

TRANSACTIONS



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Volume 93 – 2018

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 Kūn 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.”

SUBMISSIONS: *Transactions* invites the submission of manuscripts of both scholarly and more general interest pertaining to the anthropology, archeology, art, history, language, literature, philosophy, and religion of Korea. Manuscripts should be prepared in MS Word format and should be submitted in digital form. The style should conform to *The Chicago Manual of Style* (most recent edition). The covering letter should give full details of the author’s name, address and biography. Romanization of Korean words and names must follow either the McCune-Reischauer or the current Korean government system. Submissions will be peer-reviewed by two readers specializing in the field. Manuscripts will not be returned and no correspondence will be entered into concerning rejections.

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The Diamond Mountains: Lost Paradise

Brother Anthony

The Diamond Mountains is the English name often used, perhaps more in earlier days, to designate Geumgang-san, the vast rocky massif in the south-eastern region of North Korea. The Japanese call it Kongō-san. From early times, its isolation and beauty attracted Buddhist monks who founded a number of large temple-monasteries as well as many smaller hermitages there. During the Japanese period, the mountain was promoted as a tourist site, and westerners took advantage of the easier access and facilities for accommodation that resulted. It lies not far from the coastal port of Wonsan, with its beautiful beach, where many western missionaries and other residents had summer cottages. From there it was an easy journey. Alas, all but a couple of the temples and hermitages were completely destroyed during the Korean War, mainly in deliberate bombing by the UN forces, based on reports that the temples were being used to house North Korean military units during training.

One of the first western writers to publish an account of a visit there was Charles William Campbell, who arrived in Korea to serve as British Vice-Consul in September 1887. On the last day of August 1889, he set out on a journey through northern Korea toward Baekdu-san. The journey lasted until November 6 the same year. The journey is described in a white paper published by Parliament in 1891 and in the paper he gave to the Royal Geographical Society in London in January 1892, "A Journey through North Korea to the Ch'ang-pai Shan." Like those who followed, he was scornful of Buddhist monks but could not deny the beauty of the mountain's temples:

"As for the scenery of the Keum Kang San, I can thoroughly endorse the praises of the natives. My route followed a rough torrent winding up the west slope to the water-shed – which is 4200 feet above sea-level and the highest point reached by me in the journey across Korea – and descended the eastern flank by a wild mountain path. The monastery of Ch'ang-An is superbly situated a little way up the west slope. The lofty hills which wall in the torrent on the north recede for a few hundred yards, and rejoin it again, leaving in the interval a

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semicircular space of level ground upon which the temple is built. Nothing could be more effective than the deep green setting of this half-circlet of hills rising up like a rampart from the rear of the buildings, and rendered additionally pleasing to the eye by a symmetrical covering of leafy forest and shrub. In front, the water swishes and swirls through rough, tumbled granite blocks, here and there softening into a clear pool, and beyond this again towers a conical buttress of the Keum Kang San, thickly clothed with pines and tangled undergrowth for half its height. This peak possesses the characteristics of the range. Gaping seams and cracks split it vertically from the summit down until vegetation hides the rock, at sufficiently regular intervals to give one the impression of looking at the pipes of an immense organ. The topmost ribs are almost perpendicular, and gleam bare and blue in the evening sun; but lower down the cracks and ledges afford a precarious lodging to a few conifers and stunted oaks. The whole forms a coup-d'oeil of mountain, forest, and flood which it would be hard to match anywhere. The other monasteries lie along the route I followed, and the situation of each is just as pretty as that which I have attempted to picture to you."

A few years later another brief account of a visit was published by the Rt. Hon. George Curzon in his *Problems of the Far East* (1894). He made his visit in 1892. Decades later he rewrote his account for publication in the October 1924 volume of the *National Geographic Magazine*, with many photos, some colored. Only two years later, in 1894, soon after her arrival in Korea, Isabella Bird Bishop visited the Diamond Mountains and published a far more sympathetic account in her monumental *Korea and her Neighbours* (1897/8). She was acutely aware of being the first western woman to visit rural Korea, thanks to the constant staring she had to endure. In Volume 13 of *Transactions* (1922), James Scarth Gale published a short historical account of the Mountain as well as a diary of a month's visit he made there in 1917 with his wife and his son, George. In 1923, the RAS President, Bishop Trollope, and Fr. Charles Hunt visited Seorak-san, passing through a small part of the Diamond Mountains, and an account of their journey prepared by Fr. Hunt appeared much later, after Bishop Trollope's death in 1930, in Volume 24 (1935) of *Transactions*.

Of these accounts, that by Mrs. Bishop is by far the most vivid and entertaining. She reckons that in her time there were "forty-two shrines housing about 400 monks and about 50 nuns. The lay servitors possibly number 1,000. The four great monasteries, two on the eastern and two on the western slope, absorb more than 300 of the whole number." Mrs. Bishop also expresses the most nuanced and humane response to the life of the monks as she saw it:

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“The monks are grossly ignorant and superstitious. They know nearly nothing of the history and tenets of their own creed . . . The Koreans universally attribute to them gross profligacy, of the existence of which at one of the large monasteries it was impossible not to become aware, but between their romantic and venerable surroundings, the order and quietness of their lives, their benevolence to the old and destitute, who find a peaceful asylum with them, and in the main their courtesy and hospitality, I am compelled to admit that they exercise a certain fascination, and that I prefer to remember their virtues rather than their faults. My sympathies go out to them for their appreciation of the beautiful, and for the way in which religious art has assisted Nature by the exceeding picturesqueness of the positions and decoration of their shrines.”

Both she and, later, James Gale, stress the difficulties of moving from one temple to another, there being no real paths:

“The torrent bed contracts above Chang-an-Sa, opens out here and there, and above P’yo-un-Sa narrows into a gash, only opening out again at the foot of the An-raun-chai. Surely the beauty of that 11 miles is not much exceeded anywhere on earth. Colossal cliffs, upbearing mountains, forests, and gray gleaming peaks, rifted to give roothold to pines and maples, oftentimes contracting till the blue heaven above is narrowed to a strip, boulders of pink granite 40 and 50 feet high, pines on their crests and ferns and lilies in their crevices, round which the clear waters swirl, before sliding down over smooth surfaces of pink granite to rest awhile in deep pink pools where they take a more brilliant than an emerald green with the flashing lustre of a diamond — rocks and ledges over which the crystal stream dashes in drifts of foam, shelving rock surfaces on which the decorative Chinese characters, the laborious work of pilgrims, afford the only foothold, slides, steeper still, made passable for determined climbers by holes, drilled by the monks, and fitted with pegs and rails, rocks with bas-reliefs, or small shrines of Buddha draped with flowering trailers, a cliff with a bas-relief of Buddha, 45 feet high on a pedestal 30 feet broad, rocks carved into lanterns and altars, whose harsh outlines are softened by mosses and lichens, and above, huge timber and fantastic peaks rising into the summer heaven’s delicious blue.” (. . .)

“This route cannot be traversed in European shoes. In Korean string foot-gear, however, I never slipped once. There was much jumping from boulder to boulder, much winding round rocky projections, clinging to their irregularities with scarcely foothold, and one’s back to the torrent far below, and much leaping over deep crevices and “walking tight-rope fashion” over rails. Wherever the traveller has to

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leave the difficulties of the torrent bed he encounters those of slippery sloping rocks, which he has to traverse by hanging on to tree trunks.”

She was already 63 years old at the time! One of the highlights for her was to be invited by a young monk, part of the group she had traveled with, to watch him ring the temple bell of Yu-chom-Sa in the middle of the night. Her description seems to confuse the way the great drum is beaten and the way the bell is rung, presumably she saw both and then forgot the distinction. She concludes in a most touching way:

“Then, seizing the swinging beam, the three full tones which end the worship, and which are produced by striking the bell on the rim, which is 8 inches thick, and on the middle, which is very thin, made the tower and the ground vibrate, and boomed up and down the valley with their unforgettable music. Of that young monk’s sincerity, I have not one doubt. He led us to the great temple, a vast “chamber of imagery,” where a solitary monk chanted before an altar in the light from a solitary lamp in an alabaster bowl, accompanying his chant by striking a small bell with a deer horn. The dim light left cavernous depths of shadow in the temple, from which eyes and teeth, weapons, and arms and legs of otherwise invisible gods and devils showed uncannily. Behind the altar is a rude and monstrous piece of wood-carving representing the upturned roots of a tree, among which fifty-three idols are sitting and standing. As well by daylight as in the dimness of midnight, there are an uncouthness and power about this gigantic representation which are very impressive. Below the carving are three frightful dragons, on whose faces the artist has contrived to impress an expression of torture and defeat.

“The legend of the altar-piece runs thus. When fifty-three priests come to Korea from India to introduce Buddhism, they reached this place, and being weary, sat down by a well under a spreading tree. Presently three dragons came up from the well and began a combat with the Buddhists, in the course of which they called up a great wind which tore up the tree. Not to be out-manoeuvred, each priest placed an image of Buddha on a root of the tree, turning it into an altar. Finally, the priests overcame the dragons, forced them into the well, and piled great rocks on the top of it to keep them there, founded the monastery, and built this temple over the dragons’ grave. On either side of this unique altar-piece is a bouquet of peonies 4 feet wide by 10 feet high.”

James Gale’s diary contains another account of the altar and its legend, but it lacks any of the vividness of Mrs. Bishop’s account, he notes that

they were “somewhat disappointed” with the temple and he failed to notice the tortured, defeated dragons.

While Gale came at the most beautiful time of the year, when the autumn leaves were dazzling, Mrs. Bishop saw the mountain in spring, when the royal azaleas were in bloom and everything was freshly green.

Extracts from James Gales diary

Sep. 25th, 1917.

The shades of night were falling as we crossed the Fairy Bridge that marks the entrance to the wooded world of the Diamond Mountains. Stately pines meet overhead and cast a deep shadow. Just as darkness was falling we moved briskly along under the entrance gateway of the temple of **Chang-an-sa**. The abbot, Kim Pup-ke, met us and bowed his kindly greetings.

Sep. 26th, 1917.

We walked out by morning light to view the scene. (. . .) In the afternoon my wife and I made our way to **Pyo-hoon-sa**, the second temple of the Diamond enclosure. The way impressed us greatly. Walls of rock, fringed with pines to the very top, mark its border. Through some of the rifts are seen immense battlements ornamented with a delicate green. We saw also temple eaves here and there through the mazes of leaf, and rock, and tree.

The master of Pyo-hoon, named Han, a native of Seoul, was most cordial in his greeting, and, after talking for a time, told us of **Chung-yang-sa**, a temple some distance up the hill. We found it a stiff climb but were rewarded abundantly by its far-seeing top. The temple stands on a lovely elevation in view of the whole range of Keum-gang Mountain. The abbot, also named Han, was a charming gentleman of the old school. He showed us the two halls of Yaksa, the Great Physician, and Pan-ya; also a stone lantern that adorns the court, which is said to have been set up by one of the kings of Silla. (. . .)

Sep. 27th, 1917.

A lovely autumn day dawned upon us, such weather as one sees when September blends into October, fresh, sweet, invigorating. The question was where should we go. We finally decided, after conference with the abbot, to go and see **Yung-wun-am**, the picturesque temple that has a place among the paintings of the Chosen Hotel.

The distance was said to be 7 miles. The chief told me, too, that the road was good, and that I need have no anxiety. But what a Buddhist abbot regards as a good road may be the most awful collection of primeval rocks imaginable. He expects you to jump from one to the other like the wild-goat of the mountains or the ibex. We started with a coolie of the place, who served as guide; our man of all work, Yi Sun-saing and little George.

Leaving Chang-an-sa we entered a gorge on the right hand between the peaks of Chi-jang and Suk-ka. For a time the road led through a lovely wood,

no sound accompanying but that of running water. Cliffs circled us about in the most amazing way, closing the view time and again and leaving no exit as far as the eye could see. A limpid stream of polished water, with a yellow tinge in its bosom, rattled down the gorge. Enormous rocks that have been beaten upon by wild wind and rain have here taken on wierd and awesome personalities.

To my confusion I found we had to cross and recross this stream by the most precarious ways, stepping a seven league pace from one bald rock-head to another. These boulders have been polished too by the passing footsteps of 2,000 years. Forty-four such crossings, think of it! In the maze of watching our feet we would stop at times to look upon a landscape that grew more and more wonderful—the road to dreamland, the avenue to the worlds of mystery. (. . .)

Yung-wun takes its name from a boyish priest of Silla who came here, lived, prayed, and died. One of his followers built the temple and called it after him. In a little side building dedicated to the white-haired Na-han we lit our kerosene stove and had a far-Western tiffin. The main temple was quite deserted, the master being away. Eternal silence marks this lonely region shut off from all the noisy world.

At night, the darkness and the solitude must be as impressive almost as in the ice-bound circle of the Pole. Only the falling water, and the rustling of leaves are heard, with now and then a strange, weird, forest cry. On our return, we found in the soft sand at the bank of the stream, the track of a wild-boar who had crossed since we had come. Tigers, no doubt, some times look out on passers from the greedy depth of their inner being but keep quiet. Not having yet tasted human flesh, they let these strange fearsome creatures go by.

We came safely back and touched at **Chi-jang Temple**. It stands on the west side of Chi-jang peak, as Hell Gate, the Pool of the Yellow Shades, and the Tower of the Pure Mirror, stand on the east. Chi-jang is one of the greatest of the Bodhisattvas. He has charge of Hell and his office seems one that works to set sinners free. (. . .) In the afternoon Yi and I went to the Pyo-hoon Temple again along the pathway that leads by the Wailing Pool. (. . .) We passed on till we came to the **Rock of the Three Buddhas** (Sam-pool Am), which I photographed with Yi standing at the side. This stone was chiselled into shape by the famous priest Nan-ong who lived in 1400 A. D., and has three Buddhas on the front, and the Fifty Three at the back. We visited the little “Hall of Worthies” that stands just before the platform on which are found relic pagodas and the tall memorial stote of Su-san Tai-sa. In it are portraits of many famous masters of the Buddha, including Chi-kong (an Indian), Nan-ong, Moo-hak, Su-san Tai-sa, and my old friend Oong-wul whom I had met and whose hospitality I had enjoyed 20 years before.

Sept 29th, 1917.

After breakfast, when the dew had dried somewhat from the ground, our party crossed the bridge and started on a fifteen minute walk up the hill. The road branched off by a big rock that has written on it “Nam-moo A-mi-t’a Bool,” (I put my trust in Amida Buddha.)

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We climbed up to **Chang-kyung Am**, the Temple of Endless Blessing, Here we were greeted by a young priest and an old, old priestess, who came out with smiling face and put her arms about Georgie. How delighted she was to see him. "You'll be my little boy, won't you, and live with me always." Her age was 84, and her name, Myo-tuk-haing, Beautiful Virtue.

We sat for a time and enjoyed the view, while the old priestess laughed and called attention to Georgie's Korean. Yi stood aside and looked wonderingly and inquiringly on. Remarking on her age, he said to me, "Anyone whose ears cling close back to the head like hers is bound to live long." (. . .) We also visited another temple, some ten minutes distant along the same hill, called **Kwan-eum Am**.

Here we met an apple-cheeked old witchy body whom I had seen twice already on the road. She is evidently a grandmother of Humpty Dumpty judging from her cheeks and the pictures I have seen of him. The surroundings of this temple are not so attractive as some of the others, but the hills behind are full of majesty. Old Apple-Cheek told us to wait and see the chief-priestess who was in the rear room weaving. By an inner door we entered, and found her at a very simple loom weaving coarse linen. A young priestess was by her side lending a helping hand. She greeted us kindly but went on with her work. My wife expressed a desire to have a piece of linen on which to write the names of the different abbots of the monasteries at which we stopped and which she hoped to embroider later. The chief-priest of Chang-an hearing this, brought a piece that he presented with his very best compliments. (. . .)

Oct. 1st, 1917.

We left our delightful home at Chang-an-sa at 9 A.M. and said good-bye to the abbot who came out with a long line of retainers to see us off. For six days board for Yi and the coolie and two extra meals we paid Y4.70. I gave the abbot four yen as well for room rent and bade him good-bye at the foot of the stair that leads up over the Wailing Pool. It was a glorious morning, sweet, fresh, and full of sunshine. (. . .)

At last we reached that part of the course where we spied the little temple that sits perched on its projecting rock, with a long brazen pillar beneath it. It has stood thus on its giddy edge for many hundreds of years, holding its place in all winds and weather. This is the **Po-tuk temple**. Near the head of the gorge and just before we reached **Ma-ha-yun** we came to a pool called Fire Dragon (Wha-ryong Tam) from which a specially fine view is to be had.

The Mahayana Monastery stands with the great peak of Hyul-mang just across the way. Hyul means "hole" or "opening" which one can see through the mass of masonry. What part the fairies have had in it, I know not, but some power has cut a tunnel through its flinty face. At nightfall the moon came sailing up through the pine trees over the cockscomb ridges to the east, a splendid autumn moon, fair, and sweet, and strong, as though it had come fresh from the hand of the Maker, a glorious orb of light. (. . .)

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Oct. 3rd, 1917.

In showing me about the temple the priest Yun-ho called my attention to their bell whose soft muffled note had awakened us in the morning. It was an *oon-pan*, Cloud Gong, which is said to call all beings from the air, the ordinary bell being used to call dwellers from hell. The *mok-u* or wooden bell, calls creatures of the sea, while the *pup-ko*, or drum, is for the hairy, or furry creation.

He also showed me a set of 66 volumes of the *Wha-eum Sutra* copied off many years ago by a famous priest named Ho-pong (Tiger Peak). This work of Ho-pong's is spoken of by the scholar Chu-sa, as a creation of the genii, so beautifully is it done. It cost him ten years of labour and is certainly a great literary treasure. I learned that in the copying of the Buddhist Scriptures, if a single error is made on a page the whole thing is thrown away, just as the Jewish scribes did in days of old.

In the afternoon the abbot showed us the way up the stream as far as **Myo-kil Sang** the great image of the Buddha, that stands on the north side of the road, a huge bas-relief 70 feet high, reminding one somewhat of the Dia-Butsu of Kamakura, (. . .)

Oct 5th, 1917.

Up early this morning to leave for **Yoo-jum-sa!** Ten *li* it is to An-moo Jai, Inner Water Pass. Ten *li* seemed but a mere trifle. After crossing the Pass twenty *li* more to would make but a pleasant day's outing. (. . .) The top, 4,300 feet above the sea, is reached without once meeting any dizzy height or dangerous place. How much higher it is than Ma-ha-yun I do not know. On the top, is a wide open space surrounded by oaks and chestnuts. A short time before reaching it we had a glimpse of Pi-ro Peak (5,800). From the pass it is not visible though a fine view of the Chang-hyang walls, flat topped and bare is to be had. Then began the easy course down the hill, a soft twenty *li* I had pictured it, but it turned out to be a good three hours journey. (. . .) Later on, we entered a lovely valley decorated with every imaginable shade of autumn colour, and the water rushing by over rock and shingle. At one point we passed many relic *budos* and tall upright memorial stones, marks of this ancient religion. By 2.30 P. M. after six hours of strenuous walk we were at Yoo-jum-sa. Let any future voyager know that six hours are required for the trip from Ma-ha-yun.

Oct. 6th, 1917.

The day opened fair and fresh. Judging from the fact that the hill just east of the rest-house is marked 2,903 feet above the sea, the temple here must stand about 2,600, or the height of Pai-on-tai, Puk-han. This explains the cool refreshing atmosphere of Manchuria that it enjoys as it sits high up above the world of rice and persimmon. The abbot came down to speak his morning greeting, and after breakfast we made a round of the temple—the oldest in Korea, not the actual buildings but the site. Associated with this place is the story of the 53 Buddhas that came from the Punjab (Wul-chi Gook) in 5 A. D., or 60 years before the first news reached China. As told by a little Korean maid who visited

this place in 1835 it is one of the most interesting stories that I find in connection with the Buddha.

