

TRANSACTIONS



ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
KOREA BRANCH

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TRANSACTIONS
of the
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY – KOREA BRANCH

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COVER: The logo of the Royal Asiatic Society – Korea Branch. This seal-shaped logo consists of four Chinese characters which have been metaphorically interpreted to mean “Encourage Erudition in the Land of the Rose of Sharon.”

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Incoming President's Address

JANG SONG-HYON

President, Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch

It is an honor and privilege to serve as President of Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch after being a member for about forty years. I would like to take this occasion to briefly go over the history of the RAS in the UK and in Korea.

The Royal Asiatic Society was founded by Henry Thomas Colebrooke, the eminent Sanskrit scholar. He, Sir George Thomas Staunton, Sir J. Malcolm, Sir A. Johnston, and others interested in Oriental matters met in January 1823 to draw up proposals for the establishment of such a society. The inaugural meeting took place on March 15, 1823 at the Thatched House in St James's Street, London, with Mr. Colebrooke presiding. He explained that the scope of the new society "would embrace both ancient and modern times, and include history, civil polity, institutions, manners, customs, languages, literature, and science; in short, the progress of knowledge in Asia and means of its extension." The Society was formally constituted as "The Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland" with a council of twenty-five members. Membership in the first year of existence included nearly every Oriental scholar of note then resident in England and numbered over three hundred. King George IV consented to be the new Society's patron and granted it the title of "Royal." Accordingly, at a meeting on June 7, 1823, the name was changed officially to "The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland."

The Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was established on June 16, 1900 by a group of foreign residents in Korea who sought to

encourage investigation of all aspects of Korean life, culture, customs, geography, and literature to deepen their understanding of the country and its people and to make them better known to the rest of the world.

The original council of the Society included such familiar names as Horace Allen, J. H. Gubbins, James Gale, Homer Hulbert, Horace G. Underwood, Samuel A. Moffett, Henry Appenzeller, George H. Jones and others. Past presidents of the Society include the names of Gubbins, Gale, Trollope, H. H. Underwood, Koons, Lay, Hunt, Clark, H. G. Underwood, Hertz, Ambassador Chambard, George Paik, David Steinberg, Kinney, Samuel H. Moffett, Carl Bartz, Trench, Kim Jung-sae, Ambassador Landy, Father Rutt and Wanne J. Joe. President Syngman Rhee was an honorary member throughout the 1950s. The Society has tried, often through difficult times, to retain its original purpose, as drafted by Homer B. Hulbert for the first Constitution: "to investigate the arts, history, literature and customs of Korean and neighboring countries."

There have been many ups and downs for the RAS as Korea had gone through numerous tribulations: the Russo-Japanese War in 1904–05, the Japanese occupation of Korea for thirty-five years, in fact there were no RAS activities during 1903–10. In 1950, upon the outbreak of the Korean War, three of nine council members were forcibly taken to North Korea, and one did not survive. The subsequent internal political upheavals also affected the normal activities of the Society.

While not as exemplary, we are proud that we have continued along the path laid down by the thirty-five founding members on June 16, 1900, namely "to investigate all aspects for Korean life and history, etc. and make them better known to the rest of the world." These have been done through such programs as lectures, traditional music, dance, martial arts performances, publications on various Korean topics and of the annual journal *Transactions*, and cultural tours both in Korea and to neighboring countries.

As president for 2006, I believe my mission is to best live up to the spirit and tradition of the RAS established over a century ago.

Contributions by Western Scholars to Modern Historiography in Korea, with Emphasis on the RAS-KB¹

YOUNG ICK LEW

Introduction

Modern Korean historiography arose mostly during the colonial period (1910–1945) under the predominant influence of Japanese scholars, who had learned the “modern” methodology of historical research and writing from German mentors in the late nineteenth century. In developing the study of their own national history after Liberation in 1945, Korean historians faced the task of re-examining previous works by Japanese historians who had consciously “distorted” or “falsified” Korean history. Consequently, during the second half of the twentieth century, they tended to concentrate their efforts on “overcoming” the legacy of colonial Japanese historical scholarship. As a result, they paid only limited attention to Korean studies by Western scholars, which deserved at least equal attention than the works by Japanese writers.

A rapid rise in the number of quality monographs on Korea in North America and Europe since the late 1970s, however, has compelled Korean scholars to pay serious attention to these works. It is time that Koreans accord due recognition to Western scholars’ contributions to Korean studies and learn from them on a selective basis. Toward this end, what follows is a survey of Western historiography on Korea from the thirteenth century to 1906, and its impact on native Korean historical scholarship after 1939.

I. Pre-1906 Western Studies on Korea

Korea was known to some Westerners as early as the thirteenth century,

but it did not become an object of their intellectual curiosity until 1668, when a Dutch sailor, Hendrik Hamel (1630–1692), who had languished in Korea for thirteen years after suffering shipwreck at Cheju Island in 1653, published a journal describing the internal condition of Korea. Western interest in Korea grew further at the turn of the nineteenth century while Western powers, including France, England, Russia, and the United States, were competing to establish diplomatic relations with the “Hermit Kingdom” for religious, commercial, and strategic reasons. Their attempts culminated with the French and American naval expeditions to Kanghwa Island in 1866 and 1871, respectively. The signing of the U.S.-Korean Treaty of 1882, followed by similar Korean treaties with Britain, France, and Russia later in the decade, enabled many Western diplomats, missionaries, and travelers to visit and study in Korea. Studies on Korea by these Westerners reached a new height in the wake of the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895). Their scholarly interest continued unabated until Korea was reduced to a Japanese protectorate in 1906 following Japan’s victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). Thereafter, Japanese scholars began monopolizing the field and Western studies on Korea remained in the doldrums until the country was liberated from Japanese rule in 1945. The pre-1906 history of Western studies on Korea can, therefore, be divided into four phases, with the years 1668, 1800, 1882, and 1894 serving as convenient divides.

The Initial Phase, 1250–1668

The first European book that took note of “Caule” (Koryō) was a travelogue, *Itinerarium*, published around 1256 by a Dutch Franciscan friar, Willem van Rubroek (1215–1270), who served as an emissary of Pope Innocentius IV to the Mongol court at Karakorum. Marco Polo (1254–1324) also referred to “Kaoli” in his famous *Travels of Marco Polo* published in 1298. But it was not until the Japanese invasion of Korea between 1592 and 1598 that a Westerner set foot on Korean soil. A Spanish Jesuit missionary in Japan, Father Gregorio de Cespedes (1551–1611), served as a chaplain for Japanese invasion troops on the southeastern coast of Korea during the Hideyoshi invasion and wrote four letters about the Japanese war-like activities in Korea to his superior in Kyūshū, Japan, Father P. Pedro Gomez. These letters constitute the first

eyewitness report from Korea by a literate Westerner.

The book that served as the eye-opener on Korea to the Europeans was *Hamel's Journal* (Journal), better known as *An Account of the Shipwreck of a Dutch Vessel on the Coast of the Isle of Quelpart, Together with the Description of the Kingdom of Corea*. Published in Amsterdam originally in Dutch and translated into French, German and English between 1670 and 1704, this book offered a rare insight into the morals, national traits, domestic life, festivals, and religion of seventeenth-century Korea based on the author's thirteen-year observation of the Korean people and their culture. It should be mentioned parenthetically that a Russian envoy to China, Nickolay Spafarii, described Korea together with a map of the peninsula in 1675—for the first time in Russian history—when he reported his findings on China to his home government.

The Second Phase, 1800–1882

Numerous books on Korean geography and history, including navigation reports by French, British, and Russian naval ships that surveyed the Korean coast, were published from about 1800 to 1882 in French, English, Russian and German. They included:

Jean François Galaup de la Pérouse, *Voyage autour de monde pendant les années 1785, 1786, 1787 et 1788* (A Voyage Round the World in the Years 1785, 1786, 1787 and 1788), Paris, 1797.

W. Robert Broughton, *A Voyage of Discovery to North Pacific Ocean*, London, 1804.

Captain Basil Hall, *Voyage to Corea and the Island of Loo-choo*. London, 1820.

I. A. Goncharov, *Fregat Pallada* (The Frigate Pallada), St. Petersburg, 1858.

John Ross, *History of Corea, Ancient and Modern: With Description of Manners and Customs, Language and Geography*, London, 1880.

Ernst Oppert, *Ein Verschlossenes Land: Reisen nach Corea* (A Forbidden Land: Voyage to Korea), Leipzig, 1880.

The last-mentioned work was an account by Prussian merchant-adventurer Ernst Oppert (1832–1903) of his unsuccessful effort to obtain a trade license from the Korean government, which led to his abortive attempt to excavate the tomb of the Taewǒngun's father in May 1868. In this book, Oppert provided a fascinating account of how the Korean people reacted to the Taewǒngun's dictatorial rule, together with a synopsis of Korean history, political systems, and economic conditions which he had methodically studied before embarking on his bizarre adventure.

The most valuable Western work on Korea which appeared before 1882 was the two-volume *Histoire de l'Eglise de Corée* (History of the Korean Church) by Charles Dallet (1829–1878), a missionary historian of Le Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris (the Society of Foreign Missions in Paris). Published in 1874, the book's main feature was a detailed account of the martyrdom of foreign Catholic missionaries and native converts in Korea between 1791 and 1866. It was based on the reports of the French Catholic missionaries who had engaged in clandestine proselytizing in Korea. The book's introductory chapter contains rich information on Korean history, political institutions, educational system, language, customs, religion, and national character. The book is not only a *sine qua non* in understanding the history of the Catholic Church in Korea, but also a classic reference in the study of nineteenth-century Korean culture.

The Third Phase, 1882–1894

It was on the basis of the accumulated European studies on Korea, plus Japanese historical sources, that an amateur American historian based in Japan, William Griffis (1843–1928), published the first comprehensive history of Korea in English following the conclusion of the US-Korean Treaty in 1882. Entitled *Corea: The Hermit Nation*, the book went through nine editions until 1907 and exerted a decisive influence upon a large number of Western readers wishing to learn about the "Hermit Nation" in the late nineteenth century. The main focus of this book was on the history of Korea from the 1860s through the 1880s. But regrettably, the author's account of ancient Korean-Japanese relations was based solely on an uncritical reading of Japanese mythology and legend, which alleged that the Japanese Empress Jingū had conquered the southern part

of Korea in the third century A.D. and that the Yamato government received tribute from the Korean kingdoms of Silla, Paekche and Mimana.

Another interesting book on Korea which appeared in the wake of the US-Korean Treaty of 1882 was a travelogue, entitled *Chosön: The Land of the Morning Calm. A Sketch of Korea*. It was written by Percival Lowell (1855–1916), a “foreign secretary and counselor” to the Korean Special Mission to the United States, or the Reciprocity Mission (Pobingsa), which King Kojong dispatched to the United States in 1883. Lowell visited Seoul as a royal guest during the winter of 1883–1884 and enjoyed the privilege of meeting the king in audience and visiting important places in and out of the capital city, including royal palaces and Buddhist temples—always carrying a camera with him. The result was a richly illustrated ethnographic narrative published in 1886 dealing with actual workings of Korean government, societal life, and religious practices. This book and Griffis’ work were responsible for spreading the stereotype image of Korea as the “Hermit Nation” and the “Land of the Morning Calm” in the minds of Westerners.

The Fourth Phase, 1895–1906

An upsurge in Western interest in Korea occurred in the wake of the Sino-Japanese War. The most significant Western academic work which appeared around the turn of the twentieth century was *Bibliographie Coréenne (Korean Bibliography)* by M. Maurice Courant (1865–1935), who served as the secretary of the French legation in Seoul from May 1890 to March 1892. It was published in two volumes in Paris during 1894–1896 and a *Supplement* was added in 1901. This impressive work contains an annotated list of 3,821 books published in Korea in classical Chinese, from the time printing was invented in Korea down to the 1890s. “Probably the largest, most detailed, and most thorough study of any phase of Korean life and culture yet made by an Occidental,” the work laid the foundation for Korean studies in the Western world.²

Four other books written by British writers appeared between 1896 and 1900 reflecting the rising British strategic interest in the Korean Peninsula after the Sino-Japanese War. They included Isabella Bird Bishop’s *Korea and Her Neighbours* (London, 1896); W. H. Wilkinson’s *The Corean Government: Constitutional Changes, July 1894 to October*

1895, with an Appendix on Subsequent Enactments to 20th June 1896 (Shanghai, 1897); George Curzon's *Problems of the Far East: Japan-Korea-China* (London, 1894); and Angus Hamilton's *Korea* (London, 1900). Bishop's travelogue, based on her journeys across the Korean Peninsula and the Russian Maritime Province in 1894-95, provided an incisive analysis of socio-political conditions in Korea in the wake of the Sino-Japanese War and the Kabo Reforms of 1894.

A series of expeditions was attempted on Korea by Russian geographers, intelligence officers, and ethnographers following the conclusion of the Russo-Korean Treaty (1884) and the Regulations for the Frontier Trade on the River Tumen (1888). As a result, many travelogues on the internal condition of Korea were published in Russian during the 1880s and 1890s. One of them was *Along Korea, Manchuria and Liao-tung Half-Island* written in 1898 by a well-known Russian writer, N. G. Garin-Mikhailovsky (1852-1906), when Russian influence on the Great Han (Korean) Empire reached its height. Another was a three-volume handbook on Korea compiled and published by the Russian Ministry of Finance in 1900, entitled *Opisanie Korei* (A Description of Korea). This work dealt with a wide spectrum of Korean internal affairs, including history, geography, industry, government institutions, educational system, military system, finance, economic conditions, and transportation system based on the field researches conducted by geographical, military and ethnographical experts in the previous years. In the words of Hong Yi-sup, it was an encyclopedic work which "included almost all the findings of studies on Korea up to the close of the nineteenth century, so that the most realistic understanding of Korea could be made possible."³

II. The Rise of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

The foregoing survey of Korean studies by Westerners before 1900 reveals that most Western works were the products of individuals representing either the Roman Catholic church or a government agency. The survey also shows that the British led Korean studies in the West until the close of the nineteenth century, followed by the French, Russians, Germans, and Dutch. The situation began to change after 1892 when a group of Protestant missionaries from North America in Seoul, including

Henry G. Appenzeller (1858–1902), George H. Jones (1867–1919), Homer B. Hulbert (1863–1949), and James S. Gale (1863–1937), launched a semi-academic journal, entitled *The Korean Repository*. They suspended its publication in 1898 in the face of mounting criticism from the conservative Korean government, which suspected *The Repository* was an arm of the subversive political association, the Independence Club.

Active staff members of *The Repository* thereupon sought affiliation with the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (RAS), apparently in order to obtain British protection to stabilize their activities. With permission from the RAS headquarters in London, they inaugurated the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch (RAS-KB) on June 11, 1900, under the chairmanship of a British chargé d'affaires in Seoul, J. H. Gubbins. The purpose of the RAS-KB was "to investigate the arts, history, literature and customs of Korea and neighboring countries." The group started with seventeen members with Jones, Gale, and Hulbert assuming the key posts of vice-president, corresponding secretary, and recording secretary, respectively. Before the end of 1900 membership doubled, and by 1903 had risen to seventy-four. Regular membership in the pre-Liberation period averaged about 150 to 200.

The RAS-KB began publishing its official journal, the *Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, in 1900. The establishment of the RAS-KB and the publication of its *Transactions* were events of special significance in the history of Korean studies, for they marked the birth of a collaborative body of professional and semi-professional scholars devoted to Korean studies under the leadership of North American Protestant missionaries in Seoul. In 1901, an anonymous RAS-KB member noted the historic importance of the publication of the *Transactions* in the following words:

The publication of the first volume of the *Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* is an event of prime importance in the literary history of Korea. It is the first time that a distinctively and avowedly critical study of Korean life and thought has been begun. There have been several popular attempts at placing the Korean before the world in his true colors, but we have here the first serious attempt to deal with the facts from a purely critical standpoint. In the past we have seen in print many partial discussions and many exaggerated descriptions of the things Korean. They have been interesting and

entertaining but the object of the society whose publication we are now considering is something different from mere entertainment. The society stands for a just, balanced, dispassionate discussion of the many phases of Korean life. It is not the province of this society to make facts square with theories, but to make theories an outgrowth of a careful and exhaustive study of the facts.⁴

The editorial policy of *Transactions*, in other words, emphasized an empirical approach in historical research while promoting “a just, balanced, dispassionate discussion of the many phases of Korean life.” This policy qualified the *Transactions* as a modern professional journal. It should be noted that not until the early 1930s did Japanese and Korean scholars specializing in Korean studies launch their journals, *Seikyu gakusō* (靑丘學叢) and *Chindan hakpo* (震檀學報), respectively.

The editors of the *Transactions* should be regarded as true pioneers of modern Korean studies for a number of additional reasons. First, the moving spirits of the *Transactions*, including Jones, Gale, Hulbert, and Mark Napier Trollope (1862–1930), an Anglican bishop who joined the editorial board later and served as president of the RAS-KB from 1911 to 1930, conducted their research using Korean and Chinese sources in collaboration with native scholars. For example, Hulbert wrote a series of articles on traditional Korean history based on such Korean and Chinese sources as *A Summary of Korean History* (東史綱要), *Treasure Mirror of the Dynasty* (國朝寶鑑), and *Comprehensive Survey of Literary Remains* (文獻通考). Gale made use of Korean and Chinese sources more extensively. The Oriental language sources which he utilized in writing his papers on traditional Korea included: *Records of the Three Kingdoms* (三國史記), *History of Korea* (高麗史), *Treasure Mirror of the Dynasty* (國朝寶鑑), *Complete Mirror of Korea* (東國通鑑), *Outline History of Korea* (東史綱目), *Unofficial Records of Korea* (大東野乘), *Lighted Bramble Records* (燃藜室記述), *Compendium of Korean Chronicles* (海東繹史), *Yu Hyōng-wŏn's Schemes* (礮溪隨錄), *Collectania of Yi Ik* (星湖僿說), and *Selection of Habitats* (擇里志).

Second, as long-time residents of Korea, the editors of *Transactions* approached Korean culture with a healthy respect for the indigenous population and studied it with an *emic* (inside or native view) eye. For

example, Hulbert stated that his study of Korean history was a “labour of love,” and revealed his favorable opinion on the Korean national character and their potentials as follows in 1906 in *The Passing of Korea*:

This book is a labour of love, undertaken in the days of Korea's distress, with the purpose of interesting the reading public in a country and a people that have been frequently maligned and seldom appreciated. They are overshadowed by China on the one hand in respect of numbers, and by Japan on the other in respect of wit. They are neither good merchants like the one nor good fighters like the other, and yet they are far more like Anglo-Saxons in temperament than either, and they are by far the pleasantest people in the Far East to live amongst. Their failings are such as follow in the wake of ignorance everywhere, and the bettering of their opportunities will bring swift success to their condition.⁵

Third, though Protestant missionaries, they approached traditional Korean religions, including Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism, with an open mind, relatively free of religious bigotry and cultural bias. For example, Jones wrote a paper on Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn (崔致遠) in which he evinced no trace of ethnocentric or Christian prejudice, while Trollope and Gale published papers on Korean Buddhism and Taoism from an “ecumenical” point of view. The following is Gale's evaluation of Korea's traditional religions—from his Christian point of view:

The east, i.e. Korea, saw, centuries before Abraham was born, that religion was of the heart, not of the nation, nor of the organization, nor of the period of time, but that true religion was neither more nor less than the union of the heart with God . . . Confucianism, buddhism [*sic*], and taoism [*sic*—the more I study them the more I honour the sincerity, the self-denial, the humility, the wisdom, the devotion that was back of the first founders, great priests of the soul. Their one desire was to overcome evil and step upward and upward, nearer to God. In this we are all alike, Confucian, buddhist, christian [*sic*—all brothers. Kind and sympathetic we should be one another. Christ came to fulfill the ideals of each and every one of us. In Him, whatever our religion may be, we shall find the ideal of the soul. May He unite us all.⁶

In short, it is safe to say that the quality of Western studies on Korea began matching that of Sinology or Japanology by Western scholars with

the appearance of the *Transactions* in 1900.

Hulbert published his two-volume *History of Korea* in 1905 by consolidating the articles he had contributed to *The Repository* and the *Transactions*. He also published *The Passing of Korea* in 1906, which, according to Lak-Geon George L. Paik, was "the most formidable, intimate and authoritative work on Korea, written in a Western language by a Westerner and published in the West, up to the time of its publication in 1906, with the possible exceptions of monumental works by two French authors, Dallet and Courant."⁷ Gale published his major historical work, *The History of the Korean People*, in 1927 based on his researches on Korea since 1892. The works of Hulbert and Gale represented the acme of the Western historical scholarship on Korea prior to 1906 and surpassed in both quality and quantity any works produced by Korean and Japanese scholars up to the 1910s.

III. Western Impact on Native Korean Historiography

Historical works produced by Western scholars on Korea prior to 1906 were admittedly "unsatisfactory" from the standpoint of present-day historians because, among other things, they were products of self-trained non-professionals with limited academic background and because their researches were based on a limited use of primary sources. Griffis, Hulbert, and Gale wrote traditional Korean history without utilizing such basic sources as the *Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty* (朝鮮王朝實錄), the *Daily Records of the Royal Secretariat* (承政院日記), and the *Records of the Border Defense Command* (備邊司謄錄). Nevertheless, most of their scholarly works, particularly the ones published in the *Transactions*, were sound because they tried to maintain objectivity in examining materials at hand with minimal conscious distortion. Their works consequently served as the principal secondary sources for numerous books and monographs on Korea which appeared before the Liberation of Korea in 1945, including:

Fredrick A. McKenzie, *The Tragedy of Korea* (1908).

———, *Korea's Fight for Freedom* (1920).

Henry Chung, *Korean Treaties* (1919).

———, *The Case of Korea* (1921).

George Lak-Geon Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832–1910* (1927).

Andrew J. Grajdanzev, *Modern Korea* (1944).

Fred H. Harrington, *God, Mammon, and the Japanese: Dr. Horace N. Allen and Korean-American Relations, 1884–1905* (1944).

Frederick M. Nelson, *Korea and the Old Orders in Eastern Asia* (1945).

This means that the Western scholars writing on Korea before 1906 made a lasting contribution to the development of Korean studies in the English-speaking world.

What then was the impact of the pre-1906 Western scholarship on native Korean historiography? Generally speaking, Korean historians were slow in assimilating Western scholarly achievements, as evidenced by a chronological list of Korean translations of major pre-1906 Western works on Korea:

1934–35: Yi Pyōng-do. *Nansōn Chejudo nanp'agi —pu Chosōn guk ki* (蘭船濟州島難破記—附朝鮮國記—). A translation of Hendrik Hamel's *Account of Shipwreck* (1668).

1946: Kim Su-gyōng. *Chosōn munhwasa sōsōl* (朝鮮文化史序說). A translation of the "Introduction" of Courant's *Bibliographie Coréenne* (1894).

1959: Han U-gūn. *Kūmdan ūi nara Chosōn kihaeng* (禁斷의 나라 朝鮮紀行). A complete translation of Oppert's *Ein Verschlossenes Land* (1880).

1966: Chōng Ki-su. *Chosōn kyohoesa sōron* (朝鮮教會史序論). A translation of the "Introduction" of Dallet's *Histoire de l'Église de Corée* (1874).

1973: Sin Pok-ryong. *Taehancheguk-sa sōsōl* (大韓帝國史序說). A complete translation of Hulbert's *Passing of Korea*. (1906).

1974: Pak T'ae-gūn. *1854-nyōn ūi Chosōn* (1854年の朝鮮). A

partial translation of Goncharov's *Fregat Pallada* (1858).

1974: Pak Sang-gyu. *Han'guk ūi soji wa munhwa* (韓國의 書誌와 文化). The second translation of the "Introduction" of Courant's *Bibliographie Coréenne* (1894).

1976: Sin Pok-ryong. *Ŭnja ūi nara Han'guk* (隱者の 나라 韓國). A complete translation of Griffis' *Corea: The Hermit Nation* (1882).

1979: An Ŭng-yŏl and Ch'oe Sŏg-u. *Han'guk ch'ŏnju kyohoesa* (한국천주교회사). A complete translation of Dallet's *Histoire de l'Église de Corée* (1874).

1981: Kim Hak-su. *Chosŏn, 1898-nyŏn* (朝鮮, 1898年). A complete translation of Garin-Mikhailovsky's *Along Korea, Manchuria and Liao-tung Half-Island* (1898).

1984: Ch'oe Sŏn and Kim Pyŏng-rin. *Kugyŏk Han'guk chi* (國譯 韓國誌). A complete translation of the Russian Ministry of Finance's *Opisanie Korei* (1900).

1994: Yi In-hwa. *Han'guk kwa kŭ iut nara* (한국과 그 이웃 나라). A complete translation of Bishop's *Korea and Her Neighbours* (1897).

1994: Yi Hŭi-jae. *Han'guk sŏji: sujŏng pŏnyŏk p'an* (韓國 書誌—修訂翻譯版). A complete translation of Courant's *Bibliographie Coréenne* (1894).

The above list reveals, first of all, that out of more than twenty Western works cited above, only one, Hendrick Hamel's *Account of Shipwreck*, was translated into Korean by a native historian before 1945. It took an average of seventy years for the remaining books to be partially translated into Korean. A full hundred years had passed before Dallet's *Histoire de l'Église de Corée* and Courant's *Bibliographie Coréenne* were translated in their entirety into Korean. This sad state of affairs stands in sharp contrast to the Japanese translations of select Western works on Korea. For example, Japanese translations of Griffis' *Corea: Hermit Nation* and the Russian Ministry of Finance's *Opisanie Korei* came out in 1895 and 1903 respectively. This indicates that the Japanese

were translating important Western works on Korea within a dozen years after the issuance of the originals.

A lack of the Korean translations of Western works on Korea as well as an increasingly rigorous censorship on Korean studies imposed by the Japanese colonial authorities after 1906 reduced the impact of historiography on Korean historians. It seems that Western works on Korean history did not directly influence the historiography of such native historians of the so-called nationalist school as Pak Ŭn-sik (朴殷植, 1859–1926)—the author of the *Han'guk t'ongsa* (韓國痛史, The Bitter History of [Modern] Korea, 1915) and *Han'guk tongnip undong chi hyōlsa* (韓國獨立運動之血史, The Blood-Stained History of the Korean Independence Movement, 1920)—and Sin Ch'ae-ho (申采浩, 1880–1936)—the author of *Chosōn sanggo-sa* (朝鮮上古史, Ancient History of Korea) and *Chosōn-sa yōn'gu ch'o* (朝鮮史研究草, Draft Papers on Korean History, 1929). It is also likely that they did not affect the scholarly activities of Ch'oe Nam-sōn (崔南善, 1890–1957), who promoted Korean studies between 1910 and 1918 by collecting and publishing traditional Korean literary sources through the Society for Refurbishing the Korean Literary Tradition (*Kwangmun-hoe*, 光文會). Similarly, a Korean Marxist historian, Paek Nam-un (白南雲, 1894–1979), the author of *Chosōn sahoe kyōngje-sa* (朝鮮社會經濟史, The Socio-Economic History of Korea, 1933) and *Chosōn ponggōn sahoe kyōngje-sa*, volume I (朝鮮封建社會經濟史 上, The Socio-Economic History of Korea in Feudal Times, 1937), did not seem to have seriously consulted works by Western scholars.

A few native scholars and journalists specializing in modern diplomatic history and Christian church history are the only ones who actively utilized Western scholarly works on Korea. They included Yi Sūng-man, Yi Nūng-hwa, and Mun Il-p'yōng. Yi Sūng-man (Syngman Rhee, 李承晚, 1875–1965), who studied English at the Methodist mission school in Seoul, Paejae “College,” was the first journalist who appreciated the value of Western scholarly works on Korea and used them in his “historical” writings. He read English-language books and magazines and wrote his magnum opus, *Tongnip chōngsin* (독립정신: The Spirit of Independence), while in prison in Seoul during 1899–1904. In describing the post-1860 Korean history in the book, he relied heavily on Griffis'

Corea: The Hermit Nation and Hulbert's articles in *The Korean Repository* and the *RAS Transactions*.

Another major native historian who utilized Western-language works on Korea was Yi Nŭng-hwa (李能和, 1868–1945). He learned English at the Chŏngdong English Language School and French at the government language school while cultivating close personal ties with James Gale. His major work, *Chosŏn kidokkyo kŭp oegyosa* (朝鮮基督教及外交史, History of Korean Christianity and Diplomacy, 1928) was based on Dallet's *Histoire de l'Église de Corée* along with other Korean sources.

The third native writer who was intellectually indebted to Western scholars was Mun Il-p'yŏng (文一平, 1888–1936). An historian-journalist who studied intermittently in Japan from 1905 to 1925 at the Aoyama School of Christian Theology, Meiji Gakuin, Waseda University, and the University of Tokyo, Mun serialized his work "History of Korean-American Relations in the Past Fifty Years" (韓美關係五十年史) in the *Chosŏn Ilbo* (Korea Daily) from July 15 to December 18, 1934. In this semi-scholarly work, Mun relied heavily on books and articles written by Western scholars.

An increasing number of Korean scholars in the fields of humanities and social sciences came under the influence of Western works after 1906 as they became proficient in English and other European languages. Some of them, including Mun Il-p'yŏng and An Hwak (安廓, 1886–1946), advocated the promotion of "Chosŏn-hak" (조선학/朝鮮學: Korean Studies) in the wake of the 1919 March First Movement. The movement for the Chosŏn-hak in the 1920s culminated in the founding of the Chindan hakhoe (震檀學會: The Association for the Study of Korea and Her Neighboring Countries) in 1934 under the leadership of Yi Pyŏng-do (李丙燾, 1896–1989). The founding members of the Chindan hakhoe received training in history, archaeology, sociology and anthropology in Japanese universities. They published the *Chindan hakpo* (震檀學報) under the motto "Korean studies by Koreans." The journal's editorial policy was almost identical with that of the *Transactions* of the RAS-KB. It took Korean scholars more than three decades to master Western methodology and develop their own version of modern Korean studies.

Conclusion

The history of Western scholarship on Korean history, society and culture dates back to the 1870s, if not earlier, and reached its zenith in 1900, when a group of North American missionary scholars organized the RAS-KB in Seoul and launched its organ, the *Transactions*. The society's scholarly activities suffered setbacks after 1906 under Japanese oppression. They stopped completely in 1941 under a wartime censorship imposed by the Japanese colonial authorities on all Korean studies. In 1945, the RAS-KB resumed its activities, including the publication of its annual journal.

The academic quality of the Korean studies achieved by Western scholars in the nineteenth century was uneven. Some works, like Griffis' *Corea: The Hermit Nation*, contained some factual errors due partly to the author's uncritical reliance on Japanese sources. Others, including the works of RAS-KB members, represented a sound scholarship based on modern methodology in historical research and writing developed in Europe and North America. Generally speaking, they were superior in both quality and quantity to works produced by contemporary Korean scholars since they were products of modern historical methodology free of nationalistic bias. There were many things Korean scholars could have benefited from Western scholarship on Korea if only they had made an effort to assimilate them—on a selective basis, of course. Unfortunately, in the prevailing intellectual and ideological milieu of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century they paid little attention to Western studies on Korea. This unfortunate academic negligence was due to a number of factors, including (1) their linguistic difficulty in understanding works in English and other European languages; (2) their deep-rooted Confucian cultural prejudice and/or Marxist ideological bias against the Western "imperialist scholarship"; and (3) their consuming preoccupation with the struggle against the Japanese distortion of Korean history and culture.

Today, we are witnessing an outpouring of high-quality scholarly works on Korea by Western scholars. They are producing a growing impact among the increasing number of native scholars proficient in Western languages. If native Korean scholars are going to lead the Korean studies and propagate their works on a global scale, it is essential

that they rise to the intellectual challenge posed by their Western colleagues. Creative emulation of Western scholarship on Korea, accompanied by a critical evaluation from the Korean point of view, will certainly improve the quality of their work. They should be reminded that non-native scholars are fully capable of producing superb scholarly works on Korean history, society and culture, as Alexis de Tocqueville did on America and George Sansom on Japan.

