

TRANSACTIONS



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TRANSACTIONS
of the
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY – KOREA BRANCH

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COVER: The seal-shaped emblem of the RAS-KB consists of the following Chinese characters: 權 (top right), 域 (bottom right), 菁 (top left), 莪 (bottom left), pronounced Kŭn yŏk Ch'ŏng A in Korean. The first two characters mean "the hibiscus region," referring to Korea, while the other two ("luxuriant mugwort") are a metaphor inspired by Confucian commentaries on the Chinese *Book of Odes*, and could be translated as "enjoy encouraging erudition."

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Won Buddhism in Korea: A New Religious Movement Comes of Age

DANIEL J. ADAMS

On August 23, 2009 the government of the Republic of Korea held an official state funeral for former president Kim Dae-Jung. Four religious traditions participated in the funeral rites, the assumption being that these four traditions were representative of the major religious movements in Korea. The four were Roman Catholicism, Protestantism, Buddhism, and Won Buddhism. Since former president Kim was a Catholic and his wife received a portion of her education at a Methodist college in the United States, it is understandable that these two varieties of the Christian tradition would participate in the funeral rites. It is also understandable that Buddhism, both as the major traditional religion of Korea and as a supporter of many of former president Kim's reforms, would be participating as well. But Won Buddhism? It is both a relatively new religious movement and its participation in Korean politics has been relatively low key. Historically in the Donghak Movement of the 1860s and in the Independence Movement of 1919 Cheondo-gyo played a far more prominent role, and during the more recent student-led demonstrations for democracy Jeongsan-gyo attracted thousands of adherents. Yet neither of these two religious movements was selected to participate. Clearly, in the eyes of the government and the funeral planning committee, Won Buddhism was both more representative, conformed more closely to the ideals of former president Kim, and perhaps most significant, had clearly come of age and deserved to be recognized.

This was not always so, however. As recently as 1967 in a special issue of the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society—Korea Branch* on

the new religions of Korea, Won Buddhism was not even mentioned.¹ Five new religious movements were studied and it appeared that these would be the most influential in Korean society. The Olive Tree Church of Pak Taesun has all but faded away in the midst of scandal. Jeongsan-gyo has split into at least fifty different sects many of which are in direct competition with one another. Sindonae located at Kyeryongsan west of Daejon is almost unknown today. Cheondo-gyo continues on but has little influence in contemporary society. Tong-il, better known as the Unification Church, has been mired in scandal, involved in controversy over its recruitment methods, accused of heresy by orthodox Christians, and the question remains as to whether the movement will outlive its founder. From a relatively unknown movement, Won Buddhism has emerged to outlive its founder, remain free from accusations of scandal, avoid spitting into different sects, and while being seen as somewhat unorthodox by traditional Buddhists has never been accused of heresy. Unlike other new religious movements in Korea whose influence has waxed and waned with the times, Won Buddhism has experienced a slow but steady growth and its overall influence in Korean society has grown considerably. Thus in the view of one observer, "Won Buddhism continues to grow and remains one of the most solid national religions of Korea."²

The Life and Times of Sot'aesan

The late-nineteenth century and the early twentieth century was a turbulent time for Korea, and it was during this period that the majority of the new religions in Korea came into being. A detailed analysis of this period and its influence upon Korean religion can be readily found in the available literature and need not be repeated here.³ However, it should be

¹ Spencer J. Palmer, ed., *The New Religions of Korea: special issue of Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society—Korea Branch*, Vol. XLIII (1967).

² Choi Joon-sik, "New Religions," *Religious Culture in Korea* (Seoul: General Religious Affairs Division, Religious Affairs Office, Ministry of Culture and Sports, 1996), p. 116.

³ See Spencer J. Palmer, "Introduction," *The New Religions of Korea: special issue of Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society—Korea Branch*, Vol. XLIII (1967), pp. 1-8; Choi Joon-sik, "New Religions," *Religious Culture in Korea*, pp. 103-117; and Ro Kil-myung, "A Sociological Understanding of Korean New

noted that the majority of the initial members of Won Buddhism came from the Cholla Provinces and were impoverished farmers. Their perspective on things was limited by their lack of education, experience with the wider world, and continual poverty. The old Confucian order was clearly in disarray, the Donghak Rebellion had failed and disgruntled Donghak soldiers were roaming the countryside terrorizing the rural population, Chinese armies had entered the country with the Japanese colonial rulers soon to follow, and new ideas from the West—including Christianity in both its Catholic and Protestant forms—were challenging the old traditions. In addition Buddhism was in decline after centuries of being marginalized by the dominant Neo-Confucian social and political order. Confused by these rapid social changes, these farmers watched helplessly as their world around them crumbled. The political, religious, and social underpinnings of their worldview appeared to be slipping away and they grasped at whatever they could hold on to for support. One should not be surprised, therefore, to discover that among the early adherents of Won Buddhism were former members of the Donghak movement later known as Cheondo-gyo, former members of Jeongsan-gyo, and even former Christians including a prominent elder who had established a church in a nearby village.

Even as the old order crumbled it was obvious that a new order was in the making.⁴ The introduction of electricity, the railroad, the automobile, education for women, and western medicine were some of the more notable modern innovations with which even rural farmers were familiar. They could see that a new era was dawning, an era for which they were ill prepared. Sot'aesan, the founder of Won Buddhism, was born between these two eras—the passing of the old Neo-Confucian era and the advent of the new modern era.⁵

Religions,” *Encounters: The New Religions of Korea and Christianity*, ed. Kim Sung-hae & James Heisig (Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 2008), pp. 117-142.

⁴ See Yi Kyu-tae, *Modern Transformation of Korea* (Seoul: Sejong Publishing Co., 1970).

⁵ A number of studies focus on Sot'aesan's role in the modernization of Korea. See Kelvin Barrett, “Won Buddhism: A Modern Way—A Study of Sot'aesan's Spiritual Response to Modernization,” M.A. thesis, Graduate School of

Born on May 5, 1891 in Killyong Village, Paeksu Township, Yonggwang County in South Cholla Province, Sot'aesan's original name was Park Chin-sop.⁶ He was the third of four sons and one daughter and his father was a farmer. Like many rural boys, he married young at age fourteen. Life was difficult for the family and when Sot'aesan was twenty years of age his father died and he became responsible for the economic support of the family. The eldest brother had been adopted out to another family and the second eldest brother had died as a youth. In this sense his life was not all that different from other farming families in the Cholla provinces. Like most young boys in his village, Sot'aesan was enrolled in a local school where he studied the Chinese classics however he soon dropped out as he found the classes to be of little interest. Unlike other youth Sot'aesan was deeply interested in metaphysical questions and it soon became clear that he had an unusual sensitivity to matters of the spirit. From an early age he embarked on what was to become a life-long spiritual journey.⁷

Sot'aesan's spiritual journey began at age seven when he asked questions concerning the meaning of the universe. At age ten he was told about

International Studies, Yonsei University, 1996; Kwangsoo Park, *The Won Buddhism (Wonbulgyo) of Sot'saesan: A Twentieth-Century Religious Movement in Korea* (San Francisco: International Scholars Press, 1997); and Key Ray Chong, *Won Buddhism: A History and Theology of Korea's New Religion* [Studies in Asian Thought and Religion, Vol. 22] (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1997).

⁶ To date there is no book-length biography of Sot'aesan. The closest to an official biography is Park Chong-hun, compiler, *Hanuranh hanich'i-e* (In Unitary Principle within One Force) Iri: Wonbulgyo Ch'ulp'ansa, 1982 and Yi Hye-hwa, *Sot'saeon Pak Chung-bin ui munhak segye* (The Literary Realm of Sot'saesan Pak Chung-bin) (Seoul: Kip'unsae, 1991). The latter book was published for the one-hundredth anniversary of Sot'saesan's birth. Biographies in English are limited to introductions in essays and books on Won Buddhism and to academic theses and dissertations.

⁷ The story of Sot'aesan's spiritual quest is told in greater detail in Chung Bongkil, "What is Won Buddhism?" *Korea Journal*, Vol. 24, No. 5 (May 1984), 19-22. This essay remains one of the best introductions to Won Buddhism available in English. See also Bongkil Chung, *An Introduction to Won Buddhism (Wonbulgyo)*, revised third edition (Iri: Won Buddhist Press, 1994).

the mountain spirit and for five years he climbed a nearby mountain each day in the hope of meeting the mountain spirit. When this effort failed he began at age sixteen a six year search to meet an enlightened person who could become his teacher. He met a series of teachers, traveling monks, and just plain rogues but none could answer his questions. He soon fell into depression and ill health and by age twenty-five was considered by his acquaintances to be somewhat of an eccentric.

The breakthrough took place in the early morning of April 28, 1916 when Sot'aesan experienced enlightenment. He attained clarity of understanding of the nature of reality as he saw the stars shining in the predawn sky. Known as the Great Enlightenment by Won Buddhists, this experience forever changed Sot'aesan's life. He took on a new religious name, Park Chung-bin and sought to understand the nature of his enlightenment by reading the various texts of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism. He concluded that his enlightenment experience was similar to that of the great sages but was closest to that of the Sakyamuni Buddha. This came about through a reading of the *Diamond Sutra*.⁸ Sot'aesan decided that his new religious movement was closest to Buddhism and would therefore be a new reformed type of Buddhism.

He soon gathered a group of around fifty followers, most of whom were neighbors and relatives and in 1918 and 1919 took several decisive steps in the founding of Won Buddhism. First, he selected a group of nine disciples to be his closest aides. They formed a financial mutual aid society and in March of 1918 began work to reclaim some twenty-one acres of beach land into a productive rice field. A year later the work was completed. Second, on August 21, 1919 this group of nine disciples signed a pledge to follow this new religious movement even at the cost of their lives. As they pressed their thumbs on the paper they left their bloody thumbprints as their signature. According to Chung Bong-kil these two decisive events laid both the financial and spiritual foundations for the formation of Won Buddhism.⁹

⁸ A. F. Price & Wong Mou-lam, trans., *The Diamond Sutra and Sutra of Hui-Neng* (Boston: Shambhala, 1990), pp. 1-53. Divided into thirty-two chapters, the *Diamond Sutra* is both concise and clear enough for most laypersons to read.

⁹ Chung Bong-kil, "What is Won Buddhism?" p. 21.

With the foundations of his new religious movement firmly in place Sot'aesan spent the next four years in seclusion in the mountains of the Pyunsan Peninsula on the west coast of North Cholla Province at a small hermitage known as the Pongnae Cloister. Here he studied Buddhist sutras and the texts of Korean religions. He also traveled around to well-known Buddhist temples in Korea and participated in Seon (Zen) retreats and in doctrinal discussions. Finally in 1924 he established the headquarters of Won Buddhism on donated land at a site which now lies within the city of Iksan (previously known as Iri). His new religious movement was formally established under the name *The Research Society of the Buddha Dharma*. The name was changed to Won Buddhism in 1947 by his successor Chongsan.

As the founder of this new religious movement he took on the honorific title Sot'aesan, and today Park Chin-sop a.k.a. Park Chung-bin, is known by this name. Sot'aesan spent the remainder of his life preaching, teaching, and laying the groundwork for the organization of Won Buddhism. The institution that later became Wonkwang University was founded, the canonical scriptures were organized, doctrine was clarified, and new temples were founded throughout Korea. Perhaps the most significant of all of Sot'aesan's actions was the preparation put in place for the orderly succession of leadership following his death. Sot'aesan died on June 1, 1943 after twenty-eight years of teaching. Sot'aesan built up an organization that not only outlived him but has continued on while at the same time revering him as the Great Master. The life of Sot'aesan is, in the words of Kelvin Barrett, "a fascinating story of a man with little formal education, who moulded a group of dispossessed people to be masters of their lives and valuable members of society."¹⁰

Doctrinal Beliefs of Won Buddhism

Of course Sot'aesan was much more than a social reformer—he was the founder of a new religious movement in Korea. Understanding the man and his times and his unique efforts at reform coupled with his indisputable administrative and organizational skills is one thing. Understanding

¹⁰ Kelvin Barrett, "Won Buddhism: A Modern Way—A Study of Sot'aesan's Spiritual Response to Modernization," p. 2.

the doctrinal beliefs which he expounded is quite something else. The scholarly literature provides more than adequate testimony to this.

Frank M. Tedesco asserts that "Won Buddhism cannot be considered traditional Korean Buddhism. Won Buddhists do not take refuge in the Three Jewels or support the traditional teaching, customs, and sangha in Korea."¹¹ Duk-Whang Kim believes that Won Buddhism is a quasi-religion and thus of little permanent significance in Korea.¹² The Korean Buddhist Research Institute categorizes Won Buddhism as form of belief in the Miruk, the Buddha of the future.¹³ Thus "Won Buddhism could succeed in attracting and helping many people without misguiding them. That is the reason that Won Buddhism is still highly successful."¹⁴ James Huntley Grayson states that Won Buddhism "does not fit into any neat schema" and "must be seen as a genuine reform of Buddhism, but a reform movement which started outside the traditional orders."¹⁵ At the same time it has been strongly influenced by Protestant Christianity, especially in the organization and worship of the local temples.¹⁶ Perhaps the most common viewpoint, at least by those in the West who are non-specialists in Korean studies or Korea Buddhism, is that of Helen Waterhouse in her review of the book *Buddhism in the Modern World: Adaptations of an Ancient Tradition*. After reading Bongkil Chung's chapter in the book, "Won Buddhism: The Historical Context of Sot'aesan's Reformation of Buddhism for the Modern World" she wrote that this essay "was my challenge!"¹⁷

¹¹ Frank M. Tedesco, "Korean Buddhism at the Crossroads," interview on May 6, 2001 in Shah Alam, Malaysia.

[<http://www.buddhopia.com/eng/tedesco/cross.html>], accessed 11/28/2009.

¹² Duk-Whang Kim, *A History of Religions in Korea* (Seoul: Daeji Moonhwa-sa, 1988), pp. 447-448.

¹³ The Korean Buddhist Research Institute, ed., *Buddhist Thought in Korea* (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1994), p. 201, pp. 203-204.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

¹⁵ James Huntley Grayson, *Korea: A Religious History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 250.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 253-254.

¹⁷ Helen Waterhouse, Review of *Buddhism in the Modern World: Adaptations of an Ancient Tradition*, ed. Steven Heine & Charles S. Prebish (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003) in *Journal of Global Buddhism*, Vol. 6.

Certainly one of the difficulties in understanding Won Buddhism lies in Sot'aesan's attempt to synthesize the three traditions of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism into one. According to Sot'aesan Buddhism is concerned with overcoming delusion by means of enlightenment, Confucianism focuses on the nature of human relationships, and Taoism is centered on the development of one's own nature in harmony with the universe. Thus "In the past the three religions, namely, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism, taught their specialties exclusively; however, in the future the world cannot be delivered by any one of them; hence, we intend to unify the three doctrines..."¹⁸ This synthesis took place according to three principles:

(a) The threefold practice, namely, the cultivation [of spirit], inquiry [into facts and principles], and mindful choice [in karmic action] shall be unified in the truth of Irwon. (b) Spiritual and physical life shall be improved together in complete balance. (c) Principle and fact shall be pursued together. Anyone who sincerely practices in this way will not only master the essences of the three religions but also comprehend the essences of the doctrines of other religions of the world as well as all the truths of the universe, attaining to the supreme enlightenment.¹⁹

It was Sot'aesan's intention to unify these three Asian traditions into one in the doctrines and practices of Won Buddhism.

A key to understanding the doctrinal beliefs of Won Buddhism can be found in the motivation behind Sot'aesan's efforts at reform. Sot'aesan took as his guiding motto the words "As material power is unfolding, let us unfold spiritual power accordingly."²⁰ This summarized the founding

[http://www.global_buddhism.org/6/waterhouse05.htm], accessed 10/13/2009. Waterhouse was reviewing the entire book but she found the following essay to be a challenge to understand: Bongkil Chung, "Won Buddhism: The Historical Context of Sot'aesan's Reformation of Buddhism for the Modern World," pp. 143-167.

¹⁸ *Wonbulgyo Kyojon* (The Scriptures of Won Buddhism), p. 178.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 167. There are three translations of the scriptures of Won Buddhism in English. The first is *The Canonical Textbook of Won Buddhism* (*Won Pulkyo*

motive: "The founding motive of this religious order is to lead all sentient beings suffering in the bitter seas of misery to a vast, immeasurable paradise by expanding spiritual power and thereby subjugating the material power through faith in truthful religion and training in sound morality."²¹ From these two statements at least three important elements of Won Buddhism can be seen. First, it is a movement that brings together religion and morality. Second, important doctrinal ideas are restated in simple, easy to understand mottoes. Third, the focus is clearly upon the laity rather than upon a professional monastic order. Clarity of thought using *hangul* rather than the classical Chinese of the traditional sutras was used by Sot'aesan.

As one opens the scriptures of Won Buddhism five of these mottoes are stated. In addition to the guiding motto, four others appear:

Everywhere is the Buddha-image;

Do everything as making an offering to Buddha.

Timeless Zen and placeless Zen.

Kyojun), trans. Chon Pal-Khn (Iri: Wonpulkyo Chongwha-sa, 1971). It was updated and reprinted in 1981 and fully revised in 1988. The second is Bongkil Chung, *The Scriptures of Won Buddhism: A Translation of the 'Wonbulgyo Kyojon' with Introduction* (Honolulu: Kuroda Institute/University of Hawaii Press, 2003). The *Wonbulgyo Kyojon* consists of two parts—the first being "The Canon" which focuses on doctrine and the second being "The Scripture of Sot'aesan" which consists of the doctrinal teachings of Sot'aesan, sayings of Sot'aesan, and stories related to Sot'aesan. References in this essay will be from Bongkil Chung's translation, herein referred to as *Wonbulkyo Kyojon*. There is also a third translation *The Scriptures of Won-Buddhism* (also known as the *Wonbulgyo Kyojon*), trans. the Committee for Authorized Translations of Won-Buddhist Scriptures (Iksan: Wonkwang Publishing Co., 2006). This third translation replaces the *Won Pulkyo Kyojun* as the official translation of the text. Its primary use is for religious purposes. Bongkil Chung's translation is considered to be "a product of personal scholarship" by Won Buddhism and its primary use is for academic purposes. It contains numerous scholarly aids such as an informative introduction, numerous helpful footnotes, two appendices, two glossaries, and an extensive bibliography of works on Won Buddhism both in Asian and western languages.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

Maintain one mind in motion and at rest.

Perfect both soul and flesh.

Buddha-dharma is living itself;

*Living is Buddha-dharma itself.*²²

Sot'aesan was troubled by the fact that traditional Buddhism was—in his view—focused on the monastic orders and was, therefore, “not suitable for people living in the secular world. Anyone who wished to be a true Buddhist under such a system had to ignore his or her duties and obligations to the secular life and give up his or her occupation.”²³ Central to these duties and obligations in Korean Neo-Confucian society was filial piety.²⁴ According to Sot'aesan true Buddhism should not require one to leave one's family, occupation, or even geographical location. The above four mottoes all focus on being a Buddhist in one's ordinary life. One does not need to worship before a Buddha image in a temple deep in the mountains. Meditation can be practiced anywhere and at any time; it is not necessary to spend weeks at retreats in isolated temples. True religious practice is both spiritual and physical, and the Buddha-dharma is immersed in the midst of life.

Sot'aesan began his radical reform of Buddhism by replacing the Buddha image with a simple circle. Hence the name *Won* (circle) Buddhism. In order to understand Sot'aesan we must remember that he reached enlightenment outside of any particular religious tradition. Only later, through intensive reading and study, did he come to the conclusion that his enlightenment was common to all great religious traditions. And, only later after reading the *Diamond Sutra*, did he come to believe that “Buddha-dharma embodies the supreme truth. It elucidates the principle

²² *Ibid.*, p. 115.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

²⁴ According to Bongkil Chung “the moral issue is whether the Buddha dharma can be followed without jettisoning one's filial duty to one's parents,” from Bongkil Chung, “Won Buddhism: A Synthesis of the Moral Systems of Confucianism and Buddhism,” *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, Vol. 15 (1988), 426.

of true noumenal nature, solves the grave matter of birth and death, brings the causal law to light, and provides the method of practice."²⁵ In other words, while supreme truth is embodied in the Buddha-dharma, it is not limited to it.

Sot'aesan thus developed a new religious symbol which encompassed Buddhism but also moved beyond it. He called this circle by two different names—*Irwon* and *Irwonsang*. *Irwon* refers to the unseen reality of the Dharmakaya, that is, the Buddha nature of reality which is the formless, unchanging and transcendental and is the essence of all beings. *Irwonsang* is the physical symbol of *Irwon*; the actual circle which is found in Won Buddhist temples. *Irwonsang* is, to use traditional Buddhist imagery, "the finger pointing at the moon." Since *Irwon* cannot be seen but only experienced, devotion is centered on *Irwonsang*.

A verse composed by Sot'aesan summarizes the concept of *Irwonsang* in the following manner:

Being turns into nonbeing and nonbeing into being,
Turning and turning,
Then, ultimately, being and nonbeing are both void,
Yet the void is complete.²⁶

This circle is the distinguishing symbol of Won Buddhism and the spires and steeples of Won Buddhist temples (which are built more like Christian churches than traditional Buddhist temples) all display the symbol of *Irwonsang*.

Using this circle as central, the Doctrinal Chart of Won Buddhism states the Truth of *Irwonsang* and the Verse on *Irwonsang* and then develops the major doctrines as two "wings" attached to this central truth.²⁷ Each "wing" begins at the top with the personal cultivation of religious

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 123-124.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 116. The remaining pages of The Canon consist of a doctrinal exposition of this chart, see pp. 117-138; and an exposition on putting the various doctrines into practice, pp. 139-164. The Doctrinal Chart is found at the beginning of both the *Won Pulkyo Kyojun* and the *Wonbulkyo Kyojon*.

faith and ends at the bottom with the social or ethical expression of religious faith.

The “wing” to the right of *Irwonsang* focuses on faith while the “wing” to the left of *Irwonsang* focuses on practice.²⁸ Thus the right “wing” begins at the top with the words “Awareness and requital of beneficence (or grace).” The way of faith is based on *karma*, a cause and effect response. There are four beneficences or graces—of heaven and earth, of parents, and brethren, and of laws. In order to requite or repay these four beneficences one must follow the principles of: (1) the way of harboring no false idea after rendering favors; (2) the way of protecting the helpless; (3) the way of mutual benefit; and (4) the way of doing justice and eradicating injustice. In this way one makes an offering to Buddha, for everywhere is the Buddha image and one must do all things as an offering to Buddha. At the bottom are the words: “Selfless service for the public.”

The left “wing” begins at the top with the words “Correct enlightenment and right practice.” The way of practice is based on true emptiness coupled with marvelous existence. There are three ways of practice: (1) mindful karmic action (*sila* [precepts]—follow the Nature); (2) spiritual cultivation (*samadhi* [concentration or contemplation]—nourish the Nature); and (3) inquiry into facts and principles (*prajna* [wisdom]—see into the Nature). This can be accomplished through following eight articles. One should keep: faith, zeal, doubt, and sincerity; one should forsake: disbelief, greed, laziness, and delusion. At the same time one can practice Zen meditation both when in motion and at rest. How? “When the six sense organs are free from work, eliminate worldly thoughts and cultivate One Mind; when the six sense organs are at work, eliminate injustice and cultivate justice. This is called “Timeless Zen, placeless Zen.” At the bottom of the left “wing” are the words: “Practical application of Buddhadharma.”

This doctrinal chart is a clear and logical presentation of the major beliefs and practices of Won Buddhism. It is immediately obvious that it is a greatly simplified form of Buddhism that is primarily suited for use by

²⁸ This is according to Bongkil Chung’s translation of the *Wonbulgyo Kyojon*. In the two authorized translations the position of the two “wings” is reversed.

lay persons. Sot'aesan was concerned that many traditional Buddhists did not really understand the doctrines of their faith nor did they make a clear connection between doctrinal belief and ethical action. Won Buddhists assert that it is better to believe and practice a faith that can be understood. Furthermore they make certain that faith results in concrete ethical actions which impact society and culture.