She goes on to say, "These Buddhas are said to have come from the Punjab, India, in the far off days of Silla. They were made by the Moon-soo Bodhisat, at first in the shape of bells, but when he said his prayers they became Buddhas and danced and flitted before him. They sailed across the sea, some say in a stone boat, others on an iron bell and arrived in the port of An-chang County where they disappeared among the rocks and trees. The magistrate, No Ch'oon, hearing of this, gathered his retainers about him and went in search of them. The Moon-soo Bodhisat hastened to appear in a dream to a certain priestess, telling her to go out and meet the magistrate. He found her sitting on a rock at a spot now known as the Nun's Resting Place (Yi-yoo Am). She led him on his way, for a time, and then a white dog made its appearance, looked at him and wagged its tail. He followed this animal over the Dog Pass (Koo-ryung). Later, overcome by thirst, he had his men dig the ground, when water suddenly appeared, the spot being called No-Ch'oon's Well (No-ch'oon Chung). As they went on the dog disappeared and a red deer took its place. A little later the deer too disappeared and the sound of a bell was heard. This place he called Deer Neck (Chang-hang). Delighted, he hurried on over the hill that was called Glad Hill (When-heui Ryung) because of the bell. He continued on and at last entered a narrow defile where he came to a large pool with Keyaki trees at the side. Here a bell was swinging, and on the limbs of the Keyaki tree sat the 53 little Buddhas. A soft fragrance filled the air. No Ch'oon came with his followers and bowed. He then informed King Nam-hai (4-24 A.D.) of it and a temple was built where the Buddhas were seated on the Keyaki trees, the temple being called Keyaki-tree Rest-house (Yoo-jum-sa)."

We went into the main hall where a prayer service was going on at 10 A.M. and saw rice placed before the altar. In the limbs of the artificial tree sat the Buddhas, all gilded and of different sizes. There are now only 33 however. Three were lost early in their history, and three years ago 17 were carried off by some thief. Now they are wired in carefully from the public, and when the priest is through with his daily prayers he takes up a little board that lies on his table with the 33 marked, each in its place. He counts them with the board in hand to see that all are where they ought to be. These 33 little Buddhas constitute as unending source of anxiety to those in charge. (. . .)

Oct. 18th, 1917.

By 6.30 we had our baggage packed and were on our way to **Sin-ke-sa**. The question was, Would it rain? We were somewhat disappointed with Yoo-jum-sa and needed a special send off to give it a worthy place in our memory. We got it on our journey out when we passed through a world of indescribable colour along the steep bank of a roaring torrent, over Deer Neck Pass that No Ch'oon had crossed 1912 years before on the track of the 53 Buddhas. No region could ever lend itself better to a fairy tale than this walk by No Ch'oon's Well, where he drank on his thirsty way.

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Later we passed a wretched inn and walked for some few minutes along a desolate heath then dropped down over an emerald ridge and suddenly came upon a panorama that outdoes my powers of description. Under somewhat lowering clouds was a vista of hill and valley that ended in the long blue reaches of the sea. Deep and deeper shades of green blended with the thickening sky and shaded off into the watery distance. After a long look at this unusual picture we began the descent of 2,300 feet down, down, till finally we came to a wood devoid of all colour, and a world of soft April showers, entirely different from the region we had left. Gradually the poetry faded away from the landscape, and soon we were into flat paddy-field prose as dismal as possible. (. . .)

By 5.20 P.M. we had crossed a rushing stream on the back of a strong athletic coolie and were safe in Sin-ke-sa. It lies at the foot of the Mount of the Fairies (Chip-sun Pong) 5,440 feet high. Tired somewhat over the walk of 27 miles, much of it through mud and rain, we turned in to sleep at 8 P.M. (. . .)

Oct. 11th, 1917.

By early dawn we were informed that the day was clear and most hopeful for a trip, so we hurried through breakfast and made ready. At eight thirty we were off, the old padre, three young priests, a coolie whom I hired, Yi Sun-saing and Yi, the man who carried George's chair on his back, quite a procession in all. After an hour up through a most ponderous canyon we came to Diarnond Gate, just in front of it a Japanese couple whom we had met in the valley the previous day, have a little stall where they sell post-cards, ginger-ale, beer, apples, tea and cake.

Before we reached this point we met a half dozen wild looking fellows, a part of the rabble that infests Pi-ro Peak. Several other uncanny creatures came out of the shadow of the bushes as we went by. There is evidently a numerous brood inhabiting these inaccessible heights. Passing the Japanese fruit stall, we bowed our heads beneath the Diamond Gate and little by little advanced up a very rugged valley where no woman should ever attempt to go. The road is all but impassible and my anxieties were great when I thought of our little lad being carried on coolie back along these giddy edges with roaring torrents far beneath. We passed places where the road is anchored fast by chains; where mountain creepers are all we had to cling to; where a single log stood between us and a skid over 500 feet of slippery rock.

We had to watch our feet so carefully that we lost much of the grandeur of the scene. One part of the canyon that specially struck my fancy was the Ok-ryong Kwan, Dragon King's Palace, to which we were introduced by the Diamond Gate. Then we passed Pi-pong Falls, a very pretty toboggan slide over the face of the rock. A few turns further on brought us to the Sun-tam, or Boat Pool, that we crossed by clinging to a creeper that was bolted to the wall. The Boat Pool is very beautiful and yet others beyond it are even more attractive. Later on we found the way walled in by a chain to which we clung as we passed.

The road gradually grew more and more difficult till finally my wife felt it impossible to descend to the depths required, while the final drop before the

The Diamond Mountains: Lost Paradise

Dragon Fall was too dangerous to attempt. She had to be satisfied with looking on from a distance. I crossed the stream and looked up at the face of the fall, some three hundred feet high, they say, and as white as a sheet of bleached cotton let down from the Milky Way. (. . .) I found it hard to make my return over the slippery rocks and could not have done so except for Yi Sun-saing's help. Once more along the giddy way we went clinging to ledges by decaying poles, holding to iron rods and chains and moving backwards down block stair-ways. (. . .)

Oct. 13th, 1917.

After breakfast we went to **Po-kwang Temple** where the priest in charge received us in the little chapel of the Seven Stars and treated us to chestnuts and cake. His room is filled with all sorts of curiosities, a scroll among other things, with the character Bool, Buddha, in which one of the arrows runs clean down to the bottom of the kakamoni. His picture of the tiger is also very good. (. . .)

Oct. 14th, 1917.

(. . .) Sin-ke-sa is the most accessible of all the monasteries and also the most attractive in some respects. It sits among the eternal hills, companion of the Fairy Peak (5,400 ft.) and holds the gateway to the Nine Dragon Pool. It lacks the magic spell that accompanies the Inner Keum-kang and those tints that mark its every winding way, but it is wonderful to a degree and worth a trip at any time.

A large number of photos of temples and hermitages as well as full texts of these and other visits can be found in the author's home page

<http://anthony.sogang.ac.kr/DiamondMountainTemples.html>

The temples and hermitages

Jangan-sa 長安寺

Founded in the 6th century, totally destroyed in 1951. Notable for having two main halls with similar double roofs, the Daeungbo-jeon 大雄寶殿 and the Saseongji-jeon 四聖之殿.



Pyohun-sa 表訓寺

Pyohunsa was founded in 670 under the kingdom of Silla. It alone of the four great temples was not completely destroyed in the Korean War, though only a few of the main buildings are now standing.



Yeongwon-am 靈源庵

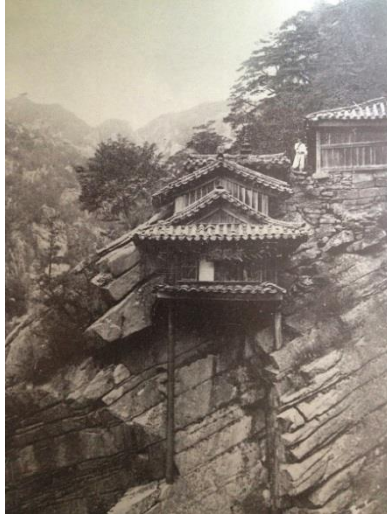


Jijang-am 地藏庵 Located above Jangan-sa



The Diamond Mountains: Lost Paradise

Bodeok-gul 普德窟 which survived the war, but is now very fragile.



Mahayeon 摩訶衍 which served as a Seon (meditation) center.



Yujeom-sa 榆 岾 寺



The Altar of 53 Buddhas in Yujeom-sa

Singye-sa 神溪寺

Singye temple was founded in 519. It was recently rebuilt with funding from South Korean Buddhists.



Jeongyang-sa 正陽寺

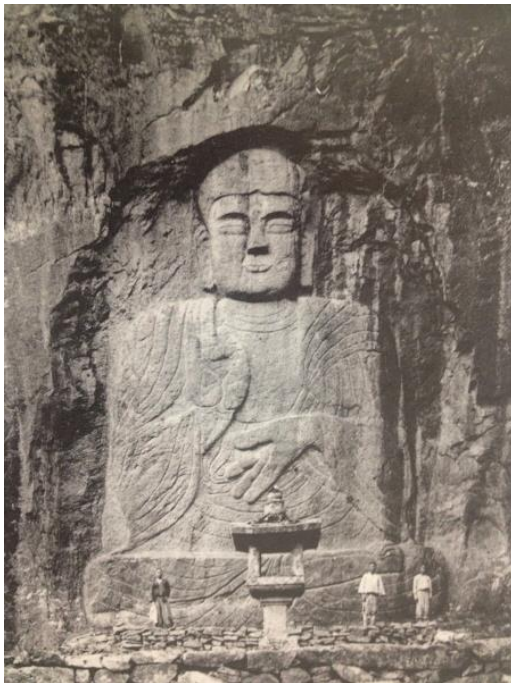


The central Banyajon and Yaksa-jeon halls, the Pagoda and Lantern remain today, having been repaired after the war.

Samburam 三佛岩



Myogilsang 妙吉祥



Geonbong-sa 乾鳳寺

This temple alone is now located south of the DMZ, in South Korea. It was destroyed during the Korean War. Portions have recently been rebuilt.



Seog-wang-sa 釋王寺

Seog-wang-sa was closer to Wonsan but was often visited on the way to Geumgang-san. It was founded in the later 14th century in the context of the rise to power of Yi Seong-gye, founder of the Joseon Dynasty.



Encouragement from Dongducheon

In autumn 2018, the *Chosun Ilbo* newspaper published an article about the fragile financial situation of the RASKB, indicating that we were worried that we might have to cease functioning. As a result of that article, we received several very generous offers of support and sponsorship from Korean organizations. In addition, early in 2019, we received the following message, which we found especially moving:

Hello,

I am a student attending Dongducheon Foreign Language High School(DFL) in Korea. I was always interested in the beautiful culture of Korea and wanted to let people know, so I was fascinated in the Asiatic Society and subscribed to its newsletter. In the meantime, I happened to hear about the crisis of abolishing the RASKB last year, and I began to work with a few friends from DFL who naturally became interested in preserving Korea, and started an activity that might help the Society. The three articles we send you are an English report on the value of Korea that we thought was important.

Seeing that there are many useful transactions on various topics on the website of the association, we wrote new and creative transactions. It's not perfect, but I hope it's a little help to the academic research and I want to tell you that we're very interested in it. I wish we could contribute in the donation, but we're still students, so I hope you understand the difficulties. I was belatedly informed of the preservation of RASKB with the help of many, and I felt grateful about it. You are absolutely free to upload the attached report on the homepage or use it in any way. We will also be grateful for your advice if you have any feedback regarding the report. However, if there is anything we can do to help, please feel free to contact us in the future. Thank you.

*Yours sincerely,
Oneul Lee*

We have decided to publish here the four articles which these students sent us, as a token of our gratitude to them for their support and interest,

and as a testimony that very young Koreans share the interest of the RAS in the traditional culture and the history of Korea. We hope that in the coming years they and others like them will be able to join the RAS, participate in our activities, and inspire many by their enthusiasm.

Brother Anthony
President, RAS Korea

Ssireum, Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity

By Oneul Lee

On November 26, 2018, ‘Ssireum(Ssirum),’ Korean traditional wrestling, was listed as the first inter-Korean joint Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity ever. South Korea had applied for the UNESCO registration of Ssireum in March 2016 and North Korea, after getting its registration in 2016 suspended, had applied again in March 2017. Afterwards, South Korea and North Korea requested UNESCO to register the heritage together. Though the two Koreas’ wrestling matches have minor differences in its rules and terms, they have enough in common from a sociocultural point of view, according to UNESCO, which unanimously approved the joint registration for peace on the Korean Peninsula.

This joint registration of Ssireum has important significance. The sport common to the two Koreas has been designated as a cultural heritage, opening an opportunity for cohesion between the two nations and proving that they share the same history and culture. The Korea Ssireum Association also expects to carry out a friendly match between the two Koreas in Seoul and Pyongyang. Furthermore, it demonstrates the fact that international organizations and the international community are interested in pursuing the value of ethnic harmony. That the joint listing of the sport will bring more active and positive impact on inter-Korean relations is the expectation.

Including Ssireum, South Korea now has 20 Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.

List of UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in South Korea(As of October, 2018, Korean National Commission for UNESCO)

Royal ancestral ritual in the Jongmyo shrine and its music(2001)

Pansori epic chant(2003)
Gangneung Danoje festival(2005)
Cheoyongmu(2009)
Ganggangsullae(2009)
Jeju Chilmeoridang Yeongdeunggut(2009)
Namsadang Nori(2009)
Yeongsanjae(2009)
Daemokjang(2010)
Falconry(2010)
Gagok(2010)
Jultagi(2011)
Taekkyeon(2011)
Weaving of Mosi in the Hansan region(2011)
Arirang(2012)
Kimjang(2013)
Nongak(2014)
Tugging Rituals and Games(2015)
Culture of Jeju Haenyeo(2016)

So, how did Ssireum, which appears in folk paintings during the Joseon Dynasty, develop as a traditional game unique to the Korean people? The painting of Ssireum in Danwon Pungsokdo chup by Kim Hong-do, who is a representative painter of the Joseon Dynasty, depicts the traditional wrestling match between ordinary people during the time. The painting, like many other that is preserved, is an evidence that implies that the traditional Korean game had advanced since 1600 to 1700 years ago.

Ssireum was especially popular on Danojeol(the fifth day of the fifth month of the lunar calendar), and today it has evolved from a traditional festive game to a professional athletic event. The unification of technical terms was promoted in September 1983 by the integration of the Korea Ssireum Association and the Korea Folk Ssireum Association, which established Ssireum as an official sport. In addition, the conventional Ssireum winner was given a bull, but as Ssireum became more specialized, cash was won instead. The reason why the reward for the winner had been cattle for centuries is because nothing would have been as useful as a cow in the agrarian society.

The basic way to play wrestling is for two to compete by holding onto the Satba, or the waistband of each other's trousers and knocking the opponent to the ground first with strength and skill, but in the past, the form of wrestling was different according to region. The "bar

wrestling” was popular around the Hamgyeong and Pyeongan provinces, and the “band wrestling” in which the players wear a belt around the waist is a form of Ssireum played in Gyeonggi and Chungcheong provinces. In addition, “Mindung Ssireum,” which does not use a Satba, was prevalent in Gyeongsang and Jeolla provinces. The term Satba is a piece of cloth worn for the opponent to grab on, and is put on by tying the thighs and waist with when wrestling.

There are about 160 known ways to play Ssireum. Currently, the style of wrestling between the South and the North is almost the same, but in North Korea, a circular mat is used as the Ssireum field rather than the sand pitch and each player grabs the Satba in a standing position, unlike South Korea where they hold the Satba while both are sat down. In addition, while South Korean players compete with their upper body bare, North Korean players wear clothing.

The techniques of Ssireum are categorized into hand skills, leg techniques, waist techniques and comprehensive techniques. The basis of Ssireum techniques is the strength of the mind and body, the stamina, and the balance and core of the body, in accordance to external forces. In Ssireum, the art of attacking, defending, and returning is to use the opponent’s power without resisting against it, while at the same time combining one’s own strength to move the opponent in the desired direction.

Ssireum is an exercise that tests the competitors’ power and skill through controlling the whole body, and requires three conditions: physical strength, skill, and fighting spirit. Therefore Ssireum is a sport with great physical effects, which develops the body in equilibrium, increases strength, and help having accurate judgment. Affection(known to Koreans as Jung), a unique feature of the Korean ethnicity is also observed through Ssireum, in which the temperature of one another gets shared through the touch of bare skin. Furthermore, due to it having no restrictions in place and facility to play the sport, Ssireum can be enjoyed by everyone, regardless of age and gender.

As such, Ssireum is a traditional Korean sport that reflects the history of the Korean people. The ancestors have created a cohesive and united community through the traditional wrestling, and the spirit still runs in the veins of Koreans to this day. Efforts are being made to preserve and inherit Ssireum.

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Hangeul, the Great Heritage of Korea

By Min Ji Kang

Among the world's letters, Hangeul is often referred to as the mysterious letter. This is because only Hangeul's creator, the exact proclamation date and even the principle of writing it is known. There's no letter like this in the world. So Hangeul is listed as a UNESCO World Record Heritage.

There is a saying that 'The true history of mankind begins with the record of language. A period without record is not a period of history.'

Before Hun min jeong eum(Hangeul) was created, Korea had a record of language. But they were all written with Chinese character, not Korea's own letter.

However, Chinese characters consisted of Chinese system of vocabulary and grammar, not Korean. Also, many people did not learn Chinese characters at that time, and only the high class could read and write Chinese characters. Therefore, the nation has reached the limit of not being able to convey its message to the people.

After feeling sorry for this, King Sejong, the fourth king of the Joseon dynasty, decided to create a unique Korean letter, completed with the king's spirit of affection toward people.

There are three main aspects to the excellence of Han-geul.

1. Hangeul is scientific and original.

Hangeul is a scientific and philosophical character created by combining the Celestial Spheres. The shape of the consonant is based on the shape of the vocal organs at the position of pronouncing a particular consonant, and the shape of the vowel is that of the sky, earth, and human. Hangeul consists of 40 phonographs, including 10 consonants, 14 vowels, overlapping vowels, and double vowels. It cannot be compared with other languages in terms of making letters based on words, and it has scientific and philosophical excellence in combining the heavenly bodies to write

down any sounds.

2. Hangeul is an easy letter to learn.

“The dumb man will learn in a week, and the smart man in a half-day.” -among Hun min jeong eum

In fact, a famous German scholar, Werner Posture, said: “Hangeul seems very difficult to look at, but it’s actually easy enough to learn in half a day. My child can learn Hangeul as a hobby.”

The number of letters in Hangeul, Compared with the Chinese characters in China and Japanese in Japan, is only 28. However, Hangeul can record 11,172 speech sounds that exist on Earth by combining them with only 28 characters.

3. The spirit of creation

King Sejong the Great is the fourth king of Joseon (1397-1450), and now he is the most respected ancestor of Koreans.

King Sejong greatly regretted that the people could not read and received no education at all, so he finally decided to create unique Korean characters for the people.

He said, “The invention of Hangeul stems from the love toward people.”

When Hangeul was created, the exact name of it was ‘Hun min jeong eum.’ The meaning of it is “the right sound to instruct the people” and the meaning behind the name shows how King Sejong, who created Hangeul, loved and thought of his people.

The following is the reason for the creation of Hangeul by King Sejong.

“The language of our country is different from that of China, because our country does not connect well with Chinese characters. So most of the people cannot have their opinion and express.

I feel sorry for this, so I make a new, our own 28-letter word.

I’m trying to make it easy for everyone to learn and feel comfortable.”

- among a preface of ‘Hun Min Jeong Eum’ -

As we can see, Hun Min Jeong Eum was created for the Korean people, so that the people’s enthusiasm for education increased and patriotism for the country was also encouraged. For these reasons, Hangeul is Korea’s triumphant heritage.

Humor of Korea literature and Kim Yu-Jung

By Go Eun Ryu

It is often helpful to look at the literature of a country to understand its culture. This is because literature captures many aspects of the country's human life, society, eras, and culture. Also the literature of a country reflects the sentiments and thoughts of those who created and enjoyed the literature.

Korean modern literature had developed under the influence of Western literature. In the time of enlightenment, Korean literature had both traditional and modern transfiguration. Western literature did not remain at just influencing Korean traditional literature. Thus, Korean modern literature had been considered as transplant of Western literature at the same time as a turning point.