NOTES

1. This is a revised version of the author's article, entitled "Origins of Modern Korean Studies: Contributions by Western Scholars to Modern Historiography in Korea," in *The Periphery and Center in Korean History*, eds. Chung Doo-Hee and Edward J. Shultz (Seoul: Humanities Research Institute, Sogang University, and Honolulu: Center for Korean Studies, University of Hawaii, 2003), 15-38.
2. Horace Underwood, "Introduction to the 'Bibliographie Coréenne' by Maurice Courant," *Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 25 (1936): i.
3. Hong Yi-Sup, "European Studies on Korea," *UNESCO Korean Survey* (Seoul: Dong-A, 1960), 206.
4. "The Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society," *The Korea Review* 1 (August 1901): 337-38.
5. Homer B. Hulbert, "Preface," *The Passing of Korea* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1906).
6. Quoted from Richard Rutt, *James Scarth Gale and His History of the Korean People* (Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 1972), 78-79.
7. L. G. Paik, "Foreword" to the reprint edition of *The Passing of Korea* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1969), 4.

Recollections of a Missionary Kid Returning to Korea, August 28, 1945

PARK L. Gerdine

Editor's note: Park Gerdine was born in Korea and attended Seoul Foreign School until his missionary parents retired in 1937. He finished high school in the U.S. and attended Emory University until the outbreak of World War II, during which he served in the Pacific with the 5th Army Air Corps. On August 28, 1945 he was among the first group of twenty-eight Americans to arrive in Korea to arrange the surrender of Japanese troops, and subsequently served on the staff of Lt. General John Hodge, commander of U.S. occupation forces in Korea. His experiences during this time form the basis of this article. Following his discharge from the army, Dr. Gerdine became a medical doctor specializing in general surgery and later, emergency medicine. He is currently retired and lives in Asheville, North Carolina.

"Tell me, Lieutenant, where in hell is Korea?" He was a burly fellow, the General, sitting at his desk in a large tent on Okinawa. Beads of sweat ran down his round face. Okinawa in August is hot and sultry.

General Hodge's aide-de-camp had just introduced us, a lieutenant general and a second lieutenant. Earlier that day a plane had flown me from the airstrip at the 5th Army Air Corps Headquarters near Ie Shima, where I was stationed, to Naha where U. S. Army XXIV Corps was headquartered. I had no idea what was expected of me, but it was evident that I was a VIP—so far as I know, the only second lieutenant VIP in the history of the U. S. Army. My status as a junior intelligence officer had changed overnight from insignificant to a ridiculous degree of importance.

When I recovered from the shock of the General's initial question, I

boxed in Korea for him—Manchuria on the north, the Yellow Sea to the west, the Sea of Japan on the east and the Korea Straits separating the peninsula from Japan.

“Well I’ll be damned,” he muttered. “I thought it was one of those islands we bypassed in the South Pacific.”

I wondered what I was into.

On August 6, 1945, less than three weeks earlier, an atomic bomb had been dropped on Hiroshima. Three days later, when another was dropped on Nagasaki, Japan capitulated, ending World War II but presenting the U. S. government with a new problem. There were no personnel trained for the needed military governments. A program had been established at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville to train military government personnel for the Far East. It had been in operation for only six weeks.

The Army Headquarters in Naha had sent out a request—sort of an all points bulletin—for someone who had knowledge of Korea to brief the Staff of the XXIV Corps. General Hodge, commanding general of that unit, was to be the military governor of the country. By some quirk of fate, apparently I was the only one in any of the armed services in the Western Pacific who had ever lived in Korea and spoke the language. I got the call and found myself on temporary duty with the XXIV Corps.

The morning after my arrival I briefed the general and his staff on Korea. Having left Korea eight years previously, when I was only fourteen, I had little to impart other than nonspecific and certainly non-military information. When I was introduced and stood to address the assembled officers, there in the second row—I counted them—were eleven general officers. For a moment I was speechless. What was I doing in front of all that brass? Then it dawned on me. I was at the podium and they were enduring those hard, metal chairs because I knew more about Korea than they. I relaxed and had a ball. Opportunities like that don’t come often, particularly in the military, and especially for a second lieutenant.

I was born in Kaesong, just north of the 38th parallel—there was no division of the country in those days—but the family moved to Seoul when I was four, so Seoul was my hometown. My parents were Methodist missionaries—Father a minister, Mother a teacher. I attended Seoul Foreign School through the 10th grade, leaving Korea in 1937

when my parents retired and the family went back to the United States.

I'll never forget my return to Korea—Tuesday, August 28, 1945. Jumbled emotions engulfed me as I boarded one of the three B-25 bombers for the flight from Naha, Okinawa to Kimpo Airport near Seoul. I was going home! What would I find? Would I be able to locate those who were such an important part of my early life? Soo Chun-ee, with the perpetual smile, and Aumana, my amah, who always seemed to know what I needed. Were they still alive?

Twenty-eight U. S. military personnel were packed into those three B-25s. We were the first Americans to arrive in Korea. Our mission: Arrange for the surrender of the Japanese troops in Korea south of the 38th parallel.

The flight was long, but I was lost in reverie. Time stood still: summers at Wonsan Beach, walking to school in the snow, spending the night with Aumana, hiking in the Diamond Mountains, ice skating on a frozen rice paddy at the Underwood's, track meets, my first kiss. All these muddled thoughts scrambling over one another in an effort to climb to consciousness.

Japanese army staff cars were awaiting our arrival. In each car there was a driver and an armed escort. I noticed that, although in Japanese army uniform, one of the drivers was Korean. I decided to ride in his car, which happened to be the last one in the convoy. Not revealing my Korean background might allow me to pick up some intelligence, I reasoned. But what little conversation there was between the driver and the escort was in Japanese and beyond my limited knowledge of that language.

At every crossroad there was a manned machine gun position. Japanese soldiers with bayonet-tipped rifles lined each side of the road, standing about twenty-five or thirty yards apart. They stood at Parade Rest with their backs to us. The two captains in the car with me thought it was a not-so-subtle form of insult and were uneasy about our safety. I tried to reassure them that we had no need to worry as the Emperor, who at that time was still a "god," had given orders to protect us.

My attempt to calm their concerns was successful until the convoy unexpectedly came to a halt along the bank of the Han River about halfway into the city. That's when I heard Korean spoken for the first

time as our driver ordered two young boys to bring water from the river. Because petroleum products were scarce, many cars and trucks had been converted to carbide, and water was needed to stoke the carbide burners. With that understanding of the unscheduled stop, we all relaxed and soon we were again headed toward Seoul.

After crossing the Han River the convoy turned north toward the center of the city. My heart raced as I strained to catch a glimpse of Namdaemun, the beautiful Great South Gate. For how many centuries had that magnificent edifice been there? Lost in reflection of the many times I had passed the impressive gate, I was suddenly jerked back to reality. Without the slightest warning our driver was turning into a cavernous building. With dismay, I watched the other cars in the convoy disappear down the street. A large overhead door clanged shut behind us.

"Why did you turn in here?" I blurted out, completely forgetting my resolve not to speak Korean. My fright was matched by the shock of the Korean driver. He looked at me incredulously. An American officer speaking Korean. With no accent! He stammered that he needed to stoke the carbide burner once again and he feared that if he stopped on the street the curious crowd might bother us. In short order, and greatly relieved, we were on our way to join the others at the Chosen Hotel, where we would be staying.

The first few days back in Korea were a blur. I was sought with one question or another, most of which I could not answer. I spent much of my time arranging for the Japanese troops to move south toward Pusan, from where they were to be shipped to Japan.

On our second day in Korea, a succession of people came by the hotel to pay their respects as they had learned that the son of Cheon Mok-sa (Reverend Gerdine, my father) was staying there. I was amazed that word of my arrival had spread so rapidly. Apparently, an efficient grapevine was in operation. Since I was seldom around, a guest log was set up. Before it was closed, more than two thousand had signed. What a tribute to Father, who apparently had never left the hearts of many whose lives he had touched during his thirty-five years in Korea.

My father had come to Korea in 1902. He spent his early life in West Point, Mississippi. When he decided to enter the ministry, Father closed his law practice and attended theology school at Emory University in

Atlanta. He went to Korea as a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

In 1906, the Mission Board asked Father to meet a ship in Chemulpo (Incheon), as two missionary ladies would be arriving to teach under the Woman's Division. One of them was Miss Eleanor Dye. My parents never revealed any details of the courtship that evidently took place between 1906 and 1909, when Miss Dye and the Reverend Gerdine were married. I teased Mother about marrying the first American man she saw when she landed in Korea.

My mother was born in Starkville, Mississippi, only 35 miles or so from my father's home town. She went to Korea after graduating from Scaritt Bible Institute in Kansas City, Missouri. She and my father shared a deep bond of affection, somewhat disguised by the formality of their day, which led them to address each other as "Mr." and "Mrs." most of the time, even at home.

Our house was in the Southern Methodist compound in Sa-jik Dong, on a ridge overlooking the city. We frequently made the easy climb up to "Pulpit Rock." From there we could see, to the southeast, the entire city of Seoul. To the west, we looked down on Peking Pass, through which a road wound its way to the north and Songdo, where I was born, and I assume on to China. Songdo is better known as Kaesong. In the distant past, Songdo was the capital and we, like most of the city's residents, still used the old name.

Eager to become reacquainted with the city, I'd explore it as often as my military duties would allow. Tracking down Soo Chun-ee and Aumana was my top priority, which led me back to my old neighborhood. Father taught me to navigate those streets as a child. Whenever he and I went somewhere on foot, he would point out the landmarks and turns, then had me guide us home. This approach to remembering routes has stood me in good stead these many years and is now automatic.

I attracted questioning interest as I wandered those familiar streets and alleys. I still chuckle as I recall the looks of astonishment when I asked, "Do you know where Kim Soo Chun lives?" speaking like a native.

Soo Chun-ee had always been like one of our family as far as I was concerned. My parents raised him from the age of twelve, before I was born. Appearing at our front door one morning, he asked Father if he

could live there, because he wanted an education and knew that the missionaries had established schools. Father was surprised, as the boy was dressed in the robes of a Buddhist novice. When asked, Soo Chun-ee insisted that he was not running away, but had received permission from the priest to go to an American missionary's house. Father asked the boy to take him to the temple to confirm the story.

It turned out that Soo Chun-ee was indeed telling the truth. Father had a talk with the senior priest and learned something of the boy's background. He was born to poor parents who could not provide adequately for all of their children. As was not uncommon in that culture, his mother "gave" him to the Buddhist Temple to be trained. The priest stated that Soo Chun-ee was bright, studious, honest and ambitious.

He arrived at his new home with only the robe on his back, a spoon, chopsticks and a rice bowl. I am sure there was never any legal document; he just moved in. He was a good student and finished college. Fluent in Japanese and Chinese as well as English and Korean, he served as Father's secretary and was in our home every day. He was like an older brother to me. I cannot recall seeing him without a smile on his broad face even when, through his tears, he informed us of the death of one of his children.

Finally I found someone who could direct me to Soo Chun-ee's house, actually not far down the hill from where we used to live. What a glorious reunion! After bowing like proper Koreans, we fell into a lingering American bear hug. Then we eagerly exchanged news. I learned that during the war, Soo Chun-ee had been treated harshly by the Japanese because of his previous association with Americans. He had sustained himself and his family by raising goats and selling goat's milk.

Korean custom demanded that I be served some refreshments. I'm sure the cup of warm, sweetened, boiled goat's milk he served represented a sacrifice. But let me offer a bit of advice: If you ever have an opportunity to taste this delicacy, avoid it! It was all I could do to keep from making a face as I slurped, smacked my lips and burped, all indicating, according to Korean custom, how much I enjoyed the treat. Apparently, I remembered my manners too well. He poured me a second cup.

The joy of finding Soo Chun-ee was tempered by my inability to uncover the slightest trace of Aumana. Each time I saw someone who

had known our family, I would inquire about her, but to no avail. She apparently had vanished during the war and no one had any idea where she might be or if she was even alive. Admitting to myself that I would probably never see her again was hard.

Aumana was my nurse from the time I was born. When Mother had to go to Shanghai for cancer surgery when I was only a few months old, Aumana was my mother. Even the nickname that we children used was a modification of the Korean word for mother, omoni. My bond with Aumana was keenly felt, but I have never been able to describe it adequately. Suffice it to say, I feel blessed to have had two mothers.

Aumana was very much on my mind when I finally had a chance to visit my former home. Starting up the hill, I was greeted by the long forgotten sound of magpies having a neighborly discussion—a marvelous cacophony I had not heard in eight years, as magpies don't inhabit the southern United States. The first thing I recognized was the three-car garage built into the granite hillside. It had been excavated when the houses of the "new" Southern Methodist Compound were built on the crest of the hill. Not long before he retired, Father was responsible for the construction of the three stone houses, and we moved into one of them. My most outstanding recollection of our new home was the septic system. Its construction fascinated me, and Father took the time to explain in detail how it would work.

Most of my memories, though, were of the old brick house on the adjacent property. Seeing the site where the garden used to be brought tears to my eyes as I remembered. I must have been four years old. I had hurt myself—a minor accident, but enough to make me cry. Mother asked, "What are those? Tears? That's not my big boy. Go see if you can find my boy." Feeling totally rejected, I fled the kitchen. Aumana was in the garden gathering strawberries, and I ran to her. I don't recall anything she said, but I have never forgotten the feeling of being enveloped in her loving arms.

I always associated Aumana with warmth and comfort. Especially in the cold of winter—and winters can be brutal in Korea—I would beg to spend the night with Aumana, whose house was nearby. A pallet on her warm floor surely beat my bed in the cold upstairs bedroom at our home. (Korean homes were heated by flues that ran under the floor before

reaching the smokestack.) The memories were palpable.

Meanwhile, Soo Chun-ee remained a source of both joy and information. A few days after our reunion, he mentioned that the Queen Dowager, though well up in years, was still alive and living in Seoul's East Gate Palace. Instantly, I saw a great public relations opportunity for the Americans and had a hard time controlling my excitement. Hurrying down to the Government General Building, breathlessly I told General Hodge the good news.

The old Queen was greatly revered by the Korean people. She was the mother of King Kojong, the last monarch of the Choson Dynasty that was established in 1392. On September 5, 1905 the United States brokered agreements at the Treaty of Portsmouth,¹ ending the Russo-Japanese War. This had been preceded by the Taft-Katsura Agreement,² which led, five years later, to the annexation of the country by the Japanese. When Kojong died under mysterious circumstances, the Koreans believed he had been murdered by the Japanese. The Queen Mother was a symbol of Korea's past independence.

Now that the Japanese were being expelled, the Koreans were extremely grateful for their liberation. However, the American occupation had gotten off to a rocky start. As Military Governor of Korea, General Hodge's first order had been that all traffic—cars, bicycles and oxcarts—would drive on the right side of the road rather than on the left, as they had done since time immemorial. This caused nothing but confusion. Particularly in the rural areas, the farmers with their oxcarts continued to travel as usual, even when they came into the city. The transition was not going smoothly.

I told the General that if he would request an audience with the Queen, I would notify the press, and that would obscure all other news for days.

"Lieutenant," he barked, "I'm the Military Governor of this country. If the Queen wants to see me, let her request an audience with me."

His response stunned me. I tried to explain the significance of this symbolic act. I stated that the Queen Mother was so frail that it was unlikely that she would be able to receive him. I pleaded. I said things that I doubt any lieutenant had ever said to a three-star general. But it was all wasted breath. This is the same general who had thought Korea was an island in the South Pacific. No audience was requested.

I was still seething when a call came from Hodge's aide-de-camp. Would I locate an interpreter for the General? Realizing by now that the head of the military government was arrogant and showed neither sensitivity to nor appreciation of Korean culture, I agonized over the request.

For advice I went to Bishop Yang, who in 1930 became the first bishop of the independent Korean Methodist Church. Bishop Yang suggested Dr. Lee who, before the war, had been president of Chosen Christian College. A brilliant man, Dr. Lee was educated in the United States, having earned his Ph.D. from Harvard, as I recall. He received me graciously and inquired about my family.

When I asked him to consider serving the General, he was not the least bit interested. Despite my pleading that he owed this service to his country, he would not relent. Finally I said, "Dr. Lee, let me introduce you to the General, let you talk with him, and then if you decline, I'll have no more to say about the matter."

He consented and I made the appointment. After the introductions I excused myself and waited in the anteroom. Thirty-five or forty minutes of anxiety passed before Dr. Lee emerged. From his expression, I could detect no hint of his thoughts. Only after we were in the staff car returning to his home did Dr. Lee turn to me and say, "I see what you mean. I'll serve."

The announcement of General Hodge's first press conference was greeted with great anticipation by the Seoul press corps, but with even greater trepidation by me as I imagined the damage the General could do just by being himself. As it turned out, I need not have worried. A reporter would ask a question, and Dr. Lee would quietly interpret for the General, whose answers often tended to be insensitive at best, and sometimes downright offensive. Fortunately, the press were far enough away that they could not hear what the General said, as I'm sure some knew at least a modicum of English. Dr. Lee, in his calm, deliberate manner, would simply rephrase the answer diplomatically. I felt I had made a valuable contribution both to the country of my birth and to the country whose uniform I proudly wore.

My first few weeks in Seoul were hectic, but I find it difficult to explain succinctly what kept me so busy. The military described it in its standard language, which I never completely understood. Here is the

official summary of my role:

Responsible for disseminating information to subordinate units. Received and maintained intelligence reports. Briefed and interrogated airplane crews. Served as interpreter, procurer of supplies and data, and investigator while stationed in Korea. Also lectured in Korea to new groups on matters relating to supply, transportation, geography and topography. Directed and supervised civilian employees in Korea.

I think my non-military term describes it better. I was the "On-Call Guy."

My principle responsibility the first couple of weeks was getting the Japanese troops to Pusan for transport back to Japan. Much of that was routine, but when problems arose, it was my job to deal with them. Once, we received a report that the Japanese troops were mistreating Koreans in Taegu. Soo Chun-ee and I headed south and caught up with the marching Japanese troops. A stern warning to the commanding officer was all that it took. There were no other reports of any misconduct by the Japanese.

On Thursday morning, August 30, I received an urgent call from the Catholic chaplain. Archbishop (later Cardinal) Spellman was coming to Seoul, and the chaplain wanted him to say Mass at the hour of the scheduled signing of the Japanese surrender on the deck of the USS *Missouri*. He felt it would be a fitting commemoration of a momentous event for the Koreans. I picked up the chaplain and we headed for Myongdong Catholic Cathedral in downtown Seoul. Mass was in progress when we arrived and the place was full. The chaplain, citing a tight schedule, said he needed to complete his business quickly and could not wait until Mass was finished. He led the way to the back of the cathedral, through a small door and down a short hall.

The next thing I knew, we were behind the altar. The chaplain pointed to one of the priests and said in a hushed voice, "He's not doing anything important. Ask him to step out here." With a sense of sacrilege, I walked out onto the chancel and tapped the priest on the shoulder, saying, "Please come with me." I heard the gasps of the congregation as we walked to where the chaplain was waiting. I wonder if anyone ever explained why an American army officer had removed a priest from the chancel during Mass. The necessary arrangements were made, and

Archbishop Spellman said Mass in Seoul as the Japanese surrendered on Sunday, September 2, 1945.

There were calls from Koreans as well—like the businessman who wanted to start an airline. He asked if I could arrange for him to meet with the American officer who would be responsible for issuing the permit. It took some digging, as the military government was not well organized, but I finally located the officer in charge of transportation. I relayed the request and told him that a Korean businessman would like to invite him to dinner at a local restaurant. He didn't understand what dining out had to do with issuing a permit, but I explained that this was how business was done in that culture. I also warned him that the early conversation would be about anything except airlines.

Fortunately for me they needed a translator, as we went to one of the best restaurants in Seoul. We were served a beautiful dinner along with entertainment by several kisaeng, who poured the drinks, served the meal and entertained with instruments, dance and song. (A kisaeng was a combination hostess and entertainer. They spent many years in training and were frequently chosen as second wives or concubines by wealthy men.) As the evening wore on the conversation finally turned to aviation, and the real purpose of the dinner was addressed. The next week, I accompanied this entrepreneur to the Transportation Office where the permit was issued. The holder of the new permit was so grateful that I did not draw another payment from the army until after I was back in the United States.

It wasn't all work. Because I had no specific duty assignment, I had more freedom than the other military personnel, and I took full advantage of my unique situation. I set myself up in circumstances that would make any young bachelor green with envy, though some of the events embarrass me now.

First, I found a place to live. I had quarters in a sort of BOQ (Bachelor Officers' Quarters), but I wanted a place of my own. Once again I turned to Soo Chun-ee. I stopped by his house and explained my desire. As we hopped into my jeep, Soo Chun-ee said, "No problem." Down we went to West Gate, past the former Russian Consulate and the radio station where I had performed with our school choir.

To my surprise, Soo Chun-ee directed me to turn up the drive of an

impressive private residence. I waited as he got out of the jeep and went to the door. In response to Soo Chun-ee's knock, a middle-aged Japanese man in a beautifully embroidered kimono opened the door. Soo Chun-ee straightened to his full height of five feet four inches. In a harsh and commanding voice I didn't know this gentle man had in him, he spoke sharply to the man. I didn't know what was said, but the man's response was obviously one of acquiescence.

As we left, Soo Chun-ee's smile broadened and he said, "You can move in this evening."

It turned out that the man at the door was the president of the Bank of Chosen. Soo Chun-ee had informed him that his house was required by the American military and that he should vacate the premises with all his belongings by five o'clock.

After the way Soo Chun-ee had been treated during the war, he seemed to take keen delight lording over the Japanese, and I suppose he was entitled. But as this octogenarian wanders down Memory Lane, he sees this as another of the unjustifiable acts that occur too often as a result of poor judgment and immaturity.

In any case, I moved in the next day. First, I hired a Korean woman who had cooked for a missionary family and could prepare Western food. Actually, I probably asked her to prepare more Korean dishes than Western. Then I located a houseboy who spoke English so that he could take messages when I was not around. My set-up was complete.

The city telephone was already connected in the house, but I needed a military line. A corporal in the Signal Corps was happy to install it in exchange for some beer, which I had laid up for just such purposes. Shortly after my arrival and before the main body of troops landed, I had commandeered a truck, driven to the brewery, and liberated enough beer to supply my needs with plenty left over for bartering. I stored it in the three-car garage at my former home. (I'm not sure that the Methodist hierarchy would approve of that use of the property.) As a consequence, the Signal Corps, the Transportation Corps, in fact all the men were eager to do favors for Lt. Gerdine as word got around that he was generous in return.

One afternoon when I had finished my "to do" list, I went to the White Russian compound. I knocked on the door where the Belogolovias

lived in 1937. To my delight, Mrs. Belogolovia answered my knock. After recovering from the shock of seeing me, she invited me in and we had a delightful reunion. Colonel Belogolovia had been in the Czarist army, stationed in Siberia in 1917 when the Russian revolution began. He made his escape through Manchuria and into Korea where he had gone into business. One of their daughters, Nina, was in my class in school and her younger sister, Tamara, was a year behind. Tamara, who we called Toma, reminded me of Heddy Lamar. She had the same broad, high cheekbones, seductively beautiful blue eyes—and what a smile!

Mrs. Belogolovia said that all during the war she had kept the girls in the house unless they were with one of their parents. But now that the country had been liberated from the Japanese, they could go out—but only if I accompanied them! At the first opportunity, I contacted the sergeant in charge of showing movies for the troops. In exchange for a generous supply of beer, he delivered a projector to my new quarters. When a film arrived from Tokyo, he let me borrow it for a viewing with Nina and Toma and a few other invited guests before returning it.

Meanwhile, the American military presence continued to grow. When the 408th Bomb Wing of the 5th Army Air Corps arrived in Korea, I had the job of finding quarters for that unit's commanding officer, Brigadier General Hutchison. He was pleased with my arrangements and never learned that his was the former residence of the vice-president of the Bank of Chosen, whereas my house had belonged to the president.

The arrival of a U. S. Army Air Corps bomb wing forced a change in my administrative status with the army. As a member of the Army Air Corps, I had been on temporary duty with the Army XXIV Corps because there was no Army Air Corps unit in Korea. Once such a unit arrived, regulations dictated that I become attached. But there was no slot for an intelligence officer in the Army Air Corps' table of organization for a bomb wing. In an arrangement that only the military could dream up, I was given the only open position in the table of organization: aide-de-camp to General Hutchison—although I continued to work with the XXIV Corps. In fact, the entire time that I was in Korea, I never had a meaningful duty assignment.

Other than finding quarters for the commanding general, the only service I provided for the Air Corps while in Korea was playing cribbage

with my commanding officer. That's not exactly correct. One day, General Hutchison asked if I played cribbage. I said that I had never played. "Do you want to learn how to play?" "Not particularly, Sir," I replied. "Well, I want you to learn." "Yes, General," was all I could say. I insisted I had no card sense and to prove the point, deliberately played poorly, even when I had good cards. After a few days of frustration, he never again asked me to play with him.

Several weeks after my arrival in Seoul I went down for breakfast and standing in the kitchen was—Aumana! There was a tearful embrace with the same loving arms that comforted me when I was four. I said I had been looking for her.

"Where have you been?" I asked.

"Hamhung," she replied, referring to a city about two hundred miles north of Seoul.

"What are you doing here?"

"I came to see you."

"How did you get here?"

"I walked."

She had walked those two hundred miles and crossed the supposedly closed 38th parallel. When I asked how she knew I was in Seoul, her only reply was "the grapevine," and I never learned any more. But my return "home" was complete. Granted, I did not find Aumana. But she found me!

About three months after my arrival in Korea, I had been overseas long enough to be eligible to return to the United States for my discharge from the army. Most servicemen in that circumstance couldn't wait to get home. But where was home? Just as I had two mothers, I realized that I had two homes, with friends and "family" in both.

Aumana was in the process of bringing her family to Seoul from Hamhung. Soo Chun-ee was well positioned as an interpreter for the army. Nina and Toma Belogolovia were still there. To sweeten the Korea option, I was invited to join the infant airline company that I helped with a permit.

For several days I was torn between my yearning to return to my family in America and the desire to stay and establish a business career. I felt, as I still do, a strong affinity for Korea and the Korean people.

Finally, I decided to return to my American home while leaving part of my heart in Korea. In late December 1945, I left for the U.S. and was discharged from the army in January 1946, looking ahead to the next phase of my life.

Through the years, from time to time, I have wondered how my life would have been different had I stayed. It might have been a very good life. It is my understanding that what started in 1945 as that modest airline serving only Seoul and Shanghai has grown into KAL, Korean Air.

But with life—unlike homes and mothers—you only get one, and I've had a good one.

NOTES

1. Article II of the treaty dealt with Korea: "The Imperial Russian Government, acknowledging that Japan possesses in Korea paramount political, military and economical interests engages neither to obstruct nor interfere with measures for guidance, protection and control which the Imperial Government of Japan may find necessary to take in Korea. It is understood that Russian subjects in Korea shall be treated in exactly the same manner as the subjects and citizens of other foreign Powers; that is to say, they shall be placed on the same footing as the subjects and citizens of the most favored nation. It is also agreed that, in order to avoid causes of misunderstanding, the two high contracting parties will abstain on the Russian-Korean frontier from taking any military measure which may menace the security of Russian or Korean territory."
2. Portions of a confidential conversation between Count Katsura and Secretary William Howard Taft on the morning of July 27, 1905 but dated 29 July 29, 1905:

"First, in speaking of some pro-Russians in America who would have the public believe that the victory of Japan would be a certain prelude to her aggression in the direction of the Philippine Islands, secretary Taft observed that Japan's only interest in the Philippines would be . . . to have these islands governed by a strong and friendly nation like the United States. Count Katsura confirmed in the strongest terms the correctness of his views on the point and positively stated that Japan does not harbor any aggressive designs whatever on the Philippines. . . .

"Third, in regard to the Korean question Count Katsura observed that Korea being the direct cause of our war with Russia, it is a matter of absolute importance to Japan that a complete solution of the peninsula question should be made as the logical consequence of the war. If left to herself after

the war, Korea will certainly draw back to her habit of improvidently entering into any agreements or treaties with other powers, thus resuscitating the same international complications as existed before the war. In view of the foregoing circumstances, Japan feels absolutely constrained to take some definite step with a view to precluding the possibility of Korea falling back into her former condition and of placing us again under the necessity of entering upon another foreign war. Secretary Taft fully . . . remarked to the effect that . . . the establishment by Japanese troops of a suzerainty over Korea to the extent of requiring that Korea enter into no foreign treaties without the consent of Japan was the logical result of the present war and would directly contribute to permanent peace in the East. His judgment was that President Roosevelt would concur in his views in this regard. . . .”

NOTES

*Study of the Archaeological and Historical Sites of Kaesŏng*¹

ELISABETH CHABANOL

Introduction

The present-day city of Kaesŏng (開城) is located to the north of the DMZ that separates the two Koreas, eight kilometers west of P'anmunjŏm village and one hundred sixty kilometers south of the capital of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The site has the rivers Yesong and Imjin to the south and southwest and the Yellow or Western Sea to the west.

Kaesŏng was built on the site of the former capital of the Koryŏ kingdom (918–1392). It became the capital in 919 and remained so until 1392, except for a short period from 1232 to 1270 when the court fled to the isle of Kanghwa, in the Han River estuary, during the Mongol occupation.

Generally speaking, there has been little interest in the study of the history of ancient Korean cities such as Kaesŏng. Even though, like Kyŏngju and Seoul, Kaesŏng was one of the most important capital cities in the history of Korea (taking into account the length of time for which it was the capital, its importance as a political, cultural and commercial center, and its size and monuments), few studies of its site have been made, and fewer still published in Western languages. However, it should be noted that several papers have recently been published in Korean.² The main reason for this is undoubtedly the improvement in relations between the two Koreas which has meant that South Korean researchers have been allowed freer access to sources and sites which had been inaccessible to them since the Korean War. This craze, albeit relative, shows itself in the popularity among the Korean general public for soaps about the most popular kings of the dynasty: the founder Wang Kŏn (王建) and Kongmin (恭愍王).

In short, a systematic study has yet to be made of the capital Kaesŏng. That being said, it should be emphasised that access to the site is still limited, which makes it difficult to study the layout of the city or to interpret its organization in terms of social, political or economic factors.

In the course of this presentation we will examine the current state of research into the site and list the various sources that will be used to further our research: archaeological institutions, museums, manuscripts and published research. Finally, we will describe the principal sites.

Archaeological Institutions

1. Kaesŏng during the Japanese Occupation (1910–45)

The office of the Governor General of Korea, Chōsen sōtokufu (朝鮮總督府), set up an administrative structure in charge of finding, carrying out archaeological digs, conserving and restoring monuments according to the Japanese method. In 1910 an archaeological research committee was set up, and in 1915 a small museum was inaugurated in Seoul to present material discovered during excavations.

It was not until November 1, 1931 that Kaesŏng's own museum, the Kaesŏng purip pangmulgwan (開城府立博物館) or "Kaesŏng District Museum" was inaugurated. Prior to this, there may have been, for a short time, a small exhibition of objects from the Koryŏ period in the area in front of the Manwŏltae palace. The Kaesŏng purip pangmulgwan was situated on Janamsan, behind the Confucian school Sungyang sowŏn.³ In fact, when Kaesŏng changed in status,⁴ Korean businessmen raised funds to erect an 87 p'yŏng (287.1 m²) museum whose very precise rules and regulations for visitors, written in Japanese, are in our possession. From the opening of the museum up until the Second World War the museum's curators were all Korean.⁵ Thus, unlike the other provincial museums such as Puyŏ, Kyŏngju and Kongju, the museum was not directly controlled by the Governor General of Korea. It was a true regional museum. The museum's collections consisted of objects gathered by Japanese collectors and material found during digs. From 1935 onwards stone pagodas rescued from destroyed temples in the region were placed in front of the museum.

2. Kaesŏng in South Korea (1945–50)

In 1945 Korea regained its independence but the country was split at the 38th parallel. Kaesŏng was now south of the military demarcation line, in the Republic of Korea. In April 1946 its heritage and its museum became the responsibility of the National Museum of Korea which began field-work on the Republic's territory.

