japanese spears, armor, helmets, flags, tents, and ships are constructed simply but luxuriously. Tiger skin and chicken feathers are used to ornament military uniforms, while gold and silver are inlaid on wooden masks and the masks placed on the heads of horses or the faces of people to bedazzle others. When your servant first saw the masks, I could not help but laugh at them.<sup>39</sup> However, when our troops retreated in the *imjin* year [1592], they all said that because tigers and ghosts suddenly appeared everywhere at once, they were dazed and dispirited. Is it not incredible? How could it be that tiger pelts and chicken tails can kill people, and that wooden masks on people or horses can kill people? Does it not say that our military rank and file carries less author-



ity than a dead tiger, a dead chicken, or wooden masks on people or horses? The Japanese are small and weak. If men of our country wrestle with Japanese men, the Japanese will invariably succumb. It should also be noted that the idea that Japanese regard life lightly and do not fear death does not apply to all of them. From the autumn of the *chōngyu* year [1597] to the spring of the *musul* year [1598], a great many Japanese died or were wounded in fighting the Chinese army. In order to supplement the army, they conscripted men, and those called up for military service departed crying. Some of them left their families and ran away. Their mothers and wives were taken until they returned and joined the army. Of ten soldiers, only two or three were familiar with guns, and good shots were extremely rare.

Is it not lamentable that our elite forces who were masters of archery were humiliated by inept enemy troops? Will we really leave the enemies of our ruler-father undisturbed, and will we really throw our children to Japanese thieves rather than fight to the death? People such as me who live as prisoners of war deserve ten thousand deaths.

In the summer of the *musul* year [1598], the enemy withdrew from the coast of Yōngnam. They all said, “Japanese swords are effective at a distance of a few steps, but Korean arrows reach a distance of several hundred steps. If Chosŏn soldiers had really fought hard, they would not have been our match.”<sup>40</sup> Your servant is one of the most incomparably weak, witless, and incompetent men in the whole world. Nevertheless, even I felt that if I could command a well-trained army of several thousand men, I could defend a fort and a smaller, detached fort.

It is unwise policy to kill Japanese who surrender. It is not merely that it is against humanity to kill those who have already surrendered. As soon as they are out of diapers, these [Japanese] were handed over to the general’s household [to work]. They grew up seldom seeing their parents or visiting their hometowns. They follow their general to distant and near battlefields, moving from place to place. Even if they have a wife and children, they rarely get to see them. In fact, only generals and peasants have wives and children; most common soldiers do not. For this reason, they do not entertain a longing for their hometown, parents, wives, or children. They only wish for a comfortable life with good food and clothing. They see that our land is fertile and productive, and we have a plentitude of food and clothing. They are aware that the laws and regulations of their own country are severe and cruel, and that there has been endless warfare and conflict. When these soldiers gather, they often say to one another, “Chosŏn is a utopia! Japan is truly a vile country.” One or

another [of us] may rejoin with, “Our government treats Japanese who have surrendered with kindness and generosity. It provides them with food and clothing worthy of a general. I even heard of a case of someone receiving a high official post of the third rank.” They could not help being amazed by the story and would sincerely wish to surrender.

Your servant observes that since the *kyegap* years [1593 and 1594], our country has killed many Japanese who surrendered. Since they have already surrendered, if we accommodate them to our leadership, there is absolutely no reason that they should run away. Your servant sincerely wishes that, from this time, all generals be clearly instructed to provide Japanese who have surrendered with generous grants and to bind them to us with kindness and trust. If they are stealthily sent to battlefields accompanied by interpreters to induce other Japanese to surrender, they will be able to lure tens or hundreds of them daily. Thus, not only by plucking the feathers and fur will [their strength] gradually decrease to a nadir, but also in daily encounters we can attack their weakness with what we plucked from them and with our own strength. We will surely triumph. When the Chinese say the best strategy is to attack barbarians with barbarians, they refer to this method. Moreover, Japanese thieves captured many of our men, and they fill their rank and file with them. Why should we kill Japanese who are surrendering of their own accord, and make the enemy thugs feel good?

(From the section on the structure of the Japanese military to the above was recorded while Kang Hang was in Iyo Province. It was sent to Chosŏn in the *musul* year [1598] via Kim Sŏkpok.)<sup>41</sup>

The evil ruler of the thieving Japanese, Hideyoshi, became ill toward the end of the third month of the *musul* year [1598], and his condition grew critical in the summer. His son was only eight years old.<sup>42</sup> Aware of his impending death, Hideyoshi summoned his generals and entrusted them with future tasks. After completing this, he died on the seventeenth day of the seventh month. Some generals, including Ieyasu, were reluctant to announce his death. They cut open his belly and filled it with salt, dressed the corpse in his official robes, and sat him in a wooden stand. Many generals did not know that Hideyoshi had died. By the end of the eighth month, however, it was no longer possible to conceal his death. They were afraid that there might be

some unforeseen upheaval, and to prevent possible disturbances they very quietly performed funeral rites. Some speculated that because several generals, including [Katō] Kiyomasa, had not participated in a meeting in which the generals pledged fealty [to Hideyoshi], they feared those generals might become turncoats. I heard that they summoned this group and, telling them that Hideyoshi's condition was very critical, watched their reactions.