At that time, Korean literature had been developed under suffering the painful history of Japan's colonial rule, U.S. military rule and fratricidal war, well reflecting Korea's daily life, history, and its environment. So Korean people express resentment (known as han in Korean) as their main emotion through literature.

Though Korean people had some painful circumstances, they were able to escape its pain through literature. Pain can be even deeper, and it can grow to become anger and resignation. But Korean people were able to overcome the pain with laughter through humor and satire. In general, humor is a way of making fun of society and reality, excluding critical views. Satire, on the other hand, has a similar side with humor in inducing laughter, but it has a critical view of society and reality. When this kind of humor and satire are used together, they can create huge laughter, and serve as a way of looking at the absurdities of reality. In other words, they cause a kind of synergy.

Humor and satire are easy to find in Korean literature. Kim Yu-jung is a representative writer who used humor and satire. Kim Yu-jung is a writer who had made significant achievements in modern Korean novels though his life was short. He intensely shows the miserable life of Korean peasants in his works. He is also fully aware of the tragic reality. Kim Yu-jung and his work describe Korean peasants warmly rather than in the tragic and poor aspects. As a result, his style is portrayed in humorous ways. He tried to overcome misery by intentionally introducing humor. Also the main characters in Kim Yu-jung's novels are usually the powerless social class who lose their ability to live. Farming villages of

Gangwon Province, described in Kim Yu-jung's novel, are often interpreted as the original home of Korean people and as a dilapidated colonial reality. As for the nature of Kim Yu-jung's novel, some people view it as Korean humor, while others view it as unique Korean trait.

Kim Yu-jung's representative works, which show a strong sense of humor, are <Spring Spring> and <Camellia Flowers>. He illustrates the life of the ruling structure of the landlords and peasants in the 1930s. Most Korean farmers, who suffered extreme poverty and the corruption of Japanese imperialism, were peasants, and pro-Japanese landlords severely governed them. The 1930s, when Kim Yu-jung wrote a novel, was the most difficult time even in the midst of destitute reality. This is because the Japanese colonized Korea, and Japan began to rob Korea through the land survey project between 1910 and 1918. In carrying out the project, Japan took land from Koreans to solve the shortage of their food. Japan had made many Japanese landlords by selling plunder land to the Japanese. In the end, Korean peasants were dying of poverty by a lack of food. In the novel <Spring Spring>, the author Kim Yu-jung tries to show the farmers who overcome the hard time in the countryside, through the character "I" who portrays the farming area and Korean peasants. Kim Yu-jung expresses how peasant life looked like in the rural communities of Korea at that time through the father-in-law, who represents the ruler class, and innocent "I" who represents the governance class. The foolishness of "I" depicts a peasant who was then subjected to a cunning landlord in a rural society. Kim Yu-jung showed the society of the time through the person in the novel.

Another characteristic that can be found in Kim Yu-jung's work is the unique style of writing. The lively language expression closely connected with the common people of the day embodies the real pain. In particular, that he adds to the native language by freely using slang and dialect, such as the pure Korean words, is meaningful in that it is not limited in the aspect of vocabulary, but is related to the writer's interest in reflecting the reality of society of the time. It is considered that the native language has a strong local color so it plays an important role in illustrating the character of a period and society. Native language is also used to reflect the personality of each character in the novel.

As for Kim Yu-jung's overall assessment, there are many views, that he is a writer who had succeeded Korea's traditional spirit of humor and satire, and a writer of participatory literature who had accused the structural contradictions of colonial reality. His works with solid structure are read throughout the ages and they continue to be interpreted once again according to the period.

Literature is the product of the era and society. In other words, literature captures various aspects of society that change with the passing of generations. As Korea's status in the world has risen, Korean literature and culture are also being actively introduced. The fact that Korean literature is widely accepted in many countries gives us cultural pride while also requiring a broad-minded attitude. Kim Yoo-jung's literature, which is called a classic, plays a role in nurturing a wide field of vision for us. Reading literature broadens one's mind and help to have an eye to see the world from a different sight.

Korean Literature through Tourism

By Kim Yeong-seo

What is the most impressive literary work you have ever read? Everyone will have one or more literary works that they have read and found impressive. So, have you ever had the urge to go into action? There is a way to get the illusion that you have entered the literature yourself: literary tourism.

Literary tourism is a type of cultural tourism popular around the world that deals with places and events from fictional texts as well as the lives of their authors. Perhaps Baker Street, where Sherlock Holmes lived, is the most memorable address in all literature. There are many visitors to Baker Street every year. Korea also has famous places for literary tourism. Let's take a look at some representative literary tourist attractions along with literary works.

The first literary tourist destination is Bongpyeong, the famous background for Lee Hyo-seok's novel "When Buckwheat Flowers Bloom." This 2004 novel represents modern and contemporary Korean literature and has one of the most beautiful sentences in the history of Korean literature.

"The company of traveling vendors were midway up the mountain. The night was so quiet that they could even hear the moon breathing. The beanstalks and corn husks were gleaming in blue under the moonlight. The mountain was covered with buckwheat fields. The buckwheat flowers were starting to bloom, sprinkling the fields like white salt under the pleasant lunar glow."

As the sentence reveals, "When Buckwheat Flowers Bloom" is regarded as the highlight of a short novel that depicts the naive nature of

man against the backdrop of Korea's natural beauty, and the moonlit buckwheat field, which is well-described and harmonized with the beautiful nature.

"When Buckwheat Flowers Bloom" takes Korean literature to a higher level, poetically describing the path from Bongpyeong to Daehwa, the setting of the novel. Even now, a festival is held every year in Bongpyeong in honor of the author.

Hyoseok Culture Festival offers a variety of events featuring buckwheat and novels that entertain the eyes and ears of tourists who visit the festival. Hyoseok Culture Festival consists of literature programs such as a writing contest, an exhibition of illustrated poems, nature programs such as a tour of buckwheat flower fields as featured in the novel, coloring one's fingernails with balsam, experience programs like a traditional buckwheat food making program, and a folk play. Besides this, there are many other places to look around, such as the birthplace of Lee Hyo-seok, the novel's settings including the inn, the watermill and so on.

The next place to introduce is the background of Cho Jeong-lae's full-length novel "The Taebaek Mountains," which details characters who had lived in ideological confrontation under the Cold War system after liberation from 1948 to the end of the Korean War. Tourists are drawn to the mountains in Gangwon Province which make up the setting of the novel.

Other places in the same novel include Boseong Inn (registered cultural property No. 132). The actual model of Boseong Inn, which used to be a lodging place for a punitive expedition, is quite large in scale in the novel and can be seen as a hotel-like inn. The inn has been used as a shopping center but was recently restored to its former shape, becoming a shelter for those who visit the Taebaek Mountains for literary tours. It is a typical Japanese-style two-story building currently preserved and managed by the National Trust for Cultural Heritage.

In addition, in the inn is an exhibition room for visitors. Entering the exhibition room, there is a carefully recorded news diary the author wrote, a memo on the characters, a fountain pen and 16,500 manuscript pages that attest to the time and effort it took to write the book. You can also feel the writer's presence in the author's belongings on display, including camera, razor, nail clippers, spatula, gloves, briefs, staffs and hanbok, Korean traditional clothes.

Stories exist everywhere, wherever there is life. That is why the author's hometown and life path are included in his work. Why don't you take a trip, just by relying on the content of literature and poems to trace back the author's life and literature?

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North Korean Fragments of Post-Socialist Guyana

Moe Taylor

The Co-Operative Republic of Guyana has never conformed to simple geographical or cultural categories. It is the sole Anglophone country in South America, possessing a West Indian character akin to that of its fellow former British colonies among the Caribbean islands. And yet it contrasts drastically with these neighbours in several respects as well: for example, the survival of a vibrant indigenous culture, and the fact that people of South Asian descent make up the single largest constituency among six officially recognized ethnic groups. Guyana has faced much adversity since gaining independence from the British Empire in 1966, and long been designated the second-poorest country in the Western hemisphere after Haiti. For over two decades (1964-85) political life was dominated by Forbes Burnham (1923-85), leader of the People's National Congress (PNC), an era many Guyanese associate with economic hardship and authoritarian rule in the context of a failed experiment in socialism. Since the post-PNC government embraced the neo-liberal consensus in the 1990s, economic growth and greater consumer affluence have been accompanied by drastically widening inequality, rampant corruption, the periodic revival of ethnic violence, reckless environmental destruction by multinational mining and logging companies, and the rise of narco-politics.

Another factor that makes Guyana so unique in Latin America and the Caribbean is the memories and vestiges of North Koreans that echo out from the past, alluding to another time in which dominant political paradigms were radically different from those of the neo-liberal present. Most Guyanese old enough to remember the 1980s remember Mass Games, a grand group gymnastic performances staged in the National Park to commemorate the 23 February 1970 founding of the Co-operative Republic of Guyana. Several friends and cousins of mine were among the young performers, and I would often hear that "Burnham learned that from the Koreans"; participants in the country's first Mass Games in 1980 were in fact trained by North Koreans directly, before the

annual operation was passed on to local organizers. A friend of my mother whose family owned a shop in Essequibo remembers North Korean customers in the 1970s, having never bothered to ask what business brought them to Guyana. I once met a woman who claimed the first cookbook she ever owned was from North Korea, laughing at the irony that she could acquire such a niche item in a time in Guyana's history infamous for empty store shelves and long queues for basic items. Another vague anecdote circulates in my family, of a distant relative who had fallen seriously ill. After several doctors failed to diagnose her mysterious condition, she was referred to a North Korean doctor stationed at the Georgetown Public Hospital, who somehow cured her, as if by some miracle, never satisfactorily explained.



Figure 1. Guyana President Forbes Burnham is photographed with Kim Il-sung in Pyongyang in 1977. Source: *New Nation* newspaper

These North Korean phantoms that wander Guyana's neo-liberal present manifest materially as well. For years an abandoned glass factory haunted the village of Yarrowkabra, some forty kilometers south of the capital along the Soesdyke-Linden Highway. A gift from North Korea, preliminary construction began in 1977 with the idea that with its quantity of high-grade silica sand, Guyana could become the leading manufacturer of glass products in the Caribbean. In recent years local businessmen purchased the derelict structure and converted it into a sawmill. Another such site is described by environmental scientist Logan Hennessy, who has studied the Burnham government's efforts to incorporate indigenous

people into agricultural cooperatives in the 1970s, which at times overlapped with the work of North Korean agronomists to assist in increasing and diversifying domestic food production. Excavating the remnants of one such project in the remote Pakaraima Mountains, he discovered “heaps of rusting machinery, oil drums, faded posters of Forbes Burnham, entire rooms full of metal junk, and punctured tractor tires. This unofficial museum for the socialist period contained all the dusty relics of a once-productive past, including twenty perfectly preserved copies of *The Works of Kim Il-sung*, 27 *Classical Writings* from 1964.” The physical-textual imprint of North Korea is one of its most enduring legacies – the works of Kim Il-sung lie dormant on library shelves and in personal book collections throughout the country. Policy-makers continue to wrangle over the unrealized potential of a hydropower station at Eclipse Falls in the Barima-Waini region, another development project spearheaded by North Korea in the early/mid-1980s. Kim Jong-il has a street named after him in the border town of Corriverton, while a local second-division cricket team still bears the name Kim Il-sung. More of North Korea’s material legacy is invisible: the cement, building supplies and steel parts that helped feed, in their own modest contribution, the construction of buildings, housing and infrastructure during the 1970s and 1980s. And there are other ways in which the history of DPRK-Guyana solidarity lingers, such as the North Korean flag that adorns a grim monument on the University of Guyana’s Turkeyen campus. It remembers the victims of the October 1976 terrorist bombing of Cubana Airlines flight 455, in which eleven Guyanese, five North Koreans and fifty-seven Cubans were killed.

Of course, there are also the memories that survive of the North Koreans themselves, particularly among former officials and PNC activists. These anecdotes tend to be remarkably uniform. North Koreans are remembered as disciplined and zealous above all else, punctual, industrious and tirelessly committed to their tasks. Their devotion to the party and to the Great Leader is described more like religious piety than political partisanship. In the words of one former Guyanese official, “they lived their politics twenty-four hours a day!” An uncle of mine, a recent engineering graduate in the late 1970s, worked alongside North Koreans at the Guyana Pharmaceutical Corporation (GPC), formed in 1976 after the government nationalized the British-owned Bookers Drug Store. “They were very nice, hard-working, helpful...and they got really irritated when people called them chiney” he recollects with a chuckle (in the not-terribly-sensitive Guyanese creole vernacular, chiney refers to all Asian people regardless of their nationality). But there is often something

impersonal in the memories of these relations. In such narratives, when the work is over, the Koreans retreat to their embassy compound, physically and figuratively walled off from the society in which they are temporarily guests. They are mysterious and inaccessible. Although some Guyanese recall particular North Koreans and describe genuine friendships they shared with them, more often these individuals are spoken of as an undifferentiated collective. “There were so many of them by the name of ‘Kim,’” a university professor once joked to me, “I can’t remember who was who.”

North Korea’s relationship with the Global South during the Cold War has received growing attention in recent years, especially since Charles K. Armstrong’s ground-breaking work, *Tyranny of the Weak: North Korea and the World, 1950–1992* (Cornell University Press, 2013). However it is a subject still commonly misunderstood. The Korean Worker’s Party’s (KWP) embrace of Third Worldist politics, unmistakable by the time of its participation in the Tricontinental Conference of January 1966 in Havana, was not an aberrant and temporary detour. Rather it is better understood as the long-standing and natural trajectory of its political orientation given Korea’s colonial history, the traumatic experience of the Korean War, the KWP’s complicated historical relationship with the Soviet and Chinese communist parties, and the country’s predicament within the post-war, bipolar international system. Even today visitors to North Korea, at least those from the Global South, can hear from their hosts a vocabulary that sounds quite vintage in the post-Cold War, neo-liberal present: “Third-World solidarity,” “south-south cooperation,” “the New International Economic Order.” Nor was North Korean Third Worldism a secondary and compartmentalized aspect of state policy. Rather, it was a central component of the KWP’s larger ideological matrix, inseparable from its other major developments in the same period: the further elevation of the Kim Il-sung personality cult, and the growing emphasis on the state ideology of Juche, rather than Marxism-Leninism, as the party’s intellectual foundation. Lastly, North Korean Third Worldism was not a singular and homogenous phenomenon, but has gone through several quite distinct phases since the 1950s.

This history of DPRK-Guyana relations took place in the context of the phase of North Korean Third Worldism arising in the early/mid-1970s. Since late 1966 the North Korean leadership had a blood-and-fire message of armed insurrection throughout the Global South, an “anti-imperialist, anti-US united front” that could “sever the limbs” of US imperialism. Its own contribution to this project was a campaign of bold military actions aimed at Seoul and US forces stationed in South Korea,

and a program to train, arm and finance guerilla movements throughout the Global South. Yet by the early/mid-1970s Pyongyang was shifting towards a considerably more moderate strategy, demonstrating an apparent new faith in what could be achieved through peaceful dialogue with Seoul, participating in multilateral organizations and forums, and expanding diplomatic relations with countries it once dismissed as “fascist puppet states” of imperialism. While Cuba had been its sole state-to-state-relationship in Latin America and the Caribbean between 1959 and 1973, by 1982 it had formal diplomatic ties with thirteen countries in the region. Pyongyang gained seats on a number of international bodies, among them the World Health Organization, the World Meteorological Organization, the Inter-Parliamentary Union, and most importantly the Non-Aligned Movement. Behind this diplomatic effort was the goal of building a broad coalition of support within the Global South for its demand for the withdrawal of US troops from South Korea and the “peaceful and independent reunification” of the peninsula.

What inspired this course change? It was essentially an effort to recalibrate foreign policy in line with developments in South Korea – the announcement of a substantial withdrawal of US troops, the rising momentum of the democratic opposition led by Kim Dae-jung – as well as changing international conditions, chief among them the de-escalation of the Vietnam War, Sino-US rapprochement, and the growing power of the Third World in the United Nations General Assembly. In the Latin American/Caribbean context, while the Cuban-inspired guerilla movements North Korea once backed had been mostly defeated by the end of the 1960s, between 1968 and 1973 left-wing governments came to power in a number of countries, not through revolution but democratic elections and military coups. Moreover, with the influence of the Non-Aligned Movement reaching its peak, a fairly broad number of governments in the region were willing to consider diplomatic and commercial relations with North Korea.

This shift in foreign policy strategy was accompanied by a new ideological stance made clear in formal pronouncements by 1974. Kim Il-sung now proclaimed that the world was in the “era of independence,” in which the primary contradiction was not between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but rather the small countries of the Global South and imperialism led by the United States. Moreover, the progressive foreign policies of what Kim called “the second world” – Canada and some governments of Western Europe and Scandinavia – meant that these countries could be counted as allies. In short, Kim envisioned a grand coalition of the “Third World” supported by the socialist bloc and the

more progressive capitalist countries that could forge a new international order based on the principles of self-determination and non-interference. Talk of socialism and class warfare were noticeably light in the new narrative – in the context of the “era of independence,” Third-World nationalism surpassed Marxism-Leninism in practical importance. What mattered was that governments rejected “servilism”: compromising independence by kowtowing to foreign powers. The most important trait of a true communist, Kim insisted, was not class consciousness, but patriotism. In an October 1974 interview with the Ecuadorian Jucheist Humberto Ortiz Flores, Kim argued that a military coup d’etat led by “progressive” factions within a country’s armed forces was an appropriate political strategy in the Global South. By the time of the KWP’s Sixth Party Congress in October 1980, the Hungarian ambassador to North Korea could remark that “The characteristic attribute of these views is a pragmatic and nationalistic approach that is moving more and more away from Marxism-Leninism.” An Albanian delegate was blunter: “What kind of congress it is where not a single word mentions Marxism-Leninism, and parties with no connection to communist ideologies participate as well?”

The People’s National Congress (PNC) of Guyana was surely one of the parties the Albanian delegate was referring to. In fact, what political forces in Latin America it now extolled and which it did not are a useful barometer of how North Korean foreign policy shifted in the 1970s. In the previous decade, Cuba had been one of North Korea’s closest allies on the international stage, with the KWP lionizing Fidel Castro and Ernesto ‘Che’ Guevara as the leaders of the Latin American revolution. But during the early 1970s such praise all but vanished, and now official North Korean pronouncements on Latin America often omitted any mention of Cuba at all. When Peruvian journalist Genaro Carnero Checa interviewed Kim Il-sung in June 1974, Kim claimed that it was Peru and Argentina that were leading the struggle against imperialism in the region. This was a reference to the leftist-military regime of Juan Velasco Alvarado, which had seized power in Peru in October 1968, and the second triumph of peronismo in Argentina the previous year. From North Korea’s new ideological standpoint, leaders like Velasco and Juan Perón were heeding Juche by championing a “national” political line and maintaining their independence from both Cold-War blocs, while Cuba was guilty of servilism towards Moscow.

The North Korean leadership’s new ideological stance and its desire to expand bilateral relations within the Global South made Guyana a natural ally. Forbes Burnham was a personalistic ruler whose professed

commitment to the anti-imperialist struggle was coupled with a rejection of Marxist orthodoxy and the insistence that Guyana was “a pawn of neither East nor West.” The cornerstone of his self-styled doctrine of “cooperative socialism” was “self-reliance,” the most obvious point of ideological unity with the KWP. In the Guyanese context, self-reliance embodied the dream that by disentangling from the global capitalist system and developing domestic state industries, poor countries in the Global South could build strong, advanced economies less dependent on imports and less vulnerable to the fluctuations of the international market. It was a concept popularized during the post-war decolonization period and one that enhanced the appeal of North Korea as a model of development in the Global South. During the Burnham era, the Guyanese government took ambitious efforts to develop domestic production, with food, clothing and housing taking priority. Guyana even produced its own automobile, the Tapir, a boxy vehicle still commonplace on the roads of the East Berbice-Corentyne region. Cammie Ramsaroop, who as chairman of the PNC was responsible for party-to-party relations with the KWP, recalls, “self-reliance was the golden thread that held cooperative socialism and Juche together.”