In May 1947 Kaesŏng museum started to excavate the tomb of Pŏp-tang-dong (法堂洞). In 1949, just before the start of the Korean War, the last curator, Chin Hong-sŏp, appointed in 1946, transported most of the collections to Seoul. They were stored in the Tŏksu museum and then in the National Museum of Korea in Seoul.⁶ In 1950, when war broke out, museum employees buried the hundred or so objects that remained in the museum's collections and fled. It is said that these items remain buried. The war ended in 1953, but the DMZ separating the two Koreas was drawn south of Kaesŏng and so the city became part of North Korean territory.

3. Kaesŏng in North Korea (1953–present)

From 1948 to 1955 there was little archaeological activity in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea due to social instability followed by the Korean War. That being said, the roots of North Korean archaeology were established during this period. Several laws on the conservation of heritage were passed, the "Law for the Preservation of National Heritage and the Natural Environment" in 1946, and "Guidelines for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage" in 1948, which forbade the looting and sale of art. Provincial history museums were established in P'yŏngyang and in the principal regional capitals of the country. These institutions carried out archaeological campaigns.

Research was concentrated in the area surrounding P'yŏngyang, in the Yalu river basin and along the northwest coast: Bronze Age remains, from the 1950s onwards; and from the 1960s, the Han tombs to the south of P'yŏngyang, the Koguryŏ tombs, and the kingdom of Parhae. This latter research was undertaken with the help of Chinese archaeologists. No excavations of any note were carried out in Kaesŏng.

From the '80s onwards the country's economic situation necessitated a reduction in archaeological activity and the number of excavations and published research diminished.

Recently Japanese archaeologists have conducted excavations with the Academy of Social Science in the Temple of Ryongdong.

At present, institutions active in the field are: the Institute for the Study of Material Culture or the Archaeological Institute, established in 1953, and the Institute of History, both part of the Academy of Social Science; the Archaeology Department of Kim Il-sŏng University; the Central Museum of Korean History (the forgoing institutions, which are all based in P'yŏngyang, are carrying out a number of small excavations); and the Koryŏ Museum in Kaesŏng, which only carries out small-scale research. The DPRK signed the UNESCO World Heritage Convention in 1998.

The Kaesŏng Museum was closed at the end of the Korean War and in 1955 the South Korean government withdrew the articles of association. Kaesŏng Museum ceased to exist. According to some witnesses the building was destroyed during the '60s whilst others maintain that it was during the '80s. Kaesŏng city council is not sure what the museum's precise location was. It was replaced by the Koryŏ pangmulgwan (고려박물관) or Koryŏ Museum, established in 1952, which has been relocated several times and is currently housed in the buildings of Sŏnggyungwan (成均館), two kilometers to the northeast of the center of the city. Sŏnggyungwan, originally known as the palace outbuilding "Taemyŏn", was built by the eleventh Koryŏ king Munjŏng (1046–83) and was designated as the principal teaching institute in 1089. It was given the name Sŏnggyungwan in 1308 and was destroyed by fire during the Imjin War (Japanese Invasion) in 1592. Its twenty buildings date from its reconstruction, which started in 1602, and comply with the characteristics required of a Confucian educational establishment of the period. These are the oldest wooden buildings in North Korea.⁷ Since August 1987 they have housed the Koryŏ Museum which may conserve more than a thousand items. Its grounds contain pagodas from temples and monasteries in the region as well as steles and stone lanterns. These historic buildings are not at all suited for use as a museum, neither in terms of conservation of works of art, nor in terms of presentation and reception of visitors. Building 1 is devoted to the foundation and development of the Koryŏ kingdom, Building 2, the main hall, houses objects and documents explaining the development of printing and astrology in Korea as well as a collection of celadons. Buildings 3 and 4 are devoted to metallic and other objects.

Written Sources and Published Papers

The city has a tradition of scholarship and ever since the Chosŏn period numerous papers (*sach'an ūpchi* or private gazetteers) have been written about the city of Kaesŏng by local magistrates and townspeople. In this way Kim T'aeg-yŏng (金澤瑩, 1850–1927), historian at the end of the Chosŏn dynasty and native of Kaesŏng, attempted to revise the historiography of the former capital, generally seen from Seoul's point of view.

Other texts available for study are the *Koryŏsa* (高麗史), published in 1451, and various Chinese sources such as the *Songshi* (宋史), the official history of the Song dynasty,⁸ and the Chinese envoy Xu Jing's description of his visit to Kaesŏng in 1123.

During the period of Japanese colonial administration⁹ the first field studies of the city's monuments were carried out, mainly on the royal tombs. Some of the results were published in research and archaeological reports drawn up under the auspices of the Japanese government, Chōsen sōtokufu. Despite the fact some digs were undoubtedly carried out, the published research is mainly about the exterior of the monuments and their history. Even though the Japanese carried out meticulous research into the Kyŏngju site and the Silla tombs, the archaeology of Koryŏ has been neglected until recently. During the final years of the colonial period Ko Yu-sŏp,¹⁰ curator of the Kaesŏng museum from 1933 until his death in 1944 and the pioneer of studies into the history of art in Korea, produced the first detailed history of a selection of monuments in Kaesŏng. His knowledge of the sources together with his familiarity with the city means that his work, published in 1946, is the most authoritative study currently available.¹¹

It wasn't until 1996 that a publication marked a renewal of interest in Kaesŏng by researchers in the Republic of Korea. Pak Yong-un published a detailed history of the ancient capital of the Koryŏ kingdom, concentrating on the historical organization. But the most concerted study on the subject to date has been carried out by a team from the Korean Association for Historical Studies, "Han'guk yŏksa yŏn'gu hoe." Under their auspices several papers have been published on subjects such as the walls of Kaesŏng, its markets, temples and economy. Another source worthy of note is the work of Kim Ch'ang-hyŏn, whose field of interest is the spatial organization of the city, identifying the location of principal state buildings,

discussing their names and their many modifications. Finally at the end of 2004 came proof of the renewed interest in the former capital of a unified Korea with the publication by the Korean National Committee of the International Council on Monuments and Sites of a thick volume entitled *Historical Relics in Kaesong* and of several pamphlets regrouping information given during their workshops on the subject.

In North Korea, in addition to short articles published in specialist North Korean reviews,¹² a book was published in 2002, in Korean, 160 pages long with neither illustrations nor plans, a compilation of raw data whose introduction claims that it aims to present to the world for the first time the culture of the Koryŏ kingdom.¹³ Among the research on the city carried out by Westerners, the workshop organized by Sem Vermeersch in 2003 at the Korea Institute of Harvard University¹⁴ and the collaboration between the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient (French Institute of East Asian Studies) and the National Bureau of Cultural Properties Conservation¹⁵ are worthy of note. All these studies are based almost exclusively on written sources. The scant data which comes directly from the field has been published in a small number of sporadic articles by North Korean experts.

The Sites

The site of Kaesŏng became a capital city in 919. Wang Kŏn (877–943) founded his dynasty in 918 and in January 919 designated the site, to the south of Song'ak (松嶽), as his capital, naming it Kaeju (開州).¹⁶ The city, a prefecture during the Silla period, was known as Song'ak. During the Koryŏ period it was often called Kaegyŏng (開京), "Capital", or Hwangdo, "Imperial Capital". The city comprised several districts of which the most important were Song'ak in the north and Kaesŏng in the south. Kaeju or Kaegyŏng refer to the entire city, whereas Kaesŏng-pu was used to designate the administrative unit governing the capital and the dependant districts. It eventually came to be the name for the capital.¹⁷

In 1392, after the fall of the Koryŏ kingdom, Kaesŏng, a city of 500,000 to one million inhabitants, depending on the researcher, was abandoned by the new Yi dynasty. At this period it became known as Songdo (松都). From the beginning of this new dynasty local scholars loyal to the old regime started to write melancholic poems inspired by the state of the

former capital with its temples and palaces in ruins.

The surviving ruins comprise structures that formed the city's defences, royal or aristocratic tombs, sites of palaces, sites of habitations.

1. Walls

Kaesŏng was surrounded by a wall twenty-three kilometers long, unique not only because of its size but also because of the way it blends into the topography of the site. According to the rules of geomancy and for strategic reasons, Korean city walls were generally constructed on the crests of hills, thus integrating the landscape into the defensive structure. Small walls have probably been present on the site ever since the Silla period. In the Koryŏ dynasty the walls were made from beaten earth. However during the 14th century certain parts were rebuilt in stone. Large sections of the stone construction survive and parts of the earth walls are still visible. The walls had around twenty gates, some of which are still in place.

According to Chŏng Ryong-ch'ŏl, professor of history at Songdo University in Kaesŏng,¹⁸ who has written a thesis on the walls of Kaesŏng,¹⁹ the exterior wall dates from the 11th century and the interior wall from the 14th century.²⁰ The most famous gate is Namdaemun (南大門), the south gate of the interior wall, which was built at the end of the Koryŏ dynasty, between 1391 and 1393. The original wooden structure, destroyed during the Korean War, was replaced by an "identical" structure in 1954. It has housed the bell of the Yonbok monastery since the monastery's destruction in 1563. This gate, in the heart of the city, gave access to the largest market. According to texts, prior to its construction, during the Koryŏ dynasty, this zone was the junction of the major north-south route with the major east-west route. It would be prudent to investigate this. Historians do not agree either on whether or not there was an earth wall already in existence prior to the construction of the stone wall. It could be interesting to verify this point with excavations.

2. Tombs

Koryŏ-dynasty tombs are usually north-south orientated and placed on the south-facing slope of a hill so that the back of the tomb is protected. The ideal site is protected by mountains to the east and west and has water

running between the tomb and the mountains. To the south there should be a valley. Given the importance of the geomancy and the political importance of the Koryŏ capital, the tombs of most of the kings, queens and aristocrats of the Koryŏ kingdom are situated in the area around Kaesŏng, in the Kaep'ung-gun and P'anmun-gun zones outside the city walls. More than twenty tombs are to be found to the north and west of mount Song'ak (松嶽山) on the south slopes of the Mansu mountain range, and on mount Yongsu.

According to epigraphic inscriptions, it was common practice even for aristocrats born in the countryside to be buried in Kaesŏng. This custom continued until 1170.²¹ Subsequently, because of the increasing powers given to regional governors, it became custom and practice to be buried in one's birthplace.

Of the thirty-four royal tombs, two are situated in Kanghai and the precise locations of three others are uncertain. Of the remaining twenty-nine tombs, seventeen are known to lie in the Kaesŏng region.

In 1916, while making an inventory of the site, Japanese archaeologists counted fifty-three royal or aristocratic tombs of which ten were identified.²² The most imposing tombs are those of the founder of the dynasty, T'aejo (太祖), Wang Kŏn's posthumous title, and of King Kongmin. These are the best known. However many tomb sites are inaccessible today as they are in the area strictly controlled by the army.

The Tomb of Wang Kŏn (T'aejo)

Site: Kaep'ung-gun, Haesŏn-ri, 3.5 kilometers from Namdaemun; burial place of Wang Kŏn (877–943) and his queen; built in 943.

In front of the tomb stand two statues of officials, a lantern, an offertory table, a statue of an animal and twelve guardian gods who served as buttresses to the base of the tumulus. The guardian gods are now fixed along the walls of an artificial underground corridor which leads to the burial chamber.

According to an inscription, the tomb was restored in 1867 by the governor on the king's orders. Studied by Japanese archaeologists then looted by the Japanese occupiers, the burial mound was excavated by North Korean archaeologists following a visit by Kim Il-sŏng on May 5, 1992. Its reconstruction started in 1993, at the request of the head of state.

On this occasion the Wang family, who still live in Kaesŏng, donated the family *chokpo* to the national museums.²³

During excavations in 1993²⁴ a bronze statue of King Wang Kŏn, seated, was discovered behind the tomb, together with goblets for spirits, a bronze buckle and a bronze ewer. According to Chosŏn period records, there were numerous statues and paintings of T'aejo. We know that T'aejo's statue and coffin were moved from Kanghwa to Kaesŏng in 1270 after the return of the capital from the island of Kanghwa. In 1428 the Yi dynasty King Sejong (世宗王) authorised the burial of several paintings and cast statues of T'aejo and other Koryŏ kings near their respective tombs.²⁵ The statue of T'aejo was worshipped. The high standard of the statue discovered suggests that it was revered by the Koryŏ kings.

Since the reconstruction of the tomb the number of statues has significantly increased: four officials, four soldiers, and four tigers mark out the burial area.

The Tomb of King Kongmin and his Queen

The necropolis is situated approximately five kilometers northeast of the Kaesŏng city walls, in Kaep'ung-gun, Haesŏn-ri.

King Kongmin, who reigned from 1351 to 1374, was the last significant monarch of the dynasty. He tried to restore the authority of the royal house following a century of Mongol interference in the government. The construction of his tomb, the most impressive of all the Koryŏ period royal tombs, was undoubtedly part of his strategy to revive the monarchy, and should be considered as the symbol of his power. Following the death of his wife, Princess Noguk, in 1365 he built a tomb for her on a site that had been meticulously chosen. Then, several years before his own death, he built his own burial place next to the queen's tomb. It is the only example of twin tombs in the Koryŏ period as queens were generally buried in the same tomb as the king.

The tomb of King Kongmin, to the west, is known as Hyŏnnŭng (玄陵) and that of his wife, to the east, Chŏngnŭng (正陵). The tombs are half way up the slope of a hill and can be reached by a series of stairs. Granite paving stones carved with clouds and the twelve guardian gods form buttresses at the base of each tumulus, and the two tumuli are encircled by a single balustrade. Statues of sheep and tigers are placed in an alternating

ring around the two tumuli and link them. The burial zone is marked to the left and the right by 3.3-meter-high statues of two soldiers and two officials. Restorations have been carried out over the years and it is difficult to distinguish the original parts from those that have been restored.

Japanese archaeologists made the first excavations²⁶ from 1905 onwards and started to restore the site in 1920. The king's tomb was reputedly subsequently looted by the Japanese occupiers. In 1956, the Committee for the conservation of cultural assets in Kaesŏng carried out further restoration and at the same time proceeded to investigate the interior of the stone room in the king's tomb. The mural paintings of the twelve signs of the zodiac were copied and a model built. On the east wall of the stone room a door is painted, below which there should be a small rectangular opening, roughly ten by five centimeters, leading to the stone room in the queen's tomb. It may be blocked. The queen's burial chamber has not yet been properly excavated. Ever since the reign of King Sŏngjong (成宗王, 1469–94), there have been reports that it contains treasures. The National Bureau of Cultural Properties Conservation would like to study the structure of the interior but has not yet been able to locate the entrance. Passing a radio-controlled camera through the orifice which links the two rooms could give an idea of the state of the interior of the room and the location of the door. The contents of the king's tomb have been dispersed in Japan and the USA but the funeral artefacts in the queen's tomb remain unknown. The king's chamber was subsequently re-opened in 1988.

To the east and west of the base of the tomb there are temples. The site of the eastern temple is indicated by a stele.²⁷ The column plinths have disappeared but it is possible to read the site. Japanese archaeologists started excavations which were later abandoned due to lack of funds. Shrines were built in memory of all the kings, queens and non-reigning fathers of dead kings in specially constructed or existing temples, which thus became commemorative shrines as in this example.

The three successive terraces of the western temple are still clearly visible, as are numerous stone column plinths. Antefixes (roof end tiles) decorated with Sanskrit characters protrude from the ground. A survey has yet to be done and there is no documentation in ancient or more recent sources about the site. However these temple shrines, used to pay homage to the ancestors, were not at the start of the period linked to a necropolis. It

wasn't until the end of the period, when Kwangt'ong Poje sŏnsa was built in memory of King Kongmin and his wife, that they were constructed near tombs.

3. Palaces

The sites of the palaces are undoubtedly what give us the best impression of what was the splendor of the Koryŏ dynasty.

Manwŏltae Palace (滿月臺)

The main palace, known as the "Palace of the Full Moon" because the site is encircled by mountains, is situated north northeast of the city two kilometers from the center. To its north it leans against Mount Song'ak, 489 meters high. The palace had its own defensive walls to protect it. Staircases lead to the main hall (Hoegyŏng chŏn, 會慶殿) which is the most important structure still in existence. Its foundations, terrace supports and some columns are still in situ. It was built in 919, completed in 1029 and burnt down in 1361 during the invasion by the red turban rebel army.²⁸ The royal palace and its compound housing members of the royal family occupied around 1,260,000 m². The royal palace itself, including the government offices, covered some 390,000 m². Several surveys of the site were carried out during the Japanese occupation. Later North Korean archaeologists dug trenches in the north zone of the site which show that the site was rebuilt on three separate occasions. However the western part of the site, which contained the library of Wang Kŏn and the royal bedrooms, has never been excavated.

The National Bureau of Cultural Properties Conservation wishes to restore the site of Manwŏltae rapidly—it is a major tourist site—and even reconstruct it, or at least the main entrance, once they have completed excavation around the site of the palace. Recent finds include a metal helmet, a metal printing block, various tiles, and a ceramic plaque that covered a column plinth.

Kyŏngdŏk Palace (敬德宮)

Situated south of Namdaemun, in the district of Namsan-dong, this site is well off the tourist trail. To a great extent it has been abandoned to agriculture. Former residence of Yi Sŏng-gye (李成桂), founder of the Chosŏn

dynasty, otherwise known as King T'aejo (1392–98), it was transformed into a palace in 1401 and given the name of Kyōngdōk-kung. It was used as a palace until 1405, when the Yi capital was transferred to Hanyang. Even though the site has been greatly disturbed, two terraces and a well still exist. Large quantities of roof tiles from different epochs protrude around the site. The stele erected by King Sukchong (肅宗王) in 1693 has survived. No excavations have been made to date.

4. Temples and Monasteries

Buddhism was the official religion during the Koryō period. There were about one hundred thirty temples within and around Kaesōng.²⁹ It is likely that there were around seventy important monasteries. All that remains are the stone pagodas, some of which are conserved in the Koryō Museum. However, a rigorous inventory has never been made.

We know most about Hūngwang-sa monastery (興王寺), which is situated southeast of the city walls. The site is to the south of the economic development zone. To date, only one inventory with cursory summaries has been made. The site should soon be excavated. Known because of its stele, it is frequently cited in the *Koryōsa*. It was built in 1056 by King Munjong (1046–75) and completed in 1067. The site is around 10,000 m² in area and contains 2,800 intercolumniations.³⁰

Anhwa-sa (安和寺)

This monastery,³¹ four kilometers from the south gate, was destroyed at the end of the Koryō period, restored in 1931 by the Japanese, destroyed once again by bombs during the Korean War, and rebuilt in 1987 on Kim Il-sōng's orders. The second lateral building has not been rebuilt.

5. Habitations

Kaesōng is unique in having large numbers of traditional Korean houses, known as *han'ok* in South Korea and *chosōn-sik sallim chip* (조선식 살림집) or *chosōn-sik kiwa chip* (조선식 기와집) in North Korea, many of which date from the end of the Chosōn period. These houses are an important element for understanding the evolution of the city since the Koryō period. Certain archaeologists put forward the theory that these houses date from the end of the Koryō dynasty. However, according to

Professor Byun Ryong Mun³² of the North Korean Academy of Science, it is not possible to accurately date the structures as they have not been sufficiently examined.

The Chosŏn dynasty heralded many changes in architecture, but the brick walls of these houses are built in a similar fashion to those of the Koryŏ tombs. Many bricks have been replaced over the years and the foundations need to be analyzed. Eighteen hundred houses are protected, of which one thousand lie in the center of the city. During his visit to the site ten years ago Kim Il-sŏng ordered the preservation of these han'ok.

Conclusion: Conserving Kaesŏng

Though Kaesŏng miraculously escaped devastation during the Korean War, its heritage has suffered from neglect. Numerous restorations are necessary. However the most urgent need is without a doubt to understand the material culture of ancient Kaesŏng. To date no systematic archaeological survey has been carried out. Some excavations were undertaken during the Japanese colonial period and, more recently, by archaeologists from the DPRK, but we have no idea how they were carried out.

Widespread, systematic excavations should be made of the undisturbed sites in order to understand the construction techniques, materials and structural aspects of both the monuments from the Koryŏ dynasty and later monuments. This would enable us to date the structures and gain a better understanding of the social and economic life of these people, of whom historical sources tell us almost nothing.

There have been thefts, particularly from the tombs, which show no sign of abating, given the increasing number of celadons of this epoch being sold on the South Korean antiques market. This reinforces the necessity to study the tombs before the sites are irretrievably disturbed and the funereal artefacts moved out of context. In particular a topological survey should be made to help us to understand the physical relationships between the tombs.³³

It is also imperative to catalogue the ancient buildings in Kaesŏng and carry out a detailed study of the han'ok houses so as to be able to restore this precious cultural heritage to the highest possible standards.

The National Bureau of Cultural Properties Conservation appears to have a different set of priorities which focus on the intramural part of

Kaesŏng, restoring and promoting the principal sites which are of interest to tourists: the site of the tomb of King Kongmin, including excavation of the queen's tomb; the eastern and western parts of the Manwŏltae site including restoration of part of the palace; restoring Sŏnggyungwan and transferring the Koryŏ Museum into new buildings. They also wish to have Kaesŏng designated as a UNESCO World Heritage site.

Given that Kaesŏng is the only remaining Asian capital city to have escaped urban redevelopment and whose archaeological strata remain intact and undisturbed, it would be highly advisable to protect the entire intramural area by designating it a site of historical interest rather than protecting a selection of sites that have been arbitrarily designated as important. It should also be born in mind that a controlled development of the entire site should, in the long term, lead to more sustainable tourism resources. The need to preserve Kaesŏng has become all the more urgent ever since the decision was announced to create the Economic Development zone, a large industrial park built by South Korean enterprises, right next to the intramural city.³⁴

In June 2004 a law was passed integrating within the "Kaesŏng zone" (Kaesŏng chigu, 개성지구) the "industrial zone" and the intramural area, which has been designated a "tourist area". The Kaesŏng zone falls under a government department (Min'gyŏnghyŏ 민경협, or CPEEC³⁵), which is also responsible for the archaeological digs, reporting directly to the executive committee. The priority is therefore to convince this entity of the necessity of conserving the treasures of the sleeping beauty that is Kaesŏng, while enhancing their value in the medium to long term.

NOTES

1. This article is a summary of several field trips to Kaesŏng made up to December 2004 at the invitation and with the aid of the National Bureau of Cultural Properties Conservation.
2. See the bibliography which follows.
3. We were able to visit the site of this museum thanks to the precise directions given by Professor Chin Hong-sŏp, who lives in South Korea and who was curator of the museum from 1946 to 1949. (Take the path that rises to the right of the buildings of the Confucian School 崧陽書院). Curiously, the existence of the museum has been erased from the collective memory of the

- citizens of Kaesŏng. Only a few aging residents of the district remember the old museum. Destroyed some fifteen or thirty years ago, depending on the source, it was replaced by the symbolic Museum of the Revolution, built on the hill dominating the south of the city, to highlight the statue of Kim Il-sŏng.
4. It became a district or “pu” 府.
 5. The first curator of the museum was Yi Yŏng-sun. He was succeeded by Ko Yu-sŏp from March 1933 to June 1944, then Min T’ae-sik, and after the liberation by Chin Hong-sŏp.
 6. The National Museum of Korea moved from Namsan to three successive buildings within the Kyŏngbok palace complex and finally, in October 2005, to Yongsan.
 7. They escaped bombing during the Korean War.
 8. *Gaoli* 高麗, *Songshi* 487 Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962–75, p. 14 054.
 9. See the various maps of the city drawn up by the Japanese administration in: Kim Ki-ho, *Kaesŏng kugyŏng* (Seoul: Taehan kongnonsa, 1972).
 10. Born in 1905.
 11. Ko Yu-sŏp concentrated his research on the Buddhist monasteries and temples and other historical sites in and around Kaesŏng.
 12. North Korean archaeological periodicals, some of which have ceased to exist, are: *Munhwa yumul* 문화유물 (1949–50), *Munhwa yusan* 문화유산 (1957–62), *Kogo minsok* 고고민속 (1963–67), *Chosŏn kogo yŏn’gu* 조선고고연구 (1986–present). Two collections: *Kogohak charyo chip* 고고학자료집, and *Kogo minsok nonmun chip* 고고민속논문집.
 13. Sahoe kwahak ch’ulp’ansa, ed., *Koryŏ yujŏk yŏn’gu* (P’yŏngyang: Sahoe kwahak ch’ulp’ansa, 2002 [Chuch’e 91]), 160.
 14. *Acta Koreana*, July 2004.
 15. *Munhwajae pojŏn chido kuk* 문화재보전지도국.
 16. In 919 Wang Kŏn moved his capital from Ch’ŏrwŏn to Kaesŏng.
 17. cf. Pak Yong-un (1997).
 18. The history faculty of Songdo Taehakkyo (2000 students) also includes the Archaeology and History of Art Department (200 students).
 19. Chŏn Ryong-ch’ŏl, “Study of the Walls of Kaesŏng, Capital of the Koryŏ Kingdom (1),” *Ryŏksa kwahak* 2 (1980).
 20. There was an earlier earth wall.
 21. There was an army revolt due to poor conditions.
 22. It is not known who is buried in Ch’il nŭng (Seven tombs), a necropolis situated behind the tomb of Wang Kŏn.
 23. Kaesŏng Wangssi chokpo, which dates from 1918, 13th generation.
 24. The tumulus measures nine meters in diameter, with murals in the stone burial room, with a south-facing entrance.
 25. *Sejong sillok* 60.
 26. The tomb to the west has a stone room with an access corridor, mural paintings of the sun, the great bear, and Orion’s belt on the ceiling and the twelve

- guardian gods on the walls.
27. Kwangt'ong poje sōnsa 廣通普濟禪史.
 28. Red Turbans: powerful brigand force.
 29. According to Han Ki-mun, *Koryŏ sawŏn-ŭi kujo-wa kinŭng* (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1998), 470–79.
 30. Hwang Su-yŏng, “Koryŏ Hŭngwang-sa chi-ŭi chosa,” in *Pulgyohak nonjip: Paek Sŏng-uk paksa songsu kinyŏm*, 1109–33 (Seoul: Tongguk munhwasa, 1957).
 31. Capital monastery founded by T'aejo, 930.
 32. Pyŏn Ryŏng-mun.
 33. For example, the tomb of King Kongmin and Ch'illŭng (七陵).
 34. From June 24 to August 11, 2004 a brief survey and some excavations were carried out in the zone that is due to become an industrial park, financed by the Han'guk t'oji kongsa (한국토지공사), a South Korean public finance company. A group composed of around twenty South Korean and forty North Korean archaeologists worked together for almost two months on the site.
 35. Korea Committee for the Promotion of External Economic Cooperation (조선대외경제협력추진위원회 Chosŏn tae'oe kyŏngje hyŏmnyŏk ch'ujin wiwŏn hoe).

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Kaesong pangmulgwan (Kaesong purip pangmulgwan,
Kaesong purip pangmulgwan annae, 1936)



博物館全景及内景一部



Koryŏ pangmulgwan (Photographs by author, 31/1/2003)





The exterior wall (Photographs by author, 26/8/2003)





Tombs of King T'aejo (above) and King Kongmin (below)
(Photographs by author, 31/1/2003)



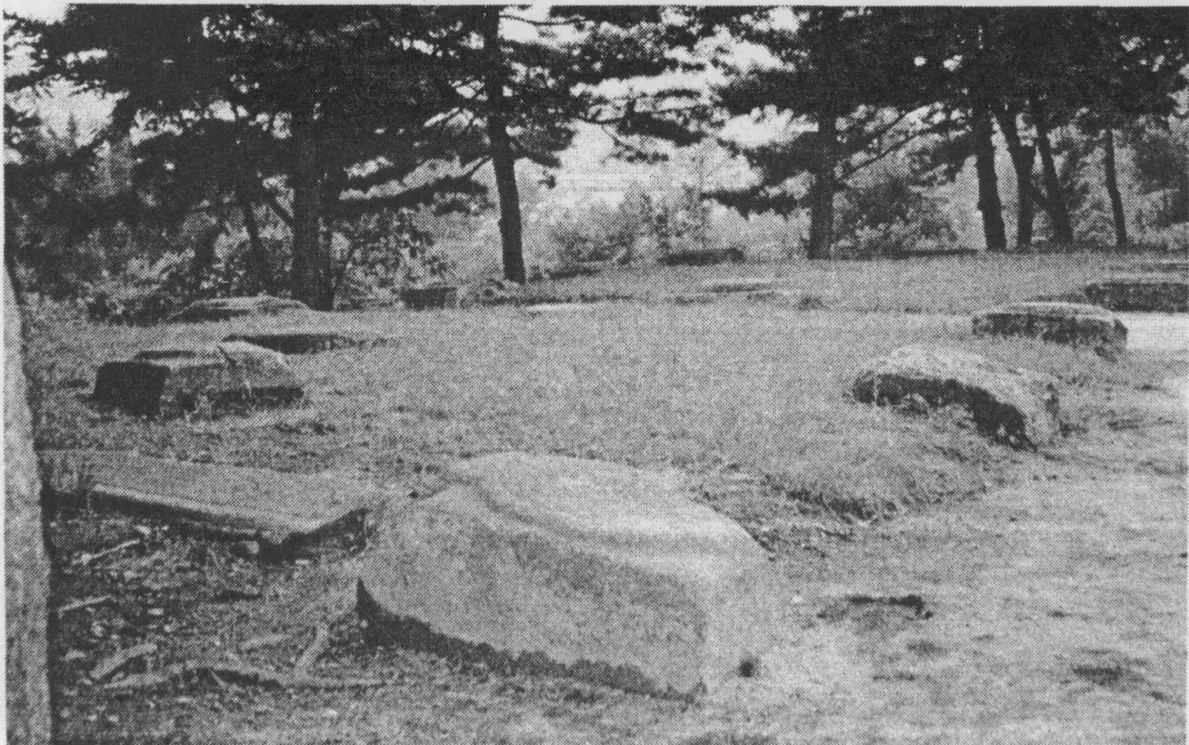


Kwangt'ong Poje sōnsa (above) and temple site (below) east and west respectively of King Kongmin's tomb (Photos by author, 28/8/2003)



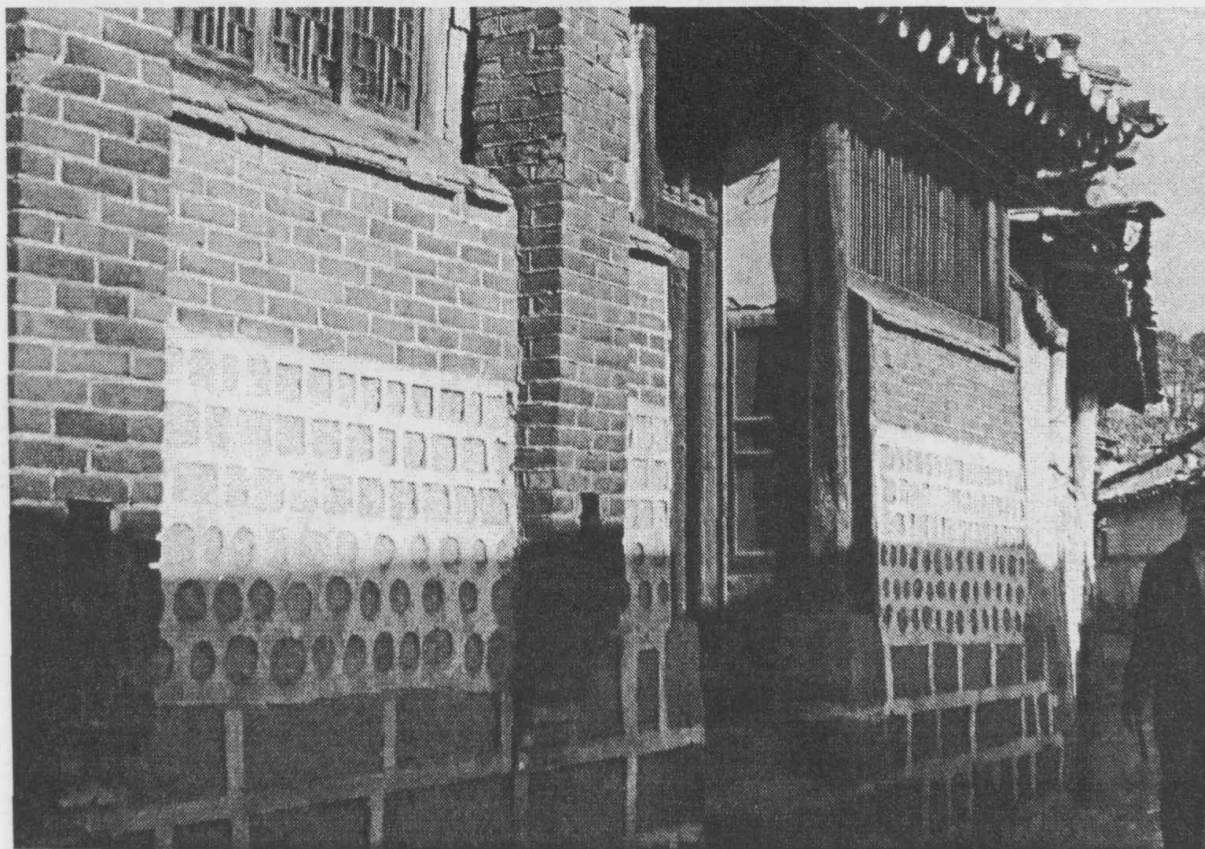


Manwŏltae Palace
(Photographs by author, 30/1/2003 and 26/8/2003)





Kyōngdok Palace (above); han'ok in central Kaesōng (below)
(Photographs by author, 26/8/2003 and 30/1/2003)



The 1884 Travel Diary of George C. Foulk (6)

Journey in Korea: The 1884 Travel Diary of George C. Foulk

SAMUEL HAWLEY

On November 1, 1884, U.S. Navy ensign George Foulk set out from Seoul on an arduous 900-mile journey through southern Korea. During his forty-three days on the road he kept detailed notes of what he observed and experienced, filling two notebooks, a total of 380 pages. This travel diary, a part of the George Clayton Foulk collection in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, has been largely overlooked by scholars and yet is of inestimable value.¹ First, it is a fascinating account of a trip that no Westerner had ever undertaken before in Korea or would ever experience again: a journey in a palanquin in the manner of a Chosŏn-dynasty dignitary or high government official. Second, it is a unique record of a Korea as yet untouched by the outside world, written by one of the most knowledgeable Westerners at the time on things Korean and one of the very few who could speak the language and interact directly with Koreans. And third, being a personal diary rather than a published account, it is completely uncensored and unvarnished, containing Foulk's private thoughts and often raw feelings. It is this honesty that makes Foulk's diary more than just another travelogue. In it we can see Korea through the eyes of a nineteenth-century American struggling with the rigors of travel and culture shock in a very strange land; to see not just what he wants us to see, but everything he was experiencing, warts and all, the frustration, distress and indignities as well as the discovery and wonder.