Of course there are refinements of these beliefs and practices, among them being different kinds of training. Religious education in Won Buddhism is centered around eleven types of training: (1) intoning the name of a Buddha; (2) sitting in meditation; (3) studying the Won Buddhist scriptures; (4) giving lectures in front of an audience; (5) discussing and exchanging points of view; (6) observing *uido* or a topic of doubt; (7) investigating the principle of nature; (8) keeping a regular term diary on main matters relating to one's life; (9) keeping a daily diary on matters of one's faith and keeping the moral precepts; (10) being heedful concerning what one has learned; and (11) behaving well and living a life worthy of humankind.²⁹

Although Sot'aesan was not familiar with human development theory as expressed by such well-known psychologists as Erik Erikson and James W. Fowler, he did work out a six-level theory of dharma stages. The six levels are: (1) Elementary faith; (2) Unwavering faith; (3) Dharma-*mara* struggle or struggle between good and evil; (4) Dharma power's subjugation of *mara* by which one attains emancipation from the ills of birth, aging, illness, and death; (5) Transcendence; and finally (6) Tathagata (full realization) of supreme enlightenment. A series of precepts for daily living correspond to each of the dharma stages with a special concern for the first three stages.³⁰

In dharma stage 5, Transcendence, one of the characteristics of a person who has reached that stage is that "One is well versed in the essentials of the doctrines of the extant world religions."³¹ Given the exclusiveness of many, if not most, of the world religions today, this concern for world religions on the part of Won Buddhism is highly significant. It undoubt-

²⁹ *Wonbulgyo Kyojon*, pp. 140-151.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 158-164.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

edly arises from Sot'aesan's personal experience of enlightenment, but unlike other new religions in Korea, Won Buddhism has resisted the move toward exclusivism. This is in spite of the fact that it initially held strong nationalistic beliefs which included viewing Korea as the center of a world religious reform movement and the belief that Korean would someday become the global international language. Interfaith cooperation and dialogue have become a hallmark of Won Buddhism today and Won Buddhist leaders have called for the establishment of a United Religions comparable to the United Nations. In the words of Chwasan Lee Kwang-Jeong the fourth Prime Master of Won Buddhism, "We have to develop our relations with others into that of mutual beneficence, and find the greater 'WE' rather than the smaller 'I'....We should be aware of the fact that all religions are of one and the same truth, although their rites and interpretation of the truth may be different."³²

Concerning dharma stage 6, Tathagata of supreme enlightenment, Chung Bong-kil asserts that this "is none other than the manifestation of *Dharmakaya* Buddha or *Irwon*....Thus, the enlightened is aware of the ultimate reality in one's own phenomenal self every moment."³³ Obviously very few persons realize this final stage of development. However, what is described here is similar to the experience of the union with the Divine found in western mysticism, and indeed, the union of the human with the Transcendent in all of the great world religions. Thus there is in Won Buddhism a basis for interfaith relations both on the intellectual and practical level and on the level of religious experience.

What is particularly unique about Won Buddhism is that this focus on interfaith relations is not simply a matter of opinion held by more progressive members of the order; rather, it is a matter of doctrinal belief and practice clearly stated in the canonical scripture the *Wonbulgyo Kyojon*.

³² Venerable Chwasan, Lee Kwang-Jeong, "Inter-religious Cooperation for the Development of World Community," *Won Buddhism: A New Religion in the Era of Creation* (Iri: Won Pulkgyo Chonghwa-sa, n.d.), p. 15.

³³ Chung Bong-kil, "The Concept of Dharmakaya in Won Buddhism: Metaphysical and Religious Dimensions," *Korea Journal*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (Jan. 1987), 12.

The Organization and Development of Won Buddhism

Although a reform movement in Buddhism, Won Buddhism has clearly borrowed its organizational structures from Christianity. This has, of course, been pointed out by Christian observers such as James Huntley Grayson from the Protestant side and Kim Sung-hae from the Catholic side.³⁴ Sot'aesan was familiar with Christianity and at least three of these encounters are described in the *Wonbulgyo Kyojon*.³⁵ He obviously knew of the success in the growth of the Protestant churches as a result of the 1907 revival which started in Pyongyang and rapidly spread throughout the entire country. Then too he was aware that the Roman Catholic Church seemed to be immune to the tendency to divide into sects. The hierarchical organization of Won Buddhism is, in the opinion of Kim Sung-hae, "very similar to that of Catholicism: that is, it is greatly centralized. I suspect that *Won*-Buddhism has borrowed such a system from Catholicism and even some *Won*-Buddhists admit this to some degree."³⁶ Won Buddhists such as Yang Eun-yong are among those who readily concede this point: "The highest leader of the religion is known as Prime Dharma Master, and the way of electing the master is similar to that of electing the Catholic pope."³⁷ Immediately below the Prime Dharma Master in rank is the Supreme Council which would correspond to the College of Cardinals in the Catholic Church. Next are various overseeing administrative bodies which would correspond to the Congregations in the Catholic system. For exam-

³⁴ James Huntely Grayson, *Korea: A Religious History*, pp. 273-274 and Kim Sung-hae, "The New Religions of Korea and Christianity," *Encounters: The New Religions of Korea and Christianity*, p. 25.

³⁵ *Wonbulgyo Kyojon*, pp. 297, 280-281, 339-340. See also Bokin Kim, *Concerns and Issues in Won Buddhism* (Philadelphia: Won Publications, 2000), pp. 134-144.

³⁶ Kim Sung-hae, "The New Religions of Korea and Christianity," *Encounters: The New Religions of Korea and Christianity*, p. 25.

³⁷ Yang Eun-yong, "The History, Basic Beliefs, Rituals, and Structure of *Won*-Buddhism," *Encounters: The New Religions of Korea and Christianity*, p. 88 and pp. 91-92. It should be noted that in recent years Won Buddhists in Korea have italicized Won and use *Won*-Buddhism as the preferred way of writing the name of the movement. However, this has not been followed in most English language writings outside of Korea.

ple the Won Buddhist Inspection Bureau would correspond to the Catholic Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. Next in rank are various sections which carry out the actions of these administrative bodies. These would correspond to the various Secretariats in the Catholic Church. Regional bodies in Won Buddhism and Catholicism are known as dioceses and the overseers each diocese would correspond to Catholic bishops. Finally there are the local Won Buddhist temples and the clergy are known as priests. The structure is both hierarchical and highly institutionalized in terms of rules and regulations. One difference from the Catholic system is that *all staff of the Won Buddhist order serve designated terms of office*, including the Prime Dharma Master also known as the Prime Master. Another difference is that there is gender equality, at least in theory. The majority of the priests in local temples are women and women serve at all levels including membership in the Supreme Council. Although a woman could become the Prime Master, all of the Prime Masters so far have been men.

Religious workers in Won Buddhism are classified into three categories. *Kyomu* guide followers according to the doctrines and practices of the faith. The priests (sometimes called ministers or reverends) of local temples are known as *Kyomu. Domu* are ordained for professional service and usually serve in administrative positions and non-pastoral positions. *Deokmu* are ordained for practical service and occupy staff positions.

While the organizational structure of Won Buddhism is similar to that of the Catholic Church, the local temples are closer to that of the Protestant churches. To begin with the temples are built very much like churches. The only distinguishing exterior architectural feature that differentiates them from churches is that the steeple is usually rounded at the top and instead of a cross (as in churches) or a swastika (as in Buddhist temples) the sign is a circle, *Irwonsang*. The interior of Won Buddhist temples is almost exactly like that of Protestant churches. In the rear of the church is a place for members to pick up their weekly bulletins, pick up a copy of the scriptures and hymnal if they did not bring one from home, a table for available literature, and a bulletin board for announcements.³⁸ In many of

³⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 87-88 where Yang Eun-yong states: "A Won-Buddhist religious ceremony is similar to that of the Protestant service. The ceremony is held on

the city temples people even sit in pews. In the front of the temple is an altar table with candles or flowers on it, and on the center wall behind the table is the circle or *Irwonsang*. There is no Buddha image. Dharma lectures are delivered from a pulpit. *Kyomu* wear a special liturgical robe for services which is grey or white in color and wear a bib-like stole which is orange with a gold *Irwonsang* on the front. When not leading worship services, female *Kyomu* wear a modified hanbok which is white on the top and black on the bottom and they wear their hair in a bun in the traditional Korean manner. These women are commonly seen in the Cholla provinces where Won Buddhism has a strong and visible presence.

Because most Won Buddhist temples are located in urban areas and the majority of members are employed in various non-religious occupations, the weekly services and activities of a typical temple are similar to those of Protestant churches. Weekly activities usually include the following: regular Dharma meeting on Sunday mornings (which includes hymn singing and preaching), special Dharma meeting including prayer on Wednesday evenings, student Dharma meeting on Saturday afternoons, and children's Dharma meeting also on Sunday mornings. In addition throughout the week there are meditation sessions, scripture study sessions, programs for married couples, and committee meetings related to the operation of the temple. Once each month a special meditation and prayer meeting is held. Some temples even have early morning meditation and prayer services. Many temples operate kindergartens and day care centers, and one large temple in Jeonju operates a traditional guesthouse and cultural program in the *hanok maeul* which has become quite popular not only with Koreans but also with international visitors to the city.

Throughout the country Won Buddhists operate a number of training centers and retreat centers which are used for various activities including programs for youth and university students. There are two kinds of training: Term Training and Constant Training.³⁹ The first deals with training in the eleven practices stated above and is intended primarily for new members. The second, Constant Training, is for everyone and focuses on

Sundays, and includes meditation, hymns, and preaching. *Won-Buddhist hymns appear to be influenced by Christian hymns.*"

³⁹ *Won Buddhism: A New Religion in the Era of Creation*, p. 9.

maintaining moral discipline and right practice in one's religious activities and in one's daily life.

Sot'aesan placed special emphasis upon education, including education for girls and women and Won Buddhists have established a number of educational institutions. These include Wonkwang University in Iksan, a junior college, as well as a number of middle schools and high schools. Ordained clergy receive their education from Wonkwang University, Yongsan College, and the Won Buddhist Graduate School.

In the last year of his life Sot'aesan said, "Since the goal of our religious task is religious edification, education, and charity, we will succeed only if these three areas of work are completely carried out in balance."⁴⁰ With the words of Sot'aesan in mind, Won Buddhists have been quite active in various forms of social service. Among the charitable work of the order are orphanages, homes for the elderly, providing free medical treatment to those in need, and operating a series of Oriental medicine hospitals. Wonkwang University Hospital in Iksan is well-known throughout Korea for its school of Oriental medicine. During times of crises or natural disaster Won Buddhist charity organizations can be counted on to make their presence known. In recent years Won Buddhists have become involved in working with other religious groups and NGOs in dealing with the environmental crisis.⁴¹

In the area of interfaith relations Won Buddhists have provided considerable leadership. According to Kim Sung-hae the Won Buddhists are rarely absent from interfaith meetings in Seoul and she states that "Sometimes *Won*-Buddhists act as bridges in dialogues between Buddhism and Christianity, and it will be interesting to see how communica-

⁴⁰ *Wonbulgyo Kyojon*, p. 350.

⁴¹ A recent example was an interfaith movement in October of 2009 in the city of Jeonju to clean up the trash along the river and major roads in the city. Local television news showed a Catholic priest, a Presbyterian minister, a Buddhist monk, and a Won Buddhist *Kyomu* working together in this effort. Although such interfaith cooperation is uncommon in Korea, the environment is one area where the different religious traditions can work together toward a mutually agreed upon goal. See Lee Jae-hun, "Ecological Discourses and Ideologies in New Religions in Korea: Focusing on Donghak, Won Buddhism, and Kumkandaedo," *Journal of New Religions*, Vol. 15 (Oct. 2006), 145-176.

tion between *Won*-Buddhism and Christianity, both of which differ in thought will develop."⁴² Chongsan (1900-1962), the second Prime Master and successor to Sot'aesan taught what he called Samdong Morality, that is, morality based upon the Three Principles of Identity.

The First Principle of Identity, "All Doctrines Have the Same Origin," suggests that each religion should expand beyond its own boundaries to open up to other religions, since all religions share One Truth and the same goal. The Second Principle of Identity, "All Living Beings Are Co-related by the Same Force (of Life)," suggests that the human race ought to live as brothers, free from fighting or resentment, since all human beings are of one family.

The Third Principle of Identity, "All Enterprises Are for the Same Purpose," suggests that all human enterprises and assertions need to cooperate with each other, rather than rejecting one another, in order to construct a better world on earth.⁴³

Chongsan summed these principles up in the verse of enlightenment which he left for his followers:

All religions are of
one and the same Truth;

All beings are of
one and the same family;

All of us are co-workers working
for one and the same goal.⁴⁴

Chongsan's successor as Prime Master Taesan (1914-1998) left behind a similar verse of enlightenment:

⁴² Kim Sung-hae, "The New Religions of Korea and Christianity," *Encounters: The New Religions of Korea and Christianity*, pp. 25-26.

⁴³ *Won Buddhism: A New Religion for the Era of Creation*, p. 11,

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

There is only
one and the same Truth;

There is only
one and the same
world; and

Human race is one
big family'

Let us work together and
build one world of Truth.⁴⁵

With this Samdong Morality as a basic foundation it can be said that two distinct characteristics of Won Buddhism are (1) "Its effort to cooperate with other religions in order to realize a peaceful world that transcends religious barriers" and (2) "Its insistence of tolerating other religions."⁴⁶

The steady growth of Won Buddhism can be ascribed in part to this openness and tolerance of other religions in Korea. Rather than spending time and effort in competition with other religious traditions, Won Buddhism focused on developing its own identity and space in Korean society. Although it was founded by impoverished farmers the movement today is largely urban and many of the members are employed in the professions. Within Korea there are a total fifteen dioceses, 550 temples, and 180 associated organizations. Overseas Won Buddhism has temples in fourteen countries organized into five dioceses and there are fifty-one temples and nine associated organizations. Currently there are approximately 1,400,000 global followers of Won Buddhism.⁴⁷

One of the most successful overseas missions of Won Buddhism has been in the United States. Introduced into the United States in 1972, Won Buddhism began as an ethnic Korean religious movement first in Los Angeles and later in other cities such as Chicago, Boston, and New York.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁴⁶ Yang Eun-yong, "The History, Basic Beliefs, Rituals, and Structure of Won-Buddhism," *Encounters: The New Religions of Korea and Christianity*, p. 80.

⁴⁷ These figures are taken from [http://wonbuddhism.info/info/page/18_1.html], accessed 11/28/2009.

Indeed, for the first fifteen years Won Buddhism in the United States was confined to the Korean community.⁴⁸ In the mid-1980s it became apparent that English services and programs would be needed for second-generation Koreans who were born in the United States. In order to meet this need a number of *Kyomu* went to the United States for graduate study and several obtained doctorates in religious studies from American universities. Well educated, fluent in English, and articulate these women and men served in temples in New York, San Francisco, Miami, Boston, and Philadelphia. Several Won Buddhists also occupied faculty positions in American colleges and universities. Two of these immigrants to American soil—Bokin Kim at the Won Buddhist temple in Philadelphia and Bongkil Chung, professor of philosophy at Florida International University have made significant contributions to making Won Buddhism known in academic circles.

Undoubtedly the most influential Won Buddhist mission as far as the English speaking community is concerned is found in Philadelphia. The reason is that in 2000 the Won Institute of Graduate Studies was founded in the basement of the Won Buddhist temple in suburban Glenside. One of its goals is “To develop as a center in the United States for education and research in Won Buddhist Studies (WBS), preparing students for: Won Buddhist service in the English-speaking world; translating and adapting texts, rituals and practices for use in the West; and advancing scholarship on Asian religions entering Western culture.”⁴⁹ Now housed in its own campus building, the Won Institute of Graduate Studies was granted full academic accreditation by the regional accrediting body in June 2008. Masters degrees are offered in Won Buddhist studies, applied meditation studies, and acupuncture studies. This is the first academic institution outside of Korea approved for the training of Won Buddhist clergy and the

⁴⁸ Bokin Kim, *Concerns and Issues in Won Buddhism*, pp. 41-42.

⁴⁹ [<http://woninstitute.edu/index.php?page=about-us>], accessed 9/16/2009. In the official press release announcing the receipt of accreditation, Joel Ostroff, the secretary of the Institute’s Board of Trustees said, “Temple University started in the basement of a church a little more than 100 years ago. With this solid foundation and our determination, one can only imagine where we will be in another hundred years.” Bokin Kim, *Kyomu* of the Won Buddhist temple in Philadelphia, received her Ph.D. from Temple University.

first to do so using English as the medium of instruction. In addition to formal academic programs leading to graduate degrees, the Institute also holds non-degree programs in meditation and holistic medicine for the general public and operates a fully licensed acupuncture clinic. It should be noted that the majority of the members of the faculty are non-Korean.

The significance of the Won Buddhist Institute of Graduate Studies is twofold. First, this means that Won Buddhism has moved beyond the ethnic Korean community. This is something that most of the new religious movements in Korea (with the exception of the Unification Church) have failed to do. Second, it is clear that the United States will now become a center for Won Buddhist studies and this will put pressure on the movement to make adaptations and changes in various traditions carried over from Korea. It is also probable that the Institute will eventually enter into interfaith cooperation with other academic institutions thus leading to a fruitful interchange between religious traditions, an interchange that has not yet taken place among religiously affiliated academic institutions in Korea. Whatever else may be said, it is clear that Won Buddhism has moved from being a nationalistic movement to becoming an international movement.

Won Buddhism Comes of Age

It is obvious that Won Buddhism has come a long way from its origins in a small village in South Cholla Province to being recognized as one of the four major religions of Korea to participate in the state funeral for a former president. Truly Won Buddhism has come of age. But what are the reasons for the success of this movement? There are at least five reasons which can be given.

First, Won Buddhism has managed to outlive its founder, and do so without any hint of scandal. Sot'aesan was an excellent administrator and he set up an organizational structure that would survive him. The Prime Masters who followed continued to uphold Sot'aesan's vision and maintain the organization and its principles. This has enabled the movement to avoid nepotism and to provide for the smooth succession of Prime Mas-

ters.⁵⁰

Second, at no point has Won Buddhism been accused of being a Buddhist heresy. This is due in part to Buddhist beliefs concerning the Buddha nature which is found within every person. Sot'aesan can be called a Buddha without diminishing *the* Buddha.

In addition Sot'aesan avoided grounding his new movement in shamanistic beliefs and practices. He grounded his movement firmly within Buddhism and borrowed most his major ideas from Buddhism. To be sure, Won Buddhism is considered to be highly unorthodox by traditional Buddhists, but being unorthodox is not the same thing as being heretical, and Won Buddhism is a member of most international Buddhist organizations such as the World Fellowship of Buddhists.⁵¹

Third, as a movement focused on lay persons rather than on the monastic orders, Won Buddhism has presented its doctrines and practices in a clear manner. It is a religious movement that is organized so that lay persons can maximize their participation on a regular basis. The Doctrinal Chart is easy to understand and commit to memory. The Korean text of the Won Buddhist canon was first published in 1932 and revised in 1943 and revised again in 1962. It is written in an easy-to-understand style using *hangul* rather than the more difficult Chinese characters. The three English translations of the text the *Won Pulkyo Kyojun* (1971), the *Wonbulgyo Kyojon* (2003) and the new *Wonbulgyo Kyojon* (2006) maintain this easy-to-understand style so that even a nonbeliever can grasp the essential doctrines and practices of Won Buddhism.

Fourth, Won Buddhism is committed to education and in order to maintain this commitment over time it has established academic institutions both to train leadership and to spread its influence. These institutions—such as Wonkwang University, Yongsan College, and the Won Institute of Graduate Studies—have adhered to the highest academic stan-

⁵⁰ The Prime Dharma Masters since Sot'aesan have been: Ven. Chongsan, Song, Kyu (1900-1962), Ven. Taesan, Kim, Daega (1914-1998), Ven. Chwasan, Yi, Kwang-Jung (born 1936), and the current Ven. Kyongsan, Jang, Eung-chul (born 1940).

⁵¹ Among the congratulatory messages received on the occasion of the centennial celebration of Sot'aesan's birth in 1991 were letters from the Dalai Lama and Sanya Dharmasakti, President of the World Fellowship of Buddhists.

dards, are fully accredited by government and regional accrediting agencies, and all totaled enroll thousands of students.

There are two significant results from this, both continuing the original emphases of Sot'aesan when he gathered his original nine disciples. First, these institutions guarantee a steady income for Won Buddhism. Wonkwang University enrolls some 25,000 students on both the undergraduate and graduate levels.⁵² It has a well-known medical school which provides training in Oriental medicine. It also operates Wonkwang University Hospital as well as twelve satellite hospitals which specialize in Oriental medical treatment. Won Buddhism also operates middle schools and high schools in addition to numerous kindergartens and day care centers. All of these educational institutions are income producing. Furthermore, these institutions enroll thousands of students and admit thousands of patients who are not Won Buddhists, thus assuring an income base that comes from outside the membership.

Second, these educational institutions guarantee that the movement will continue in the foreseeable future. New leaders will be trained, new members will be recruited, and Won Buddhism doctrine and practice will be taught. Through academic scholarship the religious tradition will be developed and a body of Won Buddhist literature will continually be expanded.⁵³ Won Buddhism is the only new religious movement in Korea to establish such a high level of academic discourse and this has been accomplished through its educational institutions.

Fifth and finally, Won Buddhism is a religious movement character-

⁵² [http://www.wonkwang.ac.kr/English/main01_04.html], accessed 1/15/2010.

⁵³ See Bongkil Chung, *The Scriptures of Won Buddhism: A Translation of the 'Wonbulgyo Kyojon with Introduction*, pp. 377-394. Chung lists twenty-one canonical texts in Korean which include early editions and partial editions of the *Wonbulgyo Kyojon*, teachings of successive Prime Masters, a hymnal, books of regulations and rules, and an edition of *The Collected Works of Won Buddhism*. He also lists 180 academic articles in Korean which deal with Won Buddhist doctrine. Some twenty-five works are listed in English which deal specifically with Won Buddhism. This is by no means an exhaustive list of what is available in English. Suffice it to say that there is a growing body of Won Buddhist literature that has assured Won Buddhism a place in the world of academic discourse.

ized by innovation. Three of these innovations in particular are noteworthy given the times in which Sot'aesan lived. First, Won Buddhism opened up new opportunities for women by allowing them to serve as ordained clergy—*Kyomu*—on an equal basis with men. The movement also encouraged women to receive the highest level of education available, and many *Kyomu* are holders of doctoral degrees. Second, Won Buddhism was, from its inception, open to interfaith dialogue and cooperation. This continues to be an emphasis, especially as Won Buddhists cooperate with members of other faiths in working for world peace and the elimination of nuclear weapons. More recently they have joined together with other world religions in seeking a just global economic order and in working to protect the environment. Third, Won Buddhists stress that personal faith and social ethics go together and cannot be separated. Thus Won Buddhism was, from the earliest years, involved in efforts to alleviate poverty, provide social services, and overcome injustice.

It should be noted that Won Buddhism has studiously avoided becoming identified with any particular political movement. During the 1919 Independence Movement Won Buddhists withdrew to the mountains to pray for the nation. It was the view of Sot'aesan that Won Buddhism should work to establish its identity as a movement for *religious and social reform* outside any particular political party.⁵⁴ Of course individual Won Buddhists have their political preferences but the movement as a whole has refrained from supporting any specific political agenda. This has been considered a weakness by critics and a strength by supporters.⁵⁵ This is not simple escapism, however, for the commitment to social concerns remains a constant but from a religious rather than a political motivation.

Won Buddhism has avoided the pitfalls of many other new religious movements in Korea while at the same time it has—quite openly and without embarrassment—borrowed from the strengths of other religious and ethical traditions such as Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Catholi-

⁵⁴ Bongkil Chung, "Introduction," *The Scriptures of Won Buddhism: A Translation of the 'Wonbulgyo Kyojon' with Introduction*, pp. 45-47. See also *Wonbulgyo Kyojon*, pp. 307-309.

⁵⁵ Kelvin Barrett, "Won Buddhism: A Modern Way—A Study of Sot'aesan's Spiritual Response to Modernization," pp. 75-82.

cism, and Protestantism. It has firmly established itself in Korean society and even reached out beyond the nation of Korea and the Korean people as a distinct ethnic group. In every way, Won Buddhism has come of age.

Prospects for the Future

While Sot'aesan was certainly a religious visionary he was not a prophet, and there were events in Korean history and religious development that he did not foresee. For example he did not foresee the second period of growth of the Christian churches following the Korean War. Nor did he foresee the revival and renewal of traditional Korean Buddhism following the industrialization of the 1960s through the 1980s and the movement toward democracy in the 1970s through the 1990s. Perhaps most significant is that he did not foresee that Korea would not become a global leader in spiritual development, but rather it would become a global leader in economic development. When most people today think of Korea, what comes to mind is not Won Buddhism but rather, Samsung, LG, and Hyundai. Were Sot'aesan living today he would undoubtedly believe, and with considerable justification, that his original motto "As material power is unfolding, Let us unfold our spiritual power accordingly" is even more valid now than when he first proposed it.

Sot'aesan would also find that there are a number of issues related to Won Buddhism that he did not face in the 1920s, 1930s, and early 1940s. These issues are, perhaps, common to all religious movements when they come of age. Four of these issues deserve further comment: (1) Is Won Buddhism a new Korean religion or is it a form of Buddhism? (2) How does one reconcile differences in the 1943 and 1962 editions of the *Won Pulkyo Kyojun*? (3) Must female *Kyomu* remain celibate? and, (4) Now that Won Buddhism is firmly established in the United States will it eventually move away from its Korean origins? In a sense all of these issues are interrelated.