This alliance was expressed in roughly a decade of exceptionally intimate political, economic, military and cultural cooperation, from the establishment of diplomatic relations in May 1974 to the death of Forbes Burnham in August 1985. North Korean assistance focused on supporting the government’s goal of self-reliance, helping it to develop new industries (glass, spare parts, agricultural machinery) or improve and expand existing ones (gold and manganese mining, pharmaceuticals), enhance domestic food production (rice, potatoes, fisheries, drainage and irrigation) and tap into the country’s hydropower potential. North Korea also provided Guyana with artillery, ammunition, patrol boats and military advisors in preparation for a potential conflict with Venezuela, with which it has a long-simmering border dispute. Additional material aid came in the form of tractors, disc harrows and plows, boat motors, cement, building materials and machines that converted rice straw into rope. North Korean doctors and surgeons staffed the Georgetown Public Hospital and created the country’s first acupuncture clinic. In 1986 US intelligence estimated there were close to two hundred North Koreans stationed in Guyana. A report issued the following year claimed North Korea had extended 2.5 million USD in economic credits and grants to Guyana between 1978 and 1985.

In return Guyana provided North Korea with bauxite and timber, and hosted an English-language program for North Korean students at the

University of Guyana, making it the only country outside the communist bloc where North Koreans were sent in large numbers to study. A North Korean diplomat remarked recently to me that many of the best English speakers in the DPRK Ministry of Foreign Affairs are alumni of this program. Similarly, former members of the PNC government share anecdotes of visiting Pyongyang and meeting KWP officials who spoke English with an unmistakable Guyanese twang. Perhaps of greater value, Guyana aided North Korea's diplomatic offensive in the Third World and its efforts to build support within the United Nations General Assembly. The Guyanese government became one of the most outspoken supporters of North Korea and its "five-point plan for reunification" in international fora and played a leading role in the international DPRK-solidarity movement. In January 1979 Georgetown was host to the first "Latin-American Caribbean Conference for the Independent and Peaceful Reunification of Korea," which established a new regional body with PNC Vice Chairman Robert Corbin as honorary president. PNC officials also served on the preparatory committee of the April 1979 "International Seminar for the Juche Idea" held in New Delhi, and on the presidium of the July 1983 "World Conference of Journalists against Imperialism and for Friendship and Peace" in Pyongyang.

Forbes Burnham was most impressed with North Korea's achievements in the areas of education and culture, and sought to emulate them in various ways. This included a national children's choir for whom North Korea supplied the musical instruments, the creation of the President's College modeled on the Man'gyōngdae Revolutionary School in Pyongyang, an unrealized plan to build a "Students and Children's Palace," and the crafting of a state-propagated personality cult around Forbes Burnham. The element of cultural policy most successfully adopted in Guyana, however, was undoubtedly Mass Games, the grandiose gymnastic spectacle North Korea remains famous for. In September 1979 a seven-member team of North Korean Mass Games instructors arrived in Guyana, spending approximately six months working with Ministry of Education officials, schoolteachers, local artists, dancers and athletes. While never matching the grandeur of those held in Pyongyang, Guyanese Mass Games performances included up to 3,000 performers, although a total of 10,000 students were said to be involved in an entire production. Following the first Mass Games in February 1980, production was passed on to the newly trained team of Guyanese organizers and artists under the Ministry of Education's Mass Games Secretariat. Creating a distinctly Guyanese variety of the North Korean

medium, they remained a central facet of public life until the fall of the PNC government in 1992.



Figure 2. Mass Games in Guyana in 1987. Source: Archive of Mass Games Secretariat

The enthusiasm of the PNC leadership for Mass Games reveals precisely what it was about North Korean society they most admired. Central to Burnham's political vision was the voluntarist concept that subjective factors were paramount to national economic development, and that Guyana could not escape backwardness until it broke with the psychological bondage of its colonial past. It was the role of the vanguard state to endow the citizenry with the values and attitudes necessary for the new society in the making: patriotism, collectivism, and more than anything else, "discipline." The image North Korea presented to the world was that of a small country only emerging recently from colonialism and "feudalism," having rebounded from the total devastation of the Korean War to achieve rapid industrialization, creating a modern, prosperous socialist society. Kim Il-sung claimed that North Korea's experience had proven that "In a socialist society, the people's high revolutionary zeal is the decisive factor which forcefully drives the development of the productive forces." To PNC leaders, North Korea provided a tested solution to the plague of underdevelopment, and that the transformation of the people's consciousness was the key to progress in the Global South. In the PNC-KWP relationship, the North Korean developmental model was integrated with a central component of the Caribbean leftist tradition: psychological and cultural decolonization as the foundation of social change.

Guyana's experiment in "cooperative socialism" and the international linkages it facilitated were not ultimately sustainable. The economy entered serious difficulties following the 1973 oil crisis, which manifested in massive unemployment, a street crime epidemic, steady outward migration, and widespread cynicism towards the government. Corruption and bureaucratism plagued the rapidly expanded state sector. Unwilling to trust its fate to the ballot box, the PNC meddled with the national elections to ensure its majority in parliament. Police, soldiers, and party militants attacked anti-government demonstrations and broke picket lines. There were several murders of opposition activists, the most prominent being that of the renowned scholar, Walter Rodney (1942-80). When Burnham died on 6 August 1985, he was succeeded by Desmond Hoyte, who, representing the right wing of the PNC, believed Guyana's long-term interests were better served repairing its relationship with Washington and the International Monetary Fund.

Hoyte's presidency began the gradual decline of the DPRK-Guyana relations in the 1985-92 period, including the closure of the North Korean embassy in Prashad Nagar. It came alongside a series of defeats for the Caribbean Left during the Reagan era that put a halt to North Korea's momentum in the region. Parties and coalitions Pyongyang had backed in Jamaica, Saint Lucia, Dominica, Antigua and the Dominican Republic suffered a series of devastating election losses, while the US invasion of Grenada in October 1983 brought down one of its key regional allies. Hernán Siles Zuazo's return to power the same month bid well for a renewed relationship with Bolivia, but he was forced out of power in less than three years. The reassertion of US hegemony in the region and the fading power of non-alignment, coupled with the diplomatic blowback from the October 1983 Rangoon bombing, caused many Latin American governments to reconsider their ties to North Korea. With the fall of Nicaragua's Sandinista government in February 1990, Pyongyang's fortunes in the region appeared to have reversed back to where they were two decades earlier. Although a handful of countries retained diplomatic recognition, Cuba remained North Korea's only significant bilateral relationship in Latin America and the Caribbean. The dramatic shift of the Latin American/Caribbean political landscape during the Reagan era does much to explain Fidel Castro's decision to visit Pyongyang for the first time in March 1986.

Guyana's ties to North Korea have not disappeared altogether, however. While today the Guyana-Korea Friendship Association has fallen into inactivity, its counterpart still exists in North Korea, where Guyana continues to be held in uniquely high esteem among veterans of

the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Juche Tower serves as a lasting testament to the historic bonds between the two countries, with plaques donated by Guyanese delegations outnumbering those by any other single country. The two countries revived their diplomatic relations in 2012, with Pyongyang's then resident ambassador in Cuba, Jon Yong-jin, being appointed non-resident ambassador to Guyana. In a ceremony in which Jon presented his Letters of Credence to Guyana's then-President Donald Ramotar, he recalled the history of solidarity between the two countries, how they had fought together for the goals of the Non-Aligned Movement, and discussed ways the two countries could cooperate in "agriculture, information technology (IT), human resource and construction." In fact, Jon's meeting with Ramotar fit with a renewed attempt by Pyongyang to increase bilateral ties in Latin America and the Caribbean in recent years, assisted in large part by the so-called Pink Tide. The ascension of Hugo Chavez in Venezuela, Luiz Lula da Silva in Brazil, Evo Morales in Bolivia and Rafael Correa in Ecuador all created new diplomatic openings for North Korea. Efforts to strengthen ties with Cuba, its oldest partner in the region, have also been apparent. In September 2011, a new pre-university school named after Kim Il-sung opened in Havana's Arroyo Naranjo borough. This past November, Cuban President Miguel Diaz-Canel visited Pyongyang for meetings with Kim Jong-un.

This is far from an irreversible trend, however. The Pink Tide is already widely spoken of in past tense, while Latin American intellectuals debate the reasons behind its apparent defeat. The Trump administration speaks openly of military intervention in Venezuela, with the acquiescence of most Latin American and a number of Western governments. Most of the Caribbean seems firmly mired in a kind of post-post-colonial malaise, where the high aspirations that drove the Left of the 1960s and 1970s are dismissed as the naïve sentiments of a bygone era, and privatization, austerity and dependency widely accepted as inescapable realities. This demonstrates the difficult terrain and uncertain future North Korea will continue to face in Latin America and the Caribbean for the foreseeable future, and the broader challenges of its commitment to "Third World solidarity" in an age of neo-liberal hegemony.

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North Korean Fragments of Post-Socialist Guyana

1980-1992 (*Asia-Pacific Journal*, 2015). His documentary film projects include *Guyana and North Korea: Two Vehicles on the Road to Socialism* (2014) and *Remembering Canadian Volunteers of the Spanish Civil War* (2013).

*The Gyehu Deungnok – the Registry of Adoption
A Window on an Invisible Revolution*

Mark Peterson

This paper is a report on a voyage of discovery, of sorts. Really, a voyage of rediscovery.

When I started my graduate work in 1977, a “*seonbae*” of mine, Bill Shaw, who was interested in legal history, told me of a register that he had seen; it was called the “*Gyehu deungnok*” -- the Register of Adoptions. He had been informed of its existence by Pak Byeongho, a legal historian at Seoul National University. I was grateful to these two men for telling me of this document.

I studied the document extensively and it became part of my dissertation in chapters seven, eight and nine of my nine-chapter PhD dissertation. The *Gyehu deungnok* was a kind of launch pad, perhaps, for my dissertation. As I developed my dissertation and the theoretical orientation toward social change in the late Joseon period, I looked at several other documents and I developed an overall view of what happened in social practice in the late Joseon period, specifically in the late seventeenth century. Now, as I return to the *Gyehu deungnok* I see it in a whole new light, and I have several new questions to ask it.

Before I look at the *Gyehu deungnok* in a new light, let’s review, in highly abstracted form, the conclusions of my dissertation and some of the work I’ve done since.

There were eight major social practices that changed in the late seventeenth century – some were a little earlier, some were a little later, but by the time Korea entered the eighteenth century the transition was complete. The changes have been termed “Confucianization” but that may not be accurate because Korea had been undergoing Confucianization

since the Three Kingdoms period, when Confucian ideology first started coming into Korea from China.

My work does not look so much at ideology or philosophy as it does at practice – social behavior, and how it changed “on the ground,” so to speak. The late-seventeenth-century, early-eighteenth-century changes in society were indeed a kind of a “perfection of Confucianization”. Perhaps the Korean term better describes the situation – “*bugye*” society – or in English the term is not quite so well-known, “patrilineal society”. The term in English is a technical term used primarily by sociologists or anthropologists. The term in Korean is well-known and found in common usage.

My previous work settled on eight attributes of the Confucianization or the development of the *bugye* system, or domination by male society. They were:

1. Loss of inheritance rights for women (which undoubtedly subsequently included property ownership rights)
2. Son preference, and specifically, the eldest son
3. Changes in recording genealogies (*jokbo*) from equal treatment of women and men to recording primarily men, featuring the eldest son
4. Adoption of male heirs from within the patrilineage, the *jokbo*
5. Jesa – ancestor ceremonies – were held on a rotational basis, but then became the domain of the men
6. The creation of the “big house” – “keunjip” system, or the “jongbeop” – the cult of the lineage heir, the eldest son of the eldest son for multiple generations
7. Marriage – transition from balance of “sijip-ganda” (patrilocal marriage) and “jangga-ganda” (matrilocal marriage) to exclusively “sijip-ganda”.
8. Village organization – development of “single-surname village”, the hallmark of yangban society, the pinnacle of *bugye* society.

Let’s take a moment to look at each of these changes in social practice in the late seventeenth century and look briefly at the documents and how the documents provide a window on what happened.

Number one: The documents that show the differences in inheritance practices are called either “bunjaegi” or “dongsaeng hwahoe

mun'gi" – "division of property documents" or "document of the peacefully assembled siblings". The former term is an informal term, the common term for such documents. The latter is the legal term outlined in the "Gyeongguk Daejeon," the constitutional legal code of the Joseon Dynasty. These documents show clearly an equal division of property between sons and daughters in the household. Unlike "wills" in the West, these documents were not written while the parents lived, but were created by the children after the parents died. (Notice the term, "harmoniously assembled siblings" [dongsaeung hwahoe], an obvious admonition not to contend over the inheritances.)

These documents that date to the fifteenth century exist in a few numbers; in the sixteenth century there are several more; and there are numerous that survive from the seventeenth century. But in the eighteenth century they disappear. By the time we enter the eighteenth century the practice has changed – no longer is property divided equally, no longer do daughters inherit property. The eldest son takes control of the property as the age of primogeniture begins and women are excluded from the inheritance.

Before the transition to the eldest son controlling the property, we see cases of households that have only daughters. Yet, in those cases, the property was divided equally between the daughters – no son was adopted to be the heir.

Number two: With the establishment of the bugye system, where daughters are no longer eligible heirs, the family must have a son. Women would celebrate the birth of a son, and lament the birth of a daughter. Son preference becomes the rule.

Number three: Genealogies (jokbo) in early Joseon recorded daughters' lines in as much detail as sons' lines and children were listed in their birth order. By the late seventeenth century, it all changes. Daughters' lines are not recorded, with the daughter's line ends with only a recording of the person she married, but her posterity is not recorded. And the siblings in a household are no longer listed in birth order, but rather all the sons are listed first, and then the daughters.

Number four: In the genealogies there is an increase in cases of adoption from within the lineage. The technical term for adoption from within the patrilineage is "agnatic adoption." An agnate is a "male related to a male through a male connection." In the late Joseon period, fifteen percent of males were adopted; that is the natural percentage of population

we find in other studies as well where a family has no children or has only females. In other words, late Joseon aristocratic society was such that all who did not have a son biologically would adopt an agnate, a son from within the *jokbo*, the patrilineage.

Number five: As inheritances were balanced equally between males and females, so too were *jesa* (ancestor ceremonies) practices. Before the late seventeenth century, *jesa* was practiced on a rotational basis, with sons and daughters taking turns hosting the ceremonies. There was a term for it – “*yunhaeng*” – “in rotation”. When the *bugye* system came in there were changes with the ancestor ceremonies as well. The eldest son was expected to step up and host the ceremonies. We see documents such as that of the Puan Kim lineage where they state in 1682 that they will no longer allow their posterity to carry out the ceremonies “in rotation.” The Puan Kim document indicates they are in the vanguard; “unlike other families”, they state, they will no longer allow *jesa* ceremonies in rotation. Gradually, all families conformed – ceremonies became the responsibility of the eldest son. The eldest son of the eldest son for generation after generation created a term for that main line – the “*jongson*”. And this is the essence of the technical term for what is commonly called the *bugye* system, that is the *jongbeop*.

Number six: With the acceptance of basically the Chinese style of Confucianism – after Korea had had its own interpretation of Confucianism for about thirteen hundred years – beginning in the late seventeenth century, Korea started practicing a more orthodox style, a fully patrilineal form of Confucianism. This full acceptance of the “*jongbeop*” was manifest in the creation of the “*keunjip*” – the “big house” or the house of the lineage heir, the eldest son of the eldest son’s line for multiple generations. On the ground in Korea, up to the present, is the importance of the role of the “*keunjip*” – that’s where people meet to hold the ceremonies on ritual occasions such as national holidays. As such this practice was used in Korea for only three hundred years – the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. Things are changing in the twenty-first century.

Number seven: Marriage in recent times in Korea has been dominated by the term “*sijip-gada*” – meaning for a bride to go to the father-in-law’s house. This is the essence of the *bugye* Confucian system. The complementary opposite, for the man “to go to the bride’s home,” was “*jangga-gada*” but in modern language, because the “go” part

seemed out of place, one often hears “*jangga-deunda*” – a usage that avoids the key part of the phrase – “going” to either the bride’s house or the groom’s house. Before the late seventeenth century, indeed, both options were open. With inheritances in the hands of women, they could, as well as the men, host a marriage partner. And indeed, that was the case. We know of several famous examples: Sin Sa’imdang, the mother of Yulgok Yi I (1536-1584); Yi Eonjeok’s father marrying into the Son family of Yangdong; and the Son family marrying into a Yu family in Yangdong.

Indeed, the factor of marrying at the bride’s house is the explanation for how it came that Koreans have a “*bon’gwan*” that is not the place where the family line has lived in recent years. Koreans have a hometown (“*gohyang*”) that is a completely different thing from a “*bon’gwan*” – translated sometimes as “clan seat”, meaning the place where the family line first began.

Number eight: Village organization changed with the onset of the *bugye* system. The single-surname, yangban village is a product of the seventeenth century revolution. In the late Joseon period prominent lineage groups became identified with particular villages. Those who hail from such villages can tell you that their village became a “single-surname village” in roughly the seventeenth century. Some cases the village had no major moves after the sixteenth century, but in most cases, the late seventeenth century is the key – as with the other changes we have outlined above.

Returning to the beginning

With the research I conducted for my PhD dissertation as a foundation, and with what I published in *Korean Adoption and Inheritance: Case Studies in the Creation of a Classic Confucian Society* and with what I have researched and published in recent years, I’ve generated the above list of social changes in the late seventeenth century. Now I want to return to the *Gyehu deungnok* and look at it with the eyes of the collection of research I’ve done over the years.

It turns out the *Gyehu deungnok* is a microcosm of the changes in late Joseon. The loss of standing for women – in property inheritance, in participation in ritual, in marriage residence – are all clearly visible in the *Gyehu deungnok*.

The *Gyehu deungnok* covered the years from 1619 to 1862, and, as it turns out, we see cases of the same kind of Confucianization, or the establishment of the *bugye* family system that we see in other documents. Let's look at the cases of adoption requests in the *Gyehu deungnok* with an eye to what role women played.

The structure of the register is based on a quotation from the *Gyeongguk Daejeon* – the constitutional law of the Joseon Dynasty, where the law states: “If a man has no heir by either wife or concubine, then he may apply for an adoption.” Here is where the first social change appears. In early Joseon, the first two hundred years of the Joseon Dynasty, the fifteenth and sixteenth century, if a man's legitimate wife did not bear an heir, he could claim as his heir the child of his concubine. The term concubine is problematic and has all kinds of Western and even biblical connotations. The term “secondary wife” meaning a wife of lesser social status might be a better term. The social status of the Joseon period was such that there were three distinct social classes: yangban, commoners, and slaves. By law, a yangban man could have only one wife. If she died, he could have a second wife of full yangban status. But if he took a wife of an inferior social status, he could have more than one wife – but the wife of lower social status was not a *cheo* (妻) but a *cheop* (妾) – a concubine or secondary wife.

Herein is the first indication of social change that we find in the *Gyehu deungnok*. The sons of the concubine were once – as the law indicated – eligible to be the heirs in the household. And in fact, in early Joseon there were people, even prominent people, who took their son by a concubine as their heir. Yulgok Yi I was one such person. His heir was a son by his concubine. But such an heir was problematic, and debated at the time, and by the third century of the dynasty, people were not claiming the son of the concubine as the heir. There were reasons: the son of the concubine could not take the all-important exams (except for two periods where there were exceptions to let the sons of concubines [*seoja*] take exams; but even then those allowed to take and pass exams could not get appointed to good government offices. There were lower-level offices they could hold, but not higher offices. With all these aspects of discrimination accruing to the sons by a concubine, people simply quit looking to them as potential heirs. Rather, adoption was that better alternative.

And even though the *Gyehu deungnok* quoted the provision that “if a man did not have heir by either wife or concubine” the concubine’s son was ignored and a man would prefer to adopt even if he had a son by his concubine. Things changed in the late 16th century; Yulgok was one of the last prominent figures to advocate using a concubine’s son as a legitimate heir.

Many of the entries are of exactly the same format: “[a named individual] having no heir by either wife or concubine, has applied to take his [a named relative, usually a cousin of a degree specified] number [specified, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc] son, [named] to be his heir.” Then it says that the family [jok] or representative leaders from “both sides” of the family have discussed the case and agree to the adoption. Then the adoption is ordered, and the entry is dated and the name of the clerk handling the case is given.