During the invasion of the *chōngyu* year [1597], Hideyoshi is said to have ordered his departing generals: "A person has two ears, but only one nose. Cut off the noses of the Chosŏn people and send them to Japan instead of severed heads. Each soldier is responsible for one *masu* of noses."<sup>43</sup> The generals salted noses and sent them to him. Only after every soldier had filled his quota was permission granted to capture [Koreans] alive. Can suffering worse than this have been inflicted upon us? After inspecting the noses sent, the chief then allowed them to be buried about 10 *ri* outside [of Kyoto]. The burial place of the noses looks like a grave mound. Within a year, his own stomach was salted!

After the death of Hideyoshi, [Tōdō] Sado no kami [Takatora] took us to their capital. Only then did we hear that Ieyasu's men went with a fleet of ships to Chosŏn, where they took possession of military provisions from Kōje Island, abducted the residents, and looted every possible ware they found in the marketplaces of our coastal areas; secured them on board their ships; and carried them all back to Japan. After they retreated [from Chosŏn], they ordered Ishida Jibu [no shō Mitsunari] to summon back Kiyomasa. Not long after that, a flying messenger (they call a messenger bearing urgent news a flying messenger) arrived in a fast boat that had reached the capital in seven days. He brought a message from Kiyomasa, which said, "Chinese and Korean warships cover the Western Sea, bearing toward us. Japanese forts, all sixteen that we built [in Chosŏn], are under siege. I do not know even when I will die. If relief troops do not arrive soon, I will have to commit suicide. I cannot die by someone else's sword." [Ishida] Jibu [no shō Mitsunari] lingered in the Hizen area, not daring to cross the sea. Ieyasu summoned generals to discuss the matter, but they could not reach a decision.

Your servant has been living in the abyss of a long dark night and has not heard news from the bright outside world for several years. I could not possibly fathom the intricacies of the changing military situation. Nevertheless, with fellow prisoners of war, I devised three strategies. Those strategies are:

1. Before the relief troops arrive, send orders to all military headquarters. Bring together all the Chinese troops that are scattered at different points in

our country. Gather together all of our troops of every category as well. At a distance of 3 miles (10 *ri*) from the enemy camp, surround barracks and fortifications and attack them by taking turns, not allowing the enemy any rest. The navy should blockade the rear of the enemy camp, and warships should cruise the sea beyond. However, they should not advance too closely in range of the Japanese fort, and should be careful not to inadvertently fall into a position where they might be overrun by the desperate Japanese. Wait until they lose their position and move about. At this point close in on them, and let not even a vessel with but one sail return. Thus, we will vindicate the humiliating offense to the Temple of Royal Ancestors and the royal tombs. We all agree that this is the best strategy.

2. Your servant clearly heard that Kiyomasa's army is no more than several thousand men. Moreover, though [Shimazu] Yoshihiro leads eight thousand, a majority is said to have died and to have been wounded from years of battles. It is clear that we have numerical superiority, and that our strength relative to the enemy has completely turned. It is not possible that we be defeated now.

Some might say that Kiyomasa is great in battle, but his troops are isolated far from home. Their strength will not last. Moreover, the lands of Kiyomasa and other generals are all in Hizen Province, Higo Province, and elsewhere in Kyushu. Their castles, subjects, storehouses, and gold and silver are all there. These are their bases. Ulsan and Sunch'ŏn would seem mere stone fields. Kiyomasa is deeply concerned with internal discord and the possibility of unforeseen dangers. He is aware that if he advances, he has nothing to gain, but if he retreats, he has no place to fall back upon. He must be very eager to return [to Japan], but it is not good to retreat without a legitimate pretext. He also worries that he might not be able to safely retreat—our troops might set off in pursuit of his men. There are generals who would send relief forces, but these generals must consider their own safety. By helping someone else, they might be exposed to danger. Eventually, they will have to retreat. As a way to help [Sō] Yoshitoshi, however, [Konishi] Yukinaga is determined to retreat only after a truce is signed. We should not accept his peace envoy. We should divide our land forces and place them at critical positions to harry the Japanese to exhaustion and pursue them in retreat to Tsushima to destroy them in the water. This is the second strategy to prevent the Japanese generals from harboring any further ambitions.