The answer as to whether or not Won Buddhism is a new Korean religion or a form of Buddhism largely depends upon who is asking the question—Koreans or westerners. Koreans tend to view Won Buddhism as a new Korean religion while westerners tend to view it as a new form

of Buddhism.⁵⁶ This is similar to the same question in relation to Catholics and Protestants. In the popular Korean mind Catholicism and Protestantism are two separate religions and when the term Christian is used, it often refers to not to Catholics but to Protestants. This comes from the different Chinese terms for Catholics and Protestants and in the early days these terms were believed to refer to two distinct religions. In the West such thinking would be shocking, for Catholics and Protestants are not only one religion—Christian—but they also cooperate ecumenically in ways that as yet are not possible in the Korean context.⁵⁷ Doubtless within the Korean context this kind of thinking has spilled over into how one views Won Buddhism. In the case of Won Buddhists the matter is further complicated by the fact that Sot'aesan's enlightenment took place outside any recognized Buddhist lineage so that the movement cannot be considered to be a sect of traditional Buddhism. There can be no doubt that this issue will continue to remain an important one, especially in light of the second issue concerning reconciling the 1943 and 1962 texts of the Won Buddhist Canon.

Textual criticism is a definite sign that a religious movement has come of age, for it means that members of the tradition are beginning to engage in critical reflection upon the origins of the tradition. The 1943 edition of the text was faithful to the exact teachings of Sot'aesan and was known as the *Pulgyo chongjon* (in English *The Correct Canon of Buddhism*). In 1962 Prime Master Chongsan appointed a committee to revise

⁵⁶ Kim Sung-hae states unequivocally that in relation to traditional Korean Buddhism "it [Won Buddhism] is quite a different religion." See Kim Sung-hae, "The New Religions of Korea and Christianity," *Encounters: The New Religions of Korea and Christianity*, p. 24. On the other hand Steven Heine and Charles S. Prebish include Won Buddhism in their book *Buddhism in the Modern World: Adaptations of an Ancient Tradition* a book which "explores how a variety of traditional Buddhist schools and movements have been affected by encountering the myriad forces of modernization, especially those factors unique to the Asian experience" (p. 5).

⁵⁷ For example, the author of this essay is a Protestant but his doctorate in theology is from a Roman Catholic institution and the co-advisors on his doctoral dissertation were a Protestant theologian from the United Church of Christ and a Catholic theologian from the Dominican Order.

and update the canon and it was published as the *Won Pulkyo Kyojon* and translated into English in 1971 as the *Canonical Textbook of Won Buddhism*. The translation committee made a number of changes in the original text and five of these have proved to be problematic. In his 2003 translation, known as the *Wonbulgyo Kyojon* or *The Scriptures of Won Buddhism* in English translation, the translator Bongkil Chung deleted the changes made in 1962 and restored the original words of the 1943 text. He gives his reasons in an appendix to the new translation.⁵⁸ It is his assertion that Won Buddhism is strongly Buddhist and that this is borne out in the original 1943 text but weakened in the 1962 text. The essence of this textual controversy is best stated in the words of Robert E. Buswell, Jr. in his "Foreword" to Bongkil Chung's translation:

The Wonbulgyo ecclesiastical leadership has at various points in time been decidedly ambivalent about their religion's association with mainstream Buddhism. Some later redactions of their canonical materials have even sought to obscure these associations by replacing emblematic Buddhist explanations of religious development in favor of explanations unique to Wonbulgyo. After a lifetime of research on these texts, Professor Chung has become an outspoken advocate of the Buddhist underpinnings of Wonbulgyo thought and in this translation has restored what he believes to be earlier, more authentic, Buddhistic interpretations that have been expurgated in later church redactions. This decision has not been without its consequences: Professor Chung's attempts to defend his scholarly views have led to a personal estrangement from some church leaders; and even though this translation was promoted by the church itself to serve as a definitive new translation of Wonbulgyo texts for overseas proselytization, the church leadership has withdrawn it imprimatur from his activities.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Bongkil Chung, *The Scriptures of Won Buddhism: A Translation of the 'Wonbulgyo Kyojon' with Introduction*, pp. 353-356,

⁵⁹ Robert E. Buswell, Jr., "Foreword," Bongkil Chung, *The Scriptures of Won Buddhism: A Translation of the 'Wonbulgyo Kyojon' with Introduction*, p. xi.

Whatever position one may take concerning this textual controversy, it is clear that it relates to the first issue of whether Won Buddhism is a new religion or a new form of Buddhism. Bongkil Chung obviously leans toward the latter position, and since he is one of the leading interpreters of Won Buddhism in the West it will be interesting to see how this controversy will eventually (if ever) be resolved.

A third issue is also arising in part because of Won Buddhism's movement away from the Korean context and into the western context. According to the canonical texts of Won Buddhism there is complete gender equality between men and women in the movement. However the tradition has arisen that female *Kyomu* must remain celibate and not marry. Male workers, including the Prime Masters, have freedom to decide for themselves whether to marry or to remain celibate. At present there are approximately 1,300 women religious workers and 700 male religious workers associated with Won Buddhism. Women *Kyomu* have organized into a Won Buddhist Clergywomen's Club and publish a journal *Yonipe Binaerini* (Rain-Dropping on the Lotus Leaves). After a careful study of the Canon and the various sayings of Sot'aesan, many women have concluded that there is no doctrinal reason for the requirement of celibacy for female *Kyomu* and they are beginning to suggest that the time has come for a change. This has become an especially urgent issue in the West where gender equality is taken for granted in the more progressive Protestant churches. Bokin Kim, *Kyomu* of the Philadelphia Won Buddhist temple is especially outspoken on the issue and she has written extensively on the topic.⁶⁰ Kim asserts that a difference has arisen concerning the celibacy of women workers between the official teachings of Sot'aesan and the Canon, and the tradition as it has been practiced over time. According to Bokin Kim the world of Sot'aesan and the world of today are vastly different and the issue is not only one of gender equality within Won Buddhism but also in society at large. She writes:

If the order promotes equality in society but does not practice equality itself, what kind of example can the order really

⁶⁰ Bokin Kim, *Concerns and Issues in Won Buddhism*, pp. 155-196.

provide?...A thorough study of the possibility of marriage for clergywomen needs to be undertaken...If the Won Buddhist order delays too long, the conventional requirement of celibacy could become an insurmountable reality. The inequality in the order might then function as a means to continue and even reinforce the inequality of women in society.⁶¹

Yang Eun-yong, a male professor of Buddhism at Wankwang University has also called for change. He says, "I think *Won*-Buddhism should aim at gender liberation from now on because women have so much power."⁶² If Won Buddhism desires to continue to be known as a religious movement dedicated to reform, the issue of full gender equality, including marriage for female *Kyomu*, will undoubtedly have to be faced and acted upon.

All of the above issues are perhaps related to the last one: How can Won Buddhism remain Korean while becoming increasingly international? This is an especially crucial question as the Won Institute of Graduate Studies in the United States begins to train leaders who do not speak Korean, are not ethnically Korean, and perhaps have not even visited Korea. Will these potential leaders be required to spend some time at Wonkwang University in Iksan before they are ordained? Will Caucasian female *Kyomu* be required to wear the 1930s style modified hanbok worn by female *Kyomu* in Korea? Will Won Buddhists in the West be influenced more by theological movements within Protestantism and progressive Catholicism than by traditional Korean religious and philosophical movements? Or, will it be just the opposite—Won Buddhism will eventually influence western religious thought and practice? Only time will tell.

Indeed, it is not at all clear at this point in time just how much influence Buddhism in general and Won Buddhism in particular will have in the West. Lewis R. Lancaster suggests that the influence of Buddhism in the United States may be more related to meditation and holistic medicine than to religious belief. In other words Americans will remain Christian

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 168-169.

⁶² Yang Eun-yong, "A Moderated Discussion," *Encounters: The New Religions of Korea and Christianity*, p. 166.

but will incorporate Buddhist meditation into their practice. He writes of the importance of the techniques of Buddhist meditation in the relief of western anxiety and stress: "The introduction of such spiritual exercises into the dominant religious practices may in the long run prove to be the most important contribution of Buddhism to American life."⁶³ If this is so, then the teachings of Won Buddhism concerning meditation and acupuncture may prove to be of more significance in the United States than teachings concerning doctrine and religious practice. And is this not, in the words of Sot'aesan, a way "they can avoid suffering in the bitter seas of misery?"⁶⁴

However we may answer the questions concerning the future prospects of Won Buddhism, Sot'aesan—ever the optimist—had an answer that cannot be equaled. In the last months of his life a disciple came to Sot'aesan and asked him the following question: "I can surmise that our order has been established with a great destiny; however, I would like to know how many thousands of years it will last." Sot'aesan replied: "Unlike the religious orders of the past, this order is not one that comes into being often. Since this is the one that appears at the beginning of the cycle of the great chilicasm, the destiny of this order will be endless."⁶⁵

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⁶³ Lewis R. Lancaster, "Growth of Buddhism in the West: Its Reality and Meaning," *Buddhism in the Modern World*, ed. Lee Suu-keun & Rhi Ki Yong (Seoul: Dongguk University, 1976), p. 84.

⁶⁴ *Wonbulgyo Kyojon*, p. 117.

⁶⁵ *Wonbulgyo Kyojon*, p. 345.

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- (1) *The Discourses of the Great Master*
- (2) *The Principal Book of Won-Buddhism (Wonbulgyo chongjon)*
- (3) *Commentary on the Method of Sitting Meditation in Chunggeon*
- (4) *A Diagram for Practice of the Doctrine of Won Buddhism*
- (5) *The Essentials of the Chongjon*
- (6) *Won Buddhism: A New Religion in the Era of Creation*

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The Wreck of the Chusan

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At the end of May 1871, the *Chusan*, a small German schooner commanded by Captain Schölke, departed Chefoo, China, with a load of goods bound for Port Mary, a Russian port on Possiet Bay.¹ Sea travel in the north-eastern part of Asia was inherently dangerous. Like many small merchant ships of this period, it had a mixed crew—Chinese as deck hands and Europeans as officers—and was lightly armed to help repel the pirates who infested the Chinese coastline. But pirates were not its only concern.

The waters around Korea were infamous for strong currents and poor weather, especially thick fog and sudden storms. Because of this, ships sailing out of the Gulf of Pechili, through the Yellow Sea and around the west coast of Korea to Vladivostok, were required to pay higher insurance premiums.² In addition to the normal dangers of the sea, the United States and Korea were on the verge of open hostilities, and it was feared the ship

¹ There is some question as to the departure date of the *Chusan*. According to the *North China Herald*, May 19, 1871, p. 370, the *Chusan*, along with several other German merchant ships, was at Tientsin/Taku harbor in China in mid-May. William Elliot Griffis, *Corea The Hermit Nation* (New York, NY: Charles Scriber's Sons, 1904), p. 405 notes that the ship began its fateful voyage in May, but *Beilage zur Allgermeinen Zeitung Augsburg*, Munchen, Nr. 250, September 7, 1871, pp. 4393ff states that it was at the beginning of June. *Anglo American Times*, September 9, 1871.

² Cramer, "The Voyage of the Imperial Corvette Hertha—Specifically Concerning Korea," *Verhandlungen der Zietschrift für Ethnologische*, May 1873, pp. 56-57. Cramer's account, while interesting, is filled with inaccuracies such as dates, names of people, and even locations, but is used as a primary account for the initial shipwreck of the *Chusan* and the subsequent *Hertha* expedition.

might become entangled in the conflict. Despite the costs and dangers, transporting goods to Russia's maritime province was extremely profitable and eventually a British firm agreed to insure the *Chusan*'s voyage—a choice that the insurance company and Captain Schölke would soon regret.

The *Chusan* sailed across the Yellow Sea into Korean waters and then warily began to follow the Korean coast, careful to keep a fair distance away from the shore. At the beginning of the voyage the weather was fine, but on June 5, near the Sir James Island Group (off Hwanghai province), the *Chusan* suddenly encountered thick fog, which caused the crew to become disoriented.³ Captain Schölke attempted to sail back out into the middle of the Yellow Sea and away from the island-strewn Korean coast, but compounding the poor visibility, a strong current hindered his efforts. Suddenly the fog dissipated, revealing a small island directly in front of them. Before the crew could react, the *Chusan* struck some rocks “at the foot of a tremendous wall of cliffs.”⁴

Schölke and his crew were relatively unharmed, but in the confusion to lower the two small wooden lifeboats, one of the deck cannons, wrenched from its position by the impact of the grounding, slammed into Schölke's hand, severely smashing several of his fingers.⁵ Eventually the lifeboats were lowered and the crew made its way to a beach not far from the shipwreck.⁶

Immediately upon landing, the shipwrecked survivors were surrounded by a group of startled Koreans who, instead of attacking them,

³ *North China Herald*, August 4, 1871.

⁴ Cramer, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-57; *North China Herald*, August 4, 1871.

⁵ *Beilage zur Allgermeinen Zeitung Augsburg*, Munchen, Nr. 250, September 7, 1871, pp. 4393ff.

⁶ *Beilage zur Allgermeinen Zeitung Augsburg*, Munchen, Nr. 280, October 7, 1871, pp. 4337ff; Cramer, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-57; *Beilage zur Allgermeinen Zeitung Augsburg*, Munchen, Nr. 250, September 7, 1871, pp. 4393ff, seems to imply that the men made their way to the mainland, but the island was obviously inhabited and it makes little sense that the men would have abandoned their ship, especially considering Captain Schölke's later reluctance. Griffis, *op. cit.*, p. 405, also has an erroneous account: “...the schooner *Chusan*, which was wrecked on one of the islands of Sir James Hall group, the Chinese crew only, it appears, being saved.”

questioned them as to where they were from and the reason for their arrival. Schölke explained that he and his men were shipwrecked and would like to return to China. A Korean official agreed and informed Schölke that they would be taken overland to Wiju, a city on the northern border with China, where they would be turned over to the Chinese authorities who would then escort them to Chefoo. There was, however, one stipulation: the crew would not be allowed to take with them anything from the ship. The Chinese members of the crew, having no financial stake in the matter, readily accepted the offer, but Schölke and his European officers refused.⁷

Schölke was determined to keep his cargo at all costs. In an effort to sail back to Chefoo, he divided the remaining crew into two groups, one commanded by himself and the other by his chief officer. All knew the risks involved in attempting to cross the storm-plagued Yellow Sea in small open lifeboats, but this was their only chance if they were to save any of the cargo.

Fate was not with them. Soon after they departed the island, the lifeboats became separated and only the one boat commanded by the chief officer managed to reach Chefoo on June 9.⁸ The German consul and the British insurance company were informed of the *Chusan*'s shipwreck and the subsequent events and the French gunboat *Scorpion* was immediately dispatched in an effort to find Schölke's lifeboat.⁹ In addition, the German warship *Hertha*, commanded by Captain Kohler, was dispatched not only to rescue the missing crew but also to "show the flag."¹⁰

The German government was greatly concerned with the developments in Korea. Just the previous summer, the German Minister to Japan, Maximilian von Brandt, sailed to Fusan, Korea, aboard the *Hertha* on what was described as an "honorable quest of friendly relations."¹¹ His

⁷ *Beilage zur Allgermeinen Zeitung Augsburg*, Munchen, Nr. 250, September 7, 1871, pp. 4393ff; *North China Herald*, July 14, 1871.

⁸ *North China Herald*, June 23, 1871.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Cramer, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-57.

¹¹ Griffis, *op. cit.*, p. 435

visit was less-than-welcomed.¹² Now that the United States and Korea were in conflict, it was important for the German government to maintain a presence in the area. The *Hertha* soon arrived at the Prince Imperial Archipelago and anchored at San Fernando Island, a small island not too far from the estuary of the Salee (Han) River. The American navy at this time was engaged in combat with the Koreans on Kanghwa Island a short distance away, and the Germans observed several of the American warships sailing up and down the coast.¹³

Expecting the worst, armed German sailors were sent ashore to search for the wrecked ship, but were surprised when they were met by a group of Koreans who not only greeted them peacefully but even helped beach their boat. At first, the Germans were allowed to wander around the island and even go into some of the Korean homes. This all ended after the arrival of Korean official and the once-friendly Korean natives began to avoid the Germans.¹⁴

The Korean official made written inquiries as to the names of the Germans and the reason for their arrival. They informed him that they were searching for some of their fellow countrymen who had been shipwrecked in this region and had then attempted to sail back to China and had not been seen since. The Korean official acknowledged he knew of the incident and then informed them that a lifeboat had been intercepted by a Korean warship and that the Westerners were all safe.¹⁵ Surprisingly, Captain Kohler accepted this explanation and made not attempt to even visit the shipwreck of the *Chusan*. After spending only a short time in Korean waters, and worried about being caught in an approaching typhoon, the *Hertha* returned to Chefoo.¹⁶

A typhoon was encountered—not at sea, but in the local press. Ru-

¹² Cramer, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-57; Young-choe Ching, *The Rule of the Taewon'gun, 1864-1873* (Cambridge, MA: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University Press, 1972), pp. 109-110; Low to Fish No. 37, November 22, 1870, cited E.M. Cable, "United States-Korean Relations, 1866-1871," *Transactions* (Seoul, Korea: Royal Asiatic Society Korea Branch, 1938), pp. 130-132.

¹³ Cramer, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-57.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

mors circulated that Kohler was unconcerned with the whereabouts and well-being of the *Chusan*'s crew and was only concerned with recovering the ship and its cargo. Naval Chaplain Cramer disputed this and later wrote that the *Hertha* did not have the responsibility, legal ability or obligation to seek the crew once they were informed that the crew was safe; furthermore, once the *Chusan*'s crew had abandoned the ship, the ship and its goods were the property of the British insurance company that had insured them.¹⁷

About a month after their disappearance, Captain Schölke and the remaining crew arrived in Chefoo aboard the American warship *USS Palos*. The *Palos*, returning from combat in Korea, discovered them drifting in the Yellow Sea and rescued them. For the most part they were in good health and the ship's surgeon needed to treat them only for exposure and dehydration; the only exception being Captain Schölke whose injured fingers had turned gangrenous and had to be amputated.¹⁸

The Recovery of the *Chusan*

The British insurance company, in an effort to recover some of its losses, quickly held an auction through the German consul at Chefoo and sold the shipwreck to Messrs. Paul Strarich and Thomas Campbell—a Scotsman and an Englishman from Malta—for 80 pounds sterling.¹⁹ The new owners intended to sail to the island, repair the ship and then sail it back to Chefoo, cargo and all. To aid them in this enterprise they enlisted the help of Mr. Brinkmann, a German businessman at Chefoo, and his Chinese translator. They also chartered a Chinese junk and a large Chinese crew to transport them to the island and to help with the repairs.

About June 15, loaded with tools and supplies, they set sail for the

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Beilage zur Allgermeinen Zeitung Augsburg*, Munchen, Nr. 250, September 7, 1871, pp. 4393ff.

¹⁹ *New York Times*, September 21, 1871; Cramer, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-57 claims the *Chusan* was sold to two Americans for 8 dollars. *North China Herald*, August 4, 1871; *Beilage zur Allgermeinen Zeitung Augsburg*, Munchen, Nr. 250, September 7, 1871, pp. 4393ff each describe the *Chusan* as being sold to two British subjects for 80 silver sterling; *Anglo American Times*, September 9, 1871 states the wreck was purchased for 80 dollars.

Sir James Island Group and the wreck of the *Chusan*. For nearly a month nothing was heard of the new owners. Their absence was not noted because of other events, such as the American-Korean incident, which occupied the Western community's attention.

In early July, a Chinese junk sailed into the small harbor of Li-tau, about sixty miles from Chefoo. Many junks sailed into this harbor daily, and most went relatively unnoticed, but the discovery of European clothing and goods on board the ship caught the attention of the customs department. There were no Europeans present and, fearing the worst, the Chinese authorities arrested the junk's navigator and escorted him to Chefoo where he was interrogated by the Chinese police on the evening of July 5.²⁰

He eventually informed the authorities that his junk had been hired by the two Englishmen who had bought the *Chusan* and that they had taken on Mr. Brinkmann, and his interpreter to aid them in the *Chusan*'s recovery. As soon as the junk had arrived at the *Chusan* shipwreck, the three Europeans, their Chinese interpreter, and three other Chinese sailors went ashore in one of the launches and were immediately surrounded by Koreans who bound them with ropes and took them to the interior of the island.²¹ The Koreans then demanded that the remaining Chinese aboard the junk leave immediately or they would all be killed and the junk set afire. With no other choice, the Chinese junk reluctantly sailed to Li-tau harbor.

The Rescue Mission

Immediately the acting British consul, William Frederick Mayers, was informed that the three Westerners who had gone to recover the *Chusan* had been captured by the Koreans and had presumably been murdered.²²

²⁰ *North China Herald*, July 14 and 21 and August 4, 1871; *Beilage zur Allgermeinen Zeitung Augsburg*, Munchen, Nr. 280, October 7, 1871, pp. 4337ff.

²¹ *North China Herald*, July 21, 1871. The correspondent also noted that the Chinese sailors from the earlier *Chusan* shipwreck were also still being held on the island.

²² William Frederick Mayers (1839-1878) served with the British diplomatic service in China for a great many years and was a noted Chinese scholar. He died in Shanghai on March 24, 1878 after a brief illness.

Mayers immediately informed Captain Hewett, commander of the *HMS Ocean* and the senior officer of the British warships at Chefoo, of the situation. Mayers argued that "it seemed extremely probable that the lives of the prisoners would already have been sacrificed, and one more outrage thus added to the list of Korean transgression; but there was still a chance that the men might be recovered, or their fate at least ascertained, by prompt action."²³

Hewett agreed and instructed Captain Maquay of the *HMS Ringdove* to convey Mr. Mayers to the shipwreck and determine the status of the three Europeans and, if they were still alive, to secure their release. By this time the German warship *Hertha* had returned to Chefoo from its voyage in Korean waters. Even though the *Chusan* was no longer considered German property, Mr. Brinkmann was a German citizen, so it was decided to attach Captain-Lieutenant Hassenplug to the *Ringdove* to investigate his disappearance.²⁴ A Korean who could speak a little broken Chinese was obtained through the assistance of the officials of the U.S. military expedition to Korea and was hired as a guide and interpreter.²⁵

Even as Mayers and the *Ringdove* were making preparations, the local press was denouncing Korea as barbarous. On July 5, a correspondent in Chefoo wrote:

What course the Consul will take is not yet known, but we presume he will not do less than send a vessel to the scene of the seizure, and enquire from the natives into the unhappy fate of his fellow subjects. We believe the Consular notification that any one going to Corea would do so at his own risk and not his Queen's was issued after these three unfortunate men sailed; but in any case it is one thing to warn the venturesome that if they are barbarously murdered they shall have no sympathy, and

²³ *North China Herald*, August 4, 1871.

²⁴ Captain-Lieutenant Hassenpflug served with the Austrian navy until 1868, at which point he joined the German navy. His father was the former Minister of Hessen. *Beilage zur Allgermeinen Zeitung Augsburg*, Munchen, Nr. 280, October 7, 1871, pp. 4337ff; *North China Herald*, August 4, 1871.

²⁵ *North China Herald*, August 4, 1871.

quite another to leave them without assistance when their fate is closing down upon them.²⁶ From the spirit of all in the place, there is no doubt that, if the Navy were not to inquire into their fate, private individuals would be inclined to go unaided to those in distress. The only thing discouraging to such action is the extreme likelihood that the three men have been already beheaded, and their heads sent upon the circuit of the Kingdom.²⁷

The following morning, July 6, the *Ringdove* departed Chefoo, bound for Korea.²⁸ Late on July 7 the *Ringdove* arrived at the Sir James Hall Group off the coast of Korea, but because of the thick fog was not able to send a boat ashore until the following afternoon. It was decided that Mr. Mayers, Captain-Lieutenant Hassenplug, Mr. Vinning (*Ringdove's* paymaster) and Lieutenant Prichard and his ten-man cutter crew would go ashore and make initial contact with the Koreans.