The entries are highly formulaic, and yet subtle changes are seen.

First, is the applicant. In the early years of the document women are mentioned specifically. If the husband who is to apply for the adoption is already deceased, the wife would apply. Early entries indicate Mrs. So-and-so, wife of deceased [office title] [name] has submitted documents for an adoption. Later on, wives do not apply.

In one of the entries, and only one, it mentioned the participation of the wife of the biological father. That status category was usually ignored even though the wife of the adopting father played a major role in the early years of the document. Later, the wife of the adoption father also is left out of the references to discussion and agreement upon the candidate to be adopted.

Next is the issue of the leaders of the family. In the early years of the document, the word is just “family” [jok], but later it quotes the law more accurately where it states that representatives from “both sides of the family” will discuss the proposed adoption, and if they agree and submit affidavits, then the adoption will be ordered.

In the early years, we can see by the names of the family representatives that there are representatives from “both sides” meaning the husband’s family and the wife’s family. In cases where we know the wife’s name – when she is the applicant – we see that the two [or early on, sometimes three] representatives had names like the husband, on the one hand, and like the wife, on the other. In cases where the wife is not the applicant, we see two different family elders’ names – one coincides with

the name of the applicant, and the other is a different name – presumably that of the wife’s family.

Later on in the document, in the period of the later seventeenth century, the meaning of the phrase “both sides of the family” seems to have changed. It seems to take on the meaning of the representative of the natal family and the representative of the adoptive family. And they are related, of course, since the adopted father and the biological father are cousins. But the situation changed also in regard to the degree of cousin relationship. In the later period of the document, we see no cases of adoption between brothers – the most frequent type of adoption. Rather, the *Gyehu deungnok* records only adoptions between distant cousins. It seems that close relative adoptions – between brothers or first cousins – were carried out without government approval. The government approval became the domain of long-distant adoptions. And for such, the heads of the separate segments of the family would “discuss and agree” to the adoption. Thus the meaning of “both sides of the family” changed completely, and the wife’s family was dropped from consideration.

Several observations: the degree of kinship grew more and more distant as the record moved on through time. In fact, in the later part of the register, adoptions between brothers and first cousins were seldom recorded; adoptions between distant relationships became the majority of entries in the register. And as time went by, the degree of relationship grew to extremely distant relatives, at times as high as 20-*chon*, that is to say, the two fathers were connected by an ancestor who had lived ten generations earlier.

This says something about changes in perceptions of kinship. We know the Goryeo period and much of the early Joseon period was a time of “bilateral kinship” reckoning – that is to say, the mother’s lines were as well recognized as father’s lines. The patrilineal kinship system had not taken hold, yet. As Korea became more and more dedicated to Confucian principles, the Confucian ideal, in Korean, the *jongbeop*, the patrilineal lineage system, took hold. The term is not well-known to English speakers (we say “patriarchy”, but this is much different), but in Korean the term *bugye*, meaning the “father’s line” is well known. That’s the term Koreans use to describe the traditional family system that is still alive in the memories of many living today. Times have changed; today’s family system is in flux and transitioning toward more of a bilateral system, in some ways similar to that of the Goryeo and early Joseon.

As a measure of the swing toward the patrilineal system, we see in the *Gyehu deungnok* that adoptions were transacted between more and more distant kinsmen. How does one know who is his 20th-*chon* cousin? The answer is the *jokbo*, the printed genealogical table. In the early Joseon period the *jokbo* was bilateral – listing descendants of daughters as well as those of sons. But by the eighteenth century, *jokbo* become patrilineal – only men of the same surname, same “origin” (dongseong, dongbon) are recorded. “Dongbon” refers to the “*bon’gwan*” the place of origin of the particular “clan” or lineage group. In other words, not all Kims are related – they separate themselves into differing groups based on where the first ancestor came from – Gimhae Kims are different from Gyeongju Kims, for example.

The *jokbo* is the key. That kinsmen could find a 20th-*chon* cousin, or in English, a 9th cousin, and that they could recognize that relationship as a viable connection worthy of transferring a son from a biological father to an adoptive father is a manifestation of the reality of the *jokbo* and the membership therein. Such long-distant adoptions were not practiced in the seventeenth century and in fact probably could not have been practiced. The genealogy did not have that depth of reckoning, and if one could recognize another as a 20th-*chon* cousin, the “relationship” – that is, the working connection between them – would not have been functioning sufficiently to facilitate an adoption.

But in the late Joseon period, because of the *bugye* system, the patrilineal organization was such that people recognized distant kinsmen as descendants of a common ancestor and the relationship was made real by its being recorded in the *jokbo*.

Why would one go to a distant relative for an adoption? Surely there were candidates within closer degrees of kinship. We have a hint as to the answer in a few cases we see where the adoption was a kind of “talent hunt”. Kim Okkyun, the famous coup plotter of the 1884 incident, was adopted out to a 20th-*chon* cousin of his father and the motivation was apparently the talent of passing the all-important civil service exam. Kim Okkyun passed and so had his adopted father. Perhaps the talented and successful childless man was looking for a son who was worthy to carry on a father’s legacy.

Conclusions

The *Gyehu deungnok* is a window on the middle and late Joseon Dynasty. It shows participation of women in the early period – through most of the seventeenth century. But with the onset of the eighteenth century, women become excluded from the paperwork and from the discussions in a formal sense.

The *Gyehu deungnok* is a measurement of the development of the patrilineal family organization – what is called, commonly, in Korean the *bugye* family. The early years of the document, the seventeenth century, is a reflection of the Goryeo Dynasty and early Joseon Dynasty family system, the bilateral family system. It was a system where the wife's family, the mother's family, played a role on the same footing as the male side of the family. Gradually, in the eight factors outlined above, we see the loss of women's standing in society. The *Gyehu deungnok* confirms in clear detail the loss of status and standing for women as Korea marched toward a fully ideal Confucian society – the society Koreans call the *bugye* society. This time is also captured in the phrase *namjon, jeobi* – “men are respected; women are put down.”

To end on a more optimistic note, if Korean women today are looking for role models and patterns of equality, they can look within their own history. The domination by men that most modern people decry is really only about 300 years old – not a thousand years, the way most people tend to describe the situation. The Korean system was marked by equality between the sexes for over a thousand years. That is the true Korean social system. The distortion of male dominance of the last 300 years has been an import from China. It is better for Korea to recognize that their true family structure was that which preceded the late Joseon period. The *Gyehu deungnok* shows a society where women were once participants in social actions, but they gradually become excluded.

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*“Literature Play” in a New World:
The Social Origins of Kim Kirim and Pak T’aewön’s Modernist
Expression¹*

Robert J. Fouser

1. Introduction

The last fifteen years of Japanese colonial rule from 1930-1945 were an unusually active period in Korean literary history. Building on the literary language that developed in the 1920s, writers became active in a number of literary movements that covered a wide range of political and cultural ideologies. The activities of Korean Artists Proletarian Federation (KAPF) writers who were inspired by socialist realism, for example, were balanced by writers who apolitical “pure literature” associated with various other “pure literature” movements. In between stood the modernist writers of the Kuinhoe, or “Group of Nine.” Like the KAPF writers, they believed that literature could be perfected for the public good, but like the “pure-literature” writers, they believed that literature had an inherent aesthetic value that appealed to private pleasure. In the early 1930s, the writers of the Kuinhoe were drawn together by a passion for experimentation with language and a desire to create a truly “modern” literature in Korean. As the harshness of Japanese colonial rule increased in the late 1930s, the contradiction between public good and private pleasure tore at the Kuinhoe, forcing its members take sides in the underground battle between socialist realism and aestheticism. As a compromise, some members of the Kuinhoe withdrew from literary creation in favor of translating classical Chinese stories into modern Korean.

The life and work of two of the leading members of the Kuinhoe, Kim Kirim (1908-1950) and Pak T’aewön (1909-1987), epitomize the

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intellectual struggle to create a modern urban literature in a colonial state where “modern” and “urban” were part of the ruling colonial structure. Their passion for creating a modern literature that reflected the urban sensibilities of colonial Seoul stimulated them to experiment with new forms of literary language in what became “literature play.” Literature play contained a large number of references to the architectural and technological wonders of the new urban environment, many of which used foreign languages, such as English, French, and, of course, Japanese. Literature play was also marked by experimentation in style, narration, and visual and orthographic representation. Both Kim and Pak retreated from literature play in the late 1930s in favor of translation. Amid the ideological conflicts that swept across Korea after liberation in 1945, both writers focused on the question of nation-building and turned their attention to historical and socially relevant themes. Though this represented a retreat from the literature play that had given both writers great personal satisfaction in the early 1930s, they channeled their interest in “the new” into creating a new literature for a new nation. Kim Kirim’s life was cut short in 1950, but Pak T’aewŏn went on to become one of the leading writers of the new Korean state that was founded north of the 38th parallel.

2. Lives of Kim Kirim and Pak T’aewŏn as Told by Their Sons

To understand how Kim Kirim and Pak T’aewŏn became interested in literature play, it is necessary to look at their personal lives and their interactions with the ongoing colonial urban development. Much of the information in the section that follows comes from interviews with Kim Sehwan, Kim’s eldest son, and Pak Iryŏng and Pak Chaeyŏng, Pak’s eldest and second-eldest sons. The interview with Kim Sehwan (b. 1932) was conducted in Seoul on June 29, 1991, the interview with Pak Chaeyŏng (b. 1942) in Seoul on June 27, 1991, and the interview with Pak Iryŏng (b. 1939) in Fairfax, Virginia, on July 24, 1994.

According to Kim Sehwan, Kim Kirim was sensitive about the family name because he was the only son of seven children and because his mother had died when he was seven years old. The family had some wealth and Kim Kirim did his best to protect the family wealth during the late colonial period and after liberation. Kim had a strong interest in science and believe that mathematics and poetry were closely related. He encouraged his son Sehwan to study science because it was practical and helpful in building a strong nation. As a father, Kim was liberal and gave his children much freedom, while encouraging them to study. Kim

Sehwan remembers that his father liked Western and Chinese food and that he learned how to use a knife and fork from his father when they would eat at fancy Western restaurants in the Chosun Hotel and at Seoul Station.

At the time of division, Kim Kirim was in his hometown in North Hamgyōng Province, but soon escaped to Seoul with Sehwan. He brought the rest of the family, except his mother, to Seoul in 1946. His mother stayed in North hoping to sell family possessions to compensate for the loss of land as a result of land reform in North Korea. She joined the family in 1947.

In the days following liberation, Kim joined the Chosŏn Munhakka Tongmaeng, which was under the leadership of Yi T’aejun and Im Hwa. Though some right-wing writers left the group early, Kim maintained good relations with the group. By 1949, after United States forces had withdrawn from South Korea, many writers, artists, and other intellectuals had gone north, but Kim refused to do so despite considerable pressure. Kim taught writing at Seoul National University and Yonsei University until the Korean War broke out on June 25, 1950. According to Kim Sehwan, North Korean authorities captured Kim soon after they took control of Seoul. The family never heard from him again.

The family suffered a loss of wealth and status after the Korean War. After the war, the Ministry of Culture and Information classified Kim Kirim as an “escapee author” (wŏlbuk chakka) rather than as a “kidnappee author” (napbuk chakka). Kim Sehwan believes that “B-level” writers did this as a way to damage Kim’s reputation for their own personal advantage. The classification meant that Kim Kirim’s works could not be published and that references to him in print would have to be written as “Kim ○○” (김○○). The classification hurt the family’s status and restricted the range of Kim Sehwan’s social activities. He was so intimidated by it that he did not tell his wife about it for years after their marriage. The harsh dictatorships of Syngman Rhee and Park Chung-hee made it difficult to discuss the issue openly, but in the 1980s, Kim Sehwan began to speak out against the classification. In the mid-1980s, he quit his job to fight to clear his father’s name and had trouble establishing a stable business. He finally achieved success in 1988 as Kim Kirim and Chŏng Chiyong, another member of the Kuinhoe who was taken North, were removed from the list of banned “escapee authors.” This singular act ended 38 years of suffering for the Kim family.

Pak Chaeyōng was only eight years old when his father disappeared, so his memories are vague. The story of Pak T’aewŏn’s life, as told by Pak Chaeyōng, has much in common with that of Kim Kirim.

The Pak family is an old Seoul family that, according to Pak Chaeyŏng, goes back at least ten generations. Pak T'aewŏn's father ran a Korean-medicine drugstore near the present Youngpoong Bookstore in Jongno. The family was one of the families that made the transition from traditional merchant to small business owner under Japanese rule. He had an artistic bent when he was young and learned to play the violin. Pak was also good at English and liked "foreign" things. As is well-documented, he enjoyed hanging out in coffee shops and was particularly close to Yi Sang. He was also close to Kim Kirim and Yi T'aejun. His grandfather had taught him Chinese classics when he was young and he like to make puns with Chinese characters. His sons' names themselves are puns; "Iryŏng" (一英) means "first hero" and "Chaeyŏng" (再英) means "second hero."

The family was split during the Korea War. Pak T'aewŏn's elder sister stayed in North Korea. According to Pak Chaeyŏng, Pak disappeared during the first North Korea occupation of Seoul in 1950. He believes that Yi T'aejun told the North Koreans where his father was. Pak's younger brother went north before the war, which may have influenced Pak to cooperate with North Koreans in Seoul. Another interpretation is that Yi T'aejun may have also talked Pak into going north.

Much like Kim Kirim's family, Pak's family suffered a great deal because he was classified as an "escapee author." The situation was perhaps more acute for the Pak family because Pak T'aewŏn was still alive and had developed a successful literary career in North Korea. The restrictions on family activities prompted Pak Iryŏng to emigrate to the United States in the mid-1960s.

To get a broader picture of the Pak family, I interviewed Pak Iryŏng in Fairfax, Virginia, a suburb of Washington, D.C. in 1994, three years after interviewing Pak Chaeyŏng in Seoul. Pak Iryŏng provided a more complete picture of his Pak T'aewŏn, particularly his activities after 1950. Pak visited North Korea for nine days in 1990 and contacted his stepmother and other relatives in North Korea.

Pak Iryŏng remembers that his father was quiet and studious and that he had wanted to live in Tokyo to have contact with other writers and artists. His father's wedding album had signatures and notes by almost all the important writers in Korea in the 1930s. Kim Kirim signed the album in French and some other writers signed in foreign languages. Many of the Kuinhoe members were frequent visitors to Pak's house, but this stopped after he got married in 1934. He met his wife, Kim Chong'ae, at an English drama performance at Sookmyung Women's University. Pak enjoyed fashion and was a frequent visitor to the Ch'ungmuro area, the

center of the Japanese commercial section of Seoul during the colonial period.

During the Pacific War, Pak turned to translating classical Chinese works into modern Korean and writing historical fiction. According to Pak Iryōng, this was a way to avoid controversy while continuing to write. Pak translated the Chinese classic *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (Samgukchi) into modern Korean from 1941-48 and wrote a modern version of *The Tale of Hong Kildong* (Hong Kildong chōn) in 1947. Pak Iryōng believes that his father’s interest in historical fiction helped him survive in North Korea. According to family reports, Kim Kirim and Chōng Chiyong were killed in 1950 soon after being captured. Pak T’aewōn’s interest in history and second marriage to a North Korean woman helped him package himself as a writer of historical fiction. He wrote about subjects, such as the Tonghak Peasant Revolution (1894-95), that had “revolutionary content.” Pak’s 1940s translation of *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, for example, was reprinted in North Korea as is, except for a new introduction that presented a Marxist reading of the text.

In 1990, Pak Iryōng was invited as a delegate to the Pōmminjok Taehoe that was held in Pyongyang that year. He was given VIP treatment and stayed in his sister’s house for most of the time and his stepmother’s house for two days. Pak T’aewōn’s eldest daughter, Park Yōng’ūn, had gone north before the Korean War and was a professor of English at Kim Il Sung University at the time of Park Iryōng’s 1990 visit. The entire Pak family seems to have prospered in North Korea. Pak T’aewōn’s younger brother had become a famous artist, his sister had married the director of a museum in Pyongyang, and his daughter was a professor of English at Kim Il Sung University. During Pak Iryōng’s visit, the family was given foreign food, such as coffee and mixed nuts.

Taken together, what do these “stories” of Kim Kirim and Pak T’aewōn tell us? They tell us, above all, that Kim, Pak, and their descendants got caught up in post-liberation ideological struggles. Though were major players in diffusing modernist ideology in colonial Korea, they took a neutral stance in the ideological battle over Japanese colonialism and post-liberation national creation. Like all persons who possessed a certain amount of social and economic capital at the time, they were interested in protecting what they had from those who tried to use the denial of social and political capital as tools for political mobilization.

The “stories” also tell us that Kim and Pak shared a passion for Ezra Pound’s calling to “make it new.” In the context of colonial Korea,

Japan-mediated Westernization brought new things and ideas to Korea that changed the face of urban Korea beyond recognition in a generation. Kim and Pak had sufficient social and economic capital to interact with the urban environment as cultural consumers and producers.

Finally, these “stories” tell us that literary reputations in post-liberation Korea are largely fabrications that are designed to reinforce the ruling ideology. Besides bringing suffering to the descendants, the label “escapee author” denied Kim Kirim and Pak T’aewŏn a place in literary history and the literary canon. They existed only in code as “Kim ○○” (김○○) and Pak ○○” (박○○). On the other side of the divide, Kim Kirim was expunged from existence, but Pak T’aewŏn was called by his full name and he and his descendants prospered in arts and scholarship in North Korea. The powerful influence of ruling ideology on the literary reputations of Kim and Pak is, if anything, a wake-up call on the potential effect of ruling ideology on the literary reputations of other writers.

3. Literature Play

Literature was the main genre of outlet for Kim and Pak, but they had other cultural and linguistic interests as well. Kim was interested in science, math, foreign languages, and Western philosophy. Pak, like his good friend Yi Sang, was interested in the visual arts. He was also interested in music, as Pak Chaeyŏng noted, and was an avid moviegoer. Of all genres of art, film was new in Korea, as well as the rest of the world, in the 1930s. In the new urban environment of colonial Seoul, movie theaters, coffee shops, phonographs, street lights, and streetcars were all objects of technical wonder to Kim and Pak’s generation. They were like the internet to the 386 generation in today’s South Korea. These spaces and objects stimulated an interest in other genres and, particularly in the case of Kim Kirim, the thought of the cultures that produced them. The following example from a 1931 essay reveals Kim’s enthusiasm for urban Seoul:

For a number of unfortunate reasons, feudal Kyŏngsŏng, which could not keep up with times, began to transform itself into a sharp modern city. If the appearance of wonderful modern “department stores” in the center of Seoul is not a disguise in the form of “modern makeup” on the wrinkled

face of Greater Kyōngsōng in 1931, then what is it?²

여러 가지 축복 받지 못한 조건으로 인하여 부득이
시대진전의 수준에서 밀려나올 수밖에 없었던 봉건적
도시인 京城도 차츰차츰 침예한 近代都市의 면모를
갖추기 시작한다.

서울의 북판 이곳저곳에 뛰어난 근대적
[데파트먼트]의 출현은 1931년도의 대경성의
주름잡힌 얼굴 위에 假裝하고 나타난 ‘근대의
메이익업’이 아니고 무엇일까.

In this context, then, literature was another space to engage in a dialogue with the spaces, objects, and ideas that filled the new urban space. Compared with other forms of creative expression, literature requires little investment in lessons and equipment and can be done in secret and in hiding. It remains a private art that can be made public at the discretion of the writer. Kim and Pak also learned the Chinese classics from their grandfathers, and had learned modern Korean, Japanese, and at least one more foreign language. As Korea’s first and only multilingual generation of writers, the word and the text that emerged from the assembly of words was no doubt a source of endless fascination.

The “literature play” of Kim and Pak is more than playing with language, though they both enjoyed doing so a great deal; it is also playing with the act of literary creation and the idea of a literary community that includes writers and readers. Literature play was a group activity that involved close contact with other writers, as the frequent reference to coffee shops and drinking sessions in their work shows. Literature play was also a public activity that involved the readership. Many poems and stories were first published in daily newspapers, thus allowing for instant reaction. Writers could easily change their work based on public reaction. The reading public at the time, of course, was limited to the urban upper and middle class, many of whom, like many other writers themselves, were involved with the colonial economic and social structure.