George Clayton Foulk was born on October 30, 1856 in Marietta, Pennsylvania, the eldest of three sons of Clayton and Caroline Foulk. Following his graduation from the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis,

Maryland in 1876, he joined the crew of the iron-hulled steamer *Alert*, bound for service with the Asiatic Squadron, America's naval presence in the Pacific and Asia. He served in the Squadron for a total of six years, distinguishing himself with his competence and studiousness and becoming fluent in Japanese during frequent ports of call in Japan. It was during this period that he teamed up with another young naval officer, Lt. Benjamin Buckingham, for his first journey off the beaten track, a 427-mile trek through the heart of Japan, where travel by foreigners was as yet rarely attempted.² In 1882 Foulk embarked with Buckingham and fellow ensign Walter Mclean on an even more ambitious trip: an overland journey home to the U.S. via Siberia and Europe, visiting the Korean ports of Pusan and Wonsan en route—the first American “tourists” to do so, less than one month after the signing of the May 1882 treaty inaugurating Korean-American relations.³

Back in Washington, Foulk worked for a time as a librarian in the Navy Department's archives. He found the job boring but put the time to good use by furthering his study of Japanese and adding to it Korean, which together he hoped would be a ticket into more interesting and prominent posts—as indeed they were. When the first Korean mission to the West arrived in the United States in 1883, Foulk, then the only person in government service in any way qualified to serve as interpreter, was assigned to accompany the delegation around New York, Boston, and Washington D.C. By the conclusion of the tour, mission leader Min Yǒng-ik was so impressed with Foulk that he requested that he accompany the delegation back to Korea. This was arranged by the Departments of Navy and State, Foulk being appointed to the recently created post of “naval attaché” despite the fact that Korea had no navy. He left New York on November 19 aboard the U.S.S. *Trenton* together with Min Yǒng-ik, the mission's number-three man Sǒ Kwang-bǒm, and the attendant Pyǒn Su, bound for Korea via Europe and the Suez Canal.

The *Trenton* anchored at Chemulp'o on May 31, 1884 and on the following day Foulk traveled up to Seoul to assume his duties as naval attaché. He had received two sets of instructions, one from the State Department and one from the Department of the Navy, the main thrust of both being that he was to gather information on Korea and to “maintain the best possible relations” with the Koreans.⁴ This Foulk did with great

enthusiasm, talking daily to Koreans, improving his grasp of the language, forging ties with important officials, learning about the government and culture and people and the nation's precarious position between China, Japan, Great Britain, and Russia. Indeed, with his improving grasp of Korean Foulk soon outstripped his superior, Lucius Foote, America's minister to Korea, in his understanding of the country. As he reported to his parents on July 2, 1884, Foote's inability to converse in Korean meant that he "learns next to nothing of the actual state of affairs here. On the contrary, I come here, run everywhere, talk to many Koreans and do learn everyday of things which General Foote ought to know."⁵

To better gather intelligence on Korea, Foulk planned a series of journeys in the country. He initially intended to make three trips: one in the capital province of Kyōnggi-do, one through the southern half of Korea and one through the north. He would accomplish the first two of these journeys, but not the third. In January 1885 he was appointed *chargé d'affaires* upon the departure of Minister Foote, a temporary arrangement that would drag on for nearly two years. It was a difficult time for Foulk. Not only was he obliged to maintain America's presence in Korea entirely unaided, without even a clerk, the Koreans came to rely on him more than any other diplomatic representative in Seoul for help and advice on how to modernize their country and remain independent amid the imperial rivalries of China, Japan, and the West. Foulk offered what assistance he could, working himself to exhaustion and in the process incurring the enmity of Beijing with his outspoken support for Korea's independence. It was this hostility that finally prompted the State Department to recall him in order to smooth relations with China. Foulk left Korea in June 1887, bitter toward Washington and in broken health. He died in Japan six years later at the age of thirty-six.⁶

But all that lay in the future as Foulk prepared to embark on the first of his Korean journeys on September 22, 1884. His route would take him north to Kaesōng, west to Kanghwa Island, south to Suwōn, northeast to the mountain fortress at Kwangju⁷ and then back to Seoul, a total of 198 miles over sixteen days. "The start on the 22nd from my house was rather imposing," Foulk recorded in a letter home to his family. "First I went in a neat, closed chair with four coolie bearers, dressed in baggy white, with broad brimmed felt hats. Then came Muk and Suil, the

personal attendants, with four coolies to each of their chairs. Then followed the King's officer on horseback, dressed in two colors of flowing green, his horse led by a boy in white, with his thick black hair hanging down his back in a queue. Then came the baggage horse, led by a boy, then three servants of my attendants, and the King's officer; in all 19 persons. This is a very small retinue indeed for an officer to have in travel. Passing out the northeast gate of the city, we met Pyon Su and a military officer, each with four coolies and a servant. This added 12 more to my party, making 31 in all."

It was Foulk's first real taste of traveling in the style of a Korean government official, and all the attention, fuss, and food ("pap") soon began to wear him out.

"While I remained at Songto [Kaesŏng], the house and courtyard were always filled with soldiers, head men and other servants of a half dozen different ranks. A perpetual row went on among them for they were always thrashing or black-guarding some poor fellow or boy who sneaked in to get a sight of the Tai-in [great man]. If I appeared outside the door of my room, a great stampede took place. Across the court, 70 feet off, was the water closet, a rickety shed with a hole in it, the 'seat' formed by some 'squatting stones' on the edge of the hole. If I went to the water closet, one or two soldiers must go along with me, and some others set up a dismal howl to clear the way for the Tai-in. Nearly every time I went there somebody got kicked, so that out of sheer pity, I hated to go at all finally. If I wanted to nap, the cry went out, 'The Tai-in sleeps! Keep quiet!' Then came only whispers from the crowd, which grew into yells and howls soon in quarrels which arose concerning the noise the soldiers themselves charged each other with making, so that the Tai-in found it impossible to sleep at all for the racket. The Pijang and Chungkun were constantly coming in, each time asking if I was tired, whether I ate well, &c. Each time they came in state, in chairs with many attendants, their approach indicated by long drawn cries of the advance runners. Every twenty minutes the man who keeps time at the yongmun gate called out the hour in a long mournful cry. Pap was constantly coming in at intervals of about an hour, and as it is impolite not to eat I ate until I nearly suffocated. Verily I was completely sickened with attention which came to be nuisances of the first class."⁸



George Clayton Foulk, circa 1884

On the whole, however, the journey “was a most happy one,” Foulk reported to his family upon returning to Seoul on October 7. There had been some disagreeable things, “But I saw and experienced all that is novel or peculiarly Korean in other ways, and enjoyed more than all the novelty of being the first European or American to see Korea thus.”⁹

Foulk was indeed the first Western “to see Korea thus” insofar as he had the unique experience of traveling in the manner of a Chosŏn-dynasty high official and interacting directly with Koreans in their own language. He was not, however, the first Westerner to make an extensive journey through the country. In November 1883 William Carles, the British vice-consul in Shanghai, arrived at Chemulp’o with two companions and embarked on an expedition through central Korea to sample the hunting and investigate prospects for mining.¹⁰ Carles returned in March 1884 as vice-consul at Chemulp’o, and in October and November made a second, longer trip, this time to the Yalu River and back which he would later describe in an official report and in a book entitled *Life in Corea*.¹¹ A German named Dr. Carl Gottsche, meanwhile, was making two long journeys in Korea at the request of the Korean government for the purpose of scientific exploration, a southern journey between June and August 1884 along much the same route that Foulk would follow, and a northern journey to the Yalu between September and November, making him by far the most traveled Westerner in Korea. He published a brief scientific report of his observations in a Berlin journal in 1886.¹²

Neither Gottsche nor Carles ventured beyond their respective roles of scientist and diplomat in their reports, and their accounts are thus impersonal and rather dry. Carles remedied this somewhat in *Life in Corea* by fleshing out his earlier reports with personal details and a variety of interesting information on the country and people—for much of which, incidentally, he gives credit to Foulk.¹³ It nevertheless remains inferior from a literary standpoint to Foulk’s travel writing. With its on-the-spot reporting of encounters and conversations and feelings and colors and sounds, Foulk’s journal gives the reader a more intimate sense of what the author was experiencing and what Korea was like.

For his next trip, a 900-mile excursion through the southern provinces of Ch’ungch’ŏng, Chŏlla, and Kyŏngsang, Foulk first needed a passport from the Korean government, a document required by all foreigners

(except Chinese) wanting to travel in the country. He would need to have this stamped at government offices along the route of his journey. He would also carry a letter of introduction from Min Yǒng-ik, the head of the 1883 mission to the U.S. and a man of great influence and power in Korea. As for traveling companions, Foulk would once again be accompanied by "Muk," a Korean official whose full name was Chǒn Yang-muk,¹⁴ and "Suil," full name Chǒng Su-il, who served as his valet. The rest of the party consisted of a servant Foulk names as "Kyong Suki," two boys to tend the party's two horses (a third horse and boy would be added five days into the journey), and twelve chair bearers, making a total of eighteen members. For baggage they would carry five trunks (all belonging to Foulk), three hand bags (one each for Foulk, Muk and Suil), a camera and tripod, a gun case, and a money basket.

This last item of baggage was a peculiar feature of travel in Korea, where everyday purchases were made with coins in denominations of one and five "pun" or "cash." At the time of Foulk's journey a string of 1,000 one-pun coins weighing two kilograms or more was the equivalent of only about one U.S. dollar.¹⁵ To carry enough to feed and house Foulk's party for just a few days thus required a good-sized basket and a horse to bear the weight. To replenish his store of coins en route, Foulk carried a letter from the Korean Foreign Office which allowed him to draw funds from local government offices or "yongmun."

Even though Foulk would be literally spending money by the basketful, traveling in Korea in the 1880s was very cheap. In the coming weeks he would typically pay 20 or 30 pun (two or three cents) for a meal, and would regard 60 pun (six cents) as particularly expensive. Baggage horses cost around 50 or 60 pun (five or six cents) per animal for every 10 ri, roughly 3.2 miles. Foulk does not mention paying anything at all for rooms in the rustic inns or "chumak" at which he usually stayed, probably because accommodation came free with the price of meals.¹⁶

Foulk's greatest single expense would be transportation for himself, Muk, and Suil. They would travel in palanquin known as *bogyo* (Foulk spells it "pokeyo"), cramped wooden boxes supported on poles, the most ostentatious and expensive way to travel in Korea, costing roughly four times the hire of a horse. Each was borne by two pairs of "pokeyo men" working in relays, the resting pair jogging along beside, using the pole

they carried to occasionally ease the weight off their comrades' shoulders for a moment's respite. *Traveling in this manner they would be able to cover up to 80 or 90 ri in a good day, approximately 25 or 30 miles.* The rate Foulk negotiated for each bearer was 50 cash for every 10 ri, a total of 168,000 cash (\$168) for all twelve men paid over a month and a half, or approximately 32 cents per man per day. What he would get in return for this expense would be what Westerners at the time generally deemed a very uncomfortable ride, inferior in every way to the cheaper expedient of a horse.¹⁷

The party set out from Seoul on November 1, 1884, Foulk, Muk, and Suil in their palanquin, Kyong Suki and the horse boys on foot. The journey began uneventfully, the party heading south to Suwŏn on a wide and well-maintained road, *one of the best stretches they would encounter on the trip.* At the frequent rest stops required by the pokeyo men (they took short breaks every forty-five minutes or so, and a long break for lunch), Foulk recorded in his diary observations on the terrain and people, products he saw being carried along on the road, the width and depth of rivers and streams, the condition of farmland, curious stone piles and ancient remains, and countless other things.

Then, on the morning of November 3, things began to get more interesting. *Upon entering the town of Ansŏng, where it was market ("chang") day and the streets thronged with people, the appearance of a foreigner resulted in a mob scene.* "I was so hemmed in by people I could not see more than two feet off," Foulk recorded. "I saw no angry faces or scowls at all, but the rude curiosity was amazing. I heard lots of laughing 'irons!', 'chemi', and all sorts of curious expressions. Would like to have taken a photo but the crowd was so great and rude I could not do it at all. I had much trouble keeping my coolies from thrashing people. They went for them like the devil on several occasions, when one slapped a boy, another whacked a big hat, &c."¹⁸

The experience left Foulk shaken. "I seem to be in a real wilderness," he wrote later that day, "excite more curiosity than anywhere else I've been in Korea. Jove! Jove! This is hard travelling." And the following day: "I am very tired and feel lonesome. I wish I could express well to them at home the odd sensations which now and then come to me in regard to my utter helplessness. . . . I've not been afraid (except at Ansong),

but the thought strikes me that perhaps no single foreigner ever threw himself thus among pagan people. It is a point of mine, however, that men are men all the world over, and my very helplessness here is my safeguard."

On the evening of November 4 Foulk arrived in Kongju, where he spent the following day as a guest of the city governor or "kamsa." It would be a memorable experience which he would write of at length.

"Up at 8:00. The Chungkun [governor's military aide] called after I had had the preliminary pap. I had a pleasant talk with him. He was gorgeously dressed, a rather nice fellow, but didn't know one single thing about foreigners. Went to the Yongmun in uniform to call on the Kamsa. The streets were packed with people and the noise made by the runners was tremendous. About the Yongmun was a great crowd of Achon [government office clerks¹⁹] and all sorts of gaily dressed people. The Governor was pleasant. I got him to laugh and he set out pap and tea and wine.... The meal... was a very good one, vermicelli and beef, cold roast beef, fried chicken, poached eggs, sliced pears, chestnuts and persimmons, all prepared well enough to suit any foreigner—a little hungry. One of the dishes was raw tripe with small slices of raw lights [lung] on top. That knocked me!—bad as I am at most every heathen kind of food. While I sat eating alone on the floor of the little room before the Kamsa, a great crowd of his under officers and men, some venerable men with snowy white hair and beards, stood all around me so close I could have touched the ring, watching every move I made. What a picture the scene would have made! As I came in a crowd of runners groaned. As I went out another awe-ful sound was uttered, and then began thrashing, pushing and yells to clear my way about the gates....

"At about noon I set out sightseeing in chairs with Suil and Muk and a great crowd of noisy runners and other Achon and people. We went through the one street, due north to the Sansong [mountain fortress], distant only about half a mile or a little more. The whole town seemed out to see me. The runners were here rigged out in pink coats and were very quiet comparatively; did no thrashing. At the Sansong I met the Chungkun who lives in it, he having gone on ahead. At the south gate he received me with about a dozen Kunsu [county headmen]. He took me to a pavilion in a walled court near the gate. From here I had a good view

over the plain, and took 2 photos, 12 and 15 seconds, of the town bearing south. Also photographed the Chungkun and his sons in the pavilion.

“From here we descended to the right and bottom of the Sansong, only a few hundred yards, and then came to its one Buddhist temple. Here I had a long chin with two Buddhist priests, trying to find out something of the likeness of Korean and Indian Buddhism. . . . I told them of my experiences in India, and of Sanscrit books, and finally the priest said he had seen five Sanscrit books with wooden backs, leaf leaves, with horizontal writing in long lines, tied around with strings, at a temple of Changdan, Kyongui-do (Important note). The priests seemed pleased with me very much.

“Leaving here the crowd moved along the river wall, over the north gate, to the west side of the Sansong. Here the Chungkun lived. He gave me a spread, which I photographed (23 sec., ½ inch), then we entered into a long talk on America. I explained the use little steamers might be on the river here, drew a map of the U.S., explained districts of different products, told the story of Coal Oil Johnny and talked about railroads. Of all these the Chungkun knew absolutely nothing. Replying to his questions about the wealth of Chosun, I got on the benefits of friendly trade &c. He was intensely interested and seemed to hear of these things for the first time in his life. I believe my talk was profitable to him and correct. I photographed the Chungkun alone (11 sec., ½ inch) and then we returned home. . . .

“The usual racket goes on here about the Yongmun. All day long weird chorus cries fill the air, the orders of the Kamsa, announcing the approach and going of officers, or the ‘Era! Era!’ [Move aside!] of Kunsu, clearing the way for officers, or the ‘Ta-a-a’ the chair bearers and Kunsu emit when they start or land a chair at night. The calls and cries are long and loud, and then comes tooting on horns, beating on cymbals, flute music, gate closing. . . . This savors more of barbaric times than about anything else in Korea to me. . . .

“The Pijang [a community elder] came tonight bringing my passport stamped, as I had instructed the Kamsa, also the letter of the Foreign Office endorsed for 10,000 cash. The cash were delivered in five pun coins. I made coffee and burnt brandy in it for the Pijang, and then loaned him my pistol, knife, &c., &c. The mirror always excites wonder,

but no words can express the admiration and wonder shown by Koreans everywhere over my gold epaulettes. The old Pijang sat and gazed and gazed, muttering all sorts of expressions over them tonight. One thing I like about these Korean officers is that whenever I give them anything or show anything, each officer passes some of it to his people. Nearly every time I've made coffee, half has been drunk and the rest passed out to be tasted by the dozen or more hangers on outside the room."

From Kongju the route south took Foulk and his party across the Kūm River to Yōngan, the pokeyo men struggling along in the cold. "It snowed hard three or four times before we got to Iksan," Foulk wrote on November 9, "and the road, a wretched path, was horrible. I pitied the pokeyo men, who so bravely and carefully carried us along. Their work was terribly hard. They wear only one thickness of cotton shift, are bare legged, and wear straw sandals on their feet wrapped about with old rags."²⁰ During the course of his journey Foulk had ample opportunity to observe the pokeyo men and in the back of his diary summarized what he believed to be some of their general traits: "Talk is chiefly of sul maks [wine shops] and makkolli [raw rice wine]. He knows how to judge . . . ri's [i.e. distance] remarkably well. Won't allow imposition, as for instance, when only one Killajengi²¹ appears, he raises a row. He will fight for his patron; is truly loyal. Knows something about style. Calls bad roads 'chemi', but don't complain much. Is hardy as a mule, strong and patient. Shuts himself up to Tujon [a gambling card game], sul and pap when the master waits or puts up for a day or so. Cusses people who don't move out of his way some distance ahead."

Foulk's fondness and sympathy for his pokeyo men contrasted sharply with his exacerbation toward the runners who preceded his party to clear the road and arrange meals and rooms. This had started upon his departure from Seoul, orders being sent ahead from one government office to the next to send out an escort, standard practice when dignitaries traveled and an indication of Foulk's high standing as a friend of Min Yōng-ik. What Foulk found offensive was the cruelty that often attended this service. He finally lost his temper when his party arrived at Nosōng to find that no preparations had been made to receive them.

"The Kamsa's runners with me began a great racket here, and finally a general scrimmage ensued, the two beating people about with poles. I

did all I could to stop the row. It seems no word had come here that I was coming. Leaving Nosong Upna . . . we went back to the road we had left to turn in to the Upna and entered a chumak. The Kamsa's runners were with us and there began their confounded impudence and cruelty again until I shut down on the whole business; had Muk tell them that having come to a chumak their business was over and they would shut up and go home. They went suddenly, very much puzzled I suppose, as they had evidently thought I must admire the beating &c. they did for my great sake."

Foulk would continue to struggle with this reality of travel as a Korean dignitary, dismissing escorts only to leave himself exposed to the intense curiosity of local people that occasionally escalated into mob scenes in which he felt in physical danger.

Foulk was now halfway to the southwest tip of Korea and traveling on very rough roads. The "highways" which his party followed were in fact paths, so narrow and rough that they would not have allowed the passage of even an ox-drawn cart. Indeed, wheeled vehicles were largely unused in Chosŏn-dynasty Korea.²² For land travel it was palanquin, horse, or foot. As for the haulage of goods, this was done on the backs of oxen, horses and, most frequently, men. In his diary Foulk often comments on passing large numbers of pack men laden with everything from rice and paper to cloth and ceramics, the loads often huge. "Saw fully 25 pack men laden with cotton again this a.m., bound north," Foulk observed on November 14. "Each had a pile 6 feet by 2½ feet by 14 inches—a big load; a store box full."

On November 10 Foulk arrived at Chŏnju where he again stopped for a day. After touring the city and taking photographs with Muk, he proceeded to the official residence of the local governor, a "kamsa."

"The usual crowd of people was assembled on the floor and verandah, making a picturesque view from the gate below. I went up on the stand and looked about a little, and then entered [a room] where a red covered table and chair had been placed. A long drawn shrill cry then broke the air, and soon the Kamsa, supported by many gaily dressed people, entered from the rear. He greeted me kindly and we began to talk. I presented him with three tin foil cigars, which he seemed to think very remarkable. We soon began to talk about China and France and he asked

me for the whole history of the war. He knew almost nothing of it, and I told him the whole matter. He then asked why Japan and China were not friendly. I told him of the Riu Kiu [Ryukyu] matter and of what importance Korea was in regard to the chances of war between China and Japan. He seemed intensely interested and found no fault apparently with anything I said."

Six musicians then appeared, followed by four young dancing girls, each with "her head piled up with a mass of hair ten inches high and at least eighteen inches broad, so that their heads could not be kept straight, so heavy were they." After their performance Foulk unloaded his camera gear to photograph the kamsa and dancing girls, which prompted questions "as to what light was, what the mysterious medicine on the glass was &c., while the whole party of great men became as simple as children, seeming awed by what I knew. The Kamsa got even familiar with his subordinates in the talk about the new things. . . .

"After this we returned to the red table and I was thinking about going, when in came some Kisang. A little one, preceding, kneeled before me and called out 'sa-sa-aaa!' whereupon a loud chorus of voices of men in the court rendered a long loud call, repeated further off, outside the first and second gates, I suppose. Then the doors of the room were opened and one by one were brought in two tables literally piled with food. They were two feet high and thirty inches in diameter, arranged about in painful order with small round dishes, the higher ones a foot high at least. Each contained food for ten men. We got down on the floor, I on a thick cushion covered with tiger skin. By the side of each table was a small table on which in a brass furnace pot was a steaming hash of vegetables and meat. . . . A wine stool was also provided. The little geisha filled the cup and kneeling offered it to me as she broke out in a long shout in which the other three joined in strong chorus of long drawn notes, swelling and then dying away. This was the toast song: 'The king of the ancient line drank gathered drops of morning dew and lived long. This is not wine, but the long-life drink. Drink heartily and may you live long.'

"I could not but be greatly impressed by this all. I, a little representative of a peaceful government of aesthetic, mental civilization, sitting by the side of a great, semi-barbarous chief, in his gaudy robes, in his

great hall of state surrounded by his braves in gay dress, his dancing girls and all the other accompaniments of despotic pretence grandeur—that only read of ordinarily but not actually seen, yet here it was a fact. . . .

“I said goodbye to the Kamsa. Taught him as I have all other officers so far here to shake hands. He gave me a paper with the names of six presents: ginseng, fans two kinds, combs, screens. The goodbye was warm. He says he will see me in Seoul. Wants a pair of opera glasses and seeds for farming.”

Foulk resumed his journey on November 12, “tired and sore-eyed” from having stayed up until 3 a.m. writing in his diary. As fascinating as his experiences at Kongju and Chŏnju had been, he was becoming increasingly determined to avoid the well-meaning hospitality of local officials, which he was finding tiring and slowing his progress. The escorts sent out by yongmun en route to add dignity to his party, meanwhile, continued to cause him extreme aggravation. “We have been preceded to here,” Foulk wrote angrily on November 14, “by two red coat tooters, two blue-white coated Killajengi, and two Achon. The first have made me angry by driving people up the hills and clean off the roads. I have tried with partial success to stop this. The chow here comes from the Yongmun, confound it! I wanted to pay for what I eat, but somehow I slip up every now and then, as here. First came in refreshments—a soup, ginger, chestnuts, cold meat, honey, kaam, &c.—and now I must wait on pap! For travelling, first the chumak, no matter how bad beats the Yongmun. Also for quietness. Had to wait on the pap. I’m in a bad humor, probably over being treated thus (hospitably) against my will. I wanted to take chumak fare and quiet instead of Yongmun swell grub, racket, &c.”

On November 14, as the party neared Najū, they stopped for the night at a chumak where Muk and Suil were quartered in the owner’s room and Foulk in an inner compartment “among jars, boxes and all sorts of odds and ends.”

“Suil soon remarked that this house was that of someone above the normal country class of people, and that a beppin lived in my room. He then pointed to a little toilet box, some silk duds, clothes boxes, &c. Both he and Muk said right off she was a mekake [concubine], not a wife, because she had too many nice things (a half dozen miserable things, yet

remarkably nice for a country Korean woman). Beyond my room was horse feed &c., so the hostlers had to intrude on me occasionally—but we don't mind such things anymore!

“After a little I heard voices, and found the beppin had come in. She was bringing sul to Muk and Suil. Muk asked if I wanted to see her (when I told him to apologize for being in her room) and then opened the door. She appeared to be about anywhere from 20 to 40, pockmarked and . . . cleanly dressed in a big white skirt and violet jacket. She had not heard the noble (nyangpan) was a foreigner, and the sight of me took every bit of wind clean out of her sails. She only looked, with mouth half open, petrified, when the door of my room was opened. Muk had her offer me sul, which I drank (when she had approached, staring). I said ‘komapso’ and she didn't wince. Then I asked if this was the first time she had ever seen a foreigner, and tried to make her at home, you know, but she wasn't phased. An apparition such as I she couldn't swallow, and slowly backed off to Muk and Suil. I showed her my photos, which she enjoyed perhaps, but never got her wits about her enough after seeing me to say what she thought of them. Suil was right, she is a mekake, and the wife is probably living off somewhere else in a mud hole with nothing like the comforts this beppin has.”

At Naju on the evening of November 16, Foulk's pokeyo men got into a fight at a wine shop where they had put up for the night when they sided with the female proprietor against a group of “swells” who attempted to drink without paying. The men returned with a crowd of locals, beat the pokeyo men, destroyed the shop, and had the owner hauled off to jail. Upon learning of all this the next morning, Foulk wrote to the yongmun explaining the situation and asking for the woman's release, and then prepared to resume his journey. “Just now,” he wrote at 10:45 a.m., “ten of the pokeyo men are standing around, some with very sore heads. Am about to leave. Cloudy and light rain. I've got all I want of Naju.” Two of the pokeyo men had been beaten so badly that they had to be left behind, one with a damaged shoulder and the other a cracked skull. They would catch up to the party several days later.

After reaching the southwestern tip of Korea, Foulk decided to detour northeast on his way to Pusan to visit the Buddhist temple of Haein-sa, of which he had heard so much. It was evidently a tremendous place

judging from the tales he was told: of a soup kettle used to feed the monks, for example, that was so huge that a boat sailing in it could not be seen when the wind blew it to the far side. The route took the party first through Namwon, where Foulk was struck with the number of "very tall men, some with thorough European faces," and recorded in his diary the famous tale of Chunhyang. Then, ascending high into the mountains, they arrived at Haein-sa at 5:00 in the afternoon of November 22, where the priests "flocked out in crowds to see me. No foreigner, not even Japanese or Chinese, has ever been here before. They were orderly and quiet though, and I fell in love with the whole crowd after my experiences among the people at chumaks."

"November 23. Up at 8:00. . . . Went on a visit of inspection of the temple. . . . All the buildings are old, dingy, many looking ready to tumble down, but are not so in reality. The general air of the place is very shabby indeed, with neatness sadly wanting. In the temple proper is a great dais five feet high on which are four images: two large ones, that of Sakya, five feet high, white, the others gilded richly. Behind them is a great partition reaching to the roof in three sections, in each of which is an immense painting say fifteen feet square. These paintings are probably the chief feature of the temple. Each represents a Buddha surrounded by a host of faces and whole figures. These are painted in white lines, without shading of any sort, on an umber or dark brick solid background. The figures are all draped and jeweled lavishly, and the lacey drapery, most intricate and minute in detail, is marvelously well executed. . . .

"Behind the main building was a high wall, on top of which were two long buildings, each 250 feet, parallel, and apart say 100 feet. The eaves are lined with brass bells which ring quite loudly in the wind. In these buildings, well arranged in suitable racks by divisions, are an enormous number of board-engravings, the printing blocks for printing the whole Buddhist classics. The boards are about 28 inches long and 10 wide, corners bound with iron, and very black, with characters to fill two pages, generally, being cut on each side of the board. The priests do not know how many boards there are. By an estimate of the number of racks and boards in each, I calculated 77,080, which falls short I am quite sure. There must be 80,000 of them in all.²³ This 'library' is the most wonderful feature of the temple. The boards are beautifully cut and the work

required to make them all must have been amazing. . . .

"The famous W.C. of Hainsa is about 25 feet deep, built over a ledge in the stream valley. The great dining room is a grand fizzle too. Muk was terribly disgusted. He really believed the yarns, I half think. . . .

"Leave Hainsa at 12:46. It is spitting snow, but pleasant. Amused at the pokeyo men, who don't like the temple—no makkoli or meat. First they rested and then their first call was for sul, but alas! there was none here. The whole party seems disgusted with Hainsa. It didn't come up to expectations at all."

Leaving the temple, Foulk retraced his steps south to the main road and on to Hapch'ŏn, arriving on November 24. Here he had an interesting encounter with a local official, a "kunsu."