The cutter, her crew of ten men being fully armed in preparation for all eventualities, displayed a white flag at the bow, while from the *Ringdove* an immaculate tablecloth was unfurled at the mainmast head. As the boat approached the landing place selected numbers of Coreans were seen hurrying towards the hill tops, but a small group of men were seen awaiting the arrival of the strangers. These, too, however, as the boat approached, turned as if for flight, but halted on being hailed by the Corean in their own language. Owing to the heavy surf the boat could not be beached, so jumping into the rollers waist deep, the party

²⁶ Apparently there were some Europeans willing to travel to Korea in order to make a quick profit. "There has been no further news up to the 22nd inst., from the U. S. squadron in Corea, but a small sailing boat which ventured over to that coast with two Europeans on board, who made the voyage with stores intended for sale to the American vessels, returned to Chefoo on the 20th inst., having been driven back from the mouth of the river leading to Kanghoa by an attack on the part of the armed natives, at a point below the spot where Admiral Rodgers' ships were supposed to be lying." *North China Herald*, June 30, 1871.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, July 14, 1871.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, July 14 and August 4, 1871.

waded on shore. Here they had an amicable interview with the natives, to one of whom, apparently the village schoolmaster, being able to read Chinese, was handed a notice written in that language (previously prepared by Mr. Mayers), and it was gathered from him that although he had heard of a party of Chinese being detained on the adjacent island of Peh-ling Tao, he knew nothing of the three Europeans. He stated that the name of this island was Sho-cheng Tao, and the northern Peh-ling Tao. After about half an hour's colloquy the cutter's party re-embarked and returned to the *Ringdove*, which at once got under way. Passing along the Eastern face of the island, Captain Maquay drew in as close as possible to a landing place discerned on the shore of the middle island, and the same party as before again landed, opposite to a small village consisting of some 20 thatched huts, where they were met by several of the inhabitants, the majority having, however, taken to flight. Their white garments could be seen peeping out from the dense thicket which clothed the hillside in the background. One of the elders having perused Mr. Mayers' handbill, acknowledged having heard that some Europeans were detained on the northern island, and advised the party to proceed thither without delay, as he believed they were shortly to be conveyed to the mainland. He volunteered at the same time to send the handbill on to the headman of the Island, and two runners were at once despatched with it across the hills.²⁹

The landing party then returned to their ship and the *Ringdove* sailed for another couple of hours through a treacherous strait that was described as "most dangerous."³⁰ It was about 7:30 in the evening that they discovered a beach where boats were seen hauled up. The landing party was again sent ashore and they were heartened to discover that the boats had recently been set afire—some of them still smoldering. They made their way inland, following the dikes of rice paddies and the barking of dogs,

²⁹ *Ibid.*, August 4, 1871.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

until they came to a number of small and recently deserted Korean homes. Mayers left a note, written in Chinese and explaining why they had come, under a rock in front of one of the Korean homes. They then returned to the *Ringdove*, pausing only long enough to attach a similar note to the stern of one of the smoldering boats.

The following morning a group of Koreans were observed on the beach and once again the landing party was sent ashore. Mayers was met by a Korean official wearing a "curious round broad-brimmed hat of horsehair network" and who described himself as the District Magistrate. He admitted to Mayers that the foreigners, along with nine Chinese, were on the island and "would be given up at once."³¹ It wasn't long before the governor of the island, also referred to as a general, arrived with a small entourage of men—amongst them were a respectably-dressed Chinese man and Paul Starich.

The governor invited the Europeans to sit with him and he assured them that Campbell and the other Chinese were safe about ten miles inland and would arrive in the early afternoon. Starich confirmed this and stressed that they had all been treated well. They "were allowed three meals of rice, &c., per day, and, though restrained in liberty, not otherwise harshly treated."³² As to Brinkmann, the governor insisted that he had never landed upon the island and had sailed away in the Chinese junk.

During this entire time, Captain Maquay, still aboard the *Ringdove*, grew alarmed at the ever increasing crowd of Koreans on the beach. The *Ringdove's* guns were kept carefully trained upon the Koreans in case of any treachery on their part, but it soon became apparent that the Koreans were sincere in their kindness. Reassured, Maquay and some of his sailors went ashore to keep the landing party company while they waited for Campbell and the other Chinese. While they waited, they attempted to explore the area, "but every effort to elude the vigilance of the mandarin's followers, who politely but immovably objected to any departure from the neighbourhood of the beach, entirely failed."³³

It was about 5 p.m. when they were startled to see a long "file of bul-

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*, July 21, 1871.

³³ *Ibid.*, August 4, 1871.

lock waggons, drawn by remarkably fine cream-coloured shorthorns, resembling English cattle rather than the Chinese, which wound their way over a hillside and delivered on the beach an extraordinary medley of articles recovered from the wreck of the *Chusan*—chains, parts of sails, cabin furniture, boxes of wine, clothing, cooking utensils, etc., etc.”³⁴ Nearly forty wagons of goods were delivered, much to the surprise and dismay of Maquay, who protested that he was only to recover the shipwrecked survivors and nothing else.³⁵

The governor, however, insisted all the items were to be loaded aboard the *Ringdove* and removed. According to the governor, the king had ordered that everything was to be handed over to the foreigners, and that any items not taken away were to be burned. Starich and Campbell, much to their relief, were granted permission to load as much of their property as they could aboard the *Ringdove*. A great amount of valuable goods including metalwork and boxes were abandoned to the governor’s attendants, who gathered and piled them up into a large mound which they then covered with brushwood and set afire.

Several times Mayers attempted to present the governor with gifts as compensation for the kind treatment given to the European and Chinese and for safeguarding and transporting the goods, but the governor steadfastly refused and explained that he would lose his head if he accepted even one small item. As demonstrations of the “despotic power wielded by Corean officials,” one of the governor’s servants was severely beaten in front of the Europeans for having accepted a cigar/cigarette from one of the sailors. Four peasants accused of pilfering some small articles from the baggage of the Chinese were suddenly seized, tied up and ordered to be carted off for execution. It was only through Mayers’ efforts that the men were eventually released.³⁶

Once all preparations were completed, the Europeans shook hands with their “grave but courteous entertainer” and departed for Chefoo.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*, August 4, 1871; *New York Times*, September 21, 1871; *Beilage zur Allgermeinen Zeitung Augsburg*, Munchen, Nr. 280, October 7, 1871.

³⁶ *North China Herald*, August 4, 1871; *Beilage zur Allgermeinen Zeitung Augsburg*, Munchen, Nr. 280, October 7, 1871.

Brinkmann's Fate

The *Ringdove* sighted the Chinese Shantung peninsula on July 11 and sailed to Li-tau, the small port where Starich's junk was still being held by the port officials. All but one of the crew members had been taken to Chefoo for questioning by the Chinese authorities. Mayers confronted the lone Chinese sailor and demanded to know the truth of Brinkmann's disappearance. Confronted with the new evidence, the Chinese sailor broke down and confessed that only the two Englishmen and a number of Chinese sailors went ashore on the Korean island and were immediately captured. Mr. Brinkmann and his Chinese interpreter refused to go ashore and argued that they should wait until the Englishmen were freed, but the Koreans refused to release them. The Koreans did, however, release the Chinese and demanded that they immediately leave the island's vicinity or they would all be killed.

The Chinese immediately complied and began to sail back towards China, the entire time pursued by several Korean warships. At some point, Brinkmann and his Chinese interpreter were spotted by the Koreans and shot, their bodies falling overboard into the sea.³⁷ The Chinese had made up the earlier story because they were afraid no one would believe the real account. Somewhat satisfied, Mayers and the *Ringdove* continued on to Chefoo the following day. Their arrival was greeted with great excitement.

A few days later, another arrival stirred renewed interest. A Chinese man who had served as the scribe for Brinkmann's Chinese interpreter had abandoned Starich's junk as soon as it had landed at Li-tau and, probably fearing for his life, walked to Chefoo to report the fates of Brinkmann and his master. According to him, Starich, Campbell, and a group of Chinese sailors had gone ashore, leaving Brinkman and his translator behind on the junk. This was probably a precaution they had taken to prevent the Chinese from sailing away and abandoning them. As soon as the Englishmen landed, they were approached by an apparently hostile group of Koreans who quickly bound them to bamboo poles and then dragged them into the interior of the island. The Chinese were soon released, but were told that if they and the junk did not leave immediately they would

³⁷ Cramer, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-57; *North China Herald*, July 21 and August 4, 1871; *New York Times*, September 21, 1871.

all be killed.

The Chinese informed Brinkmann of the Koreans' threat and the junk soon departed Korean waters, possibly followed by a couple of Korean warships to ensure they left. It isn't clear whether the junk left because Brinkmann wanted to return to China and get help, or whether the Chinese crew, in an effort to save themselves, sailed back to China despite his pleas. At some point the Chinese sailors figured they would be blamed for abandoning the Englishmen and in desperation they murdered Brinkmann and his interpreter in hopes of concealing their inaction. Stripping them of their goods, they threw the bodies overboard for the sharks to eat and then made a pact amongst themselves that they would all swear that the three Westerners had been captured and killed by the Koreans. Believing Starich and Campbell would never be rescued, they were convinced that there would be no one to dispute their claims.

After the man's testimony, Mayers turned the matter over to the German and Chinese authorities. Unfortunately, the fates of these Chinese murderers are not recorded. Considering the harshness of Chinese justice at the time, they were probably summarily executed.

Conclusion

Over the next couple of months, stories of German encounters with Korea peppered the local newspapers and even the newspapers in Europe. According to the *New York Times*, in early July the German iron-schooner *Volador* was wrecked in the Korean Straits but fortunately the crew managed to escape in the lifeboats and was soon rescued "after suffering great hardships."³⁸ The article seems to imply that the great hardships the crew suffered were somehow related to Korea, and yet it was the Chinese who were the culprits. According to the *North China Herald*:

...the ill-fated vessel was bound with a full cargo from Chefoo to Asiatic Russia, and, when about 500 miles off the Shantung Promontory, struck on a rock, the name of which we have not learned. About 8 o'clock on the previous evening, this rock bore S., and Capt. Torgow consequently steered to the S. E., but, as

³⁸ *New York Times*, September 3, 1871.

the night approached, a dead calm with dense fog came on, rendering it impossible to see anything about the vessel at the time, and at about 3 a.m. the vessel most unexpectedly struck, to the amazement of all on board. She bumped twice, and immediately began breaking up. The Captain instantly got his chief officer, who was laid up with a broken leg, into the longboat, and had barely time to get out another boat and place in it some provisions when the vessel went to pieces. The only thing of any value saved from the wreck was a compass and chronometer; and the Captain, who was interested in the vessel, is completely ruined by his loss. The crew, which consisted of five Europeans and five Chinese, after their third day at sea, hailed a junk, but those on board refused to receive them or give them any help; but on the fifth day out, a junk, bound for Shanghai, picked them up and carried them safe to port.³⁹

The allegations of Korean brutality toward shipwrecked Westerners seem to have been exaggerated, if not fabricated outright. Even during the American-Korean conflict of 1871, Koreans demonstrated acts of charity and concern for shipwreck victims. Yet despite the facts that these acts of Korean kindness were often described in detail in newspapers in Europe, the United States and the open ports of the Far East, editorials continued to call upon their respective governments to take measures to ensure the safety of mariners from the maligned Koreans. This concern for shipwrecked crews would be echoed over and over as an excuse, much like it had been used with Japan, to open Korea to the West.

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³⁹ *North China Herald*, July 21, 1871.

Three Families in Dilkusha

BROTHER ANTHONY OF TAIZÉ

Today, with more than one million foreigners living in Korea, it is worth remembering that on November 29, 1941, the last Thanksgiving Day before the Pacific War, the entire foreign community remaining in Seoul gathered for a turkey dinner at the home of a missionary, Will Kerr. They numbered twenty-one people and included British, white Russians and a Norwegian as well as Americans. Several hundred others had been evacuated several months before. During the Japanese colonial period of Korea's history there were few westerners living in Korea, at the best of times. The vast majority of those who did live there were missionaries, there were only a few diplomatic representatives stationed in Seoul and business, like diplomacy, was mostly centered in Japan. Detailed accounts of life in Korea written by members of such families are rare. However, two women who lived in Seoul during this time each wrote memoirs which include descriptions of their life in Korea; both texts were published by their families after their deaths. *Chain of Amber* by Mary Linley Taylor was published in England in 1992; its author had died in 1982. Her book begins with a description of the 1941 Thanksgiving dinner mentioned above. *Dreamer in Five Lands* by Faith G. Norris was published in the United States in 1993, a year after its author's death in April 1992.

By a remarkable coincidence, the author of the second book spent the whole of her time in Seoul, a little less than two years from early 1929 until late 1930, living with her parents, Arthur and Joan Grigsby, in the house belonging to the first. Faith Grigsby was a child, some 12 years old at the time, having been born in England in 1917. Mary Taylor had been born in England in 1889 and arrived in Korea in 1917 as the wife of the American owner of a gold-mine. The intersection of their stories, supplemented by other sources, offers a fascinating glimpse of the lives of peo-

ple who spent time in Korea. Another family was also living in that same house in 1929 and the third family of the title is that Australian family, their story having been told by their daughter in emails to me, although she was just five in 1929.

The starting point has to be the house that formed the bond between them all. On the hillside above Sajik Tunnel, between Independence Gate and Sajik Park, built close to an ancient ginkgo tree just a few yards outside the Seoul city wall, there still stands a large old house, its walls of red bricks. It is now in a very dilapidated condition, divided into small housing units inhabited by multiple families. A granite foundation stone on its south-eastern corner is inscribed with the name "Dilkusha" and the date 1923.¹ For a long time the Seoul city authorities were at a loss as to who had built it and what Dilkusha meant. In February 2006 an elderly American, Bruce Tickell Taylor, visited Seoul² and provided them with the basic information about the house and his parents, who had built it.

It had been built by his father, Albert Wilder Taylor, a mining engineer in gold mines, and he himself had spent part of his early years there after being born on February 28, 1919, in Severance Hospital, near what is now Seoul railway station. He had been sent to his mother's native England for schooling in 1929, after spending some years with his parents in the United States while his father received medical treatment. His parents, Albert and Mary Taylor, had returned to Seoul in 1929 and continued to live there until the outbreak of the Pacific War in December 1941, when they were interned, then repatriated to the United States in the early summer of 1942. After the end of the war, they did not immediately return to Korea and in 1948 his father suddenly died of a heart attack. His mother brought his ashes to Korea the following year, buried them in the Foreigners' Cemetery at Yanghwajin beside the grave of his father, George Alexander Taylor, briefly visited Dilkusha, then left Korea for ever.

Born in Nova Scotia (Canada) on March 17, 1829, George Alexander Taylor had arrived in Korea in November 1896 and worked as an engineer in the gold mine at Unsan in North P'yŏngan province controlled by the

¹ <http://hompi.sogang.ac.kr/anthony/Dilkusha.htm>

² <http://newswire.ytn.co.kr/newsRead.php?md=A04&tm=3&no=120814&picno=47385>

Oriental Consolidated Mining Company until he died after a long illness on December 10, 1908. His two sons, Albert Wilder Taylor and William Wentworth Taylor, who had come to help their father early on, remained in Korea. The older son, Albert, continued at first to work as a manager at the mine where he had been assisting his father; later he started another company to exploit a gold mine at Chiksan, further south. His younger brother opened a trading firm and store, the "Taylor Curio Shop," in central Seoul (near the present Choson Hotel) known as "W. W. Taylor." In 1932, Bill Taylor moved to Manchuria with a General Motors franchise and Albert was left in charge of the company. Albert Taylor did not like his given name, he was therefore always addressed by his friends and family as "Bruce" while he used his real name in his official activities. The nickname became his son's real name.

The stories told in the two books are very different, first of all, because Mary Taylor spent some twenty-five years in Korea, Faith Norris less than two. Mary came as an adult, Faith was a child, and her memoir relates the entire life story of her mother, Joan Grigsby, from her birth in Scotland until her death in Vancouver (Canada) in 1937. Faith has quite vivid memories of Mary Taylor, about whom she writes at length, while Mary Taylor does not mention the Grigsby family at all. It seems that Mary Taylor wrote down her memories in the 1950s, not so long after the events and her last visit to Korea. Faith Norris only wrote in the early 1980s, after her retirement. One portion of Mary Taylor's memoirs was published in 1956 under the title *The Tiger's Claw: The Life-story of East Asia's Mighty Hunter*. Faith Norris records that she paid a visit to Mary Taylor in 1980 or so, not long before she died. There is the same photo of Dilkusha in both of their books, a copy was presumably given by one to the other during this visit.

One important difference between the two writers is the general failure of Mary Taylor to provide dates for the events she is describing so vividly, while Faith Norris usually provides dates. This may be because Faith was a professor of English literature, a teacher and an academic. Mary Taylor ended her schooling as soon as she could and became an actress. Both women write with energy and affection, their stories are compelling. It is only when information from other sources is available that we begin to realize how extremely inaccurate Faith Norris's account is.

The story told by Faith Norris is particularly interesting because the name of her mother, Joan S. Grigsby, is known from another source. *The Orchid Door: Ancient Korean Poems collected and done into English verse by Joan S. Grigsby*³ was the first volume of English translations of Korean poetry ever published, and figures as such in lists. It was published by J. L. Thompson of Kobe (Japan) in 1935. It is a rare book, very few copies are known to exist, and in 1970 the Paragon Book Reprint Company in New York published a facsimile reprint that found its way into major libraries and made it better known. Nobody, however, knew who Joan Grigsby was. Faith Norris's book about her was published by Drift Creek Press in Philomath, Oregon (US). It was only the second volume produced by a press that publishes nothing but biographies of women, and has only published three other books since then. It is hardly surprising that it took some time for anyone interested in Korea to discover it and realize its interest.

The name Joan S. Grigsby is also found on another extremely rare volume of poems, *Lanterns by the Lake by Joan S. Grigsby*⁴, published jointly by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner of London and J. L. Thompson of Kobe (Japan) in 1929, printed in Japan. On the title-page she is identified as "Author of 'Songs of the Grey Country'⁵, 'Peatsmoke'⁶, etc." Additional research from this information indicates that these latter volumes of poetry were published in London under the poet's maiden name of Joan Rundall in 1916 and 1919 respectively.

It is only when we read Faith Norris's biography, however, that it becomes possible to understand how a British poet of Scottish birth came to publish in Japan the first collection of Korean poems in English translation, at a time when she was living in Canada. The itinerary from Scotland to London, then to Canada, Japan, Korea, and back to Vancouver could never have been reconstructed otherwise. Yet it should be stressed that

³ For complete text see:

<http://hompi.sogang.ac.kr/anthony/GrigsbyOrchidDoor.htm>

⁴ For complete text see: <http://hompi.sogang.ac.kr/anthony/GrigsbyLanterns.htm>

⁵ For complete text see:

<http://hompi.sogang.ac.kr/anthony/GrigsbyGreyCountry.htm>

⁶ For complete text see: <http://hompi.sogang.ac.kr/anthony/Peatsmoke.htm>

there are serious issues of accuracy with very many aspects of her account. This can be explained in part by the fact that Faith Norris was writing in the 1980s about events of fifty years before, when she was only a child, without any written records and without anyone she could consult. Her mother had died in 1937, her father in 1947, she was their only child. There is also the fact that her mother was a poet and unpublished novelist with a tendency to romance reality. The almost entirely untrue account of her mother's family background, with which her book begins, clearly came from her mother's fantasy. Faith too had fantasy, and the fact that her mother seems to have been unwilling to explain a lot of things to her must have encouraged her to imagine explanations of her own. The passage of time seems to have convinced her that her imaginings were true.

If we return to the house Dilkusha, we find its name explained in both books, but obviously Mary Linley Taylor's account takes precedence, since she gave it its name. Mary Taylor's name given at birth was Hilda Mouat Biggs⁷; when she became an actress, she took the stage name Mary Linley because her family cherished a legend that they were descended from Mary and Elizabeth Linley, famous singers in 18th-century England, one of whom (Elizabeth) had married the playwright Richard Brinsley Sheridan⁸. Faith Norris misunderstood this to mean that Mary was directly descended from Sheridan, which is not the case. Hilda Mouat Biggs was born in Cheltenham (England). Her book merely indicates that her father was a medical doctor and that the family house was full of artifacts from exotic lands, with friends and relatives visiting from many parts of the Empire. But she gives no details. She explains (p.69-70) that members of her family had lived in India for generations, and still did when she visited it as an actress, a member of a traveling repertory company, during the first World War. In particular, she recalls hearing about her grandfather, "dubbed 'The Tiger with Spurs', a young cavalry officer, who, with a handful of men, had delayed the advance of the enemy at a palace called *Dilkusha*, near Lucknow." This is presumably a memory from the Indian Mutiny of 1858. The grandfather in question probably belonged to the Tickell family, to which Mary Taylor's mother belonged, although her

⁷ <http://hompi.sogang.ac.kr/anthony/GrigsbyMaryTaylor.htm>

⁸ <http://hompi.sogang.ac.kr/anthony/GrigsbyTickell.htm>

father's Mouat Biggs ancestors also lived in India. The Tickell family history is particularly rich and interesting.

In her book, she has already described the company's journey through India and on as far as Yokohama in Japan. On page 58 she tells of being saved from drowning in the sea at Homoko by an American, Mr. Taylor. Clearly a spark passed in the following days but Mr. Taylor had to return to Korea and the actors began their return journey toward England. They reached Lucknow in North-Eastern India. "I rode out on horseback to this ruined palace, and hearing that 'Dilkusha' was Persian for 'palace of Heart's Delight', I decided that that would be the name of my house whenever I had one" (p70). The chronology of the following months in India is left rather unclear but finally Mr. Taylor reappeared: "ten months after we had parted in Japan and almost without warning, he walked off the ship in Calcutta." He proposed that evening, they were married on the other side of the subcontinent in Bombay on June 15, 1917. On that evening, she writes, she gave her last performance with the company, her husband watching from a box where he was sitting beside Rabindranath Tagore.

When they finally arrived in Seoul, three months or more later, Bill Taylor had found them a Korean house out in the fields near Sōdae-mun which had been transformed into a western-style bungalow with fireplaces. The birth of their only son in late February 1919 was marked by dramatic events. The death on 21 January, 1919, of the former Korean king, Kojong, who had proclaimed himself the Emperor of the Taehan Empire in 1897 and had been forced to abdicate by the Japanese in 1908 for resisting their plans, provoked great emotion, once it was known, since many Koreans believed that he had been poisoned by the Japanese. Preparations for the funeral took several months and Bruce Taylor was appointed special correspondent of what Mary Taylor calls "the United Press of America," charged with filing reports on it.

The chronology of Mary Taylor's account of the day her baby was born (p155) is rather confused, as is only to be expected. It seems clear that the baby was born in Severance Hospital on February 28 and on that evening or on the next day, when the March 1st Independence Movement was at its height and being brutally suppressed, her husband discovered printed copies of the Declaration of Independence hidden in her bed by a nurse. There was a printing machine hidden in the hospital! She says that

her husband immediately sent his brother to Japan with a report on the day's events and a copy (translation?) of the Declaration concealed in the heel of his shoe so that they could be wired to the American press without censorship.

In the following pages, again we find confusion about dates and distances. She says that the next day Bruce Taylor visited Suwon (presumably the village of Jeam-ri near Suwon) and took photographs of the burned houses and the church in which the Japanese had killed Korean Christians, photographs which he then took to the Japanese Governor General and obliged him to disavow the killings. This seems very unlikely. The massacre in question actually only took place on April 15; the person usually credited with taking at least one photo of the scene a few days later is Dr. Frank W. Schofield, who worked at Severance. He was prevented from taking any other photos by the Japanese military. In the same context, Mary Taylor relates (p157) that during her 1949 visit to bury her husband's ashes, she gave President Syngman Rhee a dossier compiled by her husband, containing "signed eye-witness reports by reliable American doctors, preachers, and teachers" of the Japanese atrocities at that time. It presumably did not survive the Korean War.

Mary describes in some detail the great funeral procession for the deceased Emperor that was held on March 3, which she says passed before her hospital room. Equally interesting for the historian is her account of how her husband witnessed the failed bomb attack against Baron Saito, the new Japanese Governor-General, at Seoul (Namdaimon) Station on September 2, 1919. He had just come back from Wönsan, on the North-Eastern coast, where Mary and others were still vacationing. A few days before, they had realized that several ships full of 1,700 White Russian refugees from Vladivostok were waiting offshore, with no food or water. Bruce had gone back to Seoul to obtain permission for them to land. This was finally granted and thanks to him the Russians were able to spend six months in Korea before mostly sailing on to other destinations, while a few remained in Korea.

Early in her account, Mary Taylor describes (p101) a walk she and her husband made (apparently in the spring of 1918) around the walls of Seoul, arriving at a place on the hill to the east of Independence Gate where a huge ginkgo tree was growing. Here, she said, she wanted to

build a house. Her husband replied that the land belonged to a non-resident Englishman so was not available. The story of Dilkusha resumes on page 185. Early in 1920, it seems (again, no date is given), the owner of the land died and the Taylors were able to buy it. Frustratingly, Mary Taylor describes visiting the site with the architect but fails to name him. The people living in the neighborhood below were accustomed to come to draw water from the springs on the site, and, more important, to pray beneath the tree. As a result, they experienced serious resistance to their plans. In addition, the only access was through a steep, narrow alleyway, up which all the materials had to be carried.

Finally she writes: "When all was in readiness, the cornerstone was engraved with the name of our house" (p190) The stone bears the date 1923 and also "Ps. cxxvii" (Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it.). On the next page she adds, "It was spring when we moved in" without specifying the year, as usual! Her phrase suggests that the engraving of the stone was done when the house was complete; in that case, they must have begun to live there in the spring of 1923. The description of the completed house is a magnificent evocation:

The large hall, downstairs, forty-five feet in length, darkened by the massive porch, was consequently painted with a golden-yellow wash – wallpapers in Korea are taboo due to the heavy rainy seasons which cause the walls to develop mouldy patches. Whatever they might be painted originally this moss-green colour would inevitably appear on all the walls. There were three French doors, as well as the front door, which opened out on the porch. A massive dark oak staircase with carved balustrade and little landings had come from a dismantled, European-style Korean palace. Each baluster was carved with a Korean peony. Underneath the stairs was a trap door with steps that led to the cellar below. here wood and coal were stored - and wine.