3. Warfare is the Japanese specialty. Since the war broke out, however, from generals to the lowliest commoners, eight or nine of every ten of those who went back and forth to our country have become familiar with such details as the strong and weak points of different forts, the origins of different

products, and so forth. They have developed a keen desire for them, which they have not forgotten even for a moment. The fact that our country is so close entices them. Previously, the Governor of Tsushima, greedy for sweet official emoluments [from us], would tell them that the distance was great, the winds and waves high and perilous. To ingratiate himself to Hideyoshi, however, Yoshitoshi told him the truth. It takes one day by ship from Pusan to Tsushima, another day from Tsushima to Iki, and less than one day from Iki to Hizen. Even if the Japanese retreat now, their ambition will be rekindled in several decades.

The Japanese take their pledges very seriously. If we enter into a security agreement, we may be able to ensure peace for one hundred years. Now, since the enemy leader Hideyoshi has perished, struck down by Heaven's wrath, Ieyasu and [Mōri] Terumoto sincerely wish for peace. In reply to their request for peace, Your Majesty might say, "If your request for peace is a genuine expression of the intentions of the ruler and the ministers of your country, then have all your army stationed in our country retreat to Tsushima and elsewhere. Then, send an envoy. It does not make sense to seek peace while you station your army in our country. When you send an envoy, we will greet him." These thieves are very eager for peace, and it stands to reason that they will agree to the proposed terms. If this were to happen, not only would our people be freed of the sufferings of war, but also common subjects, not to mention officials, of our two-hundred-year-old dynasty taken captive would be released from the tiger's mouth to return to their loving mother [country]. This is the third strategy.

What I have said is based on what your servant has heard and seen in person, not rumors or hearsay that would but insult Your Majesty's clear intelligence. In prostration, your servant suggests that Your Majesty discuss with the Ming court, consult the officials of your court, and, in consideration of the constantly shifting international situation, choose one of the three proposals described herein.

Yi Yōp, an officer in a regional military unit, was captured by Kiyomasa, who then sent him to the leader of the enemy thieves.<sup>44</sup> Hideyoshi summoned Yōp frequently, complimenting him on his beard, stroking it, or patting him on the back, or running around vigorously showing off his own prowess. He arranged for Yōp to stay at the house of [Natsuka] Ōkura [no shō Masaie]<sup>45</sup> and provided him with beautiful silk clothes. Yōp would say, "Do you think you can buy me with silk?" After about four months, plotting with several



men who spoke Japanese, he bought a ship with silver that he had received from Hideyoshi and fled westward. Several days later, Ōkura discovered his escape. He pursued Yōp on land and sea and caught up with him at Habu,<sup>46</sup> in Bingo Province. Yōp took out his sword and plunged it into his chest. The sword went through his body and out his back. Then, Yōp threw himself into the sea.

Of those in that boat, some killed themselves with swords, some were captured. Japanese retrieved Yōp's body and, along with those captured alive, transported all to the Japanese capital. They punished them by tying the limbs of their bodies, including those of Yōp's dead body, to the wheels of carts and tearing them apart. All among the men and women of our country shed tears for him. Some even composed a eulogy. I heard about Yōp only after I arrived in the Japanese capital. One can say that he was a man of true courage.

Konishi Yukinaga took the Envoy from Ming China and had him stay at Sakai, in Izumi Province. (Because this was the border separating Izumi, Settsu, and Kawachi provinces, it was called Sakai. Foreign envoys are usually lodged here.) Nagauemon, the son of the older brother of Yukinaga,<sup>47</sup> guarded the place. At night, I stealthily left my lodging. I, Sin Kyeri, Im Taehŭng, and others captured during the *imjin* year [1592] decided to go to see the envoys. We bribed the gatekeeper and were let in. The envoys took great sympathy upon us. They summoned an interpreter and asked for details of my capture. They even served us a meal. After we had talked a while, one of the guards caught on to what was happening and barged in, bound me with rope, and placed me in a dark and isolated room. He also bound Kyeri and the others and took them elsewhere. He probably suspected that we had informed the envoys of secrets of their country.