The most concrete examples of literature play, however, are found in various texts that Kim and Pak produced. Linguistic features of literature play represent a number of phenomena, but the most prominent

² Yujung Kim, ed., *Kim Kirim* (Han’guk hyōndae si’in yōn’gu 17), (Seoul: Munhak Saegyesa, 1996), 79.

are form, word choice, and “modernistic deviation.” Kim and Pak experimented with form extensively. True to his self-identity as a modernist, Kim Kirim adopted the long free-verse forms that are typical of modernist poets, such as Ezra Pound and T.S. Eliot. His three most famous collections of poetry, *Weather Chart* (Kisangdo), *Customs of the Sun* (T’aeyang üi P’ungsok), and *The Sea and Butterflies* (Pada wa Nabi), are in long free-verse form with frequent quoted speech and internal dialogue. The following first two stanzas from Part 4 of the *Weather Chart* (1936) is typical of Kim’s long free-verse poetry:

“For the prosperity of the Republic of China....)
The husky sound of a glass cup shaking sadly
On top of a sacred “table” cloth
Amid the babbling conversation
The fate of the old kingdom is wobbling
Like “King Solomon’s” emissary
Very well-mannered lips sipping red wine
From a colorful collar
Smiling white roses
“For the division of the Republic of China....”
The torn badge from the other side
Suddenly, the glass in the window grumbles

“Sleep, sleep”
“Lie in the flowers, cuddle with the stars”
The “loudspeaker” of the whole world
Is very sad like “Brahms”
On a bench with no stars, not even flowers
Dreams flying in the wind come crashing down
High-brow dreams of sandwiches
Greedy dreams of “beefsteaks”
Cocky dreams of “ham salad”
Cowardly dreams of corn porridge
“Hey sir, you’ve only dreamed of sin
At the door to the restaurant
Nothing, nothing lasts forever”
“.....”
“Sir, are those the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse?”³

³ Yujung Kim, ed., *Kim Kirim* (Han’guk hyöndae shi’in yön’gu 17), (Seoul: Munhak Saegyesa, 1996), 18-19.

「大中華民國의 繁榮을 위하여—」
슌으게 떨리는 유리컵의 섯소리
거룩한 「테-블」 보재지 우에
퍼놓은 歡談의 물굽이 속에서
늙은 王國의 運命은 흔들리운다
「솔로몬」의 使者처럼
빨간 술을 빠는 자못 점잔은 입술들
색감한 옷깃에서
쟁그시 웃는 흰 薔薇
「大中華民國의 分裂을 위하여—」
찢어지는 휘장 저편에서
갑자기 유리 窓이 투덜거린다
「자려므나 자려므나」
「꽃속에 누어서 별에게 안겨서—」

萬國公園의 「라우드-스피-커」는
「쁘람-쓰」처럼 매우 슌습니다
꽃은커녕 별도 없는 벤취에서는
꿈들이 바람에 흔들려 소스라쳐 깨었습니다
하이칼라한 샌드위치의 꿈
탐욕한 「삐-프스테익」의 꿈
건방진 「햄살라드」의 꿈
비겁한 강낭족의 꿈
「나리사 니게는 꿈꾼 죄밖에는 없습니다
食堂의 門前에는
천만에 천만에 간 일이라곤 없습니다」
「……………」
「나리 저건 默示錄의 騎士버니까」

The verses follow no formal structure. There is a repetition for emphasis, such as the use of kkum (꿈) in the second stanza, but the structure of the poem does not require such repetition.

The example contains a number of English words, such as “cup,” “table,” “loudspeaker,” “bench,” “sandwich,” “beefsteak,” and “ham salad” that create an exotic foreign atmosphere. The use of two famous names from the Western cultural tradition, King Solomon and Brahms, adds yet more exoticism. The question, of course, is who could understand

the English words and references to Western culture in Korea in 1936? Given the economic and social conditions of the time, the audience must have been urban educated Koreans.

The example also contains several good examples of “modernistic deviation,” or purposefully deviation from linguistic norms for effect. The most common effects are emphasis and shock, which are important to the “make-it-new” modernist ethic. The use of so much English and foreign names is a deviation from normal poetic Korean at the time (as well as now). Beyond this, the use of quoted speech to indicate voices of imaginary crowds deviates from the norm of private discourse, between poet and reader or between poet and subject, in traditional and modern Korean poetry. The poet takes on a broad omniscient stance that attempts to transcend linguistic, cultural, and temporal borders.

Pak T’aewön’s 1933 novella, *A Day in the Life of Novelist Kubo* (Sosŏlga Kubo-ssi ūi Iril) is as an autobiographical reflection on literature play. The novella shows much of the same experimentation that marked Kim Kirim’s poetry. The overt autobiographical organization of the novella around the author’s three-hour walk through the commercial heart of Seoul reflects the influence of James Joyce and other modernist writers who focused emphasized the moment over larger blocks of time. The novella has no plot, but is, instead, a series of vignettes that provide another perspective on the main character’s psychological state. Consider the following example:

Kubo’s window suddenly sparkled. What really happened to him after that? Memories of whatever type calm people’s hearts and make them happy.

It’s fall in Tokyo. Kubo bought a nail clipper at a hardware store in “Kanda” and then dropped a coffee shop in “Jimbocho” that he sometimes visited.⁴

구보의 문이 갑자기 빛났다. 참 그는 그 뒤 어찌 되었을구. 비록 어떠한 종류의 것이든 추억을 갖는다는 것은 사람의 마음을 고요하게, 또 기쁘게 하여 준다.

동경의 가을이다. ‘간다(神田)’ 어느 철문전에서 한 계의 ‘네일 그립퍼’를 구한 구보는

⁴ T’aewön Pak, *Sosŏlga Kubo-ssi ūi iril*, (Seoul: Kip’unsaem, 1989[1934]), 59.

‘김보오쵸오(神保町)’ 그가 가끔 드나드는 낯다점을 찾았다.

The shift from Seoul to Tokyo offers the main character a chance to reflect on his past and relate it to his present psychological state.

Word choice was central to Pak’s experimentation with language. He particularly liked to play with Chinese characters and foreign words by weaving them seamlessly into the text. Consider the play on words in the following example:

Kubo suddenly felt a strong urge to view all people as mental cases. In reality, all sorts of mental cases fit in this classification.

Attention deficit disorder. Language disorder.

Narcissistic personality disorder. Vulgar language disorder.

Obscene lust for women. Disorganized-mind disorder.

Chronic jealousy. Obscene lust for men.

Weird behavior disorder. Excessive lying disease.

Immorality disease. Excessive waste disorder.⁵

갑자기 구보는 온갖 사람을 모두 정신병자라 관찰하고 싶은 강렬한 충동을 드켰다. 실로 다수의 정신병 환자가 그 안에 있었다. 의상분일증(意想奔逸症).

언어도착증(言語倒錯症). 과대망상증(誇大妄想症).

추외언어증(醜猥言語症). 여자음란증(女子淫亂症).

지리멸렬증(支離滅裂症). 질투망상증(嫉妬妄想症).

남자음란증(男子淫亂症). 병적기행증(病的奇行症).

병적허언기편증(病的虛言欺騙症).

병적부덕증(病的不德症). 병적낭비증(病的浪費症).....

In the above passage, Pak plays games with the reading by starting the list of different mental problems with a real one (“attention deficit disorder”). This is followed by a made-up mental problem (“language disorder”), which is followed by another real one (“narcissistic personality disorder”). The rest in the list are made-up mental problems that are puns on the state of play in colonial Seoul. They may also be read as sarcastic self-deprecating remarks on “literature play.”

Like Kim Kirim, Pak had a keen interest in “modernistic

⁵ T’aewŏn Pak, *Sosŏlga Kubo-ssi ūi iril*, (Seoul: Kip’unsae, 1989[1934]), 74.

deviations” that gave the text a new feeling, and he was particularly interested in the use of punctuation and quoted speech. It is no coincidence, then, that his series of short essays in the *Chosŏnjungang Ilbo* (December 17-31, 1934) opened with an article on the use of the comma. The series also included essays on how to present features of spoken language, such as fortis sounds and “women’s language,” in writing. A comment in the essay on literary style that Pak wrote reveals the depth of his sensitivity to language and its relationship to literary style:

Even if
“wit” and “kiji,”
“humor” and “haehak”
mean the same thing, they differ in terms of “style.” We also need to know that the difference does not come only from sound, but also from how the shape of the letters of themselves affects our visual perception. This point cannot be taken lightly.⁶

假令,
『윗트』와 『機智』
『유.머』와 『諧謔』
하면, 이것은 意味로서는 區別이 없어도,
『스타일』로 말하자면 서로 差異가 있다. 그리고 이
機會에 우리가 알아야 할 것은 그 差異가 다만 그
音響으로부터만 나는 것이 아니라 實로 그 제 各各의
自體, 字形이 우리의 視覺에 주는, 결코 가벼웁게 볼
수 없는 영향으로부터도 오는 것이라는 事實이다.

Pak views the use of English words versus Chinese-character words and by extension Korean words, as a matter of stylistic choice that is the responsibility of the writer. The goal of the writer is, true to modernist thought, to become an autonomous artist that transcends ethnolinguistic boundaries to appeal to “universal” modern aesthetic values. “Modernistic deviation” thus provided linguistic support for Pak’s literature play.

⁶ Quoted in Hyŏnsuk Chŏng, ed., *Pak T'aewŏn* (Saemi chakkaronch'ongsŏ 2), (Seoul: Saemi, 1995), 237.

4. Conclusions

The story of Kim Kirim and Pak T'aewŏn, whether told by their descendants or scholars, is one with no end because it is ultimately the story of literary reputations. Reputations are unfinished public creations that changes with their creators. The life course and subsequent literary reputations of the three leading exponents of literature play—Kim Kirim, Pak T'aewŏn, and Yi Sang—evolved in curious ways after Yi Sang's premature death in 1937. Kim remained loyal to the modernist cause but was beginning to experience a “Korean awakening” in the years following liberation. Pak withdraw into the language game of translation and turned to historical topics to survive as a writer under the authoritarian regimes, Japanese and Korean. His own “Korean awakening” mostly likely took him north where he remains the only non-socialist writer from the South to have a sustained literary career in North Korea. Though literary reputations have no final destiny, some reputations have greater lasting power than others. The reputations of Kim Kirim and Pak T'aewŏn have yet to solidify, which ensures that they will continue to be a source of immense intellectual stimulation for years to come.

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The Architectural Roots of Myeongdong Cathedral

Nate Kornegay

When French Catholic buildings were being constructed in Seoul in the 1890s, Gothic architecture had already been introduced to China. Ecclesiastical structures in particular, like St. John's Cathedral in Hong Kong, had been standing for forty years while Korea's built environment was just starting to see such examples of architecture transplanted into its early modern cities. Throughout East Asia, some of these buildings were designed by formally trained engineers and architects, while others were planned by local builders, entrepreneurs, and compradores. In Korea, it was in many cases the missionaries themselves who designed and oversaw the construction of their churches. Such buildings were typically not the result of professional technical drawings. Rather, these missionaries learned and adapted throughout their projects.

One of the first examples of a missionary-architect can be found in the case of Fr. Eugène Jean Georges Coste (1842-1896), the Catholic priest responsible for designing what is now referred to as Myeongdong Cathedral. Though he is thought to have been involved in the Catholic mission's seminary at Yongsan (1891) and Yakhyeon Church (1892), it was the cathedral that became his crowning achievement. Coste, a native of southern France, spent years working throughout Asia as part of the Paris Foreign Missions Society. He arrived in Korea at the end of 1885 "[d]isguised as a layman ... on a Japanese steamer"⁷ from Yokohama as the treaty between France in Korea had yet to be signed. By 1887, he was able to legally purchase and subsequently level the hill the cathedral would be built on. It then fell to the priest to oversee the building's construction, which is how he is generally credited as its designer.

⁷ Mrs. Alexander Kenmure, "Father Coste," *The Korean Repository*, Vol. 3 (Seoul: The Trilingual Press, 1896), 151; Note that the treaty with France was signed the following year.

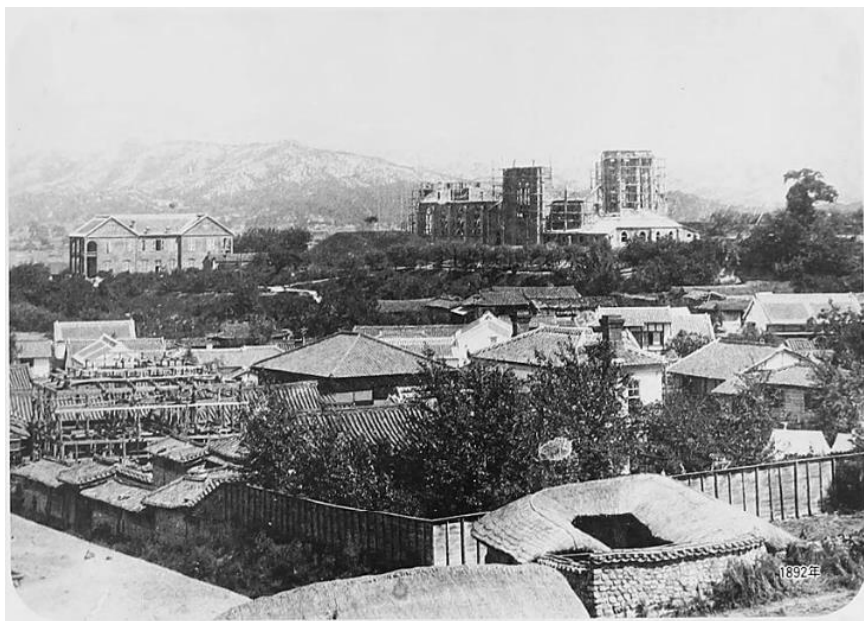


Figure 1. A photo taken from the Japanese settlement at Namsan shows Myeongdong Cathedral under construction, Seoul.

The cathedral was referred to as Coste's "greatest achievement", a massive, over-engineered neo-Gothic structure built of red and blue brick over the span of six long years.⁸ It is unclear how he, without an engineering background, was able to manage its creation. However, the architectural inspiration for the building and Coste's design abilities seem to have come from his time in Hong Kong between 1872 and 1874. There, beginning in late 1873 in the Pokfulam valley on Hong Kong Island, the Paris Foreign Missions Society backed the construction of a sanatorium complex known as Béthanie that was to become part of the society's administrative base in China. The sanatorium was completed in 1875, its design credited to a society administrator named Fr. Pierre-Marie Osouf, with construction supervision in the hands of the priest who would become the first director of Béthanie, Fr. Charles Edmond Patriat.⁹

⁸ Mrs. Alexander Kenmure, "Father Coste," 151.

⁹ Heritage Appraisal of Béthanie provided by the Antiquities Advisory Board of Hong Kong. This documented can be directly accessed: [http://www.aab.gov.hk/form/160meeting/AAB%2045%202011-12%20\(Annex%20A\).pdf](http://www.aab.gov.hk/form/160meeting/AAB%2045%202011-12%20(Annex%20A).pdf)

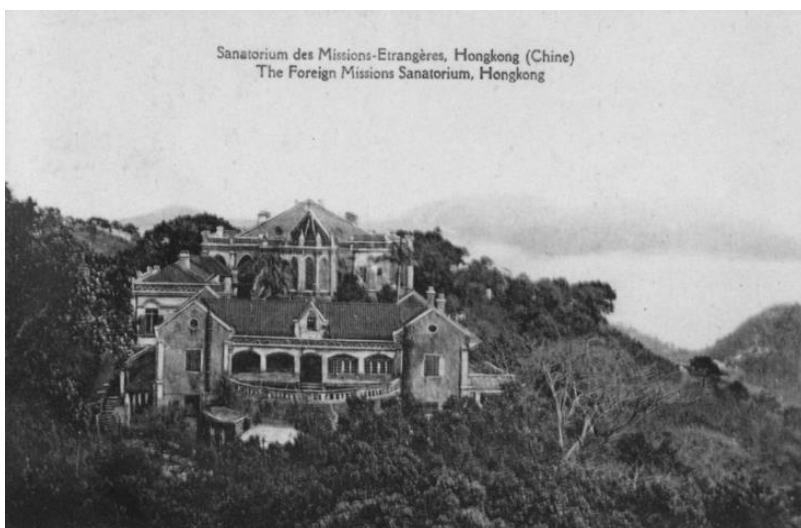


Figure 2. A postcard depicts the sanatorium at Béthanie, Hong Kong. Note that the chapel building in the background is significantly smaller than Myeongdong Cathedral, though clearly Gothic in style. The buildings remain in Hong Kong today.

Current scholarship does not recognize Coste's involvement in the project, but a lengthy memorial published in *The Korean Repository* indicates it was at Béthanie where he first "tried his talents as an architect".¹⁰ He built a lasting friendship with Osouf, and looked back on his time there with great fondness. "I constantly see myself in Hong Kong" he wrote in a letter, "with Papa Osouf and the good Narcisse, discussing the buildings of Béthanie".¹¹ His experience, so profound as to make him want to regret going to Korea,¹² is what then probably led him to "[borrow] from the clever builders of Béthanie that taste for Gothic art - a little exclusive perhaps - which he always retained."¹³ Such architectural borrowing is most evident in the apse of Myeongdong Cathedral, which mirrors the same Gothic style of the chapel at Béthanie.

¹⁰ Mrs. Alexander Kenmure, "Father Coste," 146.

¹¹ Mrs. Alexander Kenmure, "Father Coste," 147.

¹² Personifying the place and experience as "Mgr. de Béthanie" in French, Coste reportedly wrote that "He [the sanatorium at Béthanie] wants to make me regret going to Korea". Mrs. Alexander Kenmure, "Father Coste," 147.

¹³ Mrs. Alexander Kenmure, "Father Coste," 146.

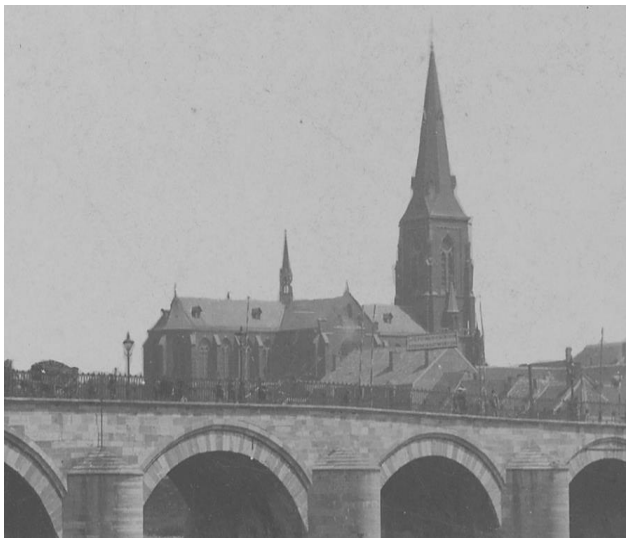


Figure 3. A cropped section of a photograph depicting St. Martin Cathedral, or *Sint-Martinuskerk*, Netherlands, built around 1857-1858. Note that while its steeple is taller than Myeongdong Cathedral's, their forms are similar.

Though Coste's memorial in *The Korean Repository* clearly references his time in Hong Kong as the inspiration for Myeongdong Cathedral, another account published in 1906 suggests the design came from elsewhere. Writing of his 1902 visit to Korea, Hungarian aristocrat Count Péter Vay¹⁴ claimed Coste's church was "built on the model of one of the old cathedrals in the Netherlands". The count was probably referring to examples of brick neo-Gothic churches like St. Martin in Maastricht, which is not at all dissimilar in form and style to Coste's cathedral. Vay wrote that he was hosted by one of the clergy while visiting Seoul, from whom he could have obtained such information, yet it remains unclear as to whether Vay meant Myeongdong Cathedral was a copy of a Dutch church or merely resembled architecture from the Netherlands.