There was a wide deep inglenook with its red brick fireplace in the centre of the back wall, flanked on either side with high-backed settles. At the other end of the room, was an enormous stove, indispensable in winter but which was moved out in

summer. From it, trailing diagonally across the ceiling and suspended from the heavy beams, which would otherwise have been a handsome decoration to the room, was a large black stove-pipe which penetrated the fireplace chimney. Its gashing hole in the bricks I covered in the summer with a wooden shield decorated with armorial bearings.

In the corner not far from the stove stood the icebox. It had no choice because that was the only spot where it could drip through the floor without doing damage to anything beneath it in the cellar. The ice was brought in the winter six miles, by ox-cart, from the Han River and was packed in sawdust underground where it remained the whole year through. (. . .) This room we used for large dinner parties, receptions, and dances.

In the east wing, was the regular dining room, which also contained a fireplace and a stove. Its many windows framed a picture of the Ginkgo tree. Behind this room were the service quarters. The kitchen floor was of stone and the cooking was done on an old-fashioned coal range. There were larders and storerooms and a fine view of the blasted rock wall.

The west wing was closed from the hall by arched double doors, also brought from the ex-palace, as were the buff and blue tiles, that lined all the passages and bathrooms throughout the house. The two large rooms in this wing together with the bath and dressing rooms were now used as a nursery for our small son. It would later be used as a guest wing.

The second floor was laid out in much the same manner as the first. Over the hall in the centre was a drawing room of like proportions. This room was on the second floor by choice as it afforded a superb view of the city below and the mountains beyond and on clear days, a glimpse of the Han River. Here French windows also opened out on the top porch. In hot weather with the aid of bamboo poles and by permitting the wisteria to cover them, the whole terrace was shaded and the pastel blue walls of the room inside became green as a glen. There were windows in the rear wall permitting cross ventilation. Here as downstairs we had a fireplace and an inglenook. We regulated

the size of the room by the use of Korean screens, which were made for this purpose when used in palaces. There were ten-panelled screens which stood ten feet high, every panel a separate work of art either in embroidery or painting. We could expand and contract the room very much like a concertina.

This room was really the living heart of the house. In it were all the things we treasured most and associated intimately with in our leisure hours. Here were gathered not only Bruce's original collection from the little home at West Gate, but all those other things I had craved when I saw them in the curio store. To the black-lacquered mother-of-pearl inlaid wedding chests were added red-lacquered ones. Comfortable divans and armchairs, with numerous cushions, were keyed to the colouring of the room. Palace tables of red lacquer, low and round, with smooth tops and beautifully carved legs, were ideal for individual refreshment needs.

The lacquered cupboards were full of treasures and relics of Korea's past – document boxes, painted panels, Buddhist rosaries, and sheathed knives. These latter are peculiar to Korea and are fitted with silver chopsticks. The handles are made from amber, jade, quartz, sharkskin, lapis lazuli, turquoise matrix, or sandal wood, carved or plain according to the fancy of the craftsman.

On the mantelpiece, stood a few superb pieces from Bruce's collection of the Koryo celadons. They were of a translucent green very light in colour. Some of them were inlaid with white kaolin and black clay. Where they were cracked they were mended with pure gold. In between them a set of T'ang horses rolled and romped. (. . .)

In the east wing, was the library and a bedroom with bath and dressing room. The west wing contained my studio and bedroom suite. Here, also, were the household linen and storage cupboards. From each wing there was a bridge, which spanned the gulf between the house and the steeply sloping rock behind the house, leading to a path that ran parallel to the house, and along it all the bath water was carried from the well. These

bridges afforded convenient exits when unwanted visitors arrived as well. (. . .)

On the third floor, were several small rooms. In the best of these, with a good north light, was Bruce's 'museum'. Here he had cupboards lined with black velvet, to house his collection of Korean Art. There were shelves on shelves of reference books and catalogues, to facilitate his exhaustive study of these things. It was during the early days of mining in Korea that most of these treasures had come to light. When the Korean miners found that foreigners were mad enough to exchange tobacco and even money for broken bowls and pots, they did some extra excavating on their own.

Among Bruce's collection, were a variety of things, which I found most fascinating: there were very long-bowled and handled spoons, green with the patina of age. There were coins that were most decorative and interesting. Among these were pony-coins. They were saucer-size brass discs, with the heads of horses, numbering from one to ten, cut through in silhouette, one profile behind the other. These were granted to travellers of importance by the local magistrate and gave the recipient the right to demand as many horses on his journey as were depicted on the coin. There were animals in baked clay that had been thrown about the mountain slopes to persuade their living counterparts to remain up there and not come down and trample the rice fields. There were seals and buckles and buttons of most unusual design and a spirit tablet believed by the natives to actually contain the departed spirit itself. No Korean was ever told about this possession, as his feelings would have been inexplicably outraged.

But it was the pottery and its history that Bruce loved most. Mingling in the many specimens were unglazed earthenware bowls, some stone pots with three legs that stood on stands, evidently for heating food. But the finest of all the glazed pieces dated from 900 to 1300 AD. These were so delicate and restrained in design that authorities say they were unequalled by the finest ever produced anywhere in the world. China, who was

the neighbour with whom Korea at this time shared a remarkable development in ceramic art, each contributing to the other's growth, admitted this supremacy.

The idyll was short-lived. Mary's sister Una, who had been living with them for several years, developed scarlet fever and malaria. She was sent to recuperate in California. Next Bruce fell seriously ill and had to be sent to the States for treatment. Mary's mother had come from England to visit them in Korea, and in October 1925 Mary, her mother and little Bruce left Korea for California. Their son became a boarder at Lona Hazard Military Academy, Alameda, before being taken to England by his mother for the rest of his schooling in 1929. It was a difficult time, Bruce was diagnosed with a form of sprue that was difficult to cure. There, some time in 1926, presumably, they received a telegram from Bill Taylor reporting that Dilkusha had been struck by lightning and "completely destroyed." They had forgotten to install any lightning conductors!

Again the chronology wavers and an unspecified period of time passes while Bruce remains seriously ill. All we know is that her husband finally returned to Korea while she went to England with young Bruce. The record says that he began schooling in St. Piran's Preparatory School, Maidenhead, Berkshire, in 1929, and Mary set off for Korea. She writes confidently, "On 14 September 1930, my birthday, the ship docked at Yokohama" (p205). This date cannot be correct. Everything indicates that she returned in 1929. By the time she arrived, the Grigsby family had been living in Dilkusha for 8-9 months. Unknown to Mary, Bill Taylor had repaired the house as best he could. Clearly it had not been "completely" destroyed, although there was no longer a third floor. Her husband and his brother did not tell her the house had been restored, and she describes (p206) her emotion on seeing it standing where she had expected to find a ruin.

Thanks to Mary Taylor's autobiography, we have all this information about her life. Faith Norris was not so fortunate. Her account reveals a triple layer of ignorance. First, she blends Will and Bruce Taylor into a single person, always referring to Mary's husband as "Bill." This might be because Bill Taylor probably arranged the lease for the rooms on the second floor (the former library etc) in which the Grigsbys lived, and Bruce

on returning, still very weak, may have spent much of his time away from Seoul in his mines. She might hardly ever have seen him. Second, more serious, she did not know of the real reasons for the absence of Mary Taylor on their arrival. She produces a scandalously untrue tale according to which Mary discovered that her husband had fathered a child with a Korean woman and left him to go with their son to San Francisco. Her return to Seoul some months after the Grigsbys' arrival is attributed to a change of heart on her part. Third, Faith Grigsby seems not to have been told about the fire. She could see that Dilkusha had once been a magnificent building and had been seriously damaged; she explains this by a romantic image of Mary's husband, furious at his wife's departure, setting out to strip the house of all that might recall the past, having resolved never again to live in it himself.

There is no doubt about one thing. The first impression the house made on Faith Grigsby and her mother was far from positive. Mary Taylor does not linger over the details of the rebuilt house but it might well be that Bill Taylor disposed of very limited funds and that therefore the rebuilding he undertook did not cover more than the structural essentials. The new roof he installed did not include an attic floor, for example. That is what Faith's memories suggest:

He had what my mother called "some patently amateur carpenters" board up the top of the lovely black oak staircase. Then the carpenters removed several courses of bricks in the rear of the second story. Into each of the rectangular openings they thus made, they installed a cheap, badly varnished door. Because the rear of the house was some eight feet from a steep granite ledge, the carpenters built two rickety bridges from the ledge to the two doors. These bridges were the access routes for the tenants of the upper story. At the ledge end of each bridge the carpenters put up a large, but leaky, dog house—a curious touch since Taylor despised dogs. He added it, presumably, for the sake of dog-loving people like my mother.

Inside the house, Taylor made even more drastic alterations. The built-in shelves in the library—our living and dining room—were torn out, leaving ugly scars on the paneled walls.

And Taylor apparently felt that the tenants of the two apartments would not be affluent enough to hire servants to maintain eighteen fireplaces in the middle of a Seoul winter. He blocked up all the fireplaces.

Taylor provided heat for his tenants' cooking by installing a Montgomery Ward kitchen stove on each floor. For heating the drawing room on the ground floor and the ex-library on the second, he bought two hideous cast iron German coke-burning heaters. The German heaters turned from black to cherry-red when going full blast and made the drawing room and the "library" excessively hot. Save for the kitchens, the other rooms were miserably cold.

When the Grigsbys arrived in Seoul from Japan in January 1929, it is hardly surprising that they were challenged in many ways, the bitterly cold winters of Korea being only one. In Japan they had lived in a pretty, Japanese-style house beside the sea in a suburb of Yokohama. They had been actively involved in a lively, international social scene, for there were large numbers of often wealthy westerners residing in Yokohama at the time. Moreover, they had been prepared for life in Japan in a special way. Joan's husband Arthur Grigsby's father had been a lawyer, William Ebenezer Grigsby. In the mid-1870s, he was invited to Japan to teach in the newly established law school at the University of Tokyo. He and Kate Savell were married from her home in Barley, Royston, Hertfordshire in March 1874, according to the marriage records, and must have left England almost at once. He arrived in Japan in May 1874 to teach international public law and British law, and they remained in Japan until July 1878.

Faith Norris says that Kate Grigsby loved her time in Japan and brought back two trunks of Japanese objects to decorate their home in London. Later, Arthur Grigsby's father was appointed to be a judge in Cyprus, where he died in 1899. Arthur Grigsby and Joan Rundall were married on April 6 1912 in St. Mary's parish church, Finchley. Kate Grigsby seems to have made a deep impression on Joan Grigsby, her tales of life in 1870s Japan feeding into Joan's love of exotic, ancient cultures. It is significant that during her time in Japan Joan began to call herself Joan

Savell Grigsby, although the "Savell" in her husband's name was a given name, not a hyphenated double name. Her *Lanterns by the Lake*, containing poems inspired by Japan, was dedicated to Kate Savell.

The Grigsbys came to Seoul in 1929 for economic reasons. Arthur Grigsby had been working in Japan as an accountant for Ford motors since soon after their arrival late in 1924. Late in 1928, he seems to have been offered a position as Ford sales manager in Seoul and although Faith Norris's reference to a "depression" in Japan might not be accurate, it looks as though he had little or no choice, and there is every reason to believe Faith's account of her mother's strong resistance. They stayed at first in the Chosen Hotel, the only option, while looking for a place to live. Seoul at the time was not equipped with properties designed to house foreign businessmen with families and the Dilkusha solution must have been a god-send. One major difficulty for Joan's sensibilities was the way she had to climb up a steep, muddy or icy alley through a noisy, populous neighborhood in order to reach the house.

Joan S. Grigsby was obliged to leave Japan just as she had arranged with Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner of London that they would publish her volume of poems about Japan, *Lanterns by the Lake*. During her time in Japan, Joan had made the acquaintance of the artist Lilian Miller, the daughter of an American missionary-turned-diplomat. Born in Tokyo in 1895 and brought up in Japan, Lilian Miller began studying traditional Japanese painting under Kano Tomonobu in 1904, when she was only nine, then in 1907 she transferred to study under the younger Shimada Bokusen and exhibited her first work that year. From 1909-1917 she was studying in the United States. Her father, Ransford Stevens Miller Jr., had become American consul in Seoul in 1914 and remained there on and off until 1929. In 1917 Lilian spent a year with her parents in Seoul, then in 1919 she decided to return to Japan to continue studies with Shimada Bokusen. She became a self-supporting artist, constructing an image of herself as a Japanese American, often wearing Japanese dress, producing prints and paintings in Japanese style. She also wrote poems and had begun to prepare a volume of poems illustrated with a number of her own prints when the great Kanto earthquake struck on September 1, 1923. Lilian Miller was with her parents in Seoul on that day, but she lost most of her work when her own studio and the printer's workshop were destroyed.

Falling ill, she spent several years in Korea before returning to Japan and publishing her poetry book *Grass Blades from a Cinnamon Garden* in 1927.

Joan Grigsby must have been impressed by this volume, beautifully printed and bound in Japanese style. Her London publishers agreed that her book should also be printed in Japan, be bound in Japanese style, and illustrated with prints by Lilian Miller. She had a considerable collection of poems about Japan ready, but when the publishers heard of their move to Korea, they seem to have asked her to add some new ones about Korea. The set of ten poems about Korea she included suggest just how difficult the transition must have been. Joan Grigsby was clearly a courageous woman, not prepared to let her feelings get her down, and the result is one special poem that gives a wonderful impression of what it must have been like to stand in the great Dilkusha garden, looking down to the neighborhood just below:

Korean Night

High o'er the twisted streets and huddled alleys

The white stars tremble and, with night, reveal

The hidden beauty of this Eastern city—

Dream things that daylight or the gods conceal—

Jealous, perhaps, to guard some old enchantment

That only starlight and the night reveal.

Out of the narrow lane below my garden

The sounds of night arise, confused and wild,

Swift throb of drums, a mourner wailing, wailing ;

Men quarelling ; the sobbing of a child ;

Or women beating clothes with wooden paddles

Or footsteps wandering, restless, weary, wild.

The white-robed forms move slowly, crowd together

About a chestnut stall. The brazier's glow

Lights up black eyes and hungry, narrow faces
 Below the high-crowned hats. They come and go
Wandering, chattering in darkened alleys
 Like ghosts of men forgotten long ago.

Clatter and cry—hoarse voice of vendors calling
 Their wares. The markets open for the night,
Gay china, yellow oranges, green cabbage
 Spread below smoky lamps' uncertain light,
Amid the ceaseless hum of surging chatter
 That swells and falls upon the Eastern night.

Then—silence, for the market hours are ended,
 Till the stray dogs begin, half starved and wild,
To fight for garbage. From some hidden hovel
 Rises the wailing of a sickly child
And all night long across the Eastern city
 Go footsteps wandering, restless, weary, wild.

When the Grigsbys arrived in their rooms on the second floor of the eastern wing of Dilkusha, they found that an Australian family was living downstairs. Faith's account of this family is not very kind. Like her mother, she seems to have been something of a snob and the British sometimes look down on Australians as uncouth. Certainly, when Faith Norris wrote her account of the Boydell family, she could hardly imagine that a reader of her account, living in Korea twenty-five years later, would be able to enter into email contact with the daughter of the Boydells, Justine Constance Broughton Boydell, who at the time was about five, and whom Faith seems to have forgotten about, she only mentions the son. Her email address was provided by none other than Bruce Taylor, the son of the Taylors born on the eve of March 1 1919.

Her father, William Guy Broughton Boydell gained a degree in Mining and Metallurgy at Sydney University, then worked as an engineer in Australian gold mines before coming to Korea in about 1912. Her mother came to join him in Korea after a first meeting in Australia and they were married in Seoul in 1919. At that time, Guy Boydell was working in the

gold mines at Tulmichung, in an American Mining Concession, where their son Charles was born. Later they moved further north to a French Mining Concession at Taiyudong and in 1925 their daughter was born, as she likes to say, "in a cave under the French flag during a Chinese bandit attack on a place called Taiyudong in the far north of Korea, which was under Japanese rule at the time. My parents were of Scottish and English parentage and my birth was registered at the British Consulate in Seoul and is now held on record in Somerset House in London." Justine Boydell is surely the last person now alive to have a memory of seeing Joan and Faith Grigsby in Dilkusha, to which the Boydells had moved in 1927. This was probably when the rebuilding was completed and Bill Taylor seems to have asked them to act as caretakers while the owners were absent. The Boydells quit Dilkusha and Korea in 1929, arriving in Sydney in November 1929, almost certainly because Mary Taylor's imminent arrival from England meant that the Taylors would be living in Dilkusha again and they were no longer needed.

At the end of the Introduction to her volume *The Orchid Door* (p29), Joan S. Grigsby expresses her "indebtedness to Dr. James S. Gale of Bath, England." She also mentions Father Andreas Eckardt's "History of Korean Art" and "certain publications of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society," as well as "the kindness of" Bishop Trollope, Dr. W. A. Noble, and Mrs C. I McLaren. James Gale, the leading scholar of Korea in the early period, had left Korea in 1927 and it is not clear whether she was in direct postal contact with him, although Faith Norris claims that she was and the mention of Bath also suggests it. The poems he had translated that she then polished and adapted for her volume were published in a variety of places, including his *History of the Korean People*. Faith also says that she met Andreas Eckardt, a German Benedictine who left Korea quite early in 1929 and went on to become the founder of Korean Studies in Germany after the Second World War. He arrived in Korea in 1909 and had been teaching in Seoul. It is also possible that Faith misunderstood her mother's expression of thanks to imply a personal contact.

Faith's account of Joan Grigsby's discovery of Korea divides it into two periods. First, she suggests, Guy Boydell and his wife acted as her guide and enabled her to develop a more positive attitude toward the country. In this early period an unnamed Australian woman missionary

(presumably Jessie McLaren) encountered by chance helped her realize how hard the life of ordinary Korean women was. Then Mary Taylor arrived, and after the Taylors had explained to her how harsh the Japanese rule of Korea was, they introduced her to the most important scholars among the foreign community, the core members of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Bishop Trollope was the Anglican bishop and had for many years been President of the RAS-KB, beginning in 1917. W. A. Noble was a teacher of English at the Methodist-founded Pajjai school. Jessie McLaren was an Australian missionary who taught at Ewha school (later to become Ewha Woman's University), her husband was Charles McLaren, who from 1922 to 1939 was Professor of Neurology and Psychological Medicine at the Union Christian Medical College, Severance Hospital. The main omission in Joan Grigsby's acknowledgements, if we follow Faith's account, is the absence of the name of Horace Horton Underwood (1890-1951). According to Faith, it was he who first gave her a copy of Gale's *History* and encouraged her plans to polish Gale's translations.

The contribution of Jessie McLaren to *The Orchid Door* was a very special one. Faith says that shortly before they left Seoul, Jessie gave Joan Grigsby copies of poems by *kisaeng* (female entertainers) that she had translated and she incorporated these into her book. This reference to Jessie McLaren as a translator is confirmed by her grandsons, who have in their possession in Australia notebooks containing such translations, so far unpublished. It is hoped that soon copies of these notebooks will be made available for comparison with Joan Grigsby's work. Almost all the poems translated by James Gale and published in various places have been identified and are available for comparison with Joan Grigsby's versions online⁹.

Faith Norris suggests that their sudden departure from Korea was caused by a Japanese unwillingness to have westerners working in sensitive areas. If it is as she says, and her father's work was selling Ford vehicles to the Japanese military in connection with their planned campaign in Manchuria, that began in 1931, that might be the case. The decision to go back to Vancouver, from where they had left Canada to sail to Japan in

⁹ <http://hompi.sogang.ac.kr/anthony/GrigsbyLament.htm>

1924, rather than to England, seems a strange one. Faith attributes it to her mother's romantic memories of the landscape. They knew nobody there and arriving in the winter of 1930 with very limited resources they found the city in the throes of the Great Depression, full of unemployed paupers. Presumably it was the example of the Taylors' curio shop in Seoul that inspired Joan to open one in Vancouver. Mary Taylor sent parcels of merchandise but since nobody had any money, the business failed. Joan Grigsby was then diagnosed with cancer of the uterus that had spread, and a leg was amputated. Arthur Grigsby became manager of the Vancouver City Art Gallery and was later appointed its curator. Joan Grigsby completed her manuscript of *The Orchid Door* while recovering from her operation and sent it to her previous London publishers, who rejected it. Finally, Lilian Miller seems to have arranged for the book to be published by the Kobe firm that had co-published *Lanterns by the Lake*, probably at her own expense. It is hardly surprising that it is so rare.

Bishop Trollope, who had helped launch Joan Grigsby on her Korean poetry adventure, died in November 1930, presumably soon after the Grigsbys left Korea, since Faith does not mention his death in any detail. He had attended the Lambeth Conference in England that summer, then gone to visit Andreas Eckardt in Germany to discuss a paper the latter was writing for *Transactions*. As his ship was entering Kobe harbour on November 6, 1930, it collided with another boat and the bishop went rushing down to his cabin to put on his life-jacket. The emotion, and the effort of hurrying back onto the deck, provoked his sudden decease. On November 24, 1930, Horace H. Underwood presented an "Appreciation Of The Life And Work Of The Late Right Reverend Mark Napier Trollope¹⁰" at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society Korea Branch. Oddly, Mary Taylor also fails to mention this event although the Taylors were regular worshippers at the Anglican cathedral and close friends of the priests there. Perhaps she was away from Seoul at the time?

Joan Grigsby died on April 10, 1937. She was buried in Vancouver but nobody now knows where. Her granddaughter has written that her mother never told her where the grave was. Faith Grigsby was a student at UBC when her mother died; she went to the University of California at

¹⁰ For complete text see: <http://hompi.sogang.ac.kr/anthony/BishopTrollope.htm>

Berkeley for graduate studies and after completing her Ph.D. she became a member of the faculty of the English Department at Oregon State University, her husband being a professor at the same university. Most of Joan Grigsby's papers remained with her father after her death, then with his widow, and they seem to have vanished without trace when she died.

Two sequels complete the story. The daughter of Faith Grigsby Norris, Joan Boothe, who arranged for her mother's text to be published, lives in San Francisco. In the early summer of 2008 she received a telephone call from a man in England who introduced himself as the son of Joan Grigsby's brother. He had read her mother's book and wanted to tell her the true story of Joan Grigsby's family origins, so very different from what Faith reported in her book, which he had recently obtained. This was Joan Boothe's first contact with any member of her grandmother's family. I wrote to her with the same information only a few weeks later.

A short time after I had posted most of this story in my home page, I received an email from the grandson of Arthur Grigsby's elder brother. That brother was called William Hugh Savell Grigsby and his grandson (who bears the same names) writes: "my paternal grandfather and namesake was working in mining in the California gold fields in the 1890's, but was hired to manage some gold mines in Nicaragua by my paternal great-grandmother, Fanny Elizabeth Rogers, nee Theobald, recently widowed through the murder of her husband, William Arthur Rogers. A few years after his arrival in Nicaragua, in 1900 William Hugh Savell Grigsby married Fanny's daughter, Gertrude Katherine Rogers and from this union my father, Arthur Hugh Savell Grigsby was born in 1904 in Granada, Nicaragua and named Arthur after his uncle, and Joan Grigsby's husband." The remarkable end of this story in 1915 has Gertrude Grigsby bringing her unconscious husband hundreds of miles down Nicaraguan rivers in a canoe, probably suffering from mercury poisoning. Arriving at the coast, she loaded him onto a banana boat headed for England and he died in a Colchester hospital soon after their arrival.

The greatest mystery in all these stories is why Faith Norris wrote with complete conviction that Joan Rundall's paternal grandfather was a Polish Jew, married to a Belgian woman. He had, she writes, made a fortune from lace-making after moving to Edinburgh. His son, Joan's father, had become an Anglican priest and was headmaster of St. Ninian's Col-

lege in Moffat (Dumfries). According to her, Joan's mother, Janet McLeod, was a peasant woman from the Hebrides who had been matron at the school. Joan Grigsby seems to have maintained this version of things to the end of her life, and after her retirement Faith Norris made an emotional visit to the Hebrides, convinced that she was discovering her mother's deep roots. However, the official documents and the family tree show that Joan's father, John William Rundall, was born in 1858 in Dowlaispura, Madras, India, the youngest son of General Francis Hornblow Rundall (Dec 22, 1823 - Sep 30, 1908), Royal Engineers. His expertise was in dams and irrigation, not lace-making. Joan's mother was not a Hebrides peasant. She was Constance Ethel Pearse, a daughter of George Wingate Pearse, the rector of Walton, Bucks. (England), and one of her brothers later married one of General Rundall's daughters. The only truth in the story related by Faith is that her father was, indeed, a clergyman and headmaster of St. Ninians and he did indeed die of heart disease in 1903. If Joan Grigsby and Mary Taylor got on so well together, it was surely because they had such similar family origins.