"I could but think of the absurdity of the scene while I ate and was with the Kunsu. In spite of no end of 'ra's' uttered loudly in all sorts of tones, the door was kept open and I was watched by a great pack of hideously ugly savages all the while from it. The Kunsu now and then would throw open the window and in loud fierce tones call for his [illegible] box, or with a half dozen 'ra's' drive the crowd away, only to be back the next minute. Then he called for kimchi, for paper, tobacco, &c. (presents for me), all out the window apparently to the crowd there. Each time he gave an order a weird 'yee-hooh' went up from certain braves, sounding very subordinate and fearful, but only worded wind. Then I was amused to note how instantly the Kunsu could change his voice and manner, from when giving orders to ordinary conversation. The Kunsu had been ten years in Kyongsang-do. He had been pankwan at Taku where he said he had much trouble owing to the curiosity of the people when a Japanese came there. He was fifty years old, but young looking and strong. He had never seen a Mexican dollar or any other money than Chinese and Korean, and was terribly broken up as to what to do with a cigar I gave him. I asked how far it was from Chinju to Tongne. With a jump, bang! Open went the window. 'How far is it from Chinju to Tongne!' in a loud fierce voice to the whole pack in the court. No answer. 'What the devil! No distance knowing rascal here?' and then a doleful voice said something and finally no one knew.

"This man, like I might say every government officer I've met, knew a great deal less about Korean geography than I, and had not seen as

much of Korea. Ten years in the province and never had been to Fusan!"

The next stop was the walled city of Chinju, which to Foulk "generally savored more of China than any city I've seen in Korea." Arriving at 5:30 in the afternoon of November 25, Foulk, Muk, and Suil were put up at the yongmun as guests of the city's "Moksa" (governor), where "all but a riot occurred to keep the crowd from breaking the door down to get in at me." Foulk was now clearly feeling a great deal of strain after nearly four weeks of isolation among often intensely curious Koreans, and it adds a hard edge to his diary entry for the next day. After breakfast he went "in the wild pack" to visit the moksa, "a little eyed, narrow headed man whom I did not like." As they sat together conversing, the moksa allowed yongmun hangers-on to crowd into the room to see the first foreigner in their lives, resulting in a scene that so annoyed Foulk that he lost his usual composure and told the moksa he found such behavior rude. The experience left him feeling "very down hearted."

"I am worn out with the fuss and rudeness," he confided in his diary after returning to his room. "There is no W.C. here where I can go without being in plain sight of the mob and so I feel bad physically. I cannot possibly submit myself to such humiliation. It is too much. . . . This morning in the Yongmun a wild dirty pack kept up a squeeze and racket in the room in which I sat with the Moksa, quarrelling, dirty, rude, and the Moksa seemed to think it all right, the people should kuckyong [enjoy the spectacle]. He made me an object of curiosity, a sort of wild animal, a curious specimen and exhibited me. As an officer of our God-blessed land and of gentle birth, this is too much to me! I do not believe our President ever intended I was to submit to such indignities. Nay, he would not approve of it did he know it. While I eat, a pack of wretches stare and try to force the door, and all is confusion and noise. From all I hear, Tongyong would only bring more of such conduct and I shall not go there. . . . I sent Muk to tell the Moksa I would go to Tongne direct. This was a hard step for me to take, for Tongyong is probably the place first in interest to me in Korea, but while I wear the eagle on my cap, I will never submit to the humiliation and indignity such as I must if I continue on to that place."

Foulk was by all accounts extremely courteous in manner, and took particular pride in making a good impression with Koreans. And yet here

he is, entirely out of character, speaking bluntly to the moksa of the rudeness of the people. Even more telling is his decision to bypass T'ongyōng, an important naval base on the south coast and thus of particular interest to him in his capacity as U.S. naval attaché. This and his increasingly ill temper are evidence of more than just aggravation. He was suffering from what we now define as culture shock. It has left him irritable, depressed, and vulnerable—and not quite himself.

From Chinju Foulk's party headed east through Masan, Chinhae, and Kimhae and so on to Pusan, arriving on November 29. Here Foulk put up at a Japanese hotel for three nights, spending his time exploring the town, writing letters, and visiting the handful of Westerners residing there, in particular a Mr. Krebs, an assistant in the recently established customs house. "He was very gushing and kind," observed Foulk, "—I suppose he is lonely—and was really glad to see me. He was most profuse in his hospitality. I had a meal right off, and though the first European food for 29 days, it did not taste well."

On December 2 Foulk's reassembled party set off to return to Seoul. They would travel in a roughly direct northwest line up the center of the peninsula, through Miryang, Taegu, Sangju, and Ch'ungju. The first part of the journey was uneventful—though on December 3 Foulk witnessed an amusing altercation in the yard in front of his inn.

"A while before pap a great racket broke out, a lively quarrel between two women in front of the chumak. It seems one was the wife, the other the concubine, of a 'feller'. Today was chang day at Milyang, ten ri from here, and both of these women and the 'boss' happened to go. The two women met here and the wife went for the other, saying she, the mekake, got all the husband's money while she starved. They had a lively time, all public, and called each other no end of bad names. Then the wife went for hubby and he whacked her in the head. They were at it about an hour."

On December 8, during a rest stop just before noon in the vicinity of Sangju, Foulk learned from a messenger hurrying south that a coup d'état had been attempted in Seoul four days before. He had been expecting something like this. Some of his Korean acquaintances, foremost among them Sō Kwang-bōm and Pyōn Su, had told him back in October that they and a small group of young "progressives" led by Kim Ok-kyun

were planning to overthrow the government, then dominated by the Min clan, of which Min Yōng-ik was a prominent member, in order to set Korea on the road to rapid modernization as was then taking place in Japan. This they attempted to do on the evening of December 4. At 10 p.m. a banquet to celebrate the opening of Korea's new post office was interrupted by cries of "Fire! Fire!" The first to run outside, Min Yōng-ik, was cut down with swords by a group of waiting progressives. Although badly wounded, he survived. Six others were not so lucky, including Min's father, Min Tae-ho. Kim Ok-kyun and Sō Kwang-bōm hurried to the palace to report the coup to King Kojong and urge him to safety. They then carried a letter from the king to the Japanese legation asking for protection. Minister Takezoe—who had not been present at the banquet, saying he had a cold—responded by leading two hundred legation guards to the palace to shield the monarch. This move sparked an immediate response from the 1,500 Chinese troops stationed in the capital. On December 6 they marched on the palace and after a brief battle with the Japanese guards took control. The Japanese, meanwhile, together with Kim Ok-kyun, Sō Kwang-bōm, Pyōn Su, and a few other conspirators, retreated to the Japanese legation and then to Chemulp'o and onto a ship bound for Nagasaki as anti-Japanese rioting swept through the city, fueled by talk that Tokyo had been involved in the coup. Thirty or more Japanese were killed, the Japanese legation burned, and several foreigners' houses destroyed as Seoul's foreign community beat a hasty retreat.

These details were still unknown to Foulk, 130 miles to the south. All he really knew was that something terrible had happened in Seoul and he was probably in danger. "My situation is very awkward," he wrote on the evening of December 8, "380 ri from the capital, in the middle of Korea, now snow is falling, a mountain pass is to be crossed near here. I have not money enough to go beyond Chungju and must enter the Yongmun rabble there. Foreign hating wretches (Sonpi) are on my road. I am not known as other than a Japanese, who are hated by Koreans. I am alone and there is a prospect of anarchy in the land."

The situation worsened the following day. "Kyong Suki came early with the baggage. He was frightened, saying people told him he'd be killed near Seoul if found with that 'wai-nom' [Jap bastard] baggage!

The latest story here is that the Japanese gave a feast at their legation and that after this, at the legation, they killed seventeen officers; that many Japanese have been killed too, and that the Chinese have left Seoul. The latter was told yesterday afternoon too. Evidently I am getting into danger. The news about Kyong Suki and the baggage is annoying. The pokeyo men too are discussing this and my safety. The unhappy thought strikes me they may abandon me. Suil is all right, but Muk may scoot. Instructed Muk to start early with the passports and go to the Moksa at Chungju and explain my situation and ask for aid and advice and money (10,000 cash). He is not to mention Min Champan [Min Yǒng-ik] particularly as my friend unless he sees the Moksa is a great friend of Min's.

“Min Champan I hear had his head half cut off and died next day. Several of his soldiers who had surrounded him were killed, I hear. People have broken Seoul walls in places to escape to the country and it is rumored the King has or will leave the palace. From all these reports, exaggerated as they may be, I cannot repress feeling some terrible thing has happened in Seoul. I pity our legation people very much. Wrote a note to General Foote tonight explaining my situation and sent a list of our party and effects. This note I will send if the chance to do so occurs tomorrow. It is difficult to make plans for action, as no information I can get is trustworthy. Will hope to find out more accurately tomorrow. My heart is very heavy tonight and so it is with Muk and Suil, both of whom have wives and children in Seoul. May the Good Lord ease our trouble.”

The moksa at Ch'ungju refused to see Muk and declined to help Foulk, leaving the party vulnerable and short of cash. Then, on the following day, December 10, Foulk's arrival at a chumak near Ch'ungju sparked an openly anti-foreign reaction that left him in fear for his life. For the entire party it would be the worst moment of the trip.

“In a little time a great pack of people assembled in the chumak court about my room, flung open the door and were insolent in the extreme, demanding my business and rank if I was an officer of Mikuk [America]. Not a soul seemed to have instructions to provide or care for me. One Ajun was drunk and forced his way about into my room, but Muk and Suil, although meek and scared, managed to persuade him to stay outside. There was talk of my being a 'wai-nom' and altogether I was in a very alarming position. Suil promptly stated we must go on and we managed

to get off, minus two pokeyo men who were scared from me by hearing remarks that the people did not care if I and my party were killed. Got the 5000 cash, which Suil thinks sufficient in a pinch. Pokeyo men went rapidly northwest. They too were scared. Crossed a stream about 300 to 350 yards wide, on ice, which cracked dolefully. Came to a solitary chumak with a drunken crowd about it. Here the pokeyo men became very bad and it looked as if I was to be deserted. But we went on.

"We soon came to a miserable hovel in which three of us were packed in a little room and the pokeyo men all in another. Got settled down to rest when the chumak woman came crying and the Tuin in great trouble saying another guest, who called himself Nyang pan, wanted a room and the pokeyo men had to be put out. There was no other place for them. It was now night and bitter cold. With fighting quarrels and persuasion we got a torch boy and again set out to go ten ri more. Did so and again had trouble to get quarters, and three of us were put in one little room. The chumak is kept by a woman who is unusually polite and careful of our wants. Next to our room is a pack of other guests who have been talking Seoul affairs, and Muk and Suil have not dared to intimate I was not a Korean. They have hid me, covered up, and Muk wanted me to get into Korean clothes. Pap came, the first food I've had since morning. But I was not hungry; excitement has taken all my appetite away. Ate what I could however. . . .

"I have had a terribly unhappy day and have been in great danger. Muk and Suil I told not to fight for me, but to look out for themselves. Also that if it came to the worst I did not want them to stay with me, but to look out for their wives and babies to whom they owe their first duty. They say they will be with me, and indeed have been very wonderfully praiseworthy for their kindness and help always. I hope my countrymen will reward them if the chance comes up. The pokeyo men are greatly disturbed and talk all sorts of things and Muk and Suil must do their utmost to keep them. They have done very well by me so far and must be paid well for their work, by my countrymen, whatever happens. Muk and Suil will get nothing from the Korean government or Koreans, and the simplest justice demands that my country rewards them for good services to me in a time of great danger in public duty."

Foulk slept fitfully in his clothes that night. On the following morning

he declined to disguise himself in Korean clothes as Muk and Suil suggested, "because that would only create greater suspicion that I was a Japanese, and even with it I must certainly be discreet at chumaks. I am riding during the day in a closed chair and am not seen." The day passed uneventfully and the party stopped for the night at Changwŏn, where Foulk's letter of introduction from Min Yŏng-ik got them a welcome reception. Foulk's greatest worry now was lack of money, the basket containing only 4,500 cash, a little more than \$4, not enough to get the party to Seoul. Foulk did not dare attempt to draw funds from the government office at Ch'ungju, for "during the ten minutes which might elapse in waiting at a yongmun gate I might be stoned to death." The situation was alleviated somewhat the next morning when Suil found a friendly merchant who agreed to lend Foulk 5,000 cash, and another who exchanged 5,000 for Foulk's purse and six Japanese yen, "though he didn't want to take it." The party continued on northwest that day, December 12, and stopped for the night at Ich'ŏn.

The next day, December 13, brought welcome relief. At 2:00 in the afternoon, as the party continued north from Ich'ŏn, they were met by an officer sent down from Seoul by the king with instructions to see them to safety. "This, this is the way of the Lord!" Foulk exulted in his diary. "His word is truth!"

"The officer told me to go to Kwangju sansong as it was dangerous to enter Seoul, that he would call out Pusang²⁴ and soldiers. No better news could have been received. Suil and Muk and the pokeyo men were all (hungry) smiles. Soon Pusang men came and the straw hats appeared. I told the officer Suil and Muk were bound to share my protection, then how the Tongjang had rendered me such good service when the Chungju Moksa had treated me so badly. This brought grins on the Tongjang. This happened at 2 p.m. We went on a happy crowd indeed. . . .

"We went fast. At 3:30, just after turning into sung road, we rested at a chumak place. The officer was very kind indeed, asking me if I wanted food &c. . . . Ascended a steep slope, 1000-1100 feet over four ri, thence over hilly country. At 4:33 came to a small village ten ri from sung, where pusangi changed.

"From here went on ascending a narrow rocky chasm and entered Tong ta mun after a wearisome climb. My pokeyo men were almost

played out, yet they stuck to it nobly. While it was yet twilight the long reverberating call 'Yu-sa-a!'²⁵ resounded up the valley and replies came loud and clear from long distances off. The torches, with the snow quite deep in the valley, the motley pack of devoted people, straw hats marked *Loyal and Faithful*, made a pretty picture. Indeed, many thoughts over my odd, romantic situation ran through my head. I little thought when I came sight-seeing to Kwangju sansong in October last and enjoyed peacefully and quietly its scenery that I would be brought into it as a refuge."

On the following morning Ensign John Bernadou from the American legation arrived, sent down from Seoul by Minister Foote and accompanied by a contingent of guards from the king. The party, now numbering 400, some armed with swords and matchlock muskets, set out just before noon and arrived at Seoul as evening was coming on. After dinner with Lucius Foote and his wife Rose at the legation, Foulk went to his room at 11:00 "and lay down on a bed for the first time in 43 days. I am safe for the present, but my heart is heavy over the events which have so hurt Korea."

"Thus ends my second trip into the interior of Korea, one of varied and wonderful experience, 900 miles of worry, anxiety, living (while with a Christian heart) the life of a Korean in almost every detail. Not again, nor has it ever before been seen, will Korea be seen as I have seen it, so much or so penetratingly."

* * *

George Foulk was no stranger to the rigors of travel. He had walked from Kobe to Yokohama in Japan in 1880, had journeyed across Siberia in 1882, and had spent years in the cramped accommodation of various U.S. navy vessels with nothing like the comforts of the warships of today. His 1884 journey through the southern half of Korea was nevertheless the most trying he had ever undertaken. He bore the physical discomforts well, the jolting and confinement of his palanquin, rooms that were often dirty and bug infested, cold weather, lack of washing facilities, food that was strange and sometimes not to his liking. What seems to have been hardest for him rather was the unrestrained curiosity of the Korean people, the mobbing as crowds pressed in to see him, the peeping

through holes while he was trying to dress, the open staring when he went to the toilet or sat down to eat—all of which undoubtedly hit him harder because he did not have a Western traveling companion and felt completely alone. He also found traveling in the style of a Korean dignitary difficult to bear, particularly the pushing and beating that was done for his sake. The experience was unnerving for Foulk, the first time in his wide travels when he encountered a culture so alien that he was unable to maintain his usual equanimity. Whereas previously he had taken pride in his adaptability to foreign ways,²⁶ in the interior of Korea he found himself alternately embarrassed, annoyed, and alarmed, and in turn driven at times to write rather bitterly of Koreans. All these feelings are fully exposed in his travel diary, lifting it above more polite published accounts. Not only is it one of the earliest English-language records of a journey in Korea, and the first written by a Westerner would could speak the language, it is completely open and honest—a snapshot of the country as seen through the eyes of an American observer; of Koreans reacting to the first foreign visitor they had ever seen in their lives, and of the reaction of that visitor, in turn overwhelmed.

NOTES

1. One of the few scholars to have utilized Foulk's 1884 travel diary is Kim Hyung-chan in "George C. Foulk in Korea: A Sailor on Horseback," *Korea Journal* 26 (Dec. 1986): 27–38.
2. Foulk and Buckingham traveled from Kobe to Yokohama on the Nakasendo, the old highway running up the center of Honshu. Foulk submitted a report on the trip to his commanding officer, a summary of which was forwarded to the Navy Department. Francis P. Corrigan, "George Clayton Foulk and International Intrigue in Korea," (M.A. thesis, Columbia University, 1955), 14.
3. The trio later penned an account of their travels: Benjamin H. Buckingham, George C. Foulk, and Walter McLean, *Observations upon the Korean Coast, Japanese-Korean Ports and Siberia: Made during a journey from the Asiatic Station to the United States through Siberia and Europe, June 3 to September 8, 1882* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883).
4. Secretary of State Frederick Frelinghuysen instructed Foulk to report on all matters in Korea of potential interest, particularly concerning the prospects for trade, and "to maintain the best possible relations with the Chosenese [Korean] Government and people, especially should you respond to any call they may make for your professional advice in matters of nautical education

- and kindred topics with which you are familiar.” (Frelinghuysen to Foulk, Nov. 12, 1883, in Tyler Dennett, “Early American Policy in Korea, 1883–7: The Services of Lieutenant George C. Foulk,” *Political Science Quarterly* 38, no. 1 [1923]: 89.) Navy Secretary William Chandler’s instructions stated that Foulk was to “collect for transmission to the department . . . all such information on Korea as may be useful and interesting to this government, and the public at large.” (Chandler to Foulk, November 3, 1883, in Donald M. Bishop, “Policy and Personality in Early Korean-American Relations: The Case of George Clayton Foulk,” in *The United States and Korea: American-Korean Relations, 1886–1976*, ed. Andrew Nahm [Kalamazoo: Center for Korean Studies, Western Michigan University, 1979], 30.)
5. Foulk to his parents and brothers, July 2, 1884, The Papers of George Clayton Foulk, Library of Congress, Washington D.C. (hereafter “Foulk Papers”).
 6. Foulk died while vacationing with his Japanese wife Kane at Hakone, a holiday retreat to the southeast of Mt. Fuji. The trip was taken in the hope of restoring Foulk’s health, which never fully recovered after his departure from Korea and now, although he was not quite thirty-seven, had begun to seriously decline. On August 6, while hiking in the mountains, Foulk became separated from Kane and their companion. His body was found the next day. According to the examining physician, he died of heart failure brought on by over-exertion.
 7. The town of Kwangju in Kyōnggi-do, not to be confused with the city of Kwangju in the southwestern province of Chōlla.
 8. Foulk to his parents and brothers, September 29, 1884, Foulk Papers.
 9. Foulk to his parents and brothers, October 10, 1884, Foulk Papers.
 10. Carles subsequently published an eleven-page report on his trip: “Report by Mr. Carles on a Journey in Two of the Central Provinces of Corea, in October 1883,” *Foreign Office Papers, Corea*, no. 1 (1884).
 11. “Report on a Journey by Mr. Carles in the North of Corea,” *Foreign Office Papers, Corea*, no. 2 (1885); *Life in Corea* (London: Macmillan, 1888).
 12. Carl Gottsche, “Land und Leute in Korea,” *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* 13 (Spring 1886): 245–62.
 13. “For the photographs, and for much of the information contained in the book, I am indebted to Lieutenant G. C. Foulk, who was in charge of the United States Legation at Soul while I was there in the early part of 1885.” (Carles, *Life in Corea*, vi.)
 14. In his diary Foulk identifies Muk as “Chon Nyang Muk, Gentleman.”
 15. This is Foulk’s own estimate of the rate of exchange. William Carles gives the exchange rate as 1,200 cash to the dollar at the end of September 1884. (“Report of a Journey,” 9.) On his 1883 journey in central Korea, Carles needed two ponies, each bearing a load of about 130 kilograms, to carry the equivalent of just 30 pounds sterling. (“Report by Mr. Carles,” 10.)
 16. According to Isabella Bird Bishop, who made four trips to Korea in the 1890s, “The charges at Korean inns are ridiculously low. Nothing is

- charged for the room, with its glim and hot floor, but as I took nothing for 'the good of the house,' I paid 100 cash per night, and the same for my room at the midday halt, which gave complete satisfaction. Travellers who eat three meals a day spend, including the trifling gratuities, from 200 to 300 cash per diem." (*Korea and Her Neighbors* [New York: F. H. Revell, 1898], 125–26.)
17. In his 1892 treatise on traveling in Korea, the missionary Samuel Moffett observed that "not many foreigners would undertake to travel a great distance in that way [in a sedan chair borne by four men] on account of the expense involved." A cheaper method was the two-man chair, "a method which the foreigner may adopt, if he is willing to sit all day long in a square about two feet square with his legs doubled under him. . . ." (Samuel A. Moffett, "Suggestions on Travelling in Korea," *The Korean Repository* 1 (1892): 325–26.
 18. This and all subsequent quotations, unless otherwise noted, are from Foulk's unpublished 1884 travel diary, which is part of the George Clayton Foulk Papers at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
 19. In his diary Foulk refers to government office clerks (*ajŏn*) as both "achon" and "ajun".
 20. At Chinju on November 26 Foulk gave the pokeyo men money to buy warmer clothing. "Koreans in general are warmly clothed," he noted in his diary, "infinitely better than are Japanese. They may not have many shifts, but what they wear is cotton padded, voluminous and warm. Both Suil and Muk are better dressed for cold than I, or indeed any foreigner would be under the circumstances."
 21. In the notes at the end of his diary Foulk defines "killajengi" simply as "Pusa's men," pusa being district magistrates. They were possibly killajabi, or guides.
 22. During his October 1883 visit to Korea, William Carles observed ox-drawn carts on the short stretch of good road leading to Mapo from Seoul's South Gate, but hardly anywhere else. ("Report by Mr. Carles," 4 and 6.) A type of palanquin balanced on a single wheel was also occasionally used.
 23. Foulk's estimate is close to the mark. There are in fact 81,258 woodblocks stored in the two repository buildings at Haein Temple.
 24. In an earlier letter to his family Foulk described the "pusang" as follows: "These Pusang are a great society of poor people, pedlars, coolies, &c. who banded together hundreds of years ago for mutual protection. They avenge the death of a member rigidly and were very powerful thus acting together. They number 100,000 men and are scattered all over the country. They became so powerful that some years ago the government found it necessary to warm up to them, and so the whole body became legally recognized as a government institution, their standing raised, officers appointed to look out for them and join their body. This immensely pleased these ignorant wretches who are consequently now intensely patriotic and proud. The gov-

- ernment may call on them for any service, as troops &c." (Foulk to his parents and brothers, September 29, 1884, Foulk Papers.)
25. "Yusa" were torch bearers used to light official government traveling parties after dark. Foulk explains them in his travel diary thus: "In each tongna [village] or town between, the officer stationed is a Yusa, whose business it is to furnish torches to officers travelling. He is simply one of the peasants detailed to do this for one year by the Government, without pay. One house after another, each in turn, does this thankless and expensive duty for a year. Should torches be refused, the runner of the officer would promptly beat the peasant."
26. Foulk wrote the following to his family upon having his first Korean meal at Nagasaki in May 1884, shortly before his arrival in Korea: "[W]hile to the usual foreigner it may have seemed queer, I found it very good—if anything a little better adapted to European taste than Japanese food. Nevertheless I might like it where hardly any other foreigner in the world would for I am unusually at home in all sorts of ways of life in this part of the world." (Foulk to his parents and brothers, May 21, 1884, Foulk Papers.)

Koreans in Transition: Americanization at the University of Dubuque, 1911–1935

DANIEL J. ADAMS

Introduction: An Untold Story

The history of Korean Americans is one that continues to unfold as memoirs and family histories are published, and materials hidden away for many years in widely scattered archives are brought to light. As one reads through this material, names of places and institutions begin to reappear with an unflinching regularity, and occasionally one comes upon a name that intersects with one's own life and experience.

Such was the case with the University of Dubuque, located in the city of Dubuque on the banks of the Mississippi River in the central U.S. state of Iowa. While a graduate student there in the 1960s and early 1970s, the author came to know a number of Korean graduate students, many of whom returned to Korea to take up leadership positions in business and academia. It was obvious that this small church related university had a long historic relationship with Korea, but just how long and how significant remained somewhat of a mystery until the fall semester of 1991 when the author served as a visiting professor at the University of Dubuque. Research carried out in the university archives clearly showed that for a period of over two decades this school was at the very center of the Korean American student experience.¹ This initial research was augmented by a reading of materials available in Korea and by interviews with missionaries and the sons and daughters of former missionaries. The result is a fascinating story of diplomatic intrigue, dogged determination, unflinching generosity, and a somewhat naïve but well-intentioned belief in

the superiority of "the American way of life." It is a story that has, up until now, remained untold.

How did a relatively small university in a largely rural state end up with more international students than any other university in the United States with the exception of Columbia University in New York City? And how did this university have more Korean students enrolled than *any* other college or university in the United States? What role did one of Korea's first Protestant missionaries, Horace Allen, have to play in this story? How and why did this American university come to observe March 1st as Korean Independence Day? The answers to these and other questions form the subject of this essay. This story is one more chapter in the saga of the Korean American experience, a saga which is still very much in the process of being written.

The Historical Context: Early Korean Immigration to the U.S.

Historians have identified three periods of immigration of Koreans to the U.S. The first was from 1900 to 1944 and was largely associated with the need for Korean laborers in the sugarcane fields of Hawaii. The second was from 1945 to 1964 and resulted from the liberation of Korea from Japanese rule and from the devastation brought about by the Korean War. The third, which began in 1965 and is continuing until the present, came about due to the abolition of racial quotas which limited the number of Korean immigrants to the U.S. to a mere 100 per year. From 1965 onward Koreans were free to immigrate on an equal basis with other nationalities, and by 1974 there were approximately 25,000 Korean immigrants to the U.S. each year.²

From 1900 to 1944, during the period of the earliest Korean immigration to the U.S., there were three distinct groups who came. The first were laborers who were recruited to work in the sugarcane fields in Hawaii. Between 1903 and 1905, 7,226 persons arrived in Hawaii. Of these 6,048 were men, 637 were women, and 541 were children. Approximately 2,000 of these later moved to the U.S. mainland, mostly to work in railroad construction.³

A second group came between 1910 to 1924, the so-called "picture brides" who were to marry the Korean men who were already here. Their photos were sent to the U.S. and men who wished to marry them sent

money to Korea for their passage. 1,066 women came, of whom 951 landed in Hawaii and 115 on the mainland, mostly in San Francisco.⁴

The third group which came in this earliest wave of immigration numbered approximately 900. These were students and intellectuals who left Korea following the Japanese annexation in 1910.⁵ Many of these traveled from China on passports issued by the Korean Provisional Government or on Chinese passports, since the Japanese officially prohibited immigration from Korea. Korean immigrants from China continued to arrive in the U.S. up through the end of the 1920s. From the mid-1930s until 1944 very few Koreans were able to immigrate to the U.S., although there were some who managed to come on Japanese passports prior to 1941.

This first period of Korean immigration to the U.S. involved 9,192 persons, most of whom came between 1903 and 1930. Many saw their time in Hawaii as temporary and they soon managed to move on to the mainland, usually to San Francisco, where wages were higher and better educational opportunities were available. There were some who immigrated to Hawaii, returned to Korea to work in the independence movement, then moved on to China and eventually returned to the U.S.⁶

The statistical aspects of this early period of Korean immigration are well known, but there is another aspect of this early period that is largely unknown—that of the role of some of the early missionaries to Korea.⁷ Several of these missionaries, such as the Presbyterian Horace N. Allen and the Methodist Homer B. Hulbert, were also diplomats, and they were not averse to using their diplomatic skills to enhance Korean American relations as they understood them. Both were personal friends of King Kojong, the last emperor of the Chosŏn Dynasty, and both argued passionately in the halls of Western diplomacy and jurisprudence on behalf of the Korean cause. Both also played significant “behind the scenes” roles in the early immigration of Koreans to the U.S.

Horace Allen originally came to Korea as a medical doctor assigned to the diplomatic community since missionaries then were technically not allowed into the country. This enabled him to establish close ties with government officials, both Western and Korean. When he provided medical aid to Prince Min Yŏng-Ik, who was wounded in a coup attempt, he immediately curried favor with King Kojong and was allowed to open a clinic which in turn became associated with Protestant mission work.⁸

Two characteristics of Allen's personality immediately became evident. The first was the ability to work within the structures of the royal court. He asked the king to provide the name of his newly opened medical clinic and he offered to place it under royal administration. He showed proper deference to the king and was liberally rewarded with the royal title "Champan Mandarin" which in turn gave him free access to enter the royal palace without an official summons. Allen used every available opportunity to strengthen the relationships between the royal court and the Western community. In short, he showed that he was not only a medical doctor and a missionary, but also a man who exercised exceptional diplomatic skills.

The second characteristic would seem at least superficially to work against the first, for while Allen was most diplomatic with the royal court, he was anything but that with his missionary colleagues. In the words of one historian, "The 'progress' of the Presbyterian pioneers, however, was undermined early by difficult interpersonal relations. Most, if not all, of these difficulties centered around Horace Allen and his strange personality."⁹ Allen was a man of strong beliefs and commitments, and he had little tolerance with those who did not share them. He was convinced that Protestant mission work in Korea must proceed slowly and build upon already established foundations—the medical work, good relations with the royal court, and recognition that the Presbyterians were the senior missionaries on the scene (and of course, he was the senior missionary of the Presbyterians!). Allen had specific goals in mind for the medical work and he soon entered into conflict with his colleagues. He had little tolerance for those who wished to immediately begin evangelistic work, especially when those missionaries were Methodists. Intellectually he knew that the Presbyterians and the Methodists were committed to working together, but practically he had difficulty in putting this into effect. At one point the tensions became so great that Allen requested a transfer to Pusan. This request was denied, however, and Allen remained in Seoul until he resigned from the Presbyterian mission in September 1887 to accompany the first Korean legation to Washington, D.C. He returned to Korea in September 1889 under reappointment as a Presbyterian missionary, only to resign again in July 1890 when he became secretary of the U.S. legation in Seoul.¹⁰

As a full-time diplomat these two characteristics of Allen's personality served him well. His diplomatic skills enabled him to convince the royal court in Seoul and the U.S. government in Washington that anything that would enhance Korean-American relations was good and should therefore be carried out. His strong goal-oriented personality enabled him to carry out various projects to enhance Korean-American relations, even when dubious methods were employed or when critics raised their voices. Allen had a vast network of friends in high places upon whom he could call when in need, and he did not hesitate to do this when he believed it to be necessary.¹¹

Perhaps the most significant of Allen's diplomatic efforts was the opening up of immigration for Koreans to come to Hawaii to work on the sugarcane plantations.¹² Allen, in cooperation with David Deshler, the stepson of the governor of Ohio, worked with the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association to change the immigration laws. The annexation of Hawaii by the United States in 1898 meant that U.S. law now applied in Hawaii and the Japanese workers were free to move to the mainland where the wages were higher and the working conditions better. Because of the Chinese Exclusion Act passed in 1882, it was impossible for Chinese workers to come to work in Hawaii, especially since Hawaii was now a U.S. territory. This provided an opportunity for Koreans to fill the employment vacuum left by the departing Japanese. The problem was that U.S. law clearly prohibited contract labor. Allen put his diplomatic skills and his strong personality to work and convinced both Seoul and Washington that allowing the immigration of Korean workers into Hawaii would be good for Korean-American relations. He and Deshler also managed to provide a ruse that effectively covered up the fact that the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association was engaging in contract labor when it hired Korean workers. When the ruse was discovered in 1903 and the entire project seemed to be in jeopardy, there was a flurry of diplomatic and legal activity that even involved the bribing of a federal judge.¹³ The flow of Korean immigrants was allowed to continue, however, and it did not end until November 1905 when Japan placed a protectorate over Korea and effectively stopped any further direct immigration of Koreans to the United States for the purposes of employment.