Unfortunately, without blueprints or technical drawings, the matter is likely to remain murky. Evidence from Korea's colonial period suggests no formal building plans were ever made. Instead, the construction of the cathedral seems to have been managed much in the same way as the Chinese-built compradoric architecture of Shanghai and Hong Kong, where compradors, contractors, and other middlemen

¹⁴ Count Vay de Vaya and Luskod, *Empires and Emperors of Russia, China, Korea, and Japan* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1906), 254.

handled the execution of the building ideas sketched by Westerners. To be clear, years after the cathedral was completed, an American priest visiting Seoul reportedly asked “Bishop [Mutel] for blue prints, or a copy of the plans, and the Bishop was forced to answer that they never had any such things - only small memoranda and drawings made on the spot as needed”.¹⁵

Coste spent almost ten years preparing for and overseeing “his building” before succumbing to a fever in early 1896. Fighting the illness for about ten days, he finally passed away at dusk on February 28.¹⁶ His comrade who was handling administrative work of the mission, Fr. Victor Louis Poisnel, then took charge of the project, seeing it to its completion in 1898.¹⁷

The cathedral was massive relative to the other structures in Seoul. Despite its monumentality, occupying a prominent space overlooking the entire city, the cathedral was decidedly spartan. “No fresco ‘artists’ had stenciled these walls, and with the exception of a few benches for Europeans, the pulpit (a model of wood-carving), and a baptismal font, there were no church furnishings.”¹⁸ Nevertheless, Myeongdong Cathedral became a model for future Catholic church projects in Korea, arguably influencing Gothic and ecclesiastical brick architecture for decades to come.

Figure List

Figure 1. “1890-1932- ‘Myong-Dong’”, from the Moffett Korea Collection, Princeton Theological Seminary Library.

Figure 2. “The Béthanie at Pok Fu Lam”, Hong Kong Historical Postcards, courtesy of Hong Kong Memory (HKM).

Figure 3. Photo. “Maas, bridge, gate, church,” 1895. Item Number OF-00850. National Service for Cultural Heritage (*Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed*)

¹⁵ Bishop Mutel’s name is not given in this account. However, he was the bishop of Myeongdong Cathedral at the time. James A. Walsh, *Observations in the Orient*, 88.

¹⁶ Mrs. Alexander Kenmure, “Father Coste,” 155-157.

¹⁷ Poisnel would go on to become an important priest-architect in Korea, using the skills learned in the making of Myeongdong Cathedral to assist, design, and oversee a number of church projects. “Victor Poisnel,” *Notices Biographiques, Archives de Missions Étrangères de Paris*.

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¹⁸ James A. Walsh, *Observations in the Orient*, 87-88.

The Architectural Roots of Myeongdong Cathedral

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Jejueo, Korea's Endangered Language

Moira Saltzman

1. Introduction

South Korea is considered one of the most linguistically homogenous countries worldwide, and this image is promulgated by governmental policies, the education system, and linguistic scholars. When South Korea regained its independence after the Japanese occupation in 1945, language standardization and the 'purity' of the Korean language became a governmental priority (Song 2012). Since the 1990s, the task of standardizing Korean has been shared by three governmental bodies, with the president issuing final approval for all policies. In South Korean schools, the majority of classroom hours are allocated to "correct use of the Korean language" (Song 2012:30) and popular television shows promote prescriptivist grammar and lexicon (Seth 2011:25). In his oft-cited reference grammar of the Korean language, Sohn (1999:12) writes, "Despite [...] geographical and sociopolitical dialectal differences, Korean is relatively homogenous, with excellent mutual intelligibility among speakers from different areas."

However, Jejueo, the indigenous language of South Korea's Jeju Island, is less than 12 percent mutually intelligible with Korean (O'Grady 2015). Jejueo is classified as critically endangered, with approximately 5,000 fluent speakers all over the age of 70 (UNESCO 2010) and language use rapidly shifting to Korean. Speakers are spread across the islands of Jeju Province and in a small diasporic enclave in Osaka, Japan. The social and economic reforms of Park Chung-hee's New Village Movement in the 1970s created a diglossia on Jeju Island, where Jejueo was prohibited from use in the media, education, religion and all official capacities. In schools the use of Jejueo resulted in verbal or physical punishment (Brenzinger and Yang 2018). Recent research on Jejueo language ideologies (Kim 2011, Kim 2013) suggests that speakers

maintain ideologies rooted in the former diglossia, as Korean is used as a language of “distance and rationality” (Kim 2013). This paper discusses the possibilities for Jejueo language policy and revitalization within the larger sociohistorical context of Korean language ideologies.



Figure 3. Seong-su Heo of the Jejueo Preservation Society records Jejueo work songs with speakers in Seogwipo, Jeju Island.

2. Background

Once an independent kingdom named Tamna, Jeju Island was incorporated into Korea's Baekje Kingdom in 476, allowing Baekje to exact tribute from Jeju citizens (Best 2007). Jeju continued its tributary relationship with mainland Korea under the 918-1392 Goryeo government. During the 1392-1897 Joseon era, the central Joseon administration usurped Jeju's administrative authority. Although Jeju citizens were technically citizens of Korea's South Jeolla Province, they were treated as foreigners and Jeju Island was used as a location for the exile of political prisoners. From the 19th until the early 20th centuries Jeju citizens were prohibited from entering mainland Korea in order to avoid a population (tributary) drain, resulting in uprisings in 1862, 1898 and 1901 (Hilty 2011). Until the rise of tourism in Jeju in the last few decades, Jeju's primary industries were agriculture and fishing, and Jeju citizens developed a robust mythology and matriarchal culture, all of which stood in contrast to mainland Korea.

In 1910 Japan annexed Korea and Jeju citizens struggled through a period of deprivation. At this time many Jeju citizens left for the mainland or Japan to pursue economic opportunities. On April 3, 1948, during a period of ideological struggle preceding the Korean War, communist sympathizers on Jeju attacked police stations and government offices. This event is known as the April 3rd uprising. The response from Korean and American military forces was a brutal suppression of suspected communist sympathizers, resulting in the deaths of 15,000-30,000 Jeju citizens between April 1948 and May 1949 -- approximately 1/10 of the population of Jeju. The Jeju Massacre was responsible for the deaths of 1/3 of the population of native Jejueo-speakers (Kim 2009, Henderson 2014). When the Korean War began, hundreds of thousands of citizens of mainland Korea fled to Jeju to escape. By 1954 up to 40,000 Jeju citizens had escaped to Osaka, Japan (Cumings 2010).

In 1971, President Park Chung-hee instituted economic and social reforms throughout Korea aimed at unifying Korea to secure economic growth. The New Village Movement policies banned the practice of Jeju's shamanic religion, the medium through which Jeju's oral history was transmitted, as Jejueo was an unwritten language. Korean was made the official language of educational instruction, media and governmental activity. The resulting diglossia compounded with the population loss and influx of Korean-speaking immigrants led to the interruption in Jejueo's transmission to subsequent generations.

3. Current status of Jejueo

Yang's (2013) survey on language attitudes finds that while community members recognize Jejueo as a marker of Jeju identity worth transmitting to future generations, few speakers feel empowered to reverse the pattern of language shift to Korean. There are no longer monolingual speakers of Jejueo on Jeju or in Osaka. The examples below are samples of the same declarative sentences produced by a fluent Jejueo speaker in (1), a typical younger Jejueo semi-speaker in (2), and the Korean translation (3). Jejueo morphemes in (2) are in boldface. The illustrates the process of language loss, as the speaker in (2) produces an almost fully Korean sentence, borrowing only the Jejueo word for grandmother *harmang* and the Jejueo sentence final verbal ending *-suta*.

(1)

할망영 손지영 미깡을 탐수다

harmang -jɿŋ sontɕi -jɿŋ miŋkaŋ -ul tʰa -m

grandmother-CONJ grandchild-CONJ orange-ACC pick-PRS[PROG]--
su-ta

FO-DECL

“The grandmother and grandchild are picking oranges.”

(2)

할망과 손자와 귤을 따고 이수다

harmang -koa sontea -oa kjul -ul ʈ -ko

**grandmother-CONJ grandchild-CONJ orange-ACC pick-PROG-
*i -su-ta***

EXIST[PRS]-FO.DECL

“The grandmother and grandchild are picking oranges.”

(3)

할머니와 손자와 귤을 타고 있어요

harmani -oa sontea -oa kjul -ul ʈa -ko

grandmother-CONJ grandchild-CONJ orange-ACC pick-PROG

iʃ -ʌjo

EXIST[PRS]-FO.DECL

“The grandmother and grandchild are picking oranges.”



Figure 4. Recording Jejueo speakers at Woori Seodang, an education center for elderly Koreans in Osaka, Japan.

4. Jeju language policy

In 2007 the Jeju local government released the Language Act for Jejueo Conservation and Promotion and revised it later in 2011. The Language Act was the first attempt for non-centralized language policy made by a province in Korea, and first instance of using the term “Jejueo” in an official capacity. Since 2011, the Jeju Office of Education has released the General Plan for Jejueo Conservation Education annually. According to a General Plan, Jejueo education in public schools is encouraged as part of extracurricular activities or should be incorporated into regular classes if relevant (Yang 2014). The 2011 budget for dialect preservation totaled 43 million won (roughly \$40,000): 10 million won for an annual speech contest, 8 million won for teacher instruction, and 25 million won for internet broadcasting, and no funding allocated for the installation of language learning programs in schools. Although the Jeju Office of Education is now charged with recommending Jejueo language policies, funding from the provincial government has not grown and individual NGOs, schools, and committees are tasked with the development and implementation of Jejueo policy and corpus planning.

5. Support for Jejueo in Jeju schools

In March 2015, following UNESCO's negative assessment of actions taken to revitalize the critically endangered language of Jejueo, the Jeju Office of Education ordered primary school instructors to teach one hour of Jejueo language curriculum per day. In the months following the order, however, Jeju schools showed little change in the allocation of class hours, which continue to align with the centralized education policies outlined earlier in this paper (Southcott 2015, p.c.).

According to Yang (2014) only a handful of public school teachers are known to be teaching Jejueo unofficially based on their interest. There has not been any formal report on the number of teachers who are teaching Jejueo around the island. In terms of pedagogical materials, eight textbooks have been distributed through the website of the Jeju Office of Education and are freely accessible for anyone. However, the textbooks do not include a teachers' guide and their physical appearance is not yet sophisticated compared to that of other L2 textbooks. In addition, there is no standard format or content across the textbooks, and no standard Jejueo curriculum or regular teacher training programs are available. In 2017 a new Jejueo textbook series was published by the University of Hawaii at Manoa (O'Grady, et al.), which served as the

curriculum for the first for-credit Jejueo course taught at a post-secondary institution, in the Department of Nursing at the Jeju Tourism University. Dr. Changyong Yang, Dean of the College of Language Education at Jeju National University, is scheduled to instruct this course again in spring 2019 (Yang 2018).



Recording Jejueo-speaking shop owners in “Korea Town,” Osaka.

6. Future directions

Language policy and planning reflect language ideologies, and changes in governmental policies then reflect the presence and negotiation between shifting ideologies. With Jejueo, such an alternative ideology found its way into the general discourse when the Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger classified it as a ‘critically endangered’ language in 2010. With the renaming of the language and status planning coming mainly from outside the Jejueo-speaking community, however, it is not clear whether the alternative language ideology confirming Jejueo’s linguistic weight will eclipse the former ideology of subordination. After all, most Jeju citizens do not themselves refer to Jejueo as Jejueo or themselves as ‘Jeju language’ speakers, rather preferring the older, less prestigious terms for the language, and most Korean media outlets refuse outright to use the term Jejueo (Southcott 2014, p.c.).

Jejueo language ideologies vary across Jejueo-speaking communities and between individual speakers. According to Yang (2014) 83.3 percent of teachers interviewed in Jeju's Gwangryeong area supported the allocation of class hours to Jejueo education -- significantly greater numbers than for students or parents. The Jeju Office of Education supports Jejueo education but has not taken the initiative in developing education programs. If Jejueo education programs were initiated by Jeju educators, significant corpus planning and teacher training would be necessary. Based in part on interviews with educators on Udo, Yang (2014:8) outlines the following steps to support successful Jejueo education:

- 1) Offer Jejueo courses (conversation, translation and interpreting) at a tertiary level and design degree programs.
- 2) Develop a systematic Jejueo teacher training program with the help of experts.
- 3) Design a standard school curriculum and materials including textbooks and workbooks at different levels.
- 4) Teach Jejueo as a subject in public schools.
- 5) Develop a Jejueo proficiency test.

As timing is of great importance for Jejueo revitalization, Yang's first suggestion offers a means to rapidly create a base of fluent Jejueo educators who support Jejueo as a language in its own right. This population will then have the capacity to restore transmission to younger generations of speakers. This view provides a trajectory for language ideologies to begin changing in the domain of education, supported by provincial language policies, which can then provide an alternative to the homogenous Korean language ideology.

Meat	Animals	Jeju place names
pork <i>dot-kegi</i>	cat <i>go-naeng-i</i>	Jeju City <i>seong-an/seong-nae</i>
beef <i>shwe-kegi</i>	dog <i>gang-saeng-i</i>	Seongsan <i>cheong-san</i>
chicken <i>kegi</i>	cow <i>shwe</i>	Weoljeong <i>mu-ju-ae</i>
egg <i>se-gi</i>	horse <i>mul</i>	Sinchon <i>sok-gun</i>

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fish 바당궤기	bird 세 sparrow 생이	Gimnyeong 짐녕 Udo 소섬 Onpyeong 열운이 [열룬이] Susan 물미 Pyoseon 하철미/하천리 Hyeopje 섭지
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Common words/phrases/greetings
Are you alright? 펜안 짜?
Have you been well? 펜안 데가?
Where are you going? (polite) 어드레 감수짜?
Where are you going? (informal) 어드레 감디?
Nice to meet you! 반갑수다!
Long time no see! (informal) 아이고 오래만간이우다게!
Long time no see! (formal) 오래만간이 만나수다게!
Long time no see! (informal) 잘도 오랜만이라게!
I am learning Jeju language. 제주돏말 [제주돏말] 배웁수다!

Goodbye
I'm off!/I'm gonna get going! (informal) 나 감짜!
I'm off!/I'm gonna get going! (polite) 감수다양/야/예!
I'll be back, see you later! (polite) 갓당 오쿠다양/야/예.
I'll be back, see you later! (informal) 갓당 오키여.

Goodbye! (informal, to somebody leaving) 저 가라(잉)!
Goodbye! (polite, to somebody leaving) 저 갑서양/야/예!
Goodbye! (polite, to somebody staying) 잘 이십서양/야/예!
Take care (polite, to somebody leaving) 맹심행 갑서!
Watch out for cars! (informal) 차영 맹심 라인!

Yes and no

Yes. 예./ 양./ 야.
Yes, of course! / That's what I'm telling you! 예게!
Yes, you're right. 양/야/예, 맞수다/맞이우다.
No, it's not true. / You're wrong. (polite) 아니우다.
No. (informal) 아니.
Not that. / That's not what I meant! 그거 말앙!
It's fine. (formal) 좋우다.
It's fine. (informal) 좋은다.
It's bad. (formal) 궂수다./ 궂이우다.
Hey! / Listen! / Look! (informal) 야야!
Hey! / Listen! / Look! (polite) 저양/저야/저예...
Calling an adult who's not related to you: 삼춘!

Asking for information

What do you mean? / What did you say? 무시거마씨 / 무시거마씀?
Do you know... (polite)... 알암수꽈?

Do you know... (informal)... 알았시냐?

How much is this? (polite) (이거 금지가) 얼마짜?

What is this? (polite) 이거 무시겨짜?

Where is/are the ___? ... 어디짜?

Do you have ___? ... 이수짜?

Thanking

Thank you (very much)! (polite) (잘도) 고맙수다!

Thank you! (informal) 고마워잉! / 고맙다잉!

Thanks for the meal! (polite) 잘 먹쿠다!

Market phrases

Excuse me. 죄송 우다게. / 미안 우다게.

Can I have ___? (polite)... 줍서!

Please give me..... 썰 줍서! / ... 줍서!

Sir/ma'am, it's a bit expensive. 삼촌, 빗나우다.

Can I have a discount? 이거 썰 내려줍서.

This looks delicious! 맛 잘도 좋암직 우다!

Make lots of money! 하영 서양/야/예!

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The Jeju Fish Wars¹

Robert D. Neff

In the late 19th century, the ocean surrounding Jeju Island was noted for its great aquatic wealth. Fish of various species, sea cucumbers, abalone and “queer one shelled pearl oysters as big as babies” were readily harvested.² This was the domain of the haenyeo (female divers), whom one Western observer described as nearly naked and “not very handsome” but acknowledged they had “fine, supple figures and could swim as well as any fish of the deep.”³ They were able to dive to depths of 40 to 50 feet and were the queens of the ocean but in the late 1870s their aquatic sovereignty was challenged by Japanese fishermen – mainly from Nagasaki and Tsushima.

The first handful of Japanese fishermen arrived with modern underwater breathing apparatus and enjoyed rich bountiful harvests. The success of their poaching encouraged other Japanese fishermen to sail to the region and subsequently wreaked havoc upon the Jeju islanders’ own fishing industry.⁴

To stave off disagreements, Korea and Japan signed a fisheries agreement in the summer of 1883 which allowed the Japanese fishermen to operate along the southern and eastern coasts of the Korean Peninsula and, reciprocally, the Koreans were allowed to fish along the coast of Japan.

Unwilling to give up the lucrative sea beds, the Japanese continued fishing around Jeju, much to the detriment of the inhabitants. In a memorial sent to King Gojong in 1884, the islanders lamented that they

¹ My appreciation to JiHoon Suk and Dong-Hun Jeon for their invaluable assistance in providing and translating Korean and French documents and sources.

² *Chillicothe Morning Constitution* (Chillicothe, Missouri) April 16, 1915.

³ *True Republican*, (Sycamore, Illinois) August 12, 1899.

⁴ Koh Sunhui and Kate Barclay, “Traveling through Autonomy and Subjugation: Jeju Island Under Japan and Korea,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, Vol. 5. Issue 5, May 2007, p.9.

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were far from the mainland and isolated -- depending on fishing and the harvest of seaweed and abalone for their livelihood. With the arrival of the Japanese fishing vessels the haenyeo were reluctant to go back to work in the presence of the foreigners.⁵



Jeju City in 1900

As more and more Japanese fishermen infringed upon the islanders' fishing grounds, the cordial relationship between the two groups altered and tension increased. The Japanese armed themselves with swords and guns, claiming they needed to defend themselves from pirates. Japanese and Western newspapers tacitly or unknowingly -- depending on your point of view -- vilified Korea by circulating stories of horrific acts of violence perpetrated by Koreans -- especially the islanders -- upon shipwrecked victims. One alleged incident took place in 1874 when 18 shipwrecked fishermen were beheaded for merely being Japanese.⁶ The Japanese press was quick to point out that shipwrecked Koreans upon Japanese shores were treated well and repatriated quickly.

Korean sources, however, indicate that Japanese fishermen were also treated well and provided with food and water when needed. The accounts of shipwrecked Westerners corroborate these Korean claims of kindness shown to foreigners in need.

⁵ 21st year of Gojong, 7th Moon 18th Day, 고종실록.

⁶ *Nevada State Journal* (Reno, Nevada), June 16, 1874.

Eventually the Japanese government agreed to exclude Jeju from approved Japanese fishing grounds but did little to prevent the fishermen - now based in Tsushima -- from poaching along the island.

As time passed, the fishermen grew bolder and the violence escalated. In early March 1887, Japanese fishermen, armed with rifles and handguns, killed 12 islanders.⁷ The residents of Kapa, a small island off the coast of Jeju, abandoned their island and it soon became a notorious Japanese fishermen camp.