Brother Anthony is a member of the Community of Taizé. He was born in Britain and has been living in Korea since 1980. He is an emeritus professor of Sogang University and has published over 25 volumes of English translations of Korean literature. He is Chair of the Publications Committee of the RASKB.

Minjung Art Reconsidered: Art as a Means of Resistance

TOBIAS LEHMANN

Introduction

Art and politics are two concepts that, by definition, are not necessarily interrelated. In politically turbulent times, however, art often becomes inevitably politicized. Combining art and politics can ignite a very contentious debate, as when art becomes an instrument to realize political interests. In any case, the two blended, producing a volatile atmosphere in the art world. While non-political art works are said to be designed to release the artists' as well as the viewers' emotions, political art is direct; its purpose is to incite the viewer to take political action. As such, political art is dependent on the socio-political context in which it is situated and which it creates. Political art needs an adversary, a forceful motivation and an undeniable opposition as a catalyst in order to activate a trenchant criticism and dynamic response as a tool against repression. It is in this context that South Korea's Minjung art (*minjung misul*) came into being and served an important role within the context of political and social transition in the 1980s.

Minjung art culminated as an artistic response to the Kwangju people's uprising and massacre in May 1980, an event resulting in tremendous bloodshed and the deaths of hundreds, if not thousands. This national trauma and the harsh repression under President Chun Doo-Hwan which followed prompted a number of artists to develop art forms employing woodblocks and banner-like paintings as their tools of political expression and response. In the context of overall repression and fear at this time, Minjung art became a voice and open forum expressing the pains and sorrows of the masses in the aftermath of Kwangju. In the tumultuous decade

of the 1980s, it carried out a struggle against a regime that jailed its artists and censored many works of art. After that regime collapsed, Minjung art eventually attained fame and wealth in the years that followed.

This paper seeks to show how Minjung art became a cultural product of the masses, in opposition to the anti-democratic elite's notions of high culture, "that identify culture exclusively with elitist ideals of education, leisure and aesthetic consumption."¹ It will not so much focus on the political incidents of the 1980s, even though they are closely connected to the arts and indeed initiated Minjung resistance during the 1980s. First, I raise the question: how fruitful is it to think of Minjung art as a form of popular culture in Korea? Second, I attempt to disclose the liberating and democratic appeal of Minjung art which was at the core of its identity. Considering the overall transformation of the socio-political environment in Korea since the 1980s, I will lastly explore how Minjung art changed its appearance and identity in the 1990s and explore whether or how Minjung art still persists today. My objective is thus to view Minjung art from the perspective of the present, and beyond the narrow mirror of the politically charged 1980s.

The Concept of Minjung Art and its Manifestation as Popular Culture

Minjung art is often translated as 'people's art' in English. However, equating the Korean term Minjung with the English word "common people" or "masses" cannot capture the ambiguous historical meanings and connotations which are implied in the Korean word. From the perspective of social sciences, Minjung was for a long time understood as an "amalgamation of social classes" against the elite of the society.² Mostly written during the height of the movement by former activists and sympathizers, these politically charged accounts have, with some reason, as their main purpose to radically blame the repressive military regimes

¹ Henry Jenkins, Tara McPherson, and Jane Shattuc, "Defining Popular Culture," in *Hop on Pop: The Politics and Pleasures of Popular Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 35.

² Namhee Lee, *The Making of Minjung. Democracy and the Politics of Representation in South Korea* (Ithaca/ London: Cornell University Press, 2007), 294.

under Park Chung Hee and Chun Doo Hwan for their crimes and failures under rapid industrialization, while subsuming fissures and fractures within the movement.

Minjung, however, is much more than a political alliance against the regime; it is “a consciousness rather than a sociological category”³; it came to signify “those who are oppressed in the sociopolitical system but who are capable of rising up against it.”⁴ Minjung is a very elastic and abstract concept which enabled every Korean – independent of class affiliation – to join and to become a part of this peculiar consciousness. This means that no single social group like the urban poor, factory workers or peasants alone constituted Minjung but in contrast, small business owners, and even moderate parts of the military joined the movement because they could identify with its goals. Even though political protest was in some respects, especially in its left-wing radical nature, out of line with their own lived experience, as members of the middle class, by joining the Minjung communal practices they could become serious and powerful protagonists of a political and cultural project directed against the (then) conservative nature of the Korean society.

The Minjung movement created a counterpublic sphere and sought to establish new values, norms and hierarchies in the whole of Korean society.⁵ It considered the state, foreign western powers (especially the US) and the business conglomerates as major enemies and therefore denigrated them as anti-minjung, anti-democratic, anti-national and therefore anti-Korean. Using deeply entrenched national sentiments within Korean society helped the Minjung protagonists to convey their ideas to many parts of society. The strategy of dichotomization, exalting themselves and at the same time demonizing the state, served to ensure and reinforce their own

³ Roy Richard Grinker, *Korea and Its Futures. Unification and the Unfinished War* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 201.

⁴ Lee, *The Making of Minjung*, 5.

⁵ Counter-public sphere is a term which appropriates Jürgen Habermas' notion of public sphere. Within the construction and representation of Minjung, public sphere describes the struggle against the establishment and their public agenda. Members of subordinated social groups create counter-discourses to express their own interests and needs. See *ibid.*, 9.

oppositional identity. Minjung attempted to ignite a revolution, to exchange a “bad dictatorship” for “good power” (*choŭn kwŏllyok*) and thereby achieve moral hegemony as well as legitimacy among the Korean populace. Their ethical principles and pronouncements, high-flown and moralistic, became the categorical imperative of the revolution⁶, comparable to the “now-or-never mentality” of the youth of the 1968 generation.

Minjung art entered the scene in the early 1980s as an attempt to revitalize popular traditions such as the images and forms of Buddhist or shamanistic paintings, scenes of everyday life and folk art. It can be seen as a latecomer but it became an integral part of the Minjung culture movement (*Minjung munhwa undong*) which began with outdoor plays, masked dances or peasant music.⁷ However, Minjung art was also part of a broader cultural movement rather than purely an art movement. It was embedded in the wide-reaching concepts, discourse and movements of the alienated, suppressed and disenfranchised mass of Korea’s population, addressing the various political, social and economic ills and hardships since the 1970s.⁸

Minjung art emerged as a critical response to the almost standardized monochrome art of the early 1980s. Up until that time, monochrome art, led mostly by Hongik University professors, dominated art circles and exhibitions. This provoked criticism among the forerunners of the Minjung artists. They were revolting against modernization as it was practiced in Korea. Therefore, Jee-sook Beck claims that what they were focusing on in the first stages was not so much the political effect of their work but a critique of the art establishment and practices of that time.⁹ They rejected monochrome art by asserting that its models of tradition, standards, and aesthetic formalism served elitist interests, continuing the literati

⁶ Ibid., 295-96.

⁷ Kim Youngna, *Modern and Contemporary Art in Korea* (Seoul: Hollym, 2005), 52-53.

⁸ Kenneth M. Wells (ed.): *South Korea’s Minjung Movement: The Culture and Politics of Dissidence* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995).

⁹ Beck Jee-sook, “Minjung Art in the Year 2005, or the Year 2005 in Minjung Art/ Die Minjung-Kunst im Jahr 2005 und das Jahr 2005 in der Minjung-Kunst,” in *The Battle of Visions*, ed. Beck Jee-sook and Kim Heejin (Frankfurt a. M. and Seoul: ARKO and KOGAF, 2005), 123.

traditions of painting, self-cultivation, ink, spirituality, and so forth.¹⁰

Minjung artists planned to create a national culture based on the interests of the masses. They opposed not only capitalism and bourgeois culture but also art museums or galleries which for them were symbols of elitist and high culture. Minjung art presented itself as something that could be encountered on the streets to appeal and to find access to the masses. The preferred media were woodblock prints (*panhwa*), huge wall banners (*geolgae*), and funeral banners (*manjang*).¹¹ The artists adopted a socialist-realist style that the masses could easily understand. As Jee-sook Beck argues, "Minjung art had little in common with fine art ... if one had to talk about conventions and manners within Minjung art, they were to be irreverent, defiant, scandalous and sarcastic ... what these artists were doing was always raucous, always somewhat exaggerated, and always maintained an affective tone of *yangachi*, a romantic hustler."¹² These claims and conditions clearly indicate that Minjung artists applied a low-culture approach to their art, designed for the common people – in stark opposition to the so-called high culture and conventions of the Korean art establishment. They stressed substance over technique and used art as a political statement in their national struggle for democratization.¹³

Democracy was in turn the reason why the conservative establishment in Korea attempted to counter Minjung art's influence by casting Minjung art as "a non-art – subliminal propaganda devoid of aesthetic quality."¹⁴ The Korean press dismissed Minjung art "as a propaganda art in the service of political agitation."¹⁵ Minjung art was not seen as art, and therefore the prohibition of exhibiting was the conventional rhetoric used to de-legitimize Minjung art. Minjung artists lacked recognition and even encountered persecution by the state, not only due to their socialist art style but rather due to their political engagement for the marginalized and politically deprived sectors of the society, inextricably connected as

¹⁰ Kim, *Modern and Contemporary Art in Korea*, 52.

¹¹ Beck, "Minjung Art in the Year 2005," 122-23.

¹² *Ibid.*, 125.

¹³ Frank Hoffmann, "Images of Dissent. Transformations in Korean Minjung art," *Harvard Asia Pacific Review* 1:2 (1997): 45.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 44.

¹⁵ Beck, "Minjung Art in the Year 2005," 122.

they were.¹⁶

Minjung artists also rejected Western language and forms, that they perceived as providing support to the country's power elite and bourgeoisie. Instead, they searched for indigenous traditions and tried "to reclaim and re-establish folk traditions" by emphasizing the role of the masses who "have been left out of the national past."¹⁷ Korean folk traditions were widely neglected and had little voice within the dominant narratives of Korean culture, which had been constructed along elite traditions as a result of the *yangban* dominance in the Chosŏn dynasty. Confucianism, the ruling ideology in Chosŏn Korea, was not only more compatible with the Korean culture than folk traditions; it was simply "good to think" in such a manner and it corresponded with the needs of a society that emphasized Confucian values, such as education and social harmony in order to modernize the country. Laurel Kendall argues that, in an independent Korea, "the idealized past became a *yangban* past" which was "re-created in museums and perpetuated in official discourses about Korean culture."¹⁸ This negligence and disdain of folk traditions and particularly shamanism might be a reason why the Minjung culture movement as the opposition par excellence sought to revitalize them.¹⁹

Working against the state's attempt to promote folk culture as an instrument of their modernization, university students and intellectuals re-appropriated folk culture as counter-narrative of Korean modernization. Folk culture was adopted as a result of their ongoing quest for a counter hegemonic cultural identity.²⁰ Their clear goal was to offer resistant, "utopian, nativist visions of society, freedom, and national well-being in a

¹⁶ Hoffmann, "Images of Dissent", 44 and 47.

¹⁷ James P. Thomas, "Contested from Without: Squatters, the Media, and the Minjung Movement of the late 1980s, *Awaiting Urban Renewal: Squatter Life and the Aesthetics of Development in a Seoul Shantytown*" (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1993), 15-16.

¹⁸ Laurel Kendall, "Who speaks for Korean Shamans when Shamans Speak of the Nation?" in *Making Majorities*, ed. Dru C. Gladney (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 64.

¹⁹ At least until the 1980s so-called cultural watchdogs existed who resisted Shaman paintings in folk art exhibitions, even in foreign countries. See *ibid.*, 64.

²⁰ Lee, *The Making of Minjung*, 191.

reunified country.”²¹

Minjung ideology is – apart from the above described populism – based on “a nationalism of liberation – liberation of and for the masses” against the elite.²² The Minjung artists appropriated this liberation ideology which becomes evident in the founding proclamation of the *Dureong* group, one of the leading Minjung art groups which stated that Minjung art “is formed on the basis of a populist and nationalist aesthetic ... based on the reality of the life of the masses.” These artists attempted to reproduce “an optimistic, strong and collective spirit of sharing” related to certain traditions that they tried to evoke and resurrect.²³ In other words, the group endorsed traditional forms and communal modes of expression and emphasized collectivism and a bottom-up direction.

Consequently, Minjung art should be understood as a fundamental part of political, social and cultural resistance under the banner of Minjung. It sought to represent and articulate a common identity by using the method of collective sharing: sharing of information as well as sharing of certain values, norms and feelings which form a common identity.²⁴

Minjung Art as Popular Culture: A Space for Resistance and Liberation

The following section will concentrate on the liberating appeal for resistance. Jae Ho Gil maintains that “Minjung art became a significant metaphor with transformative and liberating powers. It became a prophetic voice calling people through the biographies of the Minjung to justice and liberation.”²⁵ In other words, art by and for the masses, i.e. for the Minjung, exerts pressure on the powerful to reform policies and society. Furthermore, it can equally illuminate and enlighten the people to heal social ills or at least strengthen the consciousness for resistance against the state.

Whether this illuminating and enlightening character of art applies also to Minjung art in particular will be examined later. I assume there is

²¹ Hoffmann, “Images of Dissent,” 47.

²² Thomas, “Contested from Without,” 16.

²³ Cited in Kim, *Modern and Contemporary Art in Korea*, 56.

²⁴ Beck, “Minjung Art in the Year 2005,” 123.

²⁵ Jae Ho Gil, “Seeing God through Minjung Art,” *ARTS* 13:1 (2001): 20.

enough evidence that Minjung art as an artistic form representing images of the common people or masses contributed to their collective illumination and enlightenment regarding the social conditions in the 1980s.

Walter Benjamin can help us understand this. Assuming a generally positive stance toward popular culture and its benefits, he claims in *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* that popular culture has a liberating appeal. Mechanical mass (re)production allows us to reproduce art works. He argues that it is this reproducibility which can democratize, illuminate and enlighten a culture and its people since it “destroys” or at least diminishes the social authority emanating from the aura of a unique high art work (mostly icons of a religious kind).²⁶ He saw progressive features in the loss of high art’s aura. Most important, for the first time in history, mass or low art would make art accessible for everybody, not only for a small and finely selected elite. This, in turn, would “help raise political consciousness” and reveal a multitude of social images to the people.²⁷

Benjamin asserts that the age of mechanical reproduction heralds an “essentially new stage ... that not only permitted us to reproduce all transmitted works of art ... it also had captured a place of its own” since it has repercussions on both, the reproduction of works of art and the art of the film.²⁸ Mass reproduction could break with the authority of the hitherto original icons which emanated an enormous power through their God-connected aura. The era of mechanical reproduction has turned art into just another commodity, like any other mass-produced product, depriving it of its previous power.²⁹

For the first time in world history, mechanical reproduction emancipates the work of art from its parasitical dependence on

²⁶ Jenkins, McPherson and Shattuc, “Defining Popular Culture,” 32.

²⁷ Douglas Kellner, “Theodor W. Adorno and the Dialectics of Mass Culture,” in *Adorno: A Critical Reader*, ed. Nigel C. Gibson and Andrew Rubin (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2002), 89.

²⁸ Walter Benjamin, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” in *Illuminations. Essays and Reflections*, ed. Walter Benjamin (New York: Schocken, 1969), 219-20.

²⁹ Kellner, “Theodor W. Adorno”, 89.

ritual. To an even greater degree the work of art reproduced becomes the work of art designed for reproducibility. From a photographic negative, for example, one can make any number of prints; to ask for the 'authentic print' makes no sense. But the instant the criterion of authenticity ceases to be applicable to artistic production, the total function of art is reversed. Instead of being based on ritual, it begins to be based on another practice – politics.³⁰

The masses can now not only appreciate art works but also have the opportunity to emancipate themselves from religious rituals. This process makes people more selective and therefore more critical and eventually political. This raises the question to what extent Benjamin's analysis applies to the case of Minjung art. On first view, it seems that Adorno's and Horkheimer's theory of mass culture is applicable, since their critique is as much as the Minjung's directed against the commercially marketed and mass-produced popular culture of the West. This foreign culture would alienate those who do not have access to the education and money necessary to develop a taste for and to enjoy this new culture.³¹ However, Adorno and Horkheimer embraced a so-called high culture, such as classical music, literature, paintings, and theatre, which they regarded as opposite to the commercialized popular culture which was produced for the masses for merely materialistic reasons.

Minjung rejected the elitist notion of high culture as well as the new popular culture emerging from the West and Japan. Therefore, Adorno and Horkheimer cannot be applied to explain Minjung art and their motives. Benjamin, in contrast, had a different view, claiming that the emerging mass popular culture entails progressive development and finally helps to emancipate people and is therefore for their good. Benjamin, however, seems also not to be the appropriate authority to examine Minjung art

³⁰ Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," 224.

³¹ Choi Chungmoo, "The Minjung Culture Movement and the Construction of Popular Culture in Korea," in *South Korea's Minjung Movement: The Culture and Politics of Dissidence*, ed. Kenneth M. Wells (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995), 108.

since these artists revitalized folk traditions, which is different to Benjamin's idea of mass culture; and 'folk' is strongly related to Korea's indigenous – mostly peasant – traditions.

Moreover, the photographs and films which Benjamin emphasized in his essay did not play such a crucial role in the Minjung movement at this time. Nonetheless, Benjamin's and Minjung's message is similar: The former showed that art lost its uniqueness and authority and therefore its virtually sacrosanct status – its aura – through the tools of reproduction. Therefore art was accessible and visible at any place and finally became politically powerful starting to bear a political message. The same applies for Minjung art. Art in Korea lost its authority and elitist character through the emergence of such works of art, because the topics which they embraced brought to light the contentious and haunting political and socio-economic questions of the time – democratization, unification, labor struggles, and student demonstrations – subjects which ordinary people strongly identified with at this particular time.

Minjung's importance lies in the ability of their protagonists and leaders to make use of the "colonized mentality" of the masses to stimulate struggle against the state. Choi Chungmoo claims that Korea "lived in a state of colonialism" even after liberation from Japanese colonialism. As a political consequence of the Cold War, the US as the hegemonic power in South Korea imposed its own social and cultural values on the society. The Korean people at this particular time had no choice but to assume that the politically powerful and economically successful Western system of thought was superior to their own indigenous (popular) culture which led to backwardness and poverty. Park Chung Hee, the authoritarian president at this time, reinforced this attitude. Such "postcolonial" colonialism may be understood as an extended colonialism transcending the economic and political spheres. But it is much more, it is "a colonization of consciousness" which engendered resistance "among the colonized people" against the metropolis.³² It is this "post-colonial consciousness" which motivated the masses to protest against the hegemony of the state, which was

³² Choi Chungmoo, "The Discourse of Decolonization and Popular Memory: South Korea," in *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia*, ed. Tani E. Barlow (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 353.

grasped by the Minjung to be externally operated by the metropolis, the US. The Korean people suffered under an inferiority complex which was the result of decades of suppression and general political circumstances as a previously colonized nation and now divided nation. Koreans strove for independence after 35 years of colonization but again they were at the mercy of the great powers. Koreans had to learn to cope with the discriminatory politics of hierarchy first under Japan and then under the US, which they then adopted in various cultural expressions and values. This predicament triggered the outcries of (partially) radical left-wing nationalism and forces of liberation which were then articulated and visualized in Minjung art.

Minjung Art as an integral part of the opposition questioned the power and the hegemony of the state-led modernization, which seemed to be omnipotent and the “common-sense” framework of the South Korean state machinery. People experienced daily the contradictions of capitalism which made them discontent with those dominant values and they raised their voice, for example, in art. In this context, the resumption of the native culture in many paintings was a perfect tool to show resistance against the dominant practices of the state. Raymond Williams hits the mark when he maintains that the hegemony of the state, the “prevailing forces of power and control, never control the people entirely. There are always residual cultures from the past” which can resist the hegemonic power.³³

In Korea the residual culture stems from peasants – not without reason. Peasants as an artistic category of Minjung art refer to what represented Korea before modernization transformed people’s mindsets and ways of living. What Minjung yearns for is a certain vision of the peasants’ healthy and naturally pure life as well as their folk traditions in contrast to those urban and partially wealthy Koreans who have Westernized and who have eagerly adopted the practices of colonial (Japan) and postcolonial agents (South Korean elite and USA). The paintings, therefore, idealize and romanticize the farmer’s life to trigger emotions of nostalgia and nationalistic pride. It is the desire to return which has acti-

³³ Compare Raymond Williams’ theory of cultural materialism, quoted in Jenkins, McPherson and Shattuc, “Defining Popular Culture,” 36.

vated a nostalgia "for an imaginary what might have been lost, whether a lost self or a lost nation." The mundane metropolitan life creates feelings of alienation, people "seek reconnection through another being or culture, closer to a primal state ... closer to all those things that one feels are missing from one's own life ... all those things that have been taken away by one's own climb to civilization" and therefore easily identify with the peasants.³⁴ The social changes in the city and their ramifications are so tremendous that Koreans concerned with the fate of their nation long for an escape to the purity and simplicity of the countryside's life together with the peasants since they realized that they are not able to recognize themselves as Koreans any longer and therefore draw on nostalgia which glorifies peasant culture. The Minjung project is a discourse of resistance, not only in political but also in cultural terms; it portrays a different way of life, a culture identified with a distinct "Korean" village socialism.³⁵

Nostalgia is not only applied to the residual culture of the peasants but also to the *other* Korea, the northern part of the peninsula. Minjung imagined North Korea as "an unspoiled land and space of pure Korean-ness, a world away from the city and the West, the non-autonomous government, and the elites."³⁶ Also, they considered Western-centrism, the involvement of the US in South Korean politics and the perceived dominance of Western culture in general as a threat to their national identity. The North became a metaphor for the Korean ideals of purity, healthy life and tradition, Korea's natural and unspoiled beauty, in contrast to the South which symbolized the impure and polluted Westernized city, manipulated by the impact of Western culture so that it was difficult to recognize it as Korean.

Some people participating in the Minjung movement believed even in the North Korean Juche idea of self-reliance. The indoctrination which South Koreans experienced, embedded in a distinct anti-communist ideology, was so severe in the state of division that it even evoked reverse and

³⁴ Allan deSouza, "Encounters with the Trans-Glocal/ Begnungen mit dem Trans-Glokalen," in *The Battle of Visions*, ed. Beck Jee-sook and Kim Heejin (Frankfurt a. M. and Seoul: ARKO and KOGAF, 2005), 51-2.

³⁵ Grinker, *Korea and its Futures*, 200-201.

³⁶ Grinker, *Korea and its Futures*, 193.

sympathetic feelings towards the North reinforced by sincere sentiments and devotion for unification with their brothers and sisters. Anti-communism is a powerful ideology which demonizes the North as evil and provides South Koreans with anti-north sentiments as an a priori experience and consolidates so the persistence of the division. Students said that they had to “unlearn, by which they meant, they had to become conscious of the ways in which the government sought to indoctrinate them with a particular ideology.”³⁷

A nostalgic travel to the North was for instance visualized in Shin Hak-chul’s paintings, an artist who was imprisoned in 1989 for violating the National Security Law as he tried to exhibit one of his oil paintings, an art work that expressed his longing for unification and thereby apparently offended the South Korean government at this time. He divided his painting into Southern and Northern halves, attacking the former for its corrupted capitalism and idealizing the latter as the native farming community.

These representations can be seen as an attempt to find a hidden and subversive space for the dissident to practice democracy³⁸ – a cultural democracy open for a critical (and sometimes even intellectual) discourse about the fate of the Korean nation. At the same time such open space can create, and in fact did create, a counter-hegemonic nationalist narrative among the Minjung artists.³⁹ The counter-hegemony is necessarily responsive and strategic but finally contributed to situate Korean Minjung art in relation to other anti-colonial, pro-independence movements showing self-pity, degradation or the mentality of the colonized. The Minjung paintings may be seen as acts of ventriloquism that helped to release spontaneous emotions leading to an outcry within the Korean populace to acknowledge the contradictions within the society.

DeSouza suggests that Minjung art resisted marginalization and

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 196.

³⁸ Democracy is not used here as a form of government. Democracy has a deeper meaning in this context, close to the concept of a pluralistic civil society, suggesting the notion of an open space and forum for dissidents to raise their voice and to get heard in the dominant circles.