Paek Suhoe was from Yangsan.<sup>48</sup> He was captured in the *imjin* year [1592] and was made to stay at Nagauemon's house. He heard the rumor that the Japanese were planning to execute us at dusk on that day by having us drawn and quartered. With the help of monks at the temple, he made strenuous entreaties to spare us. The envoys also vouchsafed for our innocence and pleaded for us two or three times. The Japanese untied us and sent us back to Fushimi. Afterward, people from our country were forbidden to enter the envoys' residence. Envoys themselves also made it known that they would only permit those [Korean] persons whom the Japanese had examined and cleared, and whom they were allowed to take to Chosŏn, to stay at their residence.<sup>49</sup>

After the Governor of Tsushima, [Sō] Yoshitoshi, concocted a pretext for a military invasion against us, Hideyoshi rewarded him with lands valued at 20,000 *koku* in Hakata, in Chikuzen Province. Aside from Tsushima, he did not have additional lands. The Japanese regard Iki and Tsushima as being like foreign countries and do not view them in the same way as the sixty-six provinces. In the third month of the *kihao* year [1599], rumors circulated widely that the Ming armies and our armies would in coalition make a punitive raid on Tsushima. People gathered at every street corner talking about it, but no one expressed a desire to save Tsushima. Yoshitoshi himself holed up in the Japanese capital, not seeking a way [to defend it], either. It was quite amazing, but this shows how things are. In the *kabo* year [1594], Konishi Hida [no kami Joan] came to our country as the envoy of Japan, but in fact he was sent by Yukinaga, not by Hideyoshi. (Konishi is his surname. Hida is the name of a province, and he took it as his official name. He is Yukinaga's cousin. Yukinaga's surname is also Konishi.)<sup>50</sup> Though the Ming envoy is kept at the Japanese residence, he maintains his dignified manner and does not bend his will at all. Thus, Yukinaga wishes to send him back, but he is concerned that Ieyasu may not agree. Most Japanese generals are tired of the question of war or peace with our country. Only Yukinaga, on behalf of Yoshitoshi, insists on a peace agreement before ending the war. In prostration, your servant wishes that Your Majesty issue clear instructions to all generals that they not relax defenses just because the enemy retreats, and that a hundred times more attention than even during the war be paid to the upkeep of the military and their suitable placement at crucial locations. This will bring true fortune to our country.

According to the laws of military strategy, using dull weapons is like giving your soldiers to the enemy. While living among Japanese for three years, your servant has observed that they devote a great deal of attention to the maintenance of their weapons, swords, and spears. They prize thousand-year-old swords as superior. Ranked below them are swords that are six hundred or seven hundred years old, which are viewed as adequate. Those swords made recently are regarded as useless; they are left around but not used. When the Japanese do not use newly made swords, what can we say about swords made in our country? This is indeed giving away our soldiers to the enemy. Among the Japanese who have surrendered to us, there must be people who can discern the quality of swords, how to cast them, and how to sharpen them to the right edge. Buy their loyalty and trust by treating them generously. Thereupon, let them daily devote themselves to casting swords. When the

Japan House market (K. *hosi*) reopens in Pusan,<sup>51</sup> have a translator and an expert in swords go there carrying huge amounts of good-quality products, and [with them] buy many [swords], and store them for emergency. This has to be carried out by generals of the local areas, and they should find good makers of swords.

Ah! The old saying has it that hearing [something] a hundred times is not as good as seeing it once. What I have recorded here is based on what I have observed myself. I composed this putting all my heart and soul into it and sealed it with my blood. I can say that it is a rare document. Taking advantage of the Ming envoy's return entourage, I made two copies, giving one to the Ming envoy and entrusting the other to Sin Chǒngnam, my compatriot. This was because I was afraid of possible mishap on the way. If Your Majesty does not discard this writing on account of its author's meager character, it may be able to contribute to the fortune of our dynasty and our people.

(This, along with what Kang Hang previously sent through Kim Sǒkpok, constitutes what he wrote in Fushimi and sent through Wang Jiangong in the *kihae* year [1599], and which arrived at the court. There are three copies of the memorial and the attached writings. One copy is that which he sent through Kim Sǒkpok in the *musul* year [1598], when he was in Iyo Province; a second copy was that sent via Wang Jiangong from Fushimi in the *kihae* year;<sup>52</sup> and the last is that which Kang copied again and sent through Sin Chǒngnam. The copy carried by Sin did not arrive, and only that held by Wang Jiangong reached the court. His Majesty was extremely pleased with the memorial and prized it highly. He sent it to the Border Defense Command (K. *Pibyōnsa*) [for officials to read]. Only in the fall of the *sinch'uk* year [1601] was Kim Sǒkpok able to show his copy to Yi Tǒkhyōng,<sup>53</sup> who advised him that since Kang had already returned alive, it would be better to send the memorial to him rather than to submit it to the court. Hence, Kim returned the memorial to Kang.)

### APPENDIX 3

#### JAPANESE GENERALS WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE IMJIN AND CHŒNGYU INVASIONS

(See above. Generals who participated in the invasions have appeared frequently above, and those references are detailed. Here, the descriptions will be abbreviated.)