Later, that summer, a small fleet of six Japanese fishing boats sailed from Kapa to the nearby small fishing-village of Molsupo and ransacked it. Reportedly, 40 armed Japanese fishermen stole not only the pigs and chickens but, if we are to believe the implications, also the virtue of some of the village's maidens. Some of the islanders tried to defend their homes and were severely beaten for their efforts and one man, Lee Man-seong, paid the ultimate price for his defiance by being stabbed to death.⁸

It wasn't only the Japanese fishermen that the islanders had to fear that summer. Apparently some Chinese fishermen heard about the great success of the Japanese and decided to muscle in on the action. When the Chinese fishermen went ashore to gather supplies, they were confronted by the Japanese who denounced the Chinese as poachers -- seemingly overlooking the fact that they, too, were fishing illegally in Korean waters. The Chinese dismissed the Japanese accusations and responded that "they had a far superior right to fish" than their accusers.⁹ Arguing soon gave way to vicious blows and a crowd of Koreans who had gathered to watch the spectacle rushed forward to break up the melee. The Chinese fishermen then turned on the Koreans who fought back and the beach was soon littered with the bodies of dead Chinese, Japanese and Koreans. Eventually, however, the Koreans won the day and both groups of invaders -- the Chinese and Japanese -- fled to their respective fishing boats and sailed away.¹⁰

Conflict between Korean and Japanese fishermen wasn't confined only to the Jeju area. In October 1888, the *Japan Weekly Mail*, an English-

⁷ Summary of a meeting between the French representative and the Korean minister of foreign affairs. Hippolyte Frandin to Alexandre Felix Joseph Ribot, minister of foreign affairs, October 30, 1892 -- (My appreciation to JiHoon Suk for providing and translating the document)

⁸ 24th year of Gojong, 8th Moon 17th Day, 고종실록.

⁹ *Otago Witness* (New Zealand), August 19, 1887.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

language newspaper published in Yokohama, reported the “truculent Koreans ... were ventilating their national prejudices at the expense of Japanese fishermen.”¹¹ According to a letter received from a Japanese national living in Busan, several hundred Koreans surrounded three small Japanese boats and violently attacked their crews. One of the boats was sunk and the other two were ransacked but managed to return to port.

The next year, violent encounters between the Korean and Japanese fishermen were, for the most part, absent from the pages of the contemporary newspapers. But tension between the Jeju islanders and the poaching Japanese fishermen was ever increasing.

In February 1890, the Japanese consul and Lee Jeon (李璵), a Korean official, visited Jeju in an attempt to convince the islanders to allow the Japanese to fish in the vicinity. The request was denied and the enraged islanders accused Lee of being in the employ of the Japanese and attacked him. He managed to escape after a severe beating. The Korean government asked the Japanese government to prohibit its nationals from fishing around the island for at least an additional six months -- the Japanese government agreed.¹²

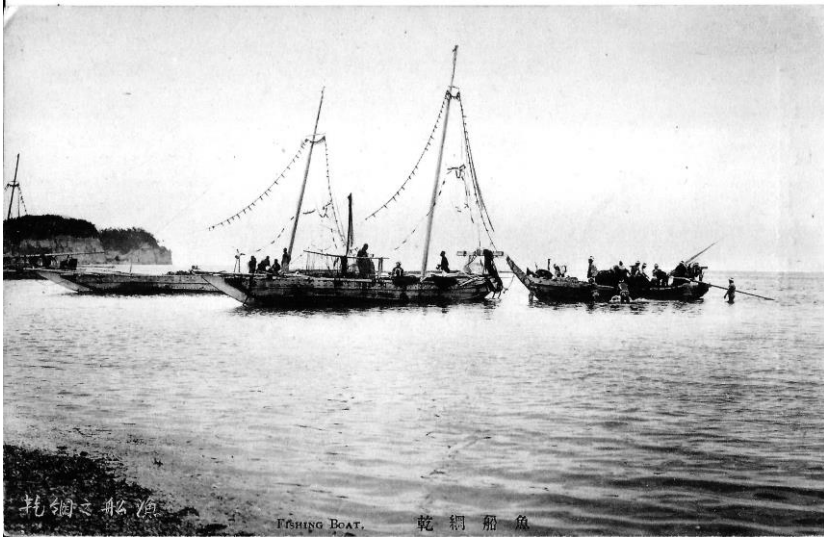
The Japanese government may have agreed but the temptation was too much for some of the Japanese fishermen. In the summer of 1890, a Japanese fishing boat docked at Paeryeong-ri, a small fishing village, and one of the sailors wandered into the village without permission. When confronted by the Koreans, he drew his sword and murdered Yang Jong-shin, a port official. According to the islanders, it was not uncommon for Japanese fishermen to enter villages and steal livestock and terrorize the inhabitants.¹³

¹¹ *The Japan Weekly Mail*, October 13, 1888.

¹² Hippolyte Frandin to Alexandre Felix Joseph Ribot, minister of foreign affairs, October 30, 1892

¹³ 27th year of Gojong, 6th Moon 20th Day, 고종실록; Koh Sunhui and Kate Barclay, “Traveling through Autonomy and Subjugation: Jeju Island Under Japan and Korea,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, Vol. 5. Issue 5, May 2007, p. 10.

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Japanese fishing boats

An article in *The Japan Mail* disputed the claim that it was murder and instead referred to it as manslaughter. By its account, some crewmembers from a Japanese whaling ship were sent ashore seeking fresh water but the villagers refused their request and then subsequently attacked the sailors. The Japanese, in the act of defending themselves, inadvertently killed a local high official.¹⁴

By early 1891, the situation had worsened to such a degree that, according to the press, five Japanese warships were dispatched to the area to help maintain order. Somewhat puzzling, the French gunboat, *Aspic*, had also reportedly been sent.¹⁵

It is interesting to note the difference of opinion between the English-language newspapers in Nagasaki and Yokohama. *The Rising Sun & Nagasaki Express* described the incident as a “very serious disturbance” between the islanders and “a number of Japanese fishermen who make a practice of poaching on Korean fishing ground.” Violent disputes were “of common occurrence” but this one was rather extreme as “no less than forty Japanese were killed or wounded.”

The Japan Weekly Mail, at first, seemed more inclined to believe the Japanese fishermen’s narrative of the events.¹⁶ It translated and

¹⁴ “Fracas in Korea,” *The Japan Weekly Mail*, August 23, 1890.

¹⁵ “China”, *Daily Alta* (San Francisco, California), April 26, 1891.

¹⁶ English-language newspapers from China and Japan (with their prejudices) were often the sources of articles published in the United States. An example

published a letter from the *Jiji Shimpo*'s correspondent in Busan which suggested the Koreans were responsible for the violence and the Japanese fishermen were merely defending themselves and their rights:

Persons employed by the corrupt officials in Quelpart¹⁷ continually shoot at the Japanese fishing boats, who in defence return the shots. For several days the fighting has been going on by sea and by land, and from 50 to 60 persons have been killed or wounded.¹⁸

The correspondent subsequently heard that eight Koreans were killed which "greatly excited" the islanders but the Japanese were "determined not to be illegally deprived of their fishing rights" and would fight to the end.¹⁹

About a week later, the tone of the *Japan Weekly Mail* had changed as evidenced by its follow-up article:

Accurate intelligence about the trouble between Japanese fishermen and Koreans on the coast of Quelpart is not yet procurable. It appears certain, however, that whether the Japanese acted on the offensive or the defensive, they suffered little if at all, at the hands of the Koreans, for instead of forty Japanese having lost their lives as was originally reported, the record is now brought to fifteen Koreans injured and one killed – a man named Nin Jun Haku.²⁰ The Korean authorities accuse the Japanese of

would be this article published in California describing the July incident: "Men of Nagasaki who were fishing in the neighborhood of Quelpart were obliged to put in to the island for shelter in consequence of threatening weather and on landing were immediately attacked by the Coreans. The Japanese replied with firearms and swords with which they had provided themselves killing one Corean and wounding several, one Japanese also received severe injuries after which the fishermen left in their boats. When the warship arrived at the island to make inquiries, it was already a month after the occurrence of the disturbance and what could be gathered was subsequently the one-sided statement of the natives." *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), November 4, 1891.

¹⁷ Quelpart is an old European name for Jeju Island.

¹⁸ "Korea", *The Japan Weekly Mail*, September 26, 1891; *The Rising Sun & Nagasaki Express*, September 30, 1891.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Yim Soon-baek, of Keonip-po, was "murdered" in June and Yi Tal-kyum, of Gimnyeong, was killed and 17 wounded in July. Koh Sunhui and Kate Barclay, "Traveling through Autonomy and Subjugation: Jeju Island Under Japan and Korea," *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, Vol. 5. Issue 5, May 2007, p. 11.

being the aggressors. They claim that unlicensed Japanese boats are in the habit of coming to Quelpart to fish, and that their inmates, not content with catching fish by legitimate methods, resort to robbery, and treat the Koreans with great violence when the latter resist. Some twenty or thirty boats are said to have appeared off Quelpart in June, adopted this lawless method of procedure, the result being the fracas of which there is now so much talk.²¹

The Jeju islanders' side of the story seems to have come from a complaint filed by the Korean government through its representative in Tokyo. It claimed that the Japanese poachers often shot at the Korean fishermen, threatened their women and children and stole livestock and food. Their frequent incursions had deprived the thousands of islanders of their livelihood and the authorities were afraid they might flee their homes.²² The islanders were living in "indescribably extreme wretchedness" and begged their government to do something to protect them.²³

Hayashi Gonsuke (1860-1939), the young consul at Jemulpo,²⁴ sailed to Jeju Island aboard the Japanese warship *Chokai-kan* to investigate the incident for the Japanese government. It was Japan's position that Jeju should no longer be off-limits and that Japanese fishermen, according to the earlier treaty, should be allowed to compete with the islanders for fish.

In October 1891, the American minister to Korea, Augustine Heard, explained to the secretary of state that the problem was caused by a clause in a treaty between Japan and Korea concerning fishing rights. He wrote:

The meaning of the clause of the Treaty with regard to Fishery rights has been in dispute for the last ten years. By it the Koreans are empowered to fish in a certain part of the Coast of Japan, and reciprocally the Japanese on the Southern and Eastern Coasts of Korea. The Japanese contend that as the island of Quelpaert lies off the province of Chulla Do,²⁵ and, as they have the right to fish on the Coast of that province, they have equally the right, if

²¹ "The Quelpart Affair", *The Japan Weekly Mail*, September 26, 1891.

²² 28th year of Gojong, 8th Moon 22nd Day, 고종실록.

²³ Koh Sunhui and Kate Barclay, "Traveling through Autonomy and Subjugation: Jeju Island Under Japan and Korea," *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, Vol. 5. Issue 5, May 2007, p. 11.

²⁴ Incheon

²⁵ Jeolla region in Korea's southwest

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Quelpaert be a part of Korea, to fish on the coast of Quelpaert. If the Koreans deny them this right, it can only be that Quelpaert does not belong to Korea, & of course in that event She can have no power to object. In either case, they assert their right to fish.

The Koreans contend that Quelpaert is an integral part of their country, but in giving the privilege to Japanese by treaty to fish on the coast of certain Provinces, which were named, they especially excluded other parts of the Kingdom from this right. If it had been intended that it should be included, it would have been specified.²⁶

Heard described the Jeju islanders as a “turbulent and unruly race” that was difficult for the central government to control.²⁷ They frequently assaulted and drove away government officials assigned to the island. The Japanese were equally obstinate. They were mainly from Tsushima and were “hardy independent, energetic men who [were] determined to insist on their rights, and, if need be, defend them by arms.”²⁸

Violence continued throughout 1892. In April, a large number of Japanese fishermen (about 150) established a fishing base at Seongsan – virtually occupying the area. The outrages they visited upon the surrounding Korean communities included rape and murder.²⁹ The islanders were also accused of violence. *The Rising Sun & Nagasaki Express* -- citing the *Japan Mail* -- reported:

Some Koreans are said to have invited three Japanese to a feast, and having plied them with liquor until they were stupid, set upon them with swords and stabbed two of them to death, inflicting severe wounds on the third. The murderers were quickly arrested, and strong representations were made by the Japanese Consul.³⁰

The newspaper noted that “much excitement” had been aroused amongst the Japanese residents of Jemulpo due to the murders. The editor further added: “Certainly it is much to be desired that the question of Japanese fishing in Korean waters were placed on a clear and satisfactory

²⁶ Augustine Heard to secretary of state, No. 209, South Korea, October 8, 1891.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Augustine Heard to secretary of state, No. 209, South Korea, October 8, 1891.

²⁹ Koh Sunhui and Kate Barclay, “Traveling through Autonomy and Subjugation: Jeju Island Under Japan and Korea,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, Vol. 5. Issue 5, May 2007, p. 11.

³⁰ *The Rising Sun & Nagasaki Express*, July 27, 1892.

basis, for these frequent troubles among fishermen may at any moment involve embarrassing results.”³¹

Charles LeGendre, the American adviser to the Korean court, was appointed as High Commissioner to Japan and sent to negotiate revisions to the fishing treaty. The negotiations were long and drawn out. In exchange for exempting Jeju from Japanese fishing, several concessions were demanded including three permanent fishing stations but the Korean government refused.³² The negotiations continued but were no longer interesting enough to warrant attention in the newspapers. Even violent encounters between the fishermen and the islanders disappeared from the papers -- the only account I could find for 1893 was an article published in San Francisco citing the *Mainichi*, about attacks on fishermen on various islands in the vicinity of Jeju:

Komatsu Torakichi and two other fishermen of Hiroshima prefecture encountered a severe gale on June 13th while engaged in fishing off Shimonoura, on the island Tsushima. Tossed helplessly to and fro for three days they were at last blown to an island in Chienla³³, Corea, which has only eight native huts on it. Two of the fishermen immediately landed to get some water while Torakichi remained on board the fishing boat. As soon as the two had landed the natives set upon them with sticks and stones and killed them.

Torakichi, having no other alternative than to flee, rowed out to sea again at the risk of being drowned. The boat was capsized, and Torakichi, after having drifted on a piece of timber for two days, was rescued by a passing fishing boat.

Another party of fishermen of Yamaguchi prefecture, Kawamoto Matsujiro and two others, were suddenly assailed by several Coreans on the 13th ult., while sleeping in their boats near Koyo, Chien-la. Two of them escaped severely wounded by jumping into the sea and swimming ashore, while Matsujiro and his boat are missing.³⁴

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*; Hippolyte Frandin to Alexandre Felix Joseph Ribot, minister of foreign affairs, October 30, 1892; Augustine Heard to secretary of state, No. 345, Confidential, December 18, 1892.

³³ Jeolla again

³⁴ “Cruel Coreans”, *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California), August 3, 1893.

In 1894, thousands of Japanese fishing boats were registered in Busan alone (it was believed there were also 300 unregistered Japanese fishing boats) and that the whole fleet had net earnings of \$1.84 million. The next year, the editor of the *Korean Repository*, an English-language magazine published in Seoul, wrote: “There is no sufficient reason to our minds why equally large sums should not find their way into the hands of the Koreans at various other points along the coast.”³⁵ There was a reason -- the fishing war had shifted from Jeju to other parts of the peninsula.

R. Willis, a member of the British legation in Seoul, traveled along the eastern coast of the peninsula in the autumn of 1895. He reported that the Japanese fishermen “have of their own motion extended the interpretation of the Treaty, as giving them the right not only of forcibly expelling the native fishermen from the best fishing grounds, but of annexing without payment from the coast villages any supplies they may stand in need of.”³⁶

The following March, *The Rising Sun & Nagasaki Express* reported that a party of 24 Nagasaki fishermen were attacked by 300 odd “rebels.” Fifteen of the Japanese fishermen were killed and the remainder -- “all more or less severely wounded” -- managed to escape to Busan.³⁷ Five months later, *The Independent*, an English-language newspaper published in Seoul, described the murder of a Korean fisherman by his Japanese competitors:

[The] magistrate of Chito reports that a Japanese fishing boat came to that place and tried to fish. The Korean fishermen did not like the Japanese to come to their water and carry away the fish so they tried to stop the Japanese from catching fish in that water. A dispute rose and a fight ensued. The Japanese fisherman killed a Korean named Kim Pok Yun of that island and sailed away.³⁸

The editor called for the matter to be promptly investigated by the Korean government and to punish the murderer according to the law. Whether or not the murderer was ever caught is unclear -- there was no follow-up in the paper. He would not be the last to die in the battle for the fishing grounds that continued into the twentieth century.

³⁵ “Editorial Department – The Real Korea,” *The Korean Repository*, Vol. 2 1895 [September], p. 350.

³⁶ Consul-General Jordan to the Marquess of Salisbury, No. 6, Seoul, January 28, 1897.

³⁷ *The Rising Sun & Nagasaki Express*, March 25, 1896.

³⁸ “Brief Notices”, *The Independent*, August 29, 1896.

The Jeju Fish Wars

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Exploring Manchocheon, Seoul's Underground River

Jon Dunbar

1.1. Introduction

After the daylighting of Cheonggyecheon in 2003-2005, it became public knowledge that the streets of Seoul hid many secrets beneath. Throughout the 20th century various streams were submerged in order to make roadways above, and due to turbulent history many of them have been forgotten. Seoul City announced in December 2014 it had found 41 previously unknown tunnels after a four-day inspection, 18 of which would be filled in as a safety measure. Then in March 2018 it announced it had found 620 old streets that retain their original course dating back to Joseon; 12 of these were selected as new historic walking courses, almost all of which still follow the course of long-since-vanished streams. The secrets that hide beneath the surface are being revealed bit by bit all the time.

The biggest and most interesting of Seoul's underground rivers is Manchocheon (蔓草川, Climbing Plant Stream), also known as Mancheon (蔓川, Vine Stream). It was renamed Asahikawa, or Ukcheon in Korean pronunciation (旭川, Rising Sun Stream), during the 1910-45 Japanese occupation and was additionally known in Japanese as Hinogawa. The name Deongkulnae (덩쿨내) also seems to pop up in reference to it. Stretches of it have been called Muakcheon (毋岳川) and Galwolcheon (葛月川). Other stretches are known colloquially to a small group of urban explorers as the Host Tunnel and the Bone Tunnel.

Manchocheon appeared in the 2006 Bong Joon-ho movie "The Host," in which a mutated sea creature attacks people on Yeouido in broad daylight, killing many and abducting others to its lair across the river. The protagonist family chases the creature via an opening on the north side of the river. Apparently this was filmed on location.

The massive entrance to The Host's lair is found under Wonhyo

Bridge where the stream empties out into the Han River, where cyclists and hikers pass obliviously. Our exploration of Manchocheon starts here at the bottom, always heading inland and upstream. Not the optimal direction, as we're entering through an exit, travelling all the time upstream and going against the natural direction of the water, but it's the only one available to us at the start of our journey. As we trace the course of this underground river, it gives a greater understanding of the city and its development, shaping surrounding boundaries including transport infrastructure, city walls, and administrative divisions. It runs under many streets, where various types of hatches can be seen in the pavement denoting its presence. Said to be 7.7 kilometers long from the river running up to Muak-dong area, it passes through Yongsan-gu, Jung-gu, Seodaemun-gu, and Jongno-gu. It connects with several other smaller tributaries, most notably one that comes from Namsan and runs through Yongsan Garrison.



Figure 5. During an RASKB tour of Yongsan area, I stand on Ukcheon Bridge gesturing toward the entrance to Manchocheon behind me, where a tunnel large enough for a 747 to taxi in is found under Wonhyo Bridge. 20140628 Courtesy of Brandon Butler

Almost all of it is hidden beneath the surface, out of public view and forgotten, and exploration of some parts is possible but risky. Where we can't explore underground, we can still trace its course in the concrete rivers as seen aboveground, or study maps created throughout history.

1.2. Discovery

The tunnel first came to awareness of local urban explorers in 2009. Kim Miru, a Korean-born international artist known for nude self-photography in abandoned and underground locations, returned to Korea after a long absence intent on finding sites to explore for her “Naked City Spleen” project. Her research led to me, and while I tried to help her out, she ended up providing more tips than I could. Through her father’s connections, she inquired about the filming location for “The Host.” She visited in summer 2009, taking a nude self-portrait near the entrance and reporting to me that the insect bites were as unpleasant as the smells down there.

I was in no hurry to experience that, so I made plans to enter the tunnel on a cold day when insects and odours would be minimized, and to not go alone. That day was December 25, 2009, when I led four friends to the riverside entrance and we walked 1.5 kilometers into the tunnel.



Figure 6. Our first visit to the Host Tunnel was on Christmas Day 2009. 20091225

In 2014, I started a tradition of visiting the tunnel each year for Christmas. I load up on fireworks, Korean raspberry wine (or sewer juice as I now call it), put on my Santa suit and lead an informally gathered but strictly vetted group of people underground. It serves as an informal rite

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