³⁹ deSouza, “Encounters with the Trans-Glocal,” 53-54.

repression in Korea but also contemplates Korea's marginalization in relation to the world system. Therefore, Minjung wanted to arouse attention by creating – or at least imagining – a different Korea in their art work, “open up a ‘third space’ in cultural representation between the weight of an unreconstructed tradition and the impetus of a mindless modernism.” Minjung art was therefore an outcry and revolt in the 1980s against “institutional spaces, established circuits and validated canons.” The movement aspired to be the opposite of a metropolitan mainstream based on a radical critical ethos that called for liberation, emancipation, enlightenment and illumination or, in other words a finely idealistic “alternative cultural mapping of the globe.”⁴⁰

The Decline of Minjung Art and Its Re-appearance in the New Millennium

This last section will address the question whether and how Minjung art works have persisted in the long run. The socio-political transition of South Korea during the 1980s and 1990s has transformed the subject matter of Minjung artists. The Minjung era appears to have elapsed. It does not receive the attention that it did in the 1980s. Minjung art has gradually evolved in response to political developments, and has become a part of mainstream art since the early 1990s. The turning point of Minjung art that definitely made it mainstream was the large-scale exhibition entitled *Fifteen Years of Minjung Art: 1980-1994* in the National Museum of Contemporary Art in Kwachŏn, organized by the Kim Young Sam government. The Minjung exhibition was the largest ever display of the museum, visited by over 70.000 Korean citizens.⁴¹

No longer dangerous or suspicious, Minjung art works became cultural products and parts of the cultural industry in Korea, displayed in large-scale galleries and museums. This could be regarded as an inescapable development as curators realized that Minjung art is not any longer a taboo banned by the government and despised by a large part of the population. It was also not anymore seen as a product of low culture; in contrast, it changed its face, became widely acknowledged, and achieved

⁴⁰ Ibid., 63.

⁴¹ Hoffmann, “Images of Dissent,” 45.

legitimacy through such exhibitions from the state. Minjung art became “normalized as a part of Korea’s modern art history.”⁴² Such art became a conventional part of the Korean culture and attracted a large audience who were curious to appreciate it. Also, prices for Minjung art have skyrocketed. A single mid-1980s oil painting of Shin Hak-chul, one of the most radical Minjung painters, mentioned earlier, will fetch 35 million won.⁴³

The apparent appreciation and legitimization seems actually reason enough to celebrate Minjung art as success. However, Minjung art as such is strongly in decline and maybe even dead in Korea’s art community. This indicates that, fortunately, there is not sufficient political, social and economic discontent which might give these art works a justification and drives these artists to be active. The political and socio-economic circumstances have improved significantly – at least compared to what they were in the 1970s and 1980s. The radical pro-democracy movement of Korea has become almost invisible after the democratization. The topics that Minjung artists engaged with were not in vogue anymore since economic issues, especially after the IMF crisis, came to the foreground of numerous debates. Moreover, from a stylistic perspective, the artistic modesty of Minjung art – whose artistic commitment were shaped by the socialist-realism style and their political impetus – lost its tension and incentives. It then crumbled and fell to the level of pre-modern folklore kitsch in terms of their use of materials, imagination, and artistic methods.⁴⁴

The development of mass media and the spread of popular visual culture through commercial channels accelerated this sad fate. The political-cultural context of Minjung art has changed, but some Minjung artists were reluctant to accept these changes and insisted on stylistic devices and methods of the past. In a way, they could not overcome their historical relation and emotional attachment to the 1980s and therefore failed to adapt to the current conditions of Korean art and were swallowed up by

⁴² Seo, Dongjin, *Disillusion and Conspiracy: the visual culture of Korea in the 1990s/ Enttäuschung und Konspiration: die visuelle Kultur Koreas in den 90er Jahren*, in *The Battle of Visions*, ed. Beck Jee-sook and Kim Heejin (Frankfurt a. M. and Seoul: ARKO and KOGAF, 2005), 102.

⁴³ Hoffmann, “Images of Dissent,” 45.

⁴⁴ Beck, “Minjung Art in the Year 2005,” 136.

the market.⁴⁵

There is some truth in this, because since the beginning of the 1990s a new age in Korean art has been heralded, which may be labeled as an age of post-modernist art.⁴⁶ Post-modernism in Korea is largely considered not only as an emancipation of the authoritarianism and elitism of the movement of Modern Korean Art but also “as a response to Minjung art with its narrowly anti-pluralist, anti-foreign, idealized idea of ‘Korean-ness’ and its simplified dichotomies: Korea vs. foreign, substance vs. aesthetic, Minjung vs. elite.”⁴⁷ These categories, which suggest a strong nativistic articulation of nationalism motivated by the notion of “Korean-ness,” reveal how old-fashioned and out-dated Minjung art actually was.

Post-Minjung art came into being albeit somewhat arbitrarily and spontaneously. These young artists used a new vocabulary which clearly underlines that they refrained from the socialist realism employed by the Minjung artist movement. Rather, those new artists emerged in the midst of the astonishing growth of cultural industries, the digital age and strengthening of infrastructure for public art.

The subjects of Minjung art, which implied a deep political motivation and entailed political actions, are more appealing and more effective in periods of harsh political repression than in the widely democratized and pluralist society found since the beginning of the 1990s, with far fewer forms of direct restraint, harassment, and prohibition.⁴⁸ Following this argument, one might be inclined to say that Minjung art as a counter-hegemonic art form has become superfluous. However, this argument is largely superficial and not sufficient. It disregards or perhaps ignores that Minjung was not only political but had also a deeply rooted cultural motivation considering the way they embraced low art. I think that Minjung art was not able or afraid of reforming itself without losing its character and its original motivation to resist; finally, however, they lost their *raison d'être*. Minjung artists were dependent on the political circumstances. Democratization and overall liberalization of society de-

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 137; Hoffmann, “Images of Dissent,” 49.

⁴⁷ Hoffmann, “Images of Dissent,” 49.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

nied them their adversary, or oppositional other. Also, they partially joined the establishment and were suddenly imbedded in the circles that they had fought against, no matter whether they joined them deliberately or as a result of the changes in the Korean society.

Conclusion

From a global perspective the historical significance of Minjung art is that, as a sort of political art from the 1980s, it raised a political consciousness that the world system in art must be overcome and abolished, and Minjung art actually explored practical possibilities to dismantle this world system.⁴⁹

This text by Beck suggests how Minjung's contribution to the art world might be properly understood. Minjung art was primarily a politically motivated resistive art; their political impetus was so pervasive that some people – for politically motivated reasons – even denied Minjung art the status of art. Although this question is beyond my scope, it is undeniable that Minjung art had a profound impact on the political landscape of Korea in the 1980s. It dealt not only with urgent political issues but its art works introduced a previously absent discourse and created a space for a debate about what Korean culture is and what it encompasses. The cultural issues that Minjung art addressed were clearly directed against the elite and the establishment, calling for a new social order comparable to the 1968 movement in the West.

Yet I think that their eminent critique transcended these issues to a new sphere, namely what cultural identity implies in Korea. Minjung artists' resistance and appeal for liberation transcended gradually the political sphere. It became also a symbol of resistance against the elitist concept of Korean *yangban* culture. These artists were in no case randomly devoted to folk, which is usually grasped as low art. Their goal was to illuminate and emancipate the people with their folk art in the same manner as Benjamin saw an enlightenment and illumination of the masses in the age of mechanical reproduction. Much as photographs and films enlightened

⁴⁹ Cited in Beck, "Minjung Art in the Year 2005," 142.

citizens about their situation as human beings according to Benjamin, folk art might have enlightened citizens in South Korea.

From the perspective of 2008 we can clearly say that Minjung art failed to survive and is actually dead. It did not persist because it does not need to persist in a democratized Korea – unless it is ready to change its appearance and adjust to the challenges of today's global world. But again it failed to do this. Nonetheless, it greatly contributed to democratization and an emerging pluralist society in Korea, “never before in the Peninsula's history has art played such a prominent role in a nation's drive to democratization.”⁵⁰

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⁵⁰ Hoffmann, “Images of Dissent,” 44.

Choi In-Suh and the Tae-Ch'wi-t'a

ALAN C. HEYMAN

The *Tae-Ch'wi-t'a* ("Great Winds and Percussion"), also known as *Muryong-ji-kok* ("Military-style Processional Music") was played for royal processions when the king left the palace gates, and also for other high-ranking officials. This traditional military-style processional music, which was valorous in nature, fell into disuse after the Japanese occupation of Korea in 1910 when it was replaced by a western-style military band. With this displacement, the number of traditional musicians continued to dwindle, and the musical tradition was almost lost and forgotten. However, after the liberation from Japan in 1945, the then National Classical Music Institute of Korea. (presently the Korean Traditional Performing Arts Center) undertook a revival of this music and its musical organization, and so it is that it survives to this day due largely to the efforts of the late Choi In-suh (1892-1978), the last remaining conical oboe (*taepyöng-so*) player, the sole survivor of the traditional processional music band who devoted himself to instructing the musicians of the National Classical Music Institute (NCMI) in the performance of this work.

Though he was born in Pochon, Kyonggi Province, Choi In-suh later took up residence in Seoul. And though, from the age of eight, he was sent to study in a Chinese letter school, a practice which was common at the time, his emotions were greatly stirred upon hearing the sound of the conical oboe, a sound which he deeply loved, thereby portending his fate as one whose destiny lay in the performing arts. So it was that, at the age of 16, he sought out the famous conical oboe player Pak Soon-o in the East Gate area of Seoul at the end of the year 1908. By often lighting his long bamboo tobacco pipe and frequently treating him to wine and food, Choi was able to win Pak over as a devoted teacher, who taught him the de-

tailed technique of performing the *Tae-Ch'wi-t'a* and other works on the conical oboe.

With the decline and fall of the Choson—or Yi—dynasty, Pak Soon-o, who had once been a royal processional musician affiliated with the palace and royal military installations, in order to maintain his livelihood, barely eked out a living by occasionally playing the *Tae-Ch'wi-t'a* on the radio, less frequently playing on SP recordings, sometimes at ceremonies held in Buddhist temples, and, along with Choi In-suh and other displaced musicians, parading along the streets of Seoul to advertise current theatrical programs. In this way the *Tae-Ch'wi-t'a* did not fall entirely into oblivion. However, it never was able to regain the glory and magnificence it had once known.

The English language press in Korea announced at the end of November 2004 that Seoul would hold a reenactment of the changing of the royal guard ceremony at the front gate of Toksu palace starting in December of 2004 with 30 performers dressed in Choson-era military-style costumes and yellow-garbed musicians playing royal processional military-type music, now commonly referred to as *Ku Kunak* (“Old Military Music”), on traditional musical instruments.

But actually the history of this music dates back to long before the days of the Choson dynasty. It is recorded that *Koch'wi-ak* (“Drum and Wind Music”) (Chinese: *Ku Chui*), a generic form for either ceremonial or military-type music of the Later Han dynasty of China, was introduced into the Korean royal court from the northern part of Han China (c. 25-200 AD) along with such musical instruments as the conical oboe and a type of aulos or horn, both of which were played at banquets and similar festivities held at court by a celebrated group of musicians known as the *Hwangmun Koch'wi* (the “Yellow-Wind and Percussion Ensemble”), probably called such because their costumes were yellow in color, a practice that continued to be followed by processional musicians down through Korea's long history right up to the present day.

Similar instruments, such as drums and horns, were used in the Paekje Kingdom (c. 18 BC-600 AD). The earliest recorded use of the term *Koch'wi* is a statement saying that it was played at sacrifices to heaven and earth in Paekje in the year 238 AD, but no further details as to the nature of the music are given. It is also known from murals in a 4th century

tomb in northwestern Korea that the type of music known as *Koch'wi* in Han Dynasty China was practiced in the Han colony centered around Lolang (present-day Pyongyang). It is therefore safe to assume that *Koch'wi* music and instruments were used during the Three Kingdoms period of Shilla, Paekje, and Koguryo, and perhaps even earlier, and continued to be in use down through the Unified Shilla period (c. 713-935) and beyond.

It is recorded that musicians of the Shilla court were sent to Tang dynasty China to study *Koch'wi* music, and the fact that this imposing and magnificent music was employed in court ceremonies and military processions of the succeeding Koryo Dynasty is revealed in the music section of the "History of Koryo." This music was also employed by royal monarchs in ceremonies honoring the deities of heaven and earth and famous mountains and rivers, for the coronation of a king, to accompany the royal palanquin when it entered and left the palace gates, the marriage of a crown prince, the betrothal of a princess, and upon the departure of a general for the front and other similar military expeditions.

A 12th century Koryo source describes a procession with large attendant bands, including foreign ensembles, preceding and following the royal palanquin. Mongol influence during later Koryo is suggested by the fact that military band musicians were known as *chorachi*, a Mongol word meaning 'draftee.' Additional foreign influence is also revealed in the fact that musicians performed music and dances imported from such Central Asian areas as Bokara and Samarkand, and from India as well.

During the succeeding Choson period, it is recorded that, for the first time, during the 37th year of King Sukjong (c. 1711), these musicians accompanied a diplomatic mission to Japan, the number of persons in the retinue totaling 494, the processional of which can be found in a screen painting in the possession of the National History Compilation Committee.

It was about the year 1844 that a long narrative song (*kasa*) came into being called "The Song of Seoul," which included the following lines:

"After the military musicians are led in a royal procession outside the Great South Gate by the civil authorities in charge, they are given the order to commence playing the *Tae-ch'wi-t'a* ("Great Winds and Percussion").

Observe these musicians with their straw hats
Into which peacock feathers have been inserted,
And notice their bright yellow uniforms
With a deep blue sash tied 'round their waists;
They do the cymbals clash thrice and the large drum beat three times,
Whereupon the military music doth commence.
Hear the stern and mighty voice of the clarion,
And the mournful cry of the conical oboe;
See the banners floating so buoyantly in the air,
And listen to the stately sound of the large gong.
In the midst of all,
Gaze upon the musicians whose hands be covered
by long white sleeves;
And hear them as they, in unison,
Beat upon the parade drum.
Ah, is the sound not magnificent,
And be not the spectacle stern and mighty?"

In addition to processions, these musicians were also, according to the "Illustrations of Court Banquets," compiled in 1901 during the reign of King Kojong, required to be in attendance at court banquets when the "Boating Dance" and the *Hangjang-mu*, a type of sword dance, were performed, the accompanying music which they played, once again, being that of *Tae-ch'wi-t'a*.

However, with the demise of the Choson Dynasty and the resultant loss of the nation's sovereignty, the great and magnificent royal processions slowly came to an end and, as a result the royal processional musicians and music were eventually replaced by a Western-style military band attached to the royal palace under the lead of a German bandmaster. The processional musicians of old thereafter became a relic of the past, jobless musicians eking out a marginal existence by engaging in such activities as advertising various types of theatrical shows—circuses, magic shows, musicals, mask and puppet dramas, and other forms of outdoor folk art performances—marching to and fro along the streets with banners at the front and rear, playing their instruments as loudly as they could in hopes of attracting as many people as possible to the theater.

Following the establishment of the Korean government in 1948, attention was gradually given over to the preservation of significant traditional cultural items, eventually including that of the *Tae-Ch'wi-t'a*. As a result, a 52-man *Tae-Ch'wi-t'a* performing group under the guidance and instruction of Choi In-suh was organized at the National Classical Music Institute (NCMI). On October 1, 1961, in commemoration of Armed Forces Day, this group performed the *Tae-Ch'wi-t'a* in a military parade in a manner that was both stately and dignified. Being so moved by the majesty of this music, the need was felt by the Korean Army for the formation of a military band in the style of the old tradition. In 1968 a traditional-style military processional band consequently was formed, almost 70 years after the old-style band was replaced by one from the West in the 1900s. In 1971 the *Tae-ch'wi-t'a* was designated "Important Intangible Cultural Property No. 46" by the Korean government and Choi, as a master performer of this work, was designated a "Human Cultural Treasure."

Even though the reed of the conical oboe is comparatively small, it produces quite a loud sound, but the performance of this instrument requires a strong breathing capacity. Even when Choi In-suh was in his 80s, however, he still could effortlessly produce a sound that was both superb and exquisite in nature, a talent that drew the wonder, amazement, and awe of young musicians, a magnificent feat which he was able to maintain until the end of his days. He also continued despite his advanced age to perform at Buddhist temple ceremonies and instruct the younger generation of performers with both joy and ardent devotion. The conical oboe he played throughout his long life is preserved intact as a treasured antique in the exhibition hall of famous musicians in the NCMI museum. Surely his artistic passion and spirit can be reclaimed in the *Tae-Ch'wi-t'a* of today, which he acknowledges with a deep gratifying smile when he gazes down from the great beyond.

Despite the fact that Choi was the teacher of the musicians of the NCMI and others, including Yi Kun-hee of the Hansori Korean Music Institute, some differences between his original version and their interpretation exist to this day. For example, Choi's version opens with a 2-measure introduction that is no longer played and has been lost, along with an abridged version and a variation in 12/8 that also no longer ex-

ist. In addition, Choi used a 6-finger playing technique, whereas the NCMI and Yi use a five-finger playing technique. Along with this, the NCMI and Yi have written a 5-line staff notation of the *Tae-Ch'wi-t'a* that begins on c, but should be c-flat. Here, however, Yi's notation is correct, but in the next to last measure, c-flat should be a-natural, and in the final measure, a-natural should be a-flat. Also, in the next to last measure of the NCMI, b-flat should be a-natural, and in the final measure, a-natural should be a-flat. Both the NCMI and Yi additionally use a key signature with three flats. However, it is felt that no key signature should be used because such accidentals as c-flat and f-flat occur frequently. In addition, the NCMI uses an alla breve (2/2) time signature, which is questionable. Here, it is felt that a time signature of 6/4 is more appropriate. Added to this, the drum rhythm is incorrectly notated, and, what is more, Yi's version has no time signature indicated at all.

Alan C. Heyman, a researcher of traditional Korean music, dance, and drama, studied the Tae-Ch'wi-t'a and the conical oboe with Choi In-suh for many years and performed with him at Buddhist temple ceremonies.

INTRODUCTION

O
l
d
G
u
y
these beauties as deeply in her mind as possible.

W
i
n
t
e
r
After sending her through the school gate, I took off on my own through the snow, taking photographs here and there of the snow scenery. Up over the hill, where only one set of prints preceded me, I climbed and then stopped. A squirrel up an elm in the neighborhood up and down the trunk and leapt to the branches of a neighboring tree with such speed and agility. I couldn't believe it was possible in the snow clinging to the limbs up there. It's no wonder John Muir calls the squirrel "The most wild of all creatures."

Poetry by Fred Jeremy Seligson

Higher up I came to the great pine trees all grained and painted white on top, casting and shadowing out light. Further white tracery lined limbs of axles and forsythia bushes, and stone grave guardians all wore white hats. Keweenaw pots also wore white crowns and stone bowls were rimmed with sweet cream.

Madison players didn't bother to come out today, so Lone Tree Mountain was mine, alone, to play in. This is another installment of the collection, SOMEONE'S WALKING ON LONE TREE MOUNTAIN.

INTRODUCTION

Last night, snow fell, again, on the hill behind Yonsei University, where the late Horace Underwood III, former RAS President lived. I walked my daughter to school today through the white tree flowers and bush cotton. The curves on the sensuous elms were painted white, and when one turned his eye upward it was greeted by a white lace work woven by angels in Paradise. I warned my daughter that they would not last until noon, and that she should ingrain the memory of these beauties as deeply in her mind as possible.

After sending her through the school gate, I took off on my own through the snow, taking photographs here and there of the snow scenery. Up over the hill, where only one set of prints preceded me, I climbed and then stopped. A squirrel up an elegant elm scampered up and down the trunk, and leapt to the branches of a neighboring tree with such speed and alacrity. I couldn't believe it was possible in the snow clinging to the limbs up there. It's no wonder John Muir calls the squirrel, "*The most wild of all creatures.*"

Higher up I came to the great pine trees all gnarled and painted white on top, catching and shadowing out light. Further white tracery limed limbs of azalea and forsythia bushes, and stone grave guardians all wore white hats. *Kimchi* pots also wore white crowns and stone bowls were rimmed with sweet cream.

Badminton players didn't bother to come out today, so Lone Tree Mountain was mine, alone, to play in. This is another installment of the collection, SOMEONE'S WALKING ON LONE TREE MOUNTAIN.

Up
Sky

mountain goes

from

watching
clouds

you
over

which

mountain
you

to
might

wander

for

days

INTRODUCTION

Last night, snow fell, again, on the hill behind Yantai University, where Horace Underwood III, former RAS President lived. I walked my daughter to school through the white tree flowers and bushes. The curves on the snow-covered slopes were painted white, and when one turned his eye upward it was greeted by a white face & crown by angels in Paradise. I warned my daughter that they would not last until noon, and that she should keep the memory of these beauties soon in her mind as possible.

After sending her through the school gate, I took off on my own through the snow, taking photographs of the snow scenery. Up over the hill, where only one set of mountains led me, I climbed and then stopped. A squirrel up an elegant pine scurried up and down the trunk, and leapt to the branches of a neighboring tree with such speed and alacrity. I couldn't believe it was possible for snow clinging to the limbs up there. It's no wonder John Muir calls the squirrel, "The most wild of all creatures."

Higher up I came to the great pine trees all gnarled and painted white on top, catching and shadowing out light. Further white tracery lined limbs of azalea and forsythia bushes, and stone-grave guardians all wore white hats. Pots also wore white crowns and stone bowls were rimmed with sweet cream.

Badminton players didn't bother to come out today, so Lone Tree Mountain was mine, alone, to play in. This is another installment of the collection, *SOMEONE'S WALKING ON LONE TREE MOUNTAIN*.

Up

mountain ~

watching

you~

silently

she

goes

Curtains

of

light

open

through

pin

one

kneeling

soul

Old

in
guy

shambles

by

No

place

special

to

go

Growling

white

dog

has

broke

loose

leaving

his

chain

&

house

for

us

Yet,
in
a
clearing
the
spike
where
his
ghost
stays
at
night

“What’s

this

white

drifting

by ...?”

“Just

another

old

white

dog ...”

Over "Who

are

you ...?"

The

patch

of

ice

replies

"Sign

my

name

in

snow ...?"

She

already

knows

Over

*The Presidents of the Royal Asiatic Society
Korea Branch*

mountain

The following list was compiled by Mr. Jang, Song-Hyon, from the information contained in past issues of *Transactions*. This is the first time such a list has been published. Those interested will find much more information about the past history in the article "The Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society: The First One Hundred Years" by Horace G. Underwood, published in Volume 75 (2000) of *Transactions*.

1900	J. H. Gubbins
1902	J. N. Jordan
1903	J. N. Jordan
1912-1913	Arthur Hyde-Lay
1915	J. S. Gale
1916	Arthur Hyde-Lay
1917	Bishop M. N. Trollope
1918	Bishop M. N. Trollope
1919	Bishop M. N. Trollope
1920	R.S. Miller
1921	
1922	Bishop M. N. Trollope
1923	Bishop M. N. Trollope
1924	Bishop M. N. Trollope
1925	Bishop M. N. Trollope
1926	Bishop M. N. Trollope
1927	Bishop M. N. Trollope
1928	Bishop M. N. Trollope
1929	Bishop M. N. Trollope
1930	Bishop M. N. Trollope
1931	Bishop M. N. Trollope
1932	Bishop M. N. Trollope

The writer has resided in Seoul since 1952 and has been a member of the Korean Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society since 1953. He is a member of the Korean Historical Commission and the Korean Historical Society. He has published several books on Korean history and culture.

Bunny

nibbles

on

a

leek ...

“Shall

I

bring

you

home

for

my

daughter ...?”

The writer has resided in Seoul since 1977. He won the Dan Gun Poetry Award for Regarding Cosmos in 1982. Other books include poetry chapbooks and prose: Oriental Birth Dreams 1988, and Queen Jin's Handbook of Pregnancy 2002.

The Presidents of the Royal Asiatic Society Korea Branch

The following list was compiled by Mr. Jang, Song-Hyon from the information contained in past issues of *Transactions*. This is the first time such a list has been published. Those interested will find much more information about our past history in the article "The Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society: The First One Hundred Years" by Horace G. Underwood, published in Volume 75 (2000) of *Transactions*.

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1919	Bishop M. N. Trollope
1920	R.S. Miller
1921	-
1922	Bishop M. N. Trollope
1923	Bishop M. N. Trollope
1924	Bishop M. N. Trollope
1925	Bishop M. N. Trollope
1926	H.D. Appenzeller
1928-1929	Bishop M. N. Trollope
1930	Bishop M. N. Trollope
1931-1932	H.H. Underwood

1932-1933	H.H. Underwood
1934	E.W. Koons
1935	Charles Hunt
1936	Hugh Miller
1937	W. M. Clark
1938	H. H. Underwood
1939	H. H. Underwood
1940	H. H. Underwood
1948-1949	H. H. Underwood
1950	Charles Hunt
1957	Horace G. Underwood
1958	George L. Paik
1959	Richard Herts
1960	Richard Herts
1961	Roger Chambard
1962	Roger Chambard
1963	Roger Chambard
1964	-
1965	-
1966	Robert A. Kinney
1967	David Steinberg
1969	Carl F. Bartz
1971	Nigel C.C. Trench
1972	Prof. Kim, Jungsae
1973	Amb. Pierr Landy
1974	Rt. Rev. Richard Rutt
1975	Edward R. Wright
1976	Prof. Song, Yo-in
1977	Dr. Karl Leuteritz
1978	Mr. James Wade
1979	Ms. Helen R. Rieszen
1980	Mr. Paul G. van Weddingen
1981	Amb. Roland van den Berg
1982	Dr. James Hoyt

1983	Mrs. Barbara Mintz
1984	Dr. James E. Hoare
1985	Mr. Duane C. Davidson
1986	Mr. Phillip Wetton
1987	Mr. C. Ferris Miller
1988	Dr. Kim, Young-duk
1989	Dr. Kim, Young-duk
1990	Mr. Frederick Carriere
1991	Mr. Frederick Carriere
1992	Dr. Horace G. Underwood
1993	Dr. Horace G. Underwood
1994	Mr. Samuel H. Kidder
1995	Dr. Suh, Ji-moon
1996	Dr. Suh, Ji-moon
1997	Mr. John Nowell
1998	Amb. Joost Wolfswinkel
1999	Amb. Joost Wolfswinkel
2000	Dr. Horace G. Underwood
2001	Dr. Horace G. Underwood
2002	Dr. Kim, Young-duk
2003	Dr. Kim, Young-duk
2004	Dr. Kim, Young-duk
2005	Dr. Kim, Young-duk
2006	Mr. Jang, Song-Hyon
2007	Mr. Jang, Song-Hyon
2008	Mr. Peter Bartholomew
2009	Mr. Peter Bartholomew

2009 ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
KOREA BRANCH

President's Report for 2009

I am pleased to report to the members of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch that 2009 was an excellent year in many ways. Our membership, currently a total of 774 (444 in Korea, 259 overseas & 71 life members), is a slight increase over the 747 members in 2008.