It has been noted that a majority of these early immigrants were either

converts to Christianity or had close ties with the missionaries in Korea. There were two reasons for this. First, many of these early immigrants were originally from rural areas where life was hard and crop failure common. They were people who lived on the margins of society and were thus attracted to the missionaries and their message. Second, the missionaries had a profound influence upon education in Korea. Homer B. Hulbert, who served in Korea from 1886 to 1905, was an educational advisor to the king. This not only gave him considerable influence in educational matters, but also placed him in a position to argue in favor of Korean immigration to Hawaii. In addition, Hulbert wrote a geography textbook that was widely used in the mission schools.¹⁴ This textbook had an influence upon at least one immigrant by providing him with his first knowledge of the world beyond Korea.¹⁵ Through close personal contact with the lives of ordinary Koreans and through mission schools, many Koreans came to be more open to Western ways and, indeed, some believed that the United States was “a land of milk and honey” or “the golden mountain” where one’s dreams for success could be realized. We should not be surprised, therefore, to find that the missionaries were among the prime recruiters of immigrant laborers to Hawaii.

One of these was the Rev. George Heber Jones, a Methodist missionary based in Seoul who was in charge of the West Korean District of the Methodist Church. Many of the earliest immigrants to Hawaii were sent under his guidance and he even arranged for a woman evangelist to accompany them. A significant number were from a single church in Chemulp’o (Inchŏn).¹⁶ Thus Jones wrote in his mission report for 1904 that “A large number have gone to Hawaii, and some of its [Chemulp’o Church] strongest members are engaged in the Hawaiian enterprise, giving their strength and time to it rather than to the interest of the Church.”¹⁷

Among the Presbyterian missionaries, Mrs. William A. [Sallie] Swallen wrote of the immigrants to Hawaii, “We can’t blame them for wanting to go to America.”¹⁸ Swallen was also instrumental in recruiting Korean students for the University of Dubuque, and made a number of special visits to the campus over the years. We find, therefore, that the immigration of Koreans to Hawaii and to the mainland of the United States formed a unique historical context which set the stage for the next chapter in this story—the university setting.

The University Setting: Immigrants and the Founding of the University of Dubuque

The University of Dubuque is unique in that it was a school originally founded by immigrants for the education of immigrants. The mid-nineteenth century was a time of considerable turmoil in Europe brought on by the aftermath of the French Revolution, the Napoleonic wars, the Industrial Revolution, and overpopulation.¹⁹ Life was difficult, especially for many farmers and merchants who lived in largely rural areas. As a result many immigrated to the middle states of the U.S.: Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska, and North and South Dakota. Here land was cheap and opportunities to begin a new life seemed unlimited. As these immigrants settled in their newly adopted land, they brought their European customs and languages with them. A glance at a map of the states of Minnesota, Iowa, and Wisconsin is revealing in the names given to many villages, towns, and cities. In Minnesota one finds Ostrander, Arendahl, Potsdam, Le Sueur, New Sweden, New Ulm, New Prague, and Warsaw. In Wisconsin there is Genoa, New Lisbon, New Glarus, La Crosse, Prairie du Chien, De Soto, and Cazenovia. In Iowa, where the University of Dubuque is located, there is Dorchester, New Hampton, Luxemburg, Guttenberg, and New Vienna, the latter three being in the immediate vicinity of Dubuque.

The antecedents to the University of Dubuque are to be found firstly, in a couple, both of whom were immigrants—the Rev. Peter Flury from Switzerland and his wife Sophie, a Briton whom Flury met while visiting his brother, a businessman in Rome. The Flurys arrived in Dubuque in 1846 and started an English school for Swiss immigrants. Rev. Flury visited a number of German settlements in the area and eventually started a German-speaking church. He also founded a German school for the children of immigrants. Following the death of his wife he returned to his native Switzerland.

He was followed by the Rev. Jean Baptiste Madouler, an immigrant from Germany. Madouler spoke four languages and took young men into his home where he taught them theology in preparation for ordination. One of these was a Swiss immigrant by the name of John Bantly who lived in nearby Galena, Illinois. He decided to enter the ministry after hearing a sermon by a Dutchman named Adrian Van Vliet, and it was Van Vliet

who is generally credited with founding in 1852 the institution that would eventually become the University of Dubuque.

It was in 1852 that the Rev. Adrian Van Vliet formally began theological instruction in his home for two students, both of whom were of German descent. The number of students grew, however all instruction was carried out in German until 1870 when courses in English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, geography, and mathematics were added. At that time bilingual instruction became the norm.²⁰ As the school continued to develop it was named the German Theological School of the Northwest.²¹ As the number of immigrants began to increase, the curriculum was broadened, and as so often happened in American higher education, a school founded for the education of the clergy soon became a college with a broad range of majors.

When it became apparent that many of the students who wished to enter the theological school were poorly prepared in linguistic skills and in a basic knowledge of the liberal arts, a two-year academy was opened which was roughly equivalent to the last year of high school and the first year of undergraduate college. The school printed its first catalog in 1873 but no copies are now in existence. By 1903–04 a second edition of the catalog was published. It was printed in German and showed that there were now three distinct departments—the two-year preparatory academy, a four-year college of liberal arts, and a three-year graduate school of theology. The first catalog printed in English appeared for the 1905–06 academic year. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, which had direct oversight of the school, recommended that it “train ministers also for other minority groups” and the chief financial officer of the school, Dr. Cornelius M. Steffens who was to become president in 1907, “embarked on an ambitious program of Americanization of the various immigrant peoples in America through the education of young men of these peoples. In the course of time this led to the school becoming one of the most cosmopolitan educational institutions in America.”²²

During the 1905–06 academic year a number of students from Bohemia (now the Czech Republic) arrived on the campus, and also during this year the school was recognized by the state with the authority to grant the B.A. degree. An undated pamphlet, probably published in 1903 or early 1904, focused on the following ethnic groups: Hungarians, Italians, Bohemians

and Slovaks, and Germans. Although the training of clergy remained a major focus—"We must have at least one school whose object shall be the training of men for this particular missionary work"²³—the faculty also realized that "The need of special training is recognized in every other department of scientific, industrial, sociological and technical education."²⁴

In 1911 the school was completely reorganized and renamed Dubuque German College and Seminary, and during World War I that name was changed to the University of Dubuque, consisting of an undergraduate College of Liberal Arts and a Graduate Theological Seminary. Significantly, it remains to this very day the only U.S. Presbyterian theological seminary that is an integral graduate school of a university, this undoubtedly due to the German origins of the school where theology has always been considered a university discipline.

The 1911–12 catalog states that "besides German and Bohemian students, there were also in attendance Mexicans, Moravians, Slavonians, Croatians, Russians, Magyars, Danes, Jews, Swiss, Japanese, Hollanders, Serbians, Canadians, and Americans."²⁵ Also in 1912 the university admitted women, thus ending over fifty years of being an all-male institution.²⁶ The university setting was now complete. A university founded by immigrants and with a large immigrant student population was ready to embark on one of the most unique ventures in American higher education—the Americanization of immigrants.

A Unique Program of Studies: The Americanization of Immigrants

The origins of the Americanization program began in the theological school with an effort to train clergy of different ethnic groups so that they could do evangelistic work among the various immigrant groups from Europe that were entering the country in large numbers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The church saw this as an opportunity for mission work, but increasingly the university, and the public at large, saw this as an opportunity for hastening the assimilation of an ever-increasing immigrant population. The following words are ample testimony to the idealism that accompanied this program:

The nation's big business at this hour is racial fusing. Democracy will weaken if assimilation of the alien be not hastened. Dubuque Seminary stands in the forefront of fusing forces, strong of heart and wide of

vision, ready for this urgent task of Americanizing. The institution touches my patriotism as quickly as it does my religion. I feel my nation's need and rejoice in the response to that need that this school is making. Dubuque Seminary is one of our national assets.

The linguistic jargon of Iroquois, Choctaw and Sioux, our elder Americans, has been intensified by the polyglot invasion of the land during our generation. We talk the languages of all earth, wear in our hearts the slow-dying feelings of innumerable allegiances and huddle as strangers into unrelated bunches, while our flag floats over all, an emblem of a unity not yet achieved. Men and schools must stand forth to speak in voices that thrill, of the patriotic duty and privilege of national reunification through education and brotherhood.²⁷

The writer goes on to point out that of the ninety students enrolled at the time only one was American. He writes, "But the assimilation is going forward so rapidly that these sons of aliens are brothers of the republic and shouting patriots before they have sat through their first semester."²⁸

Not all of this patriotic fervor was altruistic, however, and this same writer hints at a somewhat darker side when he writes, "This school is rightly placed and rightly dispositioned. There is a large future before this work of Americanization of our foreign speaking people. There will always be ignorant and unsaved aliens within our borders whose presence is our peril. True religion and sound patriotism alike invoke our deep interest in the work of this institution."²⁹ As we shall see, a fear of the so-called "yellow peril" eventually led to restrictive immigration laws for Asians and equally restrictive laws for legal Asian immigrants which prevented many from gaining full citizenship.

In spite of this, there was a genuine concern for the education of immigrants as evidenced by these words taken from the 1919-20 catalog of the University of Dubuque: "Education gives power to life. Our foreign-speaking people have been neglected in the generous provisions which have been made for higher education. This School seeks to remedy this defect in the educational system, so that the blessings of Christian culture may be given to the people of foreign communities."³⁰ The catalog went on to state that "Americanization is the distinct aim, and it has been successfully attained in the large number of students who have come under the spell of the Dubuque method and spirit."³¹

The Americanization program at the University of Dubuque was the

brainchild of Cornelius M. Steffens, president from 1907 to 1924, and was further refined by Karl Frederick Wettstone, who served as president from 1924 to 1927. Both men were firmly committed to the integration of immigrants into American society. The motivations behind the Americanization program were mixed, but three seem to have emerged as primary.

The first was the goal of evangelization and mission, which harkened back to the school's origins as a theological seminary. There was the strong belief that the best way to Americanize immigrants was to train leadership that represented all of the various immigrant groups. The university adopted a new motto and logo which featured a toga-clad young man superimposed upon the circular earth with the words "The University of Dubuque Serves the Whole Church and the World." Many of the advertisements which appeared in local newspapers and national religious magazines featured this motto and logo and appeals for funds often stressed the religious mission of the university. One such advertisement, which appeared in 1924, reads as follows:

The KEY to the Americanization Problem

1—Imagine yourself in the same position as a foreigner within our shores.

2—Then ask yourself, "Who am I most willing to listen to in this country?" (The answer, "Those of my own blood.")

3—And, do all that you can as a Christian and as American citizen to see that those "who will be listened to" are given Christian training and high ideals that will enable them to lead "those others" into a full realization of Christian Americanism.

We believe that this is the real key to the Americanization problem and upon this platform we have been training Christian leaders for the foreign-born within our shores, and for those abroad, for the last seventy-two years. The records of such graduates prove that we are right.³²

It was firmly believed that the churches occupied a key position in the Americanization of immigrant groups and there was a tendency to equate Christianization with Americanization.

The second motivation behind the Americanization program was a sincere desire to deal with what was then referred to as "That Immigrant Problem." As weekly news reports spoke of the tens of thousands of

immigrants pouring into the U.S. through Ellis Island in New York, and in much fewer numbers through the port of San Francisco, an anti-immigration xenophobia set in. Indeed, even among the university faculty there were those who opposed the Americanization program and who complained about how much extra time it took to work with foreign students. Most left the university after a year or two when their opposition was not heeded by the administration.³³ Perhaps the most daring expression of this opposition to immigration came in a request by the Ku Klux Klan to use the university's athletic field for a demonstration, a request that was politely but firmly denied by President Wettstone.³⁴

In response to this rising xenophobia the university immediately joined in the national debate surrounding immigration. It presented itself as a "solution" to the immigration problem and leaders in Americanization were invited to the campus to observe the Americanization program at work. Special courses on immigration were added to the curriculum and it was suggested that all theological students should become bilingual. Perhaps one of the most ambitious projects was the establishment of a "National Christian Americanization Center" in Kansas City where seminars on the issue of immigration were held and where clergy, social workers, politicians, and university administrators could come together to discuss issues related to immigration.³⁵

The Americanization program brought immigrants to the campus to study English, American history and political science, and American literature in addition to their chosen major field of study. There was a 40% foreign to 60% American-born student ratio on the campus. Immigrants and native-born Americans often were roommates in campus dormitories and there was an intentional effort to fully integrate the foreign students into all aspects of university life. It was believed that such a program would result in assimilating the immigrants into the so-called American "melting pot."

A third motivation for the establishment of the Americanization program was to educate the general population concerning the cultures and lifestyles of the new immigrants. The university sponsored numerous programs for local civic organizations which featured foreign students. Cultural presentations were emphasized and a vigorous public relations campaign targeted many regional newspapers. Even advertisements that

were primarily for the purpose of fund raising tended to be educational, with such eye-catching bylines as "Where Are the Letts?" "In the Heart of Africa," "A 'World Wide' Program," "Not Imitators, But Leaders," "A Mexican Student's Story," and "Friend of Foreigners."³⁶ Often the stories of the immigrants were told either by themselves or by the university president.

One such story of a Korean immigrant became the subject of an advertisement entitled "Feed My Sheep." It began with this lengthy sentence: "Born in Kangsir, Korea, twenty-two years ago, the youngest of four boys, he saw two of his brothers given sentences for participation in the Korean revolution against Japanese rule, one to fifteen years' imprisonment, and the other to death with a later escape as an exile to Siberia."³⁷ The four-paragraph advertisement went on to give further details of the suffering of the Korean people following the Independence Movement of March 1, 1919. Advertisements such as this not only made an appeal for funds for the university but they also served to educate the reading public about world affairs.

As the Americanization program developed, the university published a two-volume set of booklets entitled *The Plan: An Americanization Program Commended to Your Interest* and *The Plant: An Americanization Program at Work*.³⁸ By 1928 it was apparent that the melting pot idea was being misunderstood, and in volume 1, *The Plan*, an excerpt from an editorial in *Collier's* entitled "Americans All" was reprinted. It read in part:

Almost every nationality which has found a refuge on these shores is endeavoring to have American history rewritten to enhance its own reputation. The melting pot for the time being seems not to be fusing the various elements but rather to be emphasizing our difference in the crucible of which heat. . . .

We can't benefit our country by despising or hating our fellow countrymen, however they may differ from us.

America has been the promised land to so many races, not because we were a bit of the Old World transplanted, but because we were unique in opportunity and in freedom of achievement.

We are not bound by class or hereditary distinctions. Our government makes possible tolerance of the widest divergencies. Let's make use of the freedom we have inherited to build a greater nation on co-operation, good-will and mutual understanding. Thus only can we truly progress.³⁹

One can detect a subtle but significant shift from earlier concerns with bringing about a "fusing of the races" to a new concern for goodwill and mutual understanding between the races.

It is interesting to note that *The Plan* featured a two-page photo gallery of the foreign students at the University of Dubuque. Of the thirty-six students pictured, seven were from Korea, the largest number from any one nation. Among them was Evelyn Kim (Kim Nien-wha), a nursing student, who later became the wife of Easurk Emsen Charr, the author of *The Golden Mountain*.⁴⁰ The couple and their three children fully embodied the ideals of the Americanization program, as both gained American citizenship (although not without considerable difficulty) and settled permanently in the United States.

Another person who fully embodied the ideals of the program was Karl Frederick Wettstone, born with the family name of Wettstein of Swiss parentage in 1893 in Nervi, Italy, a suburb of Genoa. His ancestors came from Basel and included a leading statesman and a well-known theologian. His father was a Lutheran pastor who served not only in Switzerland but also in Italy, Germany, and Monaco. His mother was Moravian and a distinguished author in her day. Due to political changes in Europe, including rising Prussian militarism, Karl and his brother immigrated to the U.S. in 1907. After learning English, Karl entered the University of Dubuque and graduated from both the College of Liberal Arts and the Theological Seminary. He also changed his name to Wettstone, obtained U.S. citizenship, and began a distinguished career as a Presbyterian pastor. In 1924, at age 32, he was appointed president of the University of Dubuque and became at that time the youngest university president in the United States. Why was he chosen?

Dr. Wettstone was elected to head up the institution because he is an outstanding example of the Christian educational work that this particular Presbyterian university is doing in Americanizing, Christianizing and training the foreigners within our shores for Christian leadership among their own people here at home and abroad. He was chosen also because he has such a deep understanding of this class of students and, though of foreign birth, had become a fine American type of alert, energetic leader.⁴¹

Wettstone was firmly committed to the Americanization program and he made it a point to personally interview every entering student, giving special attention to foreign students. He also used rather dramatic means to educate his constituency concerning the problems faced by immigrants. In a sermon at a local church on the problems of immigrants in the U.S., Wettstone gave significant portions of his text in Italian, French, and German "in order to show his hearers how lonely they would feel if they were away in some foreign country, making their living among people whose language they did not understand."⁴²

Whenever he spoke to groups, either in churches or to civic organizations, Wettstone presented the personal stories of some of the immigrants enrolled at the university. One of his favorite stories concerned Daniel Choy, a Korean who took a Chinese name in order to escape from China and come to the U.S. A newspaper report summarized the story as follows:

Daniel Choy, a Korean, had been two years in prison and suffered flogging and torture, but he persisted in his plan to come to America, finally hiding in the hold of a Pacific Ocean steamer. He was discovered after several days, unconscious and fainting from lack of food. Having been helped on his way, this student is now in Dubuque's theological seminary, and next year he will go back to Korea as a missionary.⁴³

From the standpoint of fundraising, this story had drama, showed the dogged determination of the student, portrayed the generosity of those Americans who helped him make his way to Dubuque, and demonstrated one of the goals of the Americanization program: the training of Christian leaders to serve their own people. Educationally, it made the hearers aware of the Japanese occupation of Korea and of the suffering of those Koreans who dared to resist the Japanese. Undoubtedly for many this was their first exposure to the unfortunate plight of the Korean people during this period. As a result there was a great sympathy among the churches and members of the university community, so that each year the university marked March 1st as Korean Independence Day. It was obvious that among the foreign students at the University of Dubuque the Koreans were significant not only by their numbers, but also by their political commitment to an independent homeland, which in turn meshed very well with the American ideals of democracy and freedom.

The Korean Connection: The Making of Korean Americans

In the 1920s the University of Dubuque had more foreign students than any other university in the country with the exception of Columbia University.⁴⁴ This is rather amazing when one considers that Columbia was located in cosmopolitan New York City and the University of Dubuque in a small city in a rural state far from the major centers of culture and influence. There were, however, several factors that attracted newly arrived immigrants to Dubuque. First, the cost of a university education was much lower in the central U.S. than on either coast, and because of strong church connections, colleges and universities such as the University of Dubuque were able to offer generous scholarship aid. Second, this was an area of the U.S. that was (and to some extent still is) *strongly religious, and the ties with missionary communities around the world were both deep and long-lasting.* Missionaries, both Methodist and Presbyterian, were especially active in channeling students to their denominational colleges and universities, many of which were located in the central U.S. Third, cities such as New York and San Francisco were already home to thousands of immigrants. Opportunities for newly arrived immigrants were often limited and in some cases an anti-immigrant backlash was beginning to develop. The central states offered opportunities, for the immigrants were widely scattered, and for many native-born Americans people of other lands were still somewhat of a curiosity. It was only natural, therefore, that many Koreans would seek their education in this region. The west coast was already home to Chinese and Japanese immigrants, and the east coast to European immigrants, but the central U.S. was still open and largely unsettled by the immigrant community.

When these factors were combined with the University of Dubuque's own immigrant history and its aggressive Americanization program, one should not be surprised that it was not long until there were more Koreans among the foreign students at the university than any other nationality. Indeed, for much of the 1920s there were more Korean foreign students at the University of Dubuque than any other college or university in the entire United States.⁴⁵ The numbers, of course, were not large by today's standards, usually hovering around seven or eight. However, in the 1920s there were also very few foreign students in the U.S., for most first generation immigrants were primarily seeking employment and economic

opportunities rather than a higher education.

In the case of Koreans it was often the children of the first generation of immigrants to Hawaii who entered American colleges and universities.⁴⁶ Also in the case of Koreans at the University of Dubuque, a large number were immigrants from China who entered the U.S. to escape the Japanese occupation of Korea. Many came from families where education was highly valued and their parents—especially the fathers—were leaders in the Korean independence movement or associated with the Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai. Others were from families that had suffered financial reverses so that plans for higher education could not be realized. Unlike those who planned to remain in the U.S. as permanent immigrants, those in these groups planned to return to their homeland and participate in its reconstruction following the Japanese occupation.

This fit in quite well with the Americanization program as it, in the words of a 1928 university publication, “affords to the young men and women of American stock the priceless privilege of fellowship with the future leaders of the foreign world, the breaking down of race and class prejudice, the broadening vision of a challenging world whose representatives are not unfamiliar to them.”⁴⁷

One person who can be said to epitomize the Korean students at the University of Dubuque was Lee Wook Chang.⁴⁸ He was born in P’yōngyang in 1896 and received his education in Korean grammar schools and at the P’yōngyang Missionary Academy. Desiring to obtain a university education, he went to Japan hoping to enter Waseda University, but the failure of the family business forced him to return to Korea and work for two years to help support the family. He was finally able to immigrate to the U.S. in 1917 and began an intensive study of English in California. He was accepted by a college in Ohio, but due to lack of funds was unable to enroll as the college would not grant him scholarship aid. Through a friend he learned of the University of Dubuque, which offered him a scholarship, and he studied there from 1918 through 1920. Then his younger brother arrived in the U.S. and Lee returned to California to work for two years so that his brother could attend school. In 1922 the younger brother went to work to help Lee Wook Chang fund his final two years of study at Dubuque. He graduated in 1925 with a B.A., studied at Columbia University for an M.A., and then returned to Korea where he became the

principal of the Syn Chun Boy's Academy.⁴⁹

Twenty years passed and then the University of Dubuque heard from Lee Wook Chang through a letter which he wrote while on a train traveling from San Francisco to Washington, D.C.⁵⁰ He was in the U.S. as part of an official delegation of the Korean Educational Commission to the U.S. State Department. He wrote about the organization of a Dubuque Club in Korea which had twelve members at its first meeting in Seoul. He mentioned that there were now nineteen University of Dubuque alumni in Seoul and listed their names and occupations as follows:

Lee Wook Chang, '25, Head of Seoul Normal College, Seoul; Sang Wood Chang, '30, In business; Nuenchin Daniel Choy, 'x29, Sectional Head of Police Bureau N.G.A.; Chong Whan Kim, '34, Manager of Wha Shin Department Store; L. H. Kim, 'x26, Leader, People's Party; Paulina Kim, Married; Sang Don Kim, 'x33, Secretary, Relief Association; Tai Chin Kim, Police Bureau; Lloyd C. Kimm, 'x39, U.S. Army officer; Eung Young Lee, 'x33, Bureau of Commerce; You Kyung Lee, 'x36; John M. Moon, '29, Officer under M.G.A.; Eu Whan Pai, 'x32, Bureau of Finance; Grace Park, '35, Principal Kyungki Girl's Middle School, Seoul, Korea; Pil Young Park, 'x24, In business; Julia Shyn, Married; Paul Shyn, 'x47, Bureau of the Interior; Y. K. Shinn, Leader of Democratic Party; Virginia Sone, '29, Married; Harry Hahn, 'x31, Manager, business firm.⁵¹

As can be seen from this list, Lee Wook Chang was now the president of a college in Seoul and most of the alumni were involved in education, government service, or business. Although not all received their degrees from the University of Dubuque, all who attended the university considered themselves to be alumni of the school.

What is perhaps even more revealing is that Chang's 1946 trip to the U.S. was to promote cooperation between Korea and the U.S. in the area of education. This effort has borne fruit through the eventual establishment of the Korean-American Educational Commission, more commonly known as the Fulbright Program, which continues to promote exchanges between academics of the two countries. Lee Wook Chang's early life and later career served in every way to demonstrate the success of the Americanization program at the University of Dubuque.⁵²

The Korean students at the university were active on the campus and

formed their own student club known as the Korean Society. The stated purposes of the group were as follows:

To promote fellowship and sociability among its members; to exchange viewpoints and interpretations of American ideals and institutions; to inform its members of the marching events of the homeland, that they may be up with the times when they return to Korea to serve their fellow countrymen as Christian leaders and educators; and finally to do away with the problems, such as homesickness and the like which confront them.⁵³

In addition, the Korean Society subscribed to representative newspapers and magazines from Korea "in order that they might keep posted with every bit of work for enlightenment and progress in their native country."⁵⁴ They also met in the university chapel on Sundays for a prayer meeting conducted in Korean. In 1924 the president of the Korean Society at the University of Dubuque was L. W. Chang.

Korean students from the university also attended numerous conferences held in other cities and on other university campuses. In 1927 Virginia Sone (identified as Stone in a newspaper report) represented the University of Dubuque at a women's conference in Milwaukee.⁵⁵ From December 28, 1935 through January 1, 1936, seven Dubuque students attended a convention of the Student Volunteer Movement in Indianapolis, among them Indu Park.⁵⁶ Each year during the vacation period, Korean students from colleges and universities all over the U.S. would gather at a central campus for an annual meeting. It was at such a meeting at the University of Chicago in the summer of 1927 that Easurk Emsen Charr met his University of Dubuque bride, Evelyn Kim.

Most of the Korean students at the University of Dubuque were also very much concerned about the political situation in their homeland. They traveled to nearby cities and campuses to hear such leaders as the Rev. Soon Hyun of the Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai.⁵⁷ Numerous leaders of the Korean reconstruction movement traveled across the U.S. soliciting funds and support for the Korean cause. Perhaps there was none of these who were as famous and well known as Ahn Chang Ho. The members of the Korean Society at the University of Dubuque were elated when Ahn came to the university in the spring of 1925 to give a

public address and confer with the Korean students. The local newspaper featured a four-column story on Ahn complete with a photo. The story included a biography of Ahn as well as a clear presentation of the Korean cause.⁵⁸ Ahn's coming to Dubuque was not only an affirmation of the importance of the university because of the presence of Korean students, but also an opportunity to make this segment of the American community aware of what was happening in Korea and the role that Japan was playing in Korean affairs. Through Ahn's presence the faculty and students of the university deepened their awareness and understanding of the Korean independence movement.

The golden years of the Americanization program at the University of Dubuque appear to have been in the 1920s, at least as far as the Korean students were concerned. The first decade of the program focused mainly on immigrants from Europe. By the second decade of the program the children of the first wave of Korean immigrants to Hawaii were ready to enroll in colleges and universities, and also those who were seeking to escape the harsh Japanese occupation of Korea were arriving on U.S. shores. However, the Immigration Act of 1924 effectively stopped the flow of new immigrants from both Korea and Japan and limited the number to only one hundred per year.⁵⁹ This meant that by the beginning of the 1930s the number of Korean foreign students began to decrease sharply. As the threat of war began to dominate Europe and the authoritarian regimes of Nazism and Communism curtailed immigration, the flow of immigrants from Europe also decreased. It was not long until the Americanization program at the University of Dubuque came to an end.

Officially the end came in 1935 when the university changed its basis and focused on "full fledged college work for American young people, fitting them for life and for the altruistic callings."⁶⁰ In the words of the president of the university, "The purpose of the University of Dubuque is best stated as the enlargement of the visions and ideals of its founders who sought to build an institution for the training of intelligent Christian citizenship and enlightened Christian leadership."⁶¹ Thus "with the passing of the intense immigration period and governmental restrictions of immigrants, the problem of the assimilation of these large groups began to resolve itself through the natural processes of educational and institutional services in the communities in which these people had settled."⁶² Those

Koreans who were part of the Americanization program at the University of Dubuque had either become permanent residents of the U.S. and were seeking to obtain citizenship, or had returned home to participate in the Christianization and reconstruction of their country.

Conclusion: From Americanization to Globalization

The end of the Americanization program at the University of Dubuque did not end the recruitment of Korean students. Following Korea's liberation in 1945 and the end of the Korean War in 1953 there was a resurgence in the number of Korean immigrants to the U.S., many of whom obtained their higher education in American colleges and universities, including the University of Dubuque. Once again missionaries were often the main recruiters of students from Korea, although by this time there were scores of U.S. colleges and universities actively seeking Korean students. For the most part, however, the assumption was that these students would return home following graduation. The goal of Americanization had been replaced by the goal of training international leaders.

Although the number of Korean students declined after 1935, students at the University of Dubuque remained interested in Korean affairs, and in 1949 participated in a World Student Service Fund drive to raise money for the purchase of textbooks, educational equipment, and medical care for students at "the University of Seoul."⁶³ Following the outbreak of the Korean War many Koreans who were forced to flee their homes came to the U.S. to seek temporary refuge. One of these was Grace Pak Chang who graduated from the University of Dubuque in 1935 (as Grace Park) and returned to Korea to become the principal of Kyungki Girl's Middle School in Seoul. She arrived on the Dubuque campus in February 1951 as part of a Korean government delegation to study American school administration. Her husband, Chang Duk-Soo, had been assassinated by the Communists in 1947, and following the outbreak of the Korean War she fled across the Han River to Suwon with her children and then took a train to Pusan. In her absence her home was looted and she lost all her possessions. When the Communists were driven north and victory seemed assured, she joined the delegation to the U.S. only to discover during her visit that the tide of the war had turned and the Communists had reinvaded Seoul. She found herself both homeless and, for the moment at least, a

refugee, unable to return to Korea. She told a newspaper reporter that "Talking to Korean students in this country has reassured her that they have no wish to live the lives of exiles. They feel there is something to go back to if they have their land."⁶⁴ A news photo of Mrs. Grace Pak Chang shows her holding "a precious gift from an American friend—a picture of herself, her children and her late husband in happier days. All her own possessions have been destroyed."⁶⁵

A similar story was told concerning University of Dubuque Theological Seminary student the Rev. Greenfield Chinkyong Kiel. He was imprisoned in North Korea for thirteen months, and was secretly freed by his Communist guard when the guard discovered that his brother, who was a Christian, had been a member of Kiel's church. When Kiel finally returned to his home he discovered that his family and friends had presumed him dead and had already held a funeral service. In April 1950 he came to the U.S. to study theology and, after the war broke out, served as a Korean language teacher for the U.S. Army. Kiel eventually came to Dubuque where he earned a masters degree and then returned to Korea in 1953 to serve in reconstruction in the rural areas.⁶⁶

Clearly in the 1950s the majority of Korean students at the University of Dubuque planned to return home to take leadership positions in the reconstruction of the country following years of Japanese occupation and war. By 1955 the number of foreign students had increased to the point that it was reported that they were responsible for a dramatic increase in enrollment in both undergraduate and graduate schools, and Koreans were represented in both.⁶⁷ According to a listing of foreign students in the University of Dubuque Theological Seminary in the 1961–62 academic year, three of the eleven enrolled were Koreans. In 1984–85 there was a total of five Koreans studying in the university, although in the previous two years there was only one Korean on campus.⁶⁸

By the mid-1980s the focus had shifted once again from training international leaders to the globalization of education, especially on the graduate level. In 1987 an agreement was signed between the University of Dubuque Theological Seminary and the Presbyterian Theological Seminary (Changshin) in Seoul for student exchanges. Usually one student from Korea came to the U.S. and one student from the U.S. went to Korea each year. To my knowledge this program is still in effect, although there

are more Koreans coming to study in Dubuque than there are Americans going to study in Seoul.⁶⁹ Also in the 1990s an agreement was signed between the University of Dubuque Theological Seminary and Hyupsung University, School of Theology for the purpose of offering a joint Doctor of Ministry program. Again, it seemed that more Koreans came to study at Dubuque and virtually no Americans went to study at Hyupsung, and after a number of years the exchange agreement was not renewed. It would appear that at least so far as the University of Dubuque is concerned Koreans are more interested in the globalization of education than are their American counterparts.⁷⁰ This may be partially explained by the desire of many Asians, including Koreans, to obtain a degree from an American university.

The Americanization program at the University of Dubuque from 1911 to 1935 marked both a high point in the number of Koreans studying at the university and the beginning of an ongoing flow of Korean students to the university which is still continuing. Undoubtedly stories concerning Korean foreign students at other U.S. colleges and universities remain to be told, but Dubuque's program of Americanization, and the participation of Korean students in it, is unique both in the annals of American education and in the Korean immigrant experience.

NOTES

1. The author wishes to express his appreciation to Mr. Joel Samuels, librarian at the University of Dubuque, now retired, and to Dr. James R. Rohrer, who was a graduate student at the University of Dubuque at that time. Both rendered invaluable assistance in providing access to the archives and in the photocopying of research materials.
2. See Joseph H. Ryu, "Korean Immigrant Churches and the PC(USA)," *Korean American Ministry: A Resource Book*, expanded English edition, ed. Sang Hyun Lee and John V. Moore (Louisville, KY: General Assembly Council, Presbyterian Church (USA), 1987), 25–27.
3. Ibid., 26.
4. Ibid. Not all of the brides were honest, however, and there were instances of some keeping the money for their passage and remaining in Korea.
5. Ibid.
6. See Peter Hyun, *Man Sei! The Making of a Korean American* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986). Hyun's father was an immigrant to

Hawaii and Peter was born there in 1906. However, the family returned to Korea to serve in the independence movement and was eventually forced into exile in China. Peter Hyun returned as an immigrant to Hawaii 1924 at the age of 17.

7. See Wayne Patterson, *The Korean Frontier in America: Immigration to Hawaii, 1896–1910* (1988, rpt. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994).
8. This story is well-known and is recounted in Harry A. Rhodes, ed., *History of the Korea Mission, Presbyterian Church U.S.A., vol. 1: 1884–1934* (1934, rpt. Seoul: Presbyterian Church of Korea, Department of Education, 1984), 13–17 and 23–24. See also Everett N. Hunt, Jr., *Protestant Pioneers in Korea* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1980), 35–38.
9. Hunt, 37.
10. Rhodes, 23–24.
11. See Fred Harvey Harrington, *God, Mammon and the Japanese: Dr. Horace N. Allen and Korean-American Relations, 1884–1905* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966).
12. See Wayne Patterson, "Sugar-Coated Diplomacy: Horace Allen and Korean Immigration to Hawaii, 1902–1905," *Diplomatic History* 3, no. 1 (Winter 1979): 19–38. Patterson also summarizes this "Sugar-Coated Diplomacy" in his "Introduction" to Easurk Emsen Charr, *The Golden Mountain: The Autobiography of a Korean Immigrant, 1895–1960*, 2nd ed., ed. Wayne Patterson (1961, rpt. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996), xiv–xxiv.
13. Patterson, *Korean Frontier*, 86–90.
14. Allen D. Clark, *Protestant Missionaries in Korea, 1893–1983* (Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1987), 79, and Charr, 98.
15. Charr, 98 and 101–02.
16. Jinhung Kim, ed., *A Pictorial History of the Methodist Church in Korea* (Seoul: Archives of the Korean Methodist Church, 1995), 55. An entire page is devoted to "The Mission for Koreans in Hawaii" and includes a photo of "the first ship to carry Koreans immigrating to Hawaii."
17. Cited in Lak-Geon George Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832–1910*, 3rd ed. (1927, rpt. Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1980), 282.
18. Cited by Patterson in "Introduction" to Charr, xviii and xxxvi–xxxvii.
19. See Joseph L. Mihelic, "A Historical Sketch of the University of Dubuque Theological Seminary," unpublished typed manuscript in the archives of the University of Dubuque, 1–2.
20. Joseph L. Mihelic, "A Historical Perspective of the Growth of the University of Dubuque Theological Seminary," unpublished typed manuscript in the archives of the University of Dubuque, 1.
21. In the late nineteenth century the middle states of the U.S. were known as the Northwest. This was in reference, of course, to the East—New York,

- Philadelphia, and Boston. The author, who is from Seattle in the Pacific Northwest (which borders on Canada to the north and the Pacific Ocean to the west), did graduate study at the University of Dubuque, and it was said that he was going to study “back East.” Today these middle states are often referred to as the Midwest.
22. Mihelic, “Historical Perspective,” 2. It should be noted that Mihelic was himself an immigrant from Ljubljana, Slovenia who arrived as a student on the campus in 1924. He joined the faculty in 1944 and enjoyed a distinguished career as Professor of Old Testament until his retirement in the 1980s.
 23. *Foreign Evangelization* (Dubuque, IA: German Presbyterian Theological Seminary of the Northwest, n.d.), 9.
 24. *Ibid.*, 9.
 25. Cited in Mihelic, “Historical Perspective,” 4. It is not clear whether the Japanese students were actually Japanese or Koreans who were mistakenly considered Japanese due to the Japanese occupation of Korea in 1910. While a graduate student at the University of Dubuque from 1965–69 the author encountered several references to early Korean students who were mistakenly identified as Japanese.
 26. “William Otis Ruston, 1852–1922,” typed obituary of the first president of the Dubuque German College and Seminary, in the archives of the University of Dubuque, 3.
 27. William Chalmers Covert, “Thanksgiving Pilgrimage to a Polyglot School—Dubuque Seminary: A Melting Pot of Church and Nation—Racial Fusing and National Unity Through Religion and Culture,” *The Interior* 39, no. 39 (Nov. 26, 1908), 1591.
 28. *Ibid.*, 1592.
 29. *Ibid.*, 1593.
 30. *Catalog of the University of Dubuque, 1919–20*, 16.
 31. *Ibid.*, 17.
 32. Undated and with no information concerning in what paper or journal it was published; archives of the University of Dubuque. Other similar advertisements were dated 1924. See also a typewritten “Annual Report to the Board of Directors of the University of Dubuque” dated May 26, 1925, which reads: “The avowed purpose of the University shall be to specialize increasingly in the training of Christian leaders for all forms of full-time service in the Church, especially in training leaders for Christian Americanization work among the foreign-speaking population of this country.” (Archives of the University of Dubuque, 3–4.)
 33. Mihelic, “Historical Sketch,” 3–4.
 34. Letter from Karl Frederick Wettstone to the Headquarters of Ku Klux Klan, Dubuque, Iowa, Sept. 17, 1924, archives of the University of Dubuque.
 35. Handwritten untitled manuscript on “Karl F. Wettstone and Americanization

- at the University of Dubuque," archives of the University of Dubuque, 2.
36. Most of these advertisements appeared between 1924 and 1925 in the journal *Continent* which apparently had a national distribution.
 37. "Feed My Sheep," *Continent*, July 24, 1924, 2. President Wettstone repeated this story in considerably more detail and it was reprinted in the (Dubuque) *Times-Journal*, May 4, 1924.
 38. Both were published at the same time: *The Plan: An Americanization Plan Commended to Your Interest* and *The Plant: An Americanization Program at Work* (Dubuque, IA: University of Dubuque, 1928).
 39. *The Plan*, 12.
 40. See Charr, 229–41.
 41. Untitled typewritten manuscript, archives of the University of Dubuque, 1. The last word in the last sentence of this quote should probably read "character." There are several typewritten manuscripts concerning Dr. Wettstone in the archives, including an abbreviated four-page biography entitled "Karl Frederick Wettstone" and a 34-page autobiographical letter to Joseph Mihelic dated May 2, 1973.
 42. "Sermon Texts Given in Three Languages by Rev. K. F. Wettstone," *Daily State Democrat*, Feb. 16, 1925.
 43. *Ibid.*
 44. *The Plant*, 13.
 45. "'U' Tops List of Korean Students," (Dubuque) *Telegraph-Herald*, Mar. 19, 1924, and "Koreans Have Unique Club at University," *Times-Journal*, Mar. 19, 1924. The subtitle of the former article is "Second Largest Number Enrolled at University of Chicago" and the subtitle of the latter article is "More Koreans at Dubuque Than Any Other In United States." In any given year the number of Korean students at the University of Dubuque numbered fewer than ten. In the years for which statistics are available the numbers were as follows: 1917–18, four; 1919–20, nine; and 1928, seven. This means that there were actually very few Korean students in the U.S. during the 1920s and 1930s and that they were widely scattered among many colleges and universities. The *University of Dubuque 1987 Alumni Directory* lists only twelve Korean alumni for the years 1911–35 and all of these are from the College of Liberal Arts. Only twelve graduates from Korea are listed in the total from that country and three of those are missionaries with the others graduating between 1953–87. Accurate statistics concerning Korean students, especially in the early years, are obviously hard to come by.
 46. One well-known example is Peter Hyun who was born in Hawaii but came to the U.S. for an education in 1924. See Hyun, 186.
 47. *The Plant*, 13.
 48. The information concerning Lee Wook Chang's life is taken from an article entitled "A Poor Korean Boy's Climb to a Position of Usefulness," which in

- turn was taken from an unnamed and undated periodical. It was sent to the University of Dubuque archives by Walter Irving Clarke, publicity manager for the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America in Philadelphia.
49. In the 1920s there was no standard system of romanization for written Korean. The more common romanization of Syn Chun was Syenchun. The history of this academy and the return of Mr. L. W. Chang from America to take up the position of principal are described in Rhodes, 212–15. Dr. George S. McCune, one of the originators of the McCune-Reischauer system for the romanization of Korean, was associated with the Syenchun Boys' Academy for twelve years. Among the well-known graduates of the school were the Rev. Dr. L. George Paik, who served on the faculty and as president of Chosen Christian College, which later became Yonsei University.
 50. Information from Chang's letter is taken from "Report from Korea—Dubuque Club Organized," *University of Dubuque Bulletin* 9, no. 3 (June 1946), n.p. See also "Korean People Thank the People of United States," *The Voice of Korea*, June 6, 1946, describing Chang's meeting with President Truman on May 21. A front page photo shows Chang presenting the President with a Koryŏ vase excavated in 1912 from a royal tomb in Kyŏnggi Province. The gift was made "to express the gratitude of the people of Korea for their liberation" from the Japanese. Chang's "visit marked the first time in more than forty years that a Korean representative has made an official White House call."
 51. Ibid.
 52. There were of course instances where the program failed, and some correspondence in the University of Dubuque archives makes reference to these failures, both academic and personal. These were, however, a very small minority out of all the Korean foreign students who studied from 1911–35.
 53. *Telegraph-Herald*, Mar. 19, 1924.
 54. Ibid.
 55. "Hailed From Many Ports," *Chicago Evening American*, Jan. 3, 1927.
 56. "University Students Present Reports on National Convention," *Telegraph-Herald*, Jan. 16, 1936. It should be noted that John R. Mott was greatly impressed with the number of delegates to the various conventions of the Student Volunteer Movement who came from Iowa, and he made special note of the large number of Koreans included. See John R. Mott, *Addresses and Papers of John R. Mott, volume 1: The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Mission* (New York: Association Press, 1946), 31–32, 175, 186, 210, and 274–75.
 57. See Hyun, 156–57, and Kenneth M. Wells, *New God, New Nation: Protestants and Self-Reconstruction Nationalism in Korea 1896–1937* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 89–97.
 58. "World-Famous Statesman From Korea Is Expected At University of

- Dubuque," (Dubuque) *Times Journal*, April 13, 1925.
59. A similar immigration law known as the Chinese Exclusion Act was enacted in 1882 which effectively cut off the flow of immigrants from China.
 60. "University Changes Basis," *Telegraph-Herald*, April 23, 1935.
 61. Ibid.
 62. Ibid.
 63. "U of D Lends a Hand To University in Korea," *Telegraph-Herald*, Jan. 30, 1949.
 64. "War's Meaning—a Story Of Korean Mother of 4," *Telegraph-Herald*, Feb. 1, 1951.
 65. Ibid.
 66. "Red Whose Brother Was Christian Freed Korean Minister, Now Here," *Telegraph-Herald*, Mar. 9, 1952. Kiel's 124-page master's research project, "The Reconstruction of the Rural Church in Korea," (University of Dubuque archives) was marked "This is an excellent study" by the dean, Dr. Calvin Schnucker.
 67. "Many Foreign Students Hike UD Enrollment," *Telegraph-Herald*, Oct. 4, 1955.
 68. These figures are taken from the Walter F. Peterson Collection in the University of Dubuque archives. Apparently accurate figures on the number of Korean students were either not kept for each year, or are not available in the materials in the archives.
 69. While a visiting professor at the University of Dubuque in the fall semester of 1991, the writer came into contact with two such Korean students, one of whom was his student in a class. While an adjunct professor at the Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Seoul during the 1990–91 academic year, a student from Dubuque was in the author's class.
 70. In the 1980s and '90s the University of Dubuque had a globalized nursing program including students from Taiwan, and in the 2000s a joint M.B.A. program with a university in Singapore was opened. The globalization of education is still a major goal of the university, but it would appear that most American students prefer to obtain their degrees from a U.S. school, with overseas study being limited to semesters abroad, intensive courses in locations of cultural and historical interest, and short term study tours.

Korean Identities: What Does It Mean to be Korean American in Korea?

MARY YU DANICO

Returning to Korea after thirty-four years' absence has filled a void in my adult life. As a child, my siblings and I immigrated with my parents to the U.S. to pursue the "American Dream." We dreamt of flushing toilets, abundant fruits and vegetables, chocolates, candy, meats, and anything that our hearts desired. On a plane ride over to the States, we all changed our Korean names for American ones hoping that this would make us "American" or at least sound American to American ears. What we did not consider was that no matter what we called ourselves, we would always be perceived as Asian first. For many immigrants, the adaptation period in the U.S. is strenuous and psychologically draining. While adult immigrants have their set of problems, the children immigrants are the involuntary immigrants who did not necessarily choose their path, but merely followed their parents.

In my book *The 1.5 Generation: Becoming Korean American in Hawai'i* I examine the experiences of those who immigrated to Hawai'i as children, and the role of family, community, and society at large on the construction of 1.5 ethnic identity. I argue that it is not so much the age of immigration, but rather the socio-cultural environmental factors that shape and create this unique identity. Furthermore, I argue that becoming 1.5 generation is a process rather than an ascribed generational label. Economy, politics, pop culture-media, history and other aspects of one's environment often shape the dynamic and fluid nature of identity. Thus, the experiences of those living in Hawai'i are unique to those Korean Americans because Hawaii's rich history, location, and distinct culture imposed on them the question of what does it mean to be Korean

American, local Korean, or Korean in Hawai'i. Through my research I find that the intersection of class, location, and space impacts identity formation, and the experiences of Korean Americans living in Korea are also shaped by these factors as well.

Identity formation and politics has long been an interest of mine for I have lived it personally. Returning to Korea has been an amazing eye opener for me in regards to how I see myself and other Koreans. As a child immigrant in San Francisco, California, I experienced a typical urban experience of racial slurs, discrimination, and fights between ethnic groups. However, living in a suburban area where I was only one of four Asian American kids also complemented my childhood, and there was pressure to suppress one's ethnic identity and blend in. These two experiences taught me early on about ethnic relations, class inequality and struggles, and ethnic identity options. While living in San Francisco, being Asian or perceived as Chinese was powerful due to the much publicized "Chinese gang" in San Francisco. Many African American, Mexican, and white students assumed that I knew martial arts and often feared me. I did take some martial arts so it wasn't hard to frighten those who were prone to bullying. However, growing up in the suburbs with a predominantly wealthy white community altered my identity expression. Instead of wearing Ben Davis pants and t-shirts, kids were wearing polo/alligator shirts and Calvin Klein jeans. Instead of playing tether ball and fighting during recess, kids in the suburban area sang, played getting married and divorced, and talked about *Saturday Night Live*. Because of growing up initially in a multi-ethnic city, being a person of color was desired. In addition, the interactions I had outside of school taught me that no matter what I did to be "American," I would never blend. My experiences living in the suburbs, however, were quite different. The experience there taught me that being a person of color was an anomaly, and I felt pressure to suppress my ethnicity for I stood out too much. In both communities, I was seen plainly as the Asian girl.

Growing up, I always felt very proud of being Korean, but at times did not like the Korean adult friends of my parents. I never fully understood this contradiction in me till I began my research on Korean Americans in Hawai'i. The resocialization process of the children of immigrants is one that contradicts what they learn at home. Schools, television,

magazines, educational books, and the news taught me what I thought was the ideal family, an average day in the life of a teen, and what it meant to be successful, beautiful, and accepted. The role of the media impacts all racial and ethnic groups in that it prescribes a notion or myth of what reality is. Such images contradicted my immigrant family life. Hence, there was a strong sense of "what's wrong with my family." However, residing in Korea has helped me realize that identity formation and politics have much to do with the need to belong, adapt, and be accepted.

The U.S. and Korea often force their citizens to choose sides. You have to decide where your loyalties lie and pick a citizenship or allegiance. Despite the fact that we are living in a global community, there is still much pressure to choose one country, one culture, and one way of life. Yet, the growing numbers of diasporic identities transcending borders have challenged this notion. Living in Korea has rewarded me with many opportunities to observe, converse with, and educate both gyopos and Koreans about what it means to be a 1.5 or subsequent generation American of Korean ancestry, and how this generation of Korean Americans shares a distinct experience from other Korean Americans returning to Korea.

There is one thing that 1.5ers share with other Korean gyopos: they are faced with the reoccurring question of "what does it mean to be Korean, Korean American or Korean gyopo?" Based on observations and in-depth interviews of Korean Americans living and working in Korea, I examine the experiences of Korean Americans in a country that is outwardly homogeneous. I draw on my research of the 1.5 generation to discuss how Korean Americans who are bilingual and bicultural are able to negotiate language boundaries and optionally switch their identities, however, unlike the 1.5 generation Korean Americans in Hawai'i who are bilingual and understand both Korean American and American culture. In Korea, Korean gyopos are forced to learn contemporary Korean culture, for most Korean Americans only know of Korea as they remember in their childhood, what their parents have told them, or what they see on popular Korean dramas and the news. More recently, Korean pop culture has dominated the Asian landscape and is increasing its influence in the U.S. as well. In particular the Korean

dramas or soap operas have gained a large audience and have led to organized tours of Korean drama settings throughout Korea. In addition, women from Japan and China tour to Korea in search of the “gentle Korean man” depicted in the dramas. Such stereotypes are quite contrary to the pre-existing stereotypes of Korean men as sexist and domineering. Thus, the images of Korea through the media are quite different from what Korean gyopos were raised to believe. Still, the 1.5 generation is unique in that they still have an understanding, if not an appreciation, for Korean culture. While they may not know pop culture or common slang expressions, they still express feeling connected to Korea and its people. For second and subsequent generation Korean Americans, as well as adopted and biethnic and biracial Koreans, Korean culture is a bit unclear to them. This has much to do with Korean culture’s fluid past. The influence of colonization, war, and global economy has shifted Korea’s culture in many ways. Hence the way Korean Americans view Korea is based on what they or their parents learned about Korea when they lived there. However, the various events in Korean history marks how Koreans have adapted and responded to the various changes in Korea.

Historical Markers in Korean Immigration

The year 1903 marked the 100th anniversary of Korean immigration to Hawai‘i. It was only three years after the Royal Asiatic Society’s *Transactions* journal was established and even then there were clear signs of a Korean diaspora taking place. Korean laborers, who were recruited to work on the plantations, left Korea to pursue economic opportunities that were not available in Korea at that time. These pioneers of Korean immigration left their home, their culture, and family in hopes of helping their families who remained in Korea. Yet the politically turbulent Korea made sojourning difficult for those who were caught in Hawai‘i and other parts of the continental United States as the Japanese occupied and colonized Korea from 1910–1945. This early period is significant for several reasons, the foremost being that it marked the forced settlement of many Korean migrant workers who had initially planned on returning to Korea. However, because of the occupation that was taking place during this period, many Korean Americans instead opted to work in Hawai‘i and the U.S., as well as work toward forming a

collective body who fought for Korea's independence. However, even after Japan relinquished Korea in 1945, the Korean War became another factor in which Koreans began to lose sight of returning home. As many early Korean immigrants came from the northern part of Korea,¹ those yearning for home were once again forced to remain. By this time, the second generation (American born) Koreans was becoming more visible in Hawai'i and the U.S. The anti-immigrant sentiment of the U.S. started with the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, followed by the 1907 Gentlemen's Agreement Act. In 1924 the U.S. officially restricted the immigration of Japanese; and since Korea was at that time colonized by Japan, the migration of Koreans stopped as well. Thus, the Korean population in Hawai'i settled there, had families, interracially married, and merged into the local culture. The new generation of Korean Americans no longer had dreams of returning home, for Hawai'i became its home.

The notion of home changed, however, after the Korean War and the Immigration Act of 1965. The Korean War brought in "war brides" and the beginning of Korean adoptions. Thus, the limited immigration from 1945-1965 was primarily of war brides and orphaned adoptees, most of whom were biracial Korean children. After years of limited migration, the Immigration Act of 1965 reunited families and opened the immigration gates for Koreans and other previously banned ethnic groups seeking the "American Dream." However, for these immigrants the attempt to make a new home in the U.S. was fraught with racism and bigotry on the part of White America, as well as Asian Americans who have been in the U.S. for several generations. The immigrants were told to go back to where they came from, and were often the victims of racial epithets and violence. It is not surprising that post 1965 immigrants experienced such hostility during this time. After all, it was the peak of the civil rights movement and the United States was filled with racial tension. While the Asian Americans who grew up in the United States fought for civil rights along with their African American and Chicano brothers and sisters, the internalized anti-immigrant sentiments or the need to prove that they were truly Americans resulted in making the new immigrants the "other" or "FOBs" (fresh off the boat). As America taught them during the internment period of the Japanese of wearing buttons that stated, "I am not Japanese," or even earlier during the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act where

Asian workers wore labels stating "I'm not Chinese," Asian Americans during the post-1965 era instead expressed prejudice toward the new FOBs by making fun of their accents, dress, and foreignness along with their non-Asian friends. Hence the new immigrants were forced to create enclaves where they felt at home.

For Korean immigrants, the church became the social and cultural support where they knew that they could speak and hear their language, eat Korean food, and form relationships with other Koreans. This was particularly important for those who did not have their extended families with them. Consequently, the church became many immigrants' second family. It is not surprising that many Koreans converted from Buddhism to Christianity. In Hawai'i the church was a natural place to meet, since most of the Korean laborers were recruited with the help of the church.² But even after the 1965 Immigration Act, the church served as a central location for newly arrived immigrants who were looking for a sense of community. One Korean immigrant in the documentary *7th Train* states that going to church helped fill a void in his immigrant life. The growing church membership also had to do with the fact that most Korean Americans could not afford to call Korea on a regular basis, airfares were expensive and the internet nonexistent.³ But as the internet became more available to the public in the late 1980s and 1990s, their connection to the "homeland" became more frequent. In addition, the economic boom of the '80s and Korea's globalization in the '90s not only made Korea an economic force in Asia, it also opened up the gateway for diasporic relations between Korea and the U.S. Finally, the 1992 Los Angeles uprising, also known as Sa-I-Gu (4/29), marked the day when the world witnessed the burning of Koreatown in Los Angeles. While many believed this incident was sparked by the "Black-Korean conflict," the reality was different. While there were tensions in Los Angeles between Koreans and African Americans, the "conflict" was media generated, and the news failed to draw the connection between institutionalized racism that played the most critical role in the Los Angeles uprising.

There were many incidents that led to the Los Angeles uprising. The end result, moreover, was not an attack on Korean merchants as a lot of the media made it out to be, but rather response to the institutional racism and injustice that African Americans have faced in the U.S. The

riot was the first multi-ethnic riot in the U.S.,⁴ and it taking place in Los Angeles had more to do with the Rodney King verdict than the Korean-black conflict. In the early 1990s, there was another "black-Korean" incident in Los Angeles between a store merchant and a 16-year-old African American girl name Latasha Harlins. A Korean merchant caught Ms. Harlins stealing a bottle of orange juice. The confrontation between the two led to a physical attack by Harlins and then a fatal shooting by the merchant. All of this was caught on video tape, and the merchant was seen shooting the girl in the back as she was leaving the store. Despite the clear evidence of wrongdoing, the Korean merchant was given probation and the African American community cried that the life of a young girl was worth only a slap on the hand.

There was also another incident in Riverside, California of a young African American woman, asleep in a car, who was awakened by police officers tapping on the window. While the details of the incident are still contested, the outcome was that the police shot and killed the young woman. Police officers stated that they saw her reaching for something that looked like a gun, but community activists argued that it was racially motivated and a misuse of force. This heightened racial tension was fueled further by the economic recession that hit the United States and the growing anti-immigrant sentiment in California. Then the videotaped beating of Rodney King surfaced and the trial of the accused police officers had Americans glued to their television sets. On April 29, 1992 the officers were acquitted and the community responded with random acts of violence in their own communities. The uprisings devastated African American communities and Korean merchants' livelihoods. Consequently, Koreans moved their places of business and their families to nearby Diamond Bar, California, Orange County, and some even returned to Korea. The land that was once considered the American Dream quickly turned to a harsh reality of racism and discrimination. The Los Angeles uprising was also a time when many 1.5 and second generation Korean Americans were forced to recognize that racism impacted their lives as well. Despite speaking perfect English and having "American" friends, Korean Americans saw that the world still viewed them as foreigners. This event forced many Korean Americans living in Los Angeles as well as those living in other parts of the U.S. to

reexamine what it meant to be Korean in the U.S.; especially for those who were hiding their ethnic identity and trying to fit in, they could no longer hide from their culture and ethnicity.

The pre-millennium period created many opportunities for Korean Americans to return to or visit Korea for the first time. The transnational market opened the doors for Korean transnational workers, those seeking jobs as English teachers, and import/export businesspeople. Postmodern technology also opened the gates for those who wanted to go to Korea to learn Korean, connect with lost family members, or pursue jobs as pop stars/entertainers. Consequently, since the 1990s we have seen a growing number of Korean Americans moving to Korea for various personal and professional reasons. So the combined factors of Korea's strengthening economy, a U.S. recession, and the 1992 Los Angeles uprising led to a wave of Korean Americans returning to Korea. We no longer saw a large Korean immigration, but rather the migration of Korean Americans going back to Korea.

Korean Americans in Korea

In Korea the label of Korean American brings out various images in the minds of Koreans, for the term American typically represents those of European descent, hence when one identifies as Korean American, looks of confusion surface. Are these people half American (white) and Korean? Or does the concept refer to anyone who is an American citizen or a legal resident of America? In the U.S. the term Korean American is debated among Korean Americans, Asian Americans, and other "Americans." What does it really mean to be Korean American, Korean, or American for that matter? While many will argue that anyone who is a citizen of the U.S. is American, the reality in the U.S. is that those of Asian descent are seen as foreigners before they are seen as Americans. Even if their passport shows their nationality, when most people think of what an American person looks like, they think of a white person. When people of Asian descent state that they are "American," they are often asked a follow-up question of "but what are you really? Where do you come from? Where do your parents come from?" Thus, regardless of whether one is first, 1.5, second, or subsequent generation Korean American, they are reminded that they are not seen or perceived of as

“American.” Thus Korean Americans, like other Asian Americans, are thought of as perpetual foreigners.⁵

In Korea, however, the concept of Korean American is foreign since many Koreans think of a Euro/white American. Hence when someone identifies as Korean American, there are questions that follow. This is largely due to the fact that in Korea, Koreans who migrated to other countries and grew up elsewhere are referred to as *gyopos*. There are no real clear distinctions made between Koreans who migrated to Canada, Europe, South America, or North America. They are all described as Koreans who left Korea. In fact, the Korean diasporic communities are quite diverse. Many Americans and Koreans alike know very little about the mass migration of Koreans to Russia, Cuba, Mexico, Europe, and elsewhere. Yet the recent developments have lifted the transnational borders bringing in the various *gyopos* back to Korea. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, “some 6,500 *gyopos* have been returning to Korea every year over the last four years in search of work, their roots and even marriage.”⁶ This number, however, does not account for those who come to Korea as tourists and end up staying teaching English privately as tutors or working in other positions “under the table,” nor Korean adoptees who returned home to be reunited with their birth families. Furthermore, the statistic fails to recognize those Koreans who apply for an F-4 visa which gives them almost the same rights as Koreans. Thus, the U.S. embassy has a difficult time keeping track of Korean Americans residing, working, or vacationing in Korea. A representative from the U.S. embassy states that because not all Americans sign in with the embassy, it is difficult to keep track of how many Americans, let alone Korean Americans, are in Korea at one given time.⁷ However, there is a growing Korean *gyopo* presence. Koreans from the U.S. seem to dominate the Korean landscape, but there are also a significant number of Koreans from Canada, Japan, and European countries as well. The problem of locating these groups is that when they all walk along the streets, they blend in and are otherwise undetectable, unless they begin to speak their home language. But even with the language aspect, it is not always clear if they are Korean American.

A Korean American student at Ewha Woman’s University stated that she could tell Korean Americans from Koreans “by the way they dressed,

wore make-up, and presented themselves.” She added that it was especially easy to detect Korean American women because they “wear eye liner, less foundation and powder make-up, and have thinner eye brows.” This student felt very strongly that she could easily tell Korean Americans from Koreans, but after a semester of trying to prove her theory, she confessed that her hypothesis could not be proven for she found that looks alone could not identify Korean Americans. So why is it so difficult to locate Korean Americans in Korea?

There are obvious places where Korean Americans congregate in Seoul. Apgujeong in Gangnam is a focal point of interest for many Korean Americans with disposable income. This area is filled with cafés, bars, restaurants, and clubs catering to the rich. It is a place where celebrities and wannabe celebrities hang out to be seen. One Korean American gyopo male states, “it is the ‘in’ place, and that is what draws young Korean Americans. To be where it is trendy, ‘in’ and hip.” You can also locate Korean American in their thirties and forties at the international schools throughout Seoul picking up their young children from school. You can also periodically meet Korean Americans in Itaewon, but most Korean Americans stay away from what they describe as the military hub or the “Tijuana of Korea.” Finally, you can locate young Korean Americans teaching English at the Korean language institutes at the various universities or at one of the 960 English hagwons in Seoul.

Despite the many places where Korean Americans hang out, there is still no visible “community” of gyopos in Seoul. This has much to do with the ability of Korean Americans to blend in with other Koreans. Walking on the streets or riding the subways, they look very much like any other Korean. It is only when they speak that they are distinguished. The ability of Korean Americans to blend in perpetuates the impression among foreigners that Korea is a homogeneous society. While racially this may appear so, there is a diverse ethnic and racial population that exists in Korea. For example, ethnic Chinese, Japanese, biracial and multiethnic Koreans have long lived and worked in Korea. However, the discrimination against these groups has kept them out of the popular discourse on Koreans. While the Chinese are the second largest ethnic group in Korea, few people acknowledge or recognize this group as an integral part of Korean culture. Instead, the Chinese are discarded.

Since the 1980s Korea has received a growing number of migrant workers from the Philippines, Pakistan, Nepal, Indonesia, India, and Vietnam. Yet these communities have been "invisible" in the Korean landscape until very recently. One growing phenomenon is the advertisement in the countryside around Seoul for Vietnamese, Filipino, and Thai wives. One reason is the shortage of potential Korean brides. Since the early 1990s sociologists have warned of the profound implications of South Korea's gender imbalance, which is considered one of the highest in the world. In 1997 there were 100 males to every 113 females; according to recent statistics, the ratio of men to women in Korea is expected to increase by at least three percent within the next ten years. The combination of this gender imbalance and the inability of working farmers to attract Korean women has resulted in a neo-picture bride industry bringing in women from developing Asian countries and from Russia. The lack of Korean females has led many Korean male nationals to seek wives abroad, particularly in Southeast Asian countries such as the Philippines, Cambodia, and Vietnam, as well as ethnic Koreans from rural areas of China.⁸

The implication of this is not only the growing number of interethnic relationships, but the cultural conflicts that arise between the husbands and wives, as well as the challenges that biethnic children face in Korean schools, neighborhoods, and general Korean society. In addition, questions of ethnic identity are sure to surface among this population. Even among non-Korean women married to Korean men, some begin to assert a Korean identity. On a subway ride to City Hall in Seoul, I overheard a Korean man trying to explain to his woman companion how the subway system works. The woman spoke broken Korean with what sounded like a Filipino accent. I turned to the woman and asked her in English if she was Filipino and she looked at me and responded in broken accented Korean, "hanguk salam y eh yo," meaning "I am a Korean person." I found this to be an interesting response since she clearly did not look or sound Korean, and the fact that her male companion had to explain the subway system and what was written on the walls reflected the fact that she was new to Korea. Still, she claimed a Korean identity. She could in fact have Korean citizenship as a growing number of Southeast Asian women do after marrying a Korean man. One Filipina states that she is

now "Korean", yet she identifies herself as Filipino with Korean citizenship. The self identification of these women and children will be interesting to examine in the future and the fluidity and complexities of identity formations is sure to surface. Still, Korea is not a country known for its tolerance or acceptance of biracial children. However, there are signs that things may be changing.

Most recently, Heinz Ward, the Super Bowl MVP player, came out and openly stated that he embraced his Koreanness. A single mother of Korean ancestry raised Ward after his African American father left them. He expressed a closer connection to his Korean side, stating that his mother speaks very little English and therefore he was raised biculturally and bilingually. Furthermore, he commented that there were many African American mentors, but very few Korean ones. Surprisingly, his statements hit a chord with many Koreans and some newspapers questioned whether Koreans would rethink how they treat biracial children, and redefine what it means to be Korean. In addition to Heinz Ward, Daniel Henny became a hot ticket in Korea's model and drama industry. His father is British American and his mother is Korean American and he speaks no Korean. His mother was adopted when she was not yet one year old. Still, he has gained a large fan base despite the fact that in the dramas, he only speaks English. Henny also visits and volunteer at the orphanage where his mother resided for a year. Is he Korean? The U.S. Olympic skier Toby Dawson also came into the Korean news spotlight after reporters revealed that he was adopted as a child after being found by the police in Busan, Korea. Even though he was raised by Caucasian parents and lived in predominantly white neighborhoods, Koreans have also claimed him as their own. Is he Korean nonetheless?

While cases like these are not new, and in fact biracial children were the first to be adopted during the 1950s, the reception toward biracial children and people has never been warm in Korea. In fact, biracial children still comment on how difficult it is to attend Korean schools where other kids tease and beat them because they are mixed. One Korean woman says, "if you do something great or admirable, Korean people will adopt you as their own whether you're a Korean [gyopo] or mixed. But, if you do something that is shameful to the Korean race, they will quickly turn on you."⁹ This is not because Koreans are a harsh group of

people. On the contrary, many people have pointed to the generosity and warmth of Koreans. There is a coexistence of intimacy and distance in Korean culture that is often difficult to understand. If Koreans have *cheong*¹⁰ for you, you are forever a part of their life and have an established relationship with them that is hard to deny. However, if there is no relationship, whether it is due to work, friendship, or family, a person in many ways does not exist in the eyes of the average Korean. This is changing a bit with the younger generation, which is becoming more global minded and open to dialoguing with foreigners. However, such behavior and ideology are still uncommon.

Thus, the experiences of foreigners vary among those who feel that Koreans are warm and generous to those who find them rude and disconnected. These feelings, along with the impression that non-Koreans don't matter or even exist, have much to do with the ideology of Korean culture that if you do not have a relationship with someone, then for that person you do not matter—not in a cold and heartless manner as it may sound, but in that Koreans invest their energy and efforts in family, friends, and colleagues. If there is some kind of relationship, Koreans are very warm and endearing. For example, people who work in Korea have relationships with their colleagues. The expectation of maintaining a team environment is how other scholars have described Japanese business culture. One can also have a relationship with a local street vendor frequented on a regular basis. When you become a regular at his or her booth or store, you have a relationship as a “regular customer.” So if there are regular interactions, Koreans are very friendly and thoughtful. The curtness and so-called “rudeness” come about from the same people who are kind and thoughtful when there is no established relationship. For many Korean Americans, they move to Korea with various expectations. Some have said that they decided to “try” Korea to get in touch with their roots, while they have stated that they felt that it would be a good place where they wouldn't stand out as much as they do in the States. While there are distinct reasons for each Korean American, for those who are traveling to Korea for the first time, they expect a welcome from their fellow Koreans.

Ethnic identity is a complex topic, and the manner in which it is constructed has much to do with the process by which one's ethnicity is

constructed and shaped. Increasingly ethnic identity is recognized as being fluid and contextual. The notion of ethnic identity is constructed and reconstructed depending on the situation.¹¹ Individual and group attempts to address ethnic boundaries and meanings for ethnicity are best understood as "a dynamic, constantly evolving property of both individual identity and group organization."¹² The way we construct our ethnic identity is the result of structure and agency, the interchange between ethnic groups and the larger society. Consequently, behaviors and actions of ethnic groups are a product of the social, economic, cultural and political environment.¹³ The current global environment has led to the return migration of many Korean gyopos searching for personal and professional opportunities in Korea.

Korean American Experiences in Korea: "What are you?"

Encountering the question "What are you?" is a common experience of Korean Americans living in the U.S. As a racialized society filled with racial and ethnic distinctions, Koreans regardless of their generational status have had to answer this question at least once in their lives. Ethnicity is an important factor for most because it allows people to situate and place another to them. For Korean Americans this question has different meanings depending on who is asking the question and how they ask it. The response varies from "I'm American, I'm human, I'm Korean, I'm Korean American, I'm Asian," to "I'm a New Yorker, I'm a Southerner," and so on. The options for ethnic identity are vast, and depending on the social-cultural and generational experiences of Korean Americans the way they see themselves varies. However, for most Korean Americans this question reaffirms the notion that many people do not view Koreans as just Americans, but still as someone who is foreign. Thus, Korean Americans have expressed in many studies that they do not feel American, nor do they feel Korean. This constant state of aimlessness or marginality has led to Korean Americans questioning their ethnic identity, but it has also led to many choosing various options and adapting when needed.

Korean Americans living in Korea respond to this question in varying ways. Some Korean gyopos have gone as far as to change their American names for their Korean ones. One biracial Korean gyopo says that

his name is Mark, but for business purposes he uses the Korean name Joon.¹⁴ He says that Koreans have a hard time pronouncing American names, but it has also made it easier for him to interact with others via the internet. Since most of his clients inquire about his services via email first, he is able to give the impression that he is "Korean Korean." Such changing of American names for Korean ones is not unique to the Korean *gyopo* experience. Many Korean immigrants to the U.S. changed their names for American ones in order to fit in. Such adaptation is a way to make living in a foreign place more familiar. Not all Korean *gyopos* change their names, but they quickly realize that in order to blend in or fit in, they have to adjust their behavior and dress.

While Korean *gyopos* are in many ways indistinguishable from other Koreans, *gyopos* and Koreans alike state that the way in which one behaves and dresses is a clear giveaway to where one is from. Hence, Korean *gyopos* alter their style of hair and dress so that on the street it is difficult to differentiate them from anyone else. In addition, behaviors quickly change. Heterosexual Korean men who are used to approaching women they find attractive find that in Korea such behavior is an instant indicator of being foreign. Men in Korea do not show a woman that they are interested, nor do they show that they find a woman attractive in any way. Walking down the street, a woman can easily go through a whole day without a man looking at them. This is contrary to the experiences of women in the U.S., where they are looked at, smiled at, and approached by men. However, for non-Korean women from Europe, Russia, Southeast Asia and South Asia, their experiences are strikingly different.

In Korea, if you are different, people will stare for long periods of time. For non-Korean women, they are also harassed by men on the street who assume that they are prostitutes, and hence they are faced with dealing with propositions from Korean men who assume that they are "working girls."¹⁵ Such crass behavior is amplified during the evening hours, after men have been drinking. One South Asian American woman stated that living in Korea has been a difficult experience due to the constant inappropriate propositions and treatment she gets from Korean men. She has come to a point where she now looks at all Korean men with disgust. While non-Koreans cannot hide their race or ethnicity, Korean *gyopos* are able to hide behind their ethnicity to some extent.

While they may be able to hide their nationality, they are still women, and Korean American women state that the sexism that exists in Korea is glaring. While sexism continues in the U.S., Korean gyopos, both men and women, describe Korea as "a man's world." When I asked a Korean gyopo male how Korea is for women, he responded, "I'm glad I'm a man."¹⁶ Women are paid half that of men in Korea, and the expectations of women are to be subservient to men. However, there are signs that some of this is changing. The rigid views about gender and sexuality appear to be weakening as the younger generation becomes more exposed to the international community. One sign is the Korean comedy *Chubu Quiz*, which is a story about a house husband who goes on a quiz show. The idea that a woman works while the man stays home and takes care of the family is an anomaly. The Korean government has long held the man as the head of the household regardless of whether he actually is or not. Furthermore, there is a growing presence of women in the business sector. But Korea is far from being an egalitarian society. It is still very much male dominated in politics, business, and education.

In addition to sexism, homophobia is very much internalized. Much like the U.S., the country is institutionally heterosexual. Koreans, however, go as far as denying that homosexuality exists in Korea. Ask any Korean over the age of thirty where gays, lesbians, bisexuals, or transgenders (GLBT) hang out and the response is consistently, "there are no homosexuals in Korea." The reality is that there are GLBTs in Korea, but they are discreet and still very much in the closet. In Itaewon, an area that is heavily foreign with a U.S. military presence, there is "homo hill" where bars and clubs cater to the GLBT community. According to one Korean woman in her thirties, Namsan Tower also has a stairway where people can hike to the top which at night turns into a rendezvous spot for gay men. Furthermore, there are also gay bath houses in various parts of Seoul. There are also places where lesbians hang out, most noticeably in a park near a university. Still, the majority of Koreans will tell you that there are no homosexuals in Korea. This mantra has been muted a bit by the release of the very first gay focused Korean film. Last November, Korean filmmakers released a film entitled *The King and the Clown* which became a huge hit with the Korean audience. It is a story about a love triangle between a king, his concubine, and his male clown. The

clear gay themed film has proved to be a blockbuster hit in Korea to the surprise of many who view Korea as a conservative, Christian based country. Film analysts state that as a result of its popularity, they have opened the film in more theatres throughout Seoul. Its popularity, some say, is an indication of a changing Korea, one that is more tolerant of diversity and sexual orientation. Others state that they see it merely as a fad following the success of *Brokeback Mountain*. That being gay has become a fad and that there are questions to whether such sentiments will remain. Korea's culture is filled with contradictions. There is a cultural paradox of wanting to remain true to Korea's way of life and the reality of a Western capitalistic influence.

Korean gyopos who are bilingual and bicultural also have an easier time fitting in to Korean culture. Living in Korea is quite difficult for a foreigner. The everyday way of life is strikingly different from the U.S. While there have been more English signs and an increased interest in teaching young children English, Koreans still do not speak English. This is quite surprising since Korea spends close to sixty billion dollars on English education and some parents even succumb to tongue surgery on their children hoping that a slit on the back of the tongue will allow the children to pronounce English like Americans.¹⁷ Consequently, Korean children are fascinated with anyone who can speak English and often stare and smile when they hear English spoken. For Korean gyopos, speaking English has its advantages and disadvantages in Korean society. The advantages are that with a growing need for English teachers, Korean gyopos find that they can teach English from anywhere from thirty to sixty dollars an hour at the various hagwons in Korea and as private tutors. However, some Korean Americans have stated that when they speak English in public spaces, they have had Korean people yell at them in Korean: "You think you're better than us because you can speak English! Stop showing off." People who are bilingual are able to respond, which diffuses the interaction. However, if a Korean gyopo cannot speak Korean, then they hear: "You are Korean. Why don't you speak Korean?"

Being able to speak Korean is very helpful for Korean gyopos. Even if it is not perfect, it provides an opportunity to communicate and to establish a relationship with other Koreans. In addition, the Korean

language allows one to communicate emotions and thoughts in ways that are different from English. Aside from language, those who have an understanding of Korean culture appreciate the Korean people, while those who are not familiar with Korean ways of life find Korean people rude. One 1.5 generation Korean American woman named Lisa expressed why she loved Korea and the people while others didn't.

There are things that Korean people do that I just really love. They look out for you, you know? They call you, take you out to eat, and treat you so well. They will put food on your plate as you're eating and say 'try it, you'll like it' or 'this is good for you.' That is just so sweet, you know. But I know that there are other Koreans who think that is just rude. Like they are telling you what to do or something, but I don't see it that way. Koreans do come across a bit direct, but I like that. (Lisa Shim, January 19, 2006)

Lisa interpreted the interactions with other Koreans very differently from those who are unfamiliar with the way Koreans do or say things. Many foreigners complain that Koreans are forceful in their interactions, from shoving their elbows into you, to telling you that you are fat, to telling you what to eat and drink. Korean gyopos who are accustomed to Koreans understand that such directness is cultural and there is no meanness behind it, but others questions why Koreans have not adjusted to the international environment and amended their ways toward foreigners. Such expectations of Korean people are the idea that Koreans should conform to a particular mode. After all, they are one of Asia's superpowers. Yet such sentiments neglect to consider that while Korea has become a capitalistic giant in the global economy, there is a clear distinction in the lives of those who have wealth vs. those who don't. This is not unique to Korea. It occurs in most capitalist societies. In Korea, however, the hardship for the poor, elderly, and disabled is increased by the fact that Seoul is the fifth most expensive city in the world in which to live. One thirty-five-year-old second generation Korean American woman name Marni stated, "When I came to Korea two years ago, I couldn't understand why they treated me the way they did. We have the same [Korean] blood, but why do they treat me so."¹⁸ This sentiment is common among those Korean Americans who come to Korea with the expectation of having a warm reception, only to be faced with Koreans

“yelling” at them for not speaking Korean or not being Korean enough. These interactions force Korean gyopos to reexamine what it means to be Korean. In the U.S. Korean Americans are not seen as Americans, but Koreans, and in Korea they are not seen as Koreans, but Americans. They are neither, and feel marginalized from both communities. This state of being in-between is very similar to the experiences of the Korean American 1.5 generation who feel that they are neither truly Korean nor truly American.

What do Korean Americans think of Korea?

Korean Americans returning to the States often complain of being discriminated against during their stay in Korea. Hence, Korean Americans stated that they are not considered American in the U.S. or Korean in Korea. Others, however, returned to the States with fond memories of their Korean brothers and sisters, with established cheong and firm friendships they cherish. Thus, it seems that most people have extreme experiences. Either they love Korea or they hate it. Such extreme emotions have much to do with the Korean Americans themselves and their expectations of what Korea will be for them. Moreover, it has much to do with their understanding and appreciation for Korean culture that will dictate how they feel for the people and country.

Many Korean Americans who work in Korea find themselves with more disposable income than they would have in the States. While the cost of living is very high in Korea, many Korean Americans have their housing provided and are paid better than their Korean counterparts. Hence, they live large in Korea and find that the economic benefit outweighs their inability to adapt to the culture. For those who are bilingual and bicultural, they love Korea, for they feel that they have the best of both worlds. Korean gyopo women find it to be more of a challenge living in Korea for multiple reasons, not only because of the sexism that permeates here, but also the unrelenting expectation of women to be thin, beautiful, young, and subservient. Consequently, Korean women have noted that eating disorders among young Korean women is a growing social problem. Living in Korea is difficult for many foreigners, but one can say that it is the case for any foreigner living anywhere. However, the challenges are compounded by the lack of diversity in Korea and the

outwardly homogeneous image that Korea has maintained. For Korean gyopos there is the constant negotiation and navigation of what they look like on the outside and how they feel inside.

NOTES

1. Wayne Patterson, *The Ilse: First Generation Korean Immigrants in Hawai'i, 1903-1973* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000).
2. Ibid.
3. There are different points of view when the "internet" actually began. Some scholars state that it began with the Pentagon in 1969, while others argue that the beginning for the public came much later, in the 1980s. (<http://www.nethistory.info/History%20of%20the%20Internet/beginnings.html>)
4. Edward Chang and Russell Leong, ed., *Los Angeles: Struggles Toward Multiethnic Community: Asian American, African American, & Latino Perspectives* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 1995).
5. Mia Tuan, *Forever Foreigners or Honorary Whites? The Asian Ethnic Experience Today* (New York: Rutgers University Press, 1999).
6. AM News: South Korea, <http://www.smc.org.ph/amnews/amn040731/eastasia/southkorea040731.htm>.
7. Email correspondence from US Embassy American Civil Service office, Sept. 18, 2005.
8. Janet Jun, "Int'l Marriages Spark Human Rights Issues: Human Rights of Migrant Wives Infringed," <http://theseoultimes.com/ST/?url=/ST/db/read.php?idx=1664>.
9. Interview on November 24, 2005 in Seoul, Korea conducted by Mary Danico.
10. "The balance of cheong attachments may be best reserved for those which involve affection, but it can also include work colleagues and others who may even be disliked, but to whom there are nevertheless extended obligations. While cheong has some cost, it is also a source of security and satisfaction. Your cheong partners, notably your family and close friends, are those whose company you will seek, and who will extend you help in times of difficulty. Although cheong is a Korean label, its substance is of course found in every world culture to varying degrees." (<http://72.14.203.104/search?q=cache:tfH0OuHNc4cJ:ask.metafilter.com/mefi/10490+korean+word+for+intimacy+love+jeong&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=4&client=safari> posted by stavrostthewonderchicken at 7:34 PM PST on Sept. 27, 2004.)
11. Mary Danico, *The 1.5 Generation: Becoming Korean American in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004); Joane Nagel, "Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture," *Social Problems* 41 (1994):1001-26; J. C. Mitchell, "Perceptions of Ethnicity and Ethnic Behavior: An Empirical Exploration," in *Urban Ethnicity*, ed. Abner

- Cohen (New York: Tavistock Publications, 1974), 1–36; Jonathan Okamura, "Situational Ethnicity," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 4 (1981): 452–65.
12. Nagel, 1.
 13. Ibid; Jonathan Okamura, 1991. "Beyond Adaptationism: Immigrant Filipino Ethnicity in Hawai'i," *Social Process in Hawai'i* 33 (1991); Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States from the 1960's to the 1990's* (New York: Free Press, 1994).
 14. All names used in this paper have been changed for confidentiality reasons.
 15. A common term for prostitute.
 16. Interview with Jim Shim, Mar. 14, 2006.
 17. Kim Kyoung-wha, "Korean Short Cut to Fluency," *The Age*, Oct. 18, 2003.
 18. Interview on November 16, 2005 in Seoul, Korea conducted by Mary Danico.

President's Annual Report

It is my pleasure to report on the annual activities of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 2005.

At the end of the year 2005, the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch had a total of 736 members, including 77 life members, 367 members residing in Korea and 172 members overseas. This represents a slight decrease from 2004.

Programs during the year included lectures, slide and video presentations, and music and dance performances. Except during the winter months, programs were held on the second and fourth Wednesday of each month at Sogang University's Alumni Hall and the RAS, British Correspondents' Club.

Some 1,120 persons enjoyed the full schedule of party and tours which took members and friends to dozens of places throughout Korea as well as to Japan, Mongolia, China and Cambodia. Tours remain one of the most popular activities of the Society.

Publications for the year included Volume 79 (2004) of the Society's *Transactions*, and also Samuel Haseley's *The Dying War: Japan's Sixteenth-Century Invasion of Korea and Attempt to Conquer China*, which the RAS co-published in October with the Institute of East Asian Studies at the University of California, Berkeley.

The 2005 garden party was hosted by Ambassador and Mrs. Warwick Morris and the officers and councilors of the Society at the official residence of the British Embassy. A large audience of some two hundred

2005 ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
KOREA BRANCH

President's Annual Report

It is my pleasure to report on the annual activities of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 2005.

At the end of the year 2005, the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch had a total of 756 members, including 77 life members, 507 members residing in Korea and 172 members overseas. This represents a slight decrease from 2004.

Programs during the year included lectures, slide and video presentations, and music and dance performances. Except during the summer months, programs were held on the second and fourth Wednesday of each month at Sogang University's Alumni Hall and the FCC, Foreign Correspondents' Club.

Some 1120 persons enjoyed the full schedule of sixty-two tours, which took members and friends to dozens of places throughout Korea as well as to Japan, Mongolia, China and Cambodia. Tours remain one of the most popular activities of the Society.

Publications for the year included Volume 79 (2004) of the Society's *Transactions*, and also Samuel Hawley's *The Imjin War: Japan's Sixteenth-Century Invasion of Korea and Attempt to Conquer China*, which the RAS co-published in October with the Institute of East Asian Studies at the University of California, Berkeley.

The 2005 garden party was hosted by Ambassador and Mrs. Warwick Morris and the officers and councilors of the Society at the official residence of the British Embassy. A large audience of some two hundred

members enjoyed food and drink and special book sales. A program was also provided of traditional Korean music and dance by Nongak Nori Performance of the Kwangmyung Group.

While maintaining a reasonable financial position during the year, it is important for members to be reminded that their support continues to be critical to the financial wellbeing of the Society. Every member of the Council and our General Manager, Mrs. Bae, make every effort to keep operating expenses moderate, while providing members with the best service possible.

I take this opportunity to express sincere appreciation for the selfless efforts of the council members and officers, who devote many hundreds of hours of voluntary service to the Society throughout the year. I also express my appreciation to Mrs. Sue J. Bae, our general manager, who has been the mainstay of the office and day-to-day operations for the Society for almost forty years. Finally, the Society expresses profound gratitude to Sogang University and the FCC for providing to the Society, with moderate charge, their auditoriums for our regular lectures and meetings.

Respectfully submitted,

Kim Yong-duk

President, Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch

2005 RAS-KB Lectures

- January 12 “The Sound of Samul-nori”
Mr. Alan Heyman
- January 26 “Syngman Rhee and the ‘Americanization’ of Korea”
Dr. Young Ick Lew
- February 23 “1956: An Aborted North Korean de-Stalinization”
Dr. Andrei Lankov
- March 9 “The Splendor of Traditional Korean Gardens”
Prof. Sim Woo-Kyung
- March 23 “Learning about Korean Ceramics”
Mr. Stuart B. Solomon
- April 13 “Chunhwa: Eroticism in Joseon Dynasty Paintings”
Ms. Park Soo-mee
- April 27 “Photos of Korea—As It Was 100 Years Ago”
Prof. Norman Thorpe
- May 11 “Guided Tour of The National Folk Museum”
Dr. Yang Jong-seung and Ms. Lee Ki-won
- May 25 “Living Dangerously in Korea”
Dr. Donald Clark
- June 8 “History and Development of Korean Martial Arts”
Mr. Andrew Pratt

- June 22 "Research Status of Archaeological Sites of Kaesong"
Prof. Elisabeth Chabanol
- August 24 "A Walk Across Outer Mongolia"
Prof. William Engells
- September 14 "The Great Similarities of Accounting Art Between
Kaesong, Korea and Venice, Italy"
Prof. Jun Sung Ho
- September 28 "The Invention of the Korean Alphabet"
Prof. Sang-Oak Lee
- October 11 "To Be or Not to Be: The Military Tradition in
Medieval Korea and Japan"
Prof. Edward J. Shultz
- October 24 "The 1.5 Generation Korean American"
Dr. Mary Yu Danico
- November 8 "Covering the Kwangju Insurrection: A Reporter's
Experiences"
Mr. Norman Thorpe
- November 22 "The Slow and Unnoticed Death of North Korean
Stalinism"
Dr. Andrei Lankov
- December 13 "Protestantism in Confucian Korea: Its Growth and
Historical Meaning"
Prof. Park Chung-Shin

2005 RAS-KB Tours

<i>Date</i>	<i>Destination</i>	<i>Attendance</i>	<i>Leader</i>
Jan. 8	Inwang-san Hike	8	S. J. Bae
Jan. 22	Ch'orwon Bird Watching-II	10	S. J. Bae
Jan. 29	Snow Country Train Tour	10	S. J. Bae
Jan. 30	Sobaek-san Tour	9	S. J. Bae
Feb. 5-6	Inner Sorak-san Tour	21	S. J. Bae
Feb. 9-14	Vietnam Tour	25	S. J. Bae
Feb. 19	Embroidery Tour	11	S. J. Bae
Feb. 20	Yuju Tour	10	S. J. Bae
Feb. 26	Art Studio Tour	12	L. Talbot
Mar. 12	Sujong-sa Tour	9	S. J. Bae
Mar. 13	Walking Tour of Chosŏn Seoul	42	S. J. Bae
Mar. 19	Suwon Tour	22	S. J. Bae
Mar. 20	KTX Train Tour to Busan	12	S. J. Bae
Mar. 25-27	Geumgang-san (North Korea)	32	S. J. Bae
Mar. 26-27	Chiri-san Tour	9	S. J. Bae
Apr. 3	Chemulpo (Incheon) Tour	15	N. Thorpe
Apr. 2-3	Namhae-do/Chinhae Tour	30	S. J. Bae
Apr. 9	Cherry Blossom Tour	12	S. J. Bae
Apr. 16	Chollipo-Manllipo Tour	16	S. J. Bae
Apr. 17	Flower Tour (Hantaek Garden)	10	S. J. Bae
Apr. 24	Sanshinje Tour	15	D. Mason
Apr. 22-25	Honshu Japan Tour	12	S. J. Bae
Apr. 30-May 1	Cheju-do Tour	18	S. J. Bae
Apr. 30	Bukchon Tour	28	R. Kostka-Wagner
May 7-8	Kyongju Tour	15	D. Adams
May 7	Ceramic Biennale Tour	15	S. J. Bae
May 14	Kumsan-sa Tour	18	D. Adams
May 15	Buddha's Birthday Tour	43	S. J. Bae

<i>Date</i>	<i>Destination</i>	<i>Attendance</i>	<i>Leader</i>
May 21-22	Andong Tour	27	S. J. Bae
May 28-29	Tongdo-sa Tour	13	D. Adams
June 4-5	Kangnung, East Coast Tour	10	S. J. Bae
June 6	World Ceramic Expo Tour	18	S. J. Bae
June 11	RAS Garden Party	200	S. J. Bae
June 12	Kanghwa-do Tour	16	Y. D. Kim
June 18-19	Byonsan Bando & Unjusa Tour	8	S. J. Bae
June 25-26	Chungmu, Koje-do Tour	7	S. J. Bae
July 7-15	Mongolia Tour	15	S. J. Bae
July 16	Jawoldo Tour	10	S. J. Bae
July 17	Tokchok-do Tour	10	S. J. Bae
Aug. 14	Wondobong-san Tour	11	S. J. Bae
Aug. 21	Tanyang, Kosu Cave Tour	13	S. J. Bae
Aug. 28	Tongang River Rafting	43	S. J. Bae
Sept. 3	Kiln Tour	8	S. J. Bae
Sept. 11	Chyungpyong Boat Tour	12	S. J. Bae
Sept. 16-20	Chuseok Holiday Tour to China	21	S. J. Bae
Sept. 24-25	Chungmu & Koje-do Tour	8	S. J. Bae
Oct. 1-3	Hong-do & Hukdan-do Tour	10	S. J. Bae
Oct. 2	Walking tour of Chosŏn Seoul	20	P. Bartholomew
Oct. 15-16	Andong & Pusoksa Tour	11	D. Adams
Oct. 22-23	Sorak-san Tour	26	S. J. Bae
Oct. 29	Nami Island, Chuncheon Tour	10	S. J. Bae
Oct. 29-30	Chiri National Park Tour	11	S. J. Bae
Nov. 5-6	Kyongju Tour, Silla Kingdom	15	S. J. Bae
Nov. 6	Yongmun-san Hiking Tour	10	S. J. Bae
Nov. 12-13	Tongdo-sa and Haein-sa Tour	10	S. J. Bae
Nov. 26	Ch'orwon Tour	9	S. J. Bae
Nov. 27	Kingdom of Paekche Tour	9	S. J. Bae
Dec. 10	Shopping Spree Tour	7	S. J. Bae
Dec. 11	Munkyong Pass Tour	9	S. J. Bae
Dec. 26-31	Cambodia and North Vietnam	12	S. J. Bae

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(As of December 31, 2005)

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Roman, Mr. & Mrs. Ron
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Schmierer, Ms. Casey
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Schneider, Ms. Hana
Schoefer, Mrs. Saskia C.
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Schramm, Daniel P.
Schroeder, Mr. Shad
Schruder, Mr. & Mrs. Larry
Schweitzer, Mr. and Mrs. Barbara
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Scott, Ms. Mary-Jane
Seligson, Mr. & Mrs. Fred J.
Seo, Dr. Maria
Shaw, Mr. Andrew
Shawler, Mr. & Mrs. Stephen
Shim, Mrs. Jae Ok
Shin, Mr. JaeBang & Ju-Bong Kang
Shin, Ms. Haiwon
Shipton, Ms. Nicole
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Sluchinski, Mr. Mike & Cha, JiHyun
Smallwood, Mr. & Mrs. Royce
Smith, Ms. Lisa L.
Smithson, Mr. Don
Sohn, Ms. Chung-Mee
Solomon, Mr. Stuart B.
Song, Prof. Ho Kuen
Spring, Miss Kelly A.
Stanfield, Mr. Joseph Lee
Steinhauser, Mr. & Mrs. Phillip
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Stoss, Frank & Rittenhause, Laura
Stotler, Mr. David
Strawn, Ms. Lee-Ellen
Suh, Mrs. Bong-Sun
Suh, Ms. Soon-Chung
Surathikhajon, Ms. Unchana
Swart, Mr. & Mrs. Andreas
Swenty, Mr. Brian
Symes, Mr. & Mrs. Michael
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Tolle, Leona & Jeff
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Trunkhardt, Mr. & Mrs. Michael
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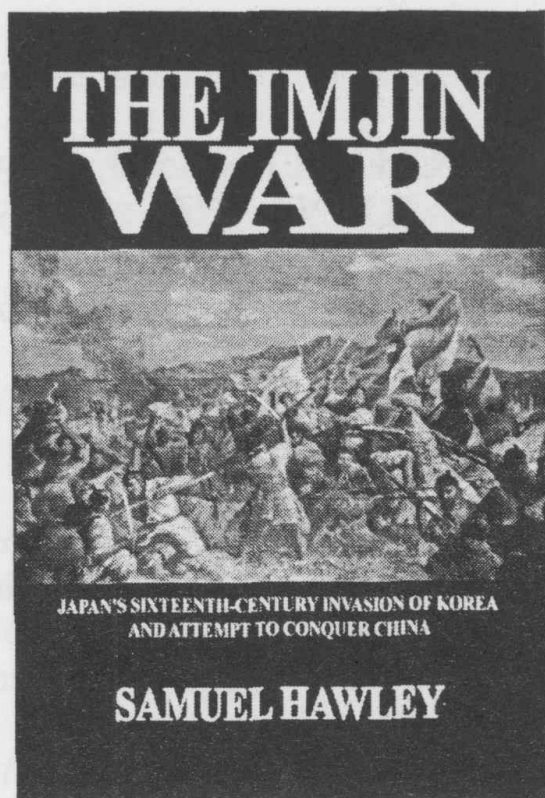
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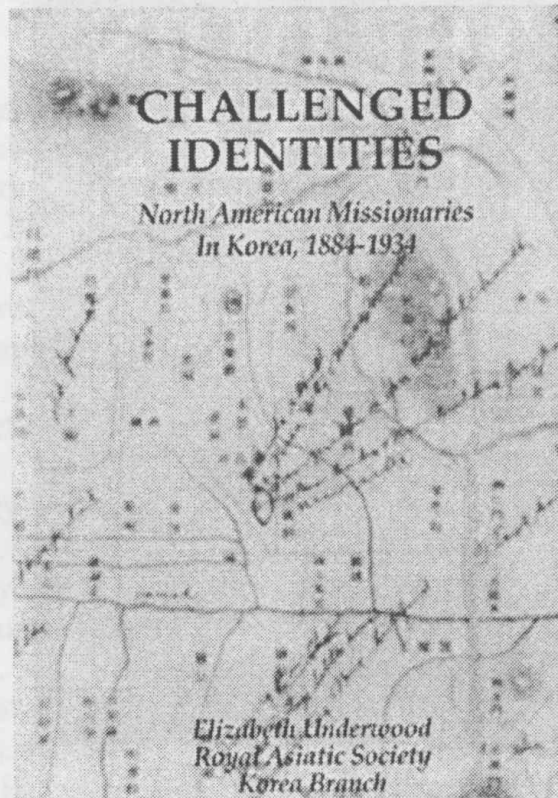
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