We anticipate a larger growth in membership in 2010, primarily due to growing lecture attendance, the increase in Korean membership as well as a generally raised profile of our society. We sponsored 21 lectures at the Residents' Lounge of the Somerset Palace with an average of more than 55 attendees per lecture; this attendance is steadily increasing. The RASKB also conducted 58 cultural tours in 2009 with more than 900 attendees joining us.

It is interesting to note that among our lecture attendees approximately 40% are non-members, indicating an increasing interest in our lecture series and growth in the profile in Seoul of our semi-academic activities. We note that increasing numbers of non-members attending the lectures are joining our Society at the end of the lectures, thus adding to our membership and its diversity. Most encouraging is the growth in Korean members, now exceeding 30% of total membership, more than at any time in RASKB's history. The Council is making a concerted effort to reach out to the Korean community to participate in our activities, attending & delivering more of our lectures, participating in & leading our cultural tours, and submitting articles for our Transactions. We heartily welcome increased participation in all of these areas by Koreans from all walks of life.

RASKB's cultural tours remain the most well attended events among our activities. We are continually adding new tours creatively planned by the Tour Committee and led by both Koreans and expatriates with profound knowledge and interest in the subject areas that we visit. In addition to the unique tours in Korea, we organise tours to other Asian countries such as China, Mongolia, North Korea, Japan, Vietnam and Cambodia.

In both our lectures and our tours the RASKB is unique among cultural organisations dealing with Korean subjects. For the past 110 years of our existence we have had the capability to bring the exceptional capabilities of both expatriates and Koreans who have a strong passion for and deep knowledge of their particular subjects. While some of them are academicians, many others are not but have developed, after decades of study and research, a remarkably acute insight into fascinating aspects of Korean culture. We are very grateful to these exceptional individuals who provide our lectures, lead our tours and write articles for our Transactions. This is the foundation of the RASKB's strength and exceptionality.

I also am pleased to report that our library has been thoroughly catalogued and moved from the Korea Social Science Data Archive (formerly Social Science Library) to the Seoul Campus of Inje University, who has generously provided a very fine, well protected and maintained room in their building in downtown Seoul for our collection of books on Korea. The location is easy to find and within a few minutes' walk from a subway station and thus provides easier access to all visitors, a considerable improvement to the previous location.

This year's "Transactions," the 84th Volume since our founding in 1900, have been have been collected, reviewed and published thanks to the tireless efforts of our Publications Committee and contributors (members and non-members). The Council of RASKB has decided to modify our future Transactions to provide for a "Peer Reviewed Section" and a "General Section." Our objective in adding the "Peer Review Section" is to strengthen the academic side of our activities, but not at the expense of the many fascinating articles that we have received and published from

non-academic writers for the past 110 years! We are grateful to the several well known Korean Studies academicians in the United States and Europe who have consented to serve on our Peer Review Committee.

We also are proud to announce that we have a new internet web site. The address remains the same (www.raskb.com), but the site provides significantly broader information and functions to users, members and non-members alike. Following suggestions from many members and other visitors we have set up an on-line payment procedure for all payments to the RASKB (membership, cultural tours, books and donations).

I am particularly grateful to the members of our Council who have so generously given their time and considerable abilities to keep our lecture, cultural tour, publications and administrative programs active and vibrant. All of us on the Council have very demanding lives in our professions and other activities; their contributions are invaluable and truly keep the Society not only active, but growing and expanding in all disciplines as never before!

The annual RASKB garden party in 2009 was hosted by Ambassador and Mrs. Martin Uden at the official residence of the British Ambassador. With nearly 300 members attending, we were treated to an exceptional performance of traditional music followed by a large display and sale of RASKB's books on Korea and of course food, drink and camaraderie! On behalf of the Council of RASKB I extend our expressions of most sincere gratitude to both the US and British ambassadors for their continuation of this decades old tradition of hosting the RASKB garden party at their official residences on alternate years.

In summary, the RASKB continues its tradition of studying, lecturing on and writing about Korea's remarkable culture, past and present, in all imaginable disciplines. We continually seek to expand the scope of our activities and keep up with the dynamically evolving Korea of today.

Our most serious challenge remains funding for the continued operation and administration The Society. The irreplaceable Sue Bae, who tirelessly

has been performing the work of 3 people for the past 40 years, will soon retire. We are seeking funding not only for her successor but for additional staff who can take over and provide the essential support that we need for operation of the Society's activities. During the past 20 years of Korea's development, the costs of all goods and services essential to our operations have increased exponentially; this is no longer the "low-cost country" that it once was and the rising costs have magnified the urgency of funding for continuing RASKB operations.

Finally, on behalf of the Council of The Society, I extend the most sincere gratitude of the Council for the generosity of the Somerset Palace who provides our lecture hall free of charge, combined with the Korea Exchange Bank and the Hong Kong & Shanghai Bank who have made donations to RASKB. We are now actively seeking additional funding for the significant operating fund increase required when Sue Bae retires. We ask for the kind consideration of our members worldwide to assist us in our efforts to secure the funding that we need to continue and expand our truly unique study and promulgation of Korea and her culture.

Finally, I wish to thank the members of the RASKB for your continued support, for without you there is no Society. The growth in numbers of members and attendance at lectures and cultural tours is a most encouraging sign to all of us that there is a growing acknowledgement of the value and uniqueness of our activities. We look forward to another year in 2010 of growth, enlightenment and enjoyment together in the RASKB!

Respectfully submitted,

Peter E. Bartholomew, President, Royal Asiatic Society-Korea Branch

PS. We are most grateful to a member of our Council, Francis X. O'Donoghue, First Secretary at the Embassy of Ireland, Seoul, for a very generous contribution toward the cost of publishing this issue of *Transactions*

2009 RAS-KB Lectures

- January 20 Mr. Simon Cockerell
Experiences in North Korea
- February 10 Dr. John Linton
History of the Southern Presbyterian Church
Missionaries in the Southwestern Part of Korea
- February 24 Dr. Kim, Yongdeok
History and Justice - Approaches to the Dokdo Island
Issue
- March 10 Mr. Franklin Rausch
The Legitimacy of Force: An Chunggŭn's killing of Itō
Hirobumi
- March 24 Prof. Werner Sasse
Sosaewon : a Scholar's Garden
- April 14 Dr. Tony Michell
Stress! Economic and Social Challenges to a Confucian
Society in a Global Economic Crisis
- April 28 Dr. Martina Deuchler
Korea Forty Years Ago: A Nostalgic Slideshow
- May 12 Dr. William Pore
The Inquiring Literatus: Yi Sugwang's Brushtalks with
Phùng Khắc Khoan in Beijing in 1597.

- May 26 Ms. Lee-Ellen Strawn
Protestant Christianity and Korean Women
- June 10 Fr. Bernard Senecal S.J.
The history of and present state of Korean Buddhism
- June 15 Mr. Mike Kim
Escaping North Korea: Defiance and hope in the world's most repressive country
- June 29 Prof. Edward Baker
President Obama and the 6-Party Talks: The Negotiations over Security on the Korean Peninsula
- July 7 Prof. Brian Myers
The Popularity of Kim Jong Il
- August 25 Dr. Dong-choon KIM
The Work of Korea's Truth and Reconciliation Commission; Uncovering the Hidden Stories of Korea's Past
- Sept. 10 Dr. Roald Maliangkay
Untangling the Intangible: Soft Power and Korea's Cultural Heritage
- Sept. 22 Dr. Rodney Grapes
Beneath our feet: the geology and landforms of the Seoul Metropolitan area
- October 13 Andrei Lankov
How North Korea will look by 2025
- October 27 Brother Anthony
The Korean Way of Tea

- November 10 Aiden Foster-Carter
 Not Just Nukes: North Korea's multiple menaces
- November 23 Donald Kirk
 Korea Betrayed – Kim Dae Jung and Sunshine
- Dec. 8, 2009 Peter Bartholomew
 Windows to a Lost Culture

The RAS gratefully acknowledges the support of the Somerset Palace, Seoul, which beginning in February 2006 granted free use of its residents' lounge as the Society's lecture venue.



2009 RAS-KB Tours

<i>Date</i>	<i>Tour</i>	<i>Participants</i>	<i>Leader(s)</i>
Jan. 10	Bugaksan Tour	6	S. Bae
Jan. 11	Won-Dobong-san Tour	6	S. Bae
Jan. 25-26	Seorak-san Tour	24	S. Bae
Feb. 8	Juwang-san Tour	9	S. Bae
Feb. 21	Geumsan-sa Tour	11	S. Bae
March 1	Independence Day Tour	14	S. Bae
March 7	Kiln (pottery) Tour to Icheon	28	S. Bae
March 8	KTX Busan Tour	13	A. Choi
March 14	Jeonju City Tour	15	D. Adams
March 21	Silk Embroidery Tour	14	S. Bae
March 22	Yeongwol Tour	7	S. Bae
March 28	Maisan Tour	13	D. Adams
March 29	Walking Tour of Joseon Seoul	24	P. Bartholomew
April 4-5	Namhaedo/Jinhae Tour	37	D. Adams
April 3-6	Honshu, Japan Tour	18	S. Bae
April 12	Suwon Tour	21	P. Bartholomew
April 16	Gyeongido Cherry Blossom Tour	38	S. Bae
April 18	Gyeongido Cherry Blossom Tour	10	S. Bae
April 19	Chollipo Arboretum Tour	18	S. Bae
April 25	Andong Tour	21	S. Bae
May 2	Buddha's Birthday Tour	29	S. Bae
May 2-3	Jiri-san Tour	12	D.Adams/M.Spavor
May 9	Shaman Ritual Tour	20	A. Heyman/S. Bae
May 16-17	Gyeongju Tour	25	D. Adams/A. Choi
May 23	Buyo & Gongju Tour	8	S. Bae
May 23-24	Gosung Dinosaur Expo Tour	16	A. Ladouceur
May 30-31	Gangneung East Cost Tour	6	S. Bae
May 30	Bukchon Tour	22	D. Mason/ A. Choi

June 7 Danyang & Gosu Cave	10	S. Bae
June 13-14 Tongyong & Geojedo Tour	12	D. Adams/ A. Ladouceur
June 27-28 Byeonsan Bando, Danyang	9	S. J. Bae
July 8-13 Mongolia Tour	16	A. Ladouceur
July 19 Jawoldo(Island) Tour	10	A. Choi
August 1 Inwangsan Tour	6	S. J. Bae
August 9 Soyang Dam & Gugok Water Fall	8	M.Spavor/S.J. Bae
August 16 Danyang & Kosu Cave Tour	10	S. J. Bae
August 29 Kiln Tour	12	S. Bae
August 30 Chongpyong Boat Tour	13	S. Bae
Sept. 5 Naejangan Tour	14	D. Adams/S. Bae
Sept. 6 Donggang Rafting Tour	50	S. Bae/A. Choi
Sept. 12 Anmyundo Tour	11	A. Choi
Sept. 13 Bugaksan Tour	28	W. Cha/A. Choi
Sept. 12-13 Andong Tour	8	D. Adams/S. Bae
Sept. 19 KTX Train to Busan	5	A. Choi
Sept. 20 Sobaek-san Tour	7	S. Bae
Sept. 26-27 Gyeongju Tour	18	D. Adams/A. Choi
Oct. 1-5 China Tour (Shanghai, Xian, Beijing)	18	A. Ladouceur
Oct. 2-3 Seorak-san Tour	15	S. Bae
Oct. 9-12 Japan Tour(Honshu)	22	S. Bae/ S. Han
Oct. 10-11 Tongyong/Geoje-do	18	D. Adams/A. Choi
Oct. 18 Walking Tour of Joseon Seoul	25	P. Bartholomew/ S. Jang
Oct. 24 Ganghwa-do Tour	12	S.H.Jang/Y.D. Kim
Oct. 24-25 Seorak-san Tour	13	S. Bae
Nov. 1 Juwang-san Tour	11	S. Bae
Nov. 14 Jeonju City Tour	16	D. Adams/A. Choi
Nov. 28 Cheorwon Tour	16	S. Bae /A. Choi
Dec. 5 Shopping Spree Tour	12	S. Bae
Dec. 26-31 Cambodia/Vietnam Tour	11	A. Ladouceur

Total: 58 Tours

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A list of the books published by the RAS-KB

Bands, Songs, and Shamanistic Rituals. Keith Howard, RAS-KB, 1989. Softbound. 295 pp.

Describes the folk music performed by the rural people of Chindo, an island off the southwest coast of Korea; full of examples of the music and words of farmers' band music, work songs, death songs, and shaman songs. Descriptions of the people who perform them. \$20

Catholic Church in Korea: Its Origins 1566-1784, The. Juan Ruiz de Medina, SJ. English trans. by John Bridges SJ, RAS-KB, 1994. Hardbound. 380 pp. ISBN 978-89-93699-06-7

A concise work rich in new information collected from unedited documents found in five European libraries, about the history of the Korean Catholic Church before the time of its officially recognized foundation in 1784. \$25

Challenged Identities: North American Missionaries in Korea 1884-1934. Elizabeth Underwood, RAS-KB, 2004. Hardbound, 326 pp. ISBN 978-89-954424-0-1

A fascinating look into the lives of the first Protestant missionaries to Korea: the challenges they faced in their lives, from overcoming culture shock and learning the language to raising a family and building a house; and the challenges they faced in the Christian work that they did, challenges that shaped their identities, their policies, and indeed their beliefs in the land of Korea more than a century ago. KW33,000

Changing Korean Village, The. Pat Ki-hyuk with Sidney Gamble, RAS-KB, 1975. Hardbound. 222 pp.

Economic and social life of three representative clan villages. Field research was conducted in 1961-2 before the impact of rural modernization. \$25

Confucian Gentlemen and Barbarian Envoys: The Opening of Korea, 1875-1885. Martina Deuchler. RAS-KB and U of Washington p, 1977. Hardbound. 310 pp. ISBN 978-89-93699-05-0

The only thoroughgoing study of the opening of Korea after centuries as the "Hermit Kingdom": discusses the rivalries among China, Japan, and Russia and the problems of the traditional Confucian scholar-bureaucrats trying to cope with their rapidly changing world. \$25

Discovering Seoul: An Historical Guide. Donald N. Clark & James H. Grayson. RAS-KB, 1986. Softbound. illustrated, with maps. 358 pp. ISBN 978-89-93699-04-3

This detailed guidebook written by two authors who have had long experience living in the city, describes the historical monuments and sites in Seoul, grouped by neighborhoods for easy location. It includes maps, references to the subway system, diagrams and color photographs, with explanations of the history and significance of each site. There is also a Chinese-character glossary and index. \$6

Dutch Come to Korea, The. Gari Ledyard, RAS-KB, 1971. Softbound. 231 pp.

The absorbing story of the shipwreck of a Dutch vessel in the mid-seventeenth century and of the adventures of the crew during thirteen years of captivity in the Hermit Kingdom. Dr. Ledyard examines earlier translations of the original Dutch manuscript and adds important corrections and commentary. \$25

Early Encounters with the United States and Japan: Six Essays on Late Nineteenth-Century Korea. Lew, Young-Ick, RAS-KB, 2007. Hardback and Soft-bound. 249 pp. ISBN 978-89-954424-8-7

The book consists of six essays on late 19th century Korean history. All of them were originally prepared and presented as conference papers or keynote speeches at major conferences held in Korea and the US. They deal with Korea's relations with the US and Japan mainly between 1882, when the Jeoson Kingdom signed its first

modern treaty with the United States, and 1905 when the same kingdom called the Daehan (Great Han) Empire from 1987, degenerated into a protectorate of Japan. \$30

Encounters: The New Religions of Korea and Christianity. General editors: Kim Sung-hae and James Heisig. RAS-KB, 2008. Softbound. 191 pp. ISBN 978-89-954424-9-4

This book has chapters describing the origins, faith and practice of the three main 'new' religions of Korea, Cheondo-gyo, Daejong-gyo and Won-Buddhism, written by members of each, as well as general chapters considering them from a sociological viewpoint, and a Christian perspective. The book ends with a transcript of an open exchange between senior members of the religions. KW28,000.

Essays on Korean Traditional Music. Lee Hye-ku, trans. by Robert C. Provine, RAS-KB, 1980. Softbound. 278 pp. ISBN 978-89-93699-03-6

The only Korean musicologist of international repute. Dr. Lee Hye-Ku has struggled over the past few decades to keep Korean traditional music from being swallowed up in the tide of Westernization. Until now, apart from a few translated articles, his work has been accessible only to Korean speakers. A definitive text on Korean traditional music in English. \$20

Hamel's Journal and a Description of the Kingdom of Korea, 1653-1666. Hendrik Hamel, English translation by Jean-Paul Buys, RAS-KB, 1998. Softbound. 107 pp.

The first Western account of Korea is the glory of a group of sailors shipwrecked on Cheju-do. Some thirteen years later, after escaping to Japan, Hamel gave the outside world a firsthand description of Korea, an almost unknown country until then. Jean-Paul, who is Dutch, has made the first translation based on the original manuscript. \$12

Imjin War, The. Sam Hawley. RAS-KB and the Institute of East Asian Studies, UC Berkeley, 2005. Hardbound, xvi pp. + 664 pp. + 20 pp. illustrations. ISBN 978-89-954424-2-5

The most comprehensive account ever published in English of this cataclysmic event, so little known in the West. It begins with the political and cultural background of Korea, Japan, and China, discusses the diplomatic breakdown that led to the war, describes every major incident and battle from 1592 to 1598, and introduces a fascinating cast of characters along the way. \$45 / KW45,000.

In This Earth and In That Wind. Lee O-young, translated by David Steinberg, RAS-KB, 1967. Softbound. 226 pp. ISBN 978-89-954424-5-6

A collection of 50 vignettes of commonplace Korean life allowing the reader to draw from the daily habits, customs and events his own picture of Korean society. The author often contrasts aspects of Korean culture with that of foreign nations and draws a variety of conclusions about Korean society from these contrasts. \$8

Introduction to Korean Music and Dance, An. Lee Hye-ku, RAS-KB, 1977. Softbound. 54 pp.

A general discussion for non-specialist Western reader. \$6

James Scarth Gale's History of the Korean People, edited by Richard Rutt, RAS-KB, 1967. Hardbound. 174 pp. ISBN 978-89-954424-1-8

A reprint of the classic English-language history of Korea first published in 1927. It has been extensively annotated by Bishop Rutt with reference to sources and including commentary. It is introduced by an extensive and, to date, the only biography of Dr. Gale. a towering scholar in the early days of Western residence in Korea. \$30

Korea and Christianity: The Problem of Identification and Tradition. Spencer J. Palmer, RAS-KB, 1967. Softbound. 174 pp. ISBN 978-89-93699-10-4

An early study of the success of Christianity in Korea, especially in contrast to China. \$12

Korean Shamanism: Revivals, Survivals and Change. Keith Howard, ed., RAS-KB, 1998, Softbound, 258 pp.

A thoroughly readable collection of critical research from prominent scholars in the fields of anthropology, religion, history, and the arts. Koreans, virtually alone in the world, have kept the ancient traditional religion of shamanism alive at a time of massive industrialization, modernization and Westernization. \$25

Korea Under Colonialism: The March First Movement and Anglo-Japanese Relations. Ku Dae-yeol, RAS-KB, 1985. Hardbound. 350 pp. ISBN 978-89-93699-09-8

A thorough study on March First Movement, a Korean uprising against Japanese colonial rule in 1919, with special emphasis on its international implications and Britain's role in the uprising. \$25

Korea's 1884 Incident: Its Background and Kim Ok-kyun's Dream. Harold F. Cook, RAS-KB, 1982, Softbound. 264 pp. ISBN 978-89-93699-08-1

A description of an attempted coup aimed at bringing more rapid reform and modernization to Korea in the early years after her opening to the rest of the world and the role of one of the leaders. The work includes an analysis of the situation in 1884 and evaluates the motives of the plotters and the results of the attempt both on the nation and for the individuals. Scholarly, yet exciting reading, and of some insight to political attitudes in Korea even today. \$15

Korean Political Tradition and Law. Hahm Pyong-choon, RAS-KB, 1971, Hardbound. 249 pp. ISBN 978-89-93699-07-4

A compendium of articles by a noted law professor (later Ambassador to the United States), ostensibly on various legal perceptions but giving deep insight into some of the conflicts between western and Korean legal and social concepts. Very helpful in understanding some cultural differences. \$20

Korean Works and Days. Richard Rutt, RAS-KB, 1978, Softbound. 205 pp. ISBN 978-89-954424-6-3

Rural Korea in the 1950s from the perspective of a sensitive and inquisitive foreign village priest; a record of the seasons, the harvest, the customs of the people, and conversations with local Confucian scholars. \$5

Life of Buddha in Korean Painting, The. Zozayong, ed., RAS-KB/Emileh Museum Pub., 1975, Softbound. 47pp.

At a time when much Buddhist artwork has been lost through theft or lack of preservation, Yongmun and Tongdo temples are unique repositories of the extraordinary heritage of paintings of Buddha's life. Superb color photos and excellent commentary by Zozayong. \$12

Pioneer American Businessman in Korea: The Life and Times of Walter David Townsend. Harold F. Cook, RAS-KB, 1981. Softbound. 100 pp. ISBN 978-89-93699-11-1

This biography of one of the first foreign businessmen in Korea becomes the framework for a unique view of early trade issues and difficulties, with a description of life for foreign traders in Korea a century ago. \$5

Songs of the Dragons Flying to Heaven: A Korean Epic. 2nd ed. Translated by James Hoyt, RAS-KB, 1979. Softbound. 187 pp. ISBN 978-89-93699-02-9

One of the classics of Korean literature, both in its own right and as the first book to have been written entirely in Hangul, the Korean alphabet promulgated by King Sejong In 1446. This edition contains both the Korean version and a literary translation, with extensive commentary, bibliography, and glossary. \$6

Taegu Guide. Grayson, James Huntley, Lowell T. Jacobson, and Lynn Olson, RAS-KB, Rev. Ed. 1982 Softbound. 71 pp.

Definitive guide with photos and maps of Taegu: history of Taegu, detailed tour suggestions, museums, transportation, food, etc. Large removable map. \$2

Virtues in Conflict: Tradition and the Korean Woman Today. Sandra Mattielli, ed., RAS-KB, 1977. Softbound. 214 pp. ISBN 978-89-954424-7-0

The confrontation of modern society with the Confucian ideas of women: traditional behavioral influences on women and the contemporary response. A very timely collection of scholarly articles, of interest to the general reader as well as the scholar. \$15

Virtuous Women: Three Classic Korean Novels. Translated by Richard Rutt & Kim Chong-un, RAS-KB, 1974. Hardbound. 399 pp. ISBN 978-89-954424-3-2

The three most significant works of traditional Korean fiction: A Nine Cloud Dream, The True History of Queen Inhyon, and The Song of a Faithful Wife, Ch'unhyang. The major characters are all women and the three novels together give a vivid picture of the Korean ideal of womanhood before it felt the impact of Western culture. \$25

Wind and Bone. Ruth Stewart, RAS-KB, 1980. Softbound. 145 pp. ISBN 978-89-93699-01-2

Delicate word-paintings of contemporary rural Korea, its people and their changing milieu, by a sensitive author who has spent some 30 years in rural Korea. W3,500

Yogong: Factory Girl. Robert F. Spencer, RAS-KB, 1988. Softbound. 185 pp. ISBN 978-89-954424-4-9

The author's work is based on a field study done on one of the reasons for Korea's economic miracle, the workers. Here the author focuses on the girls or the young women who work behind the scenes producing the goods that have pushed Korea into another classification. A look at background data, the workers in a Korean context, work situation, associations, relationships and future perspectives. \$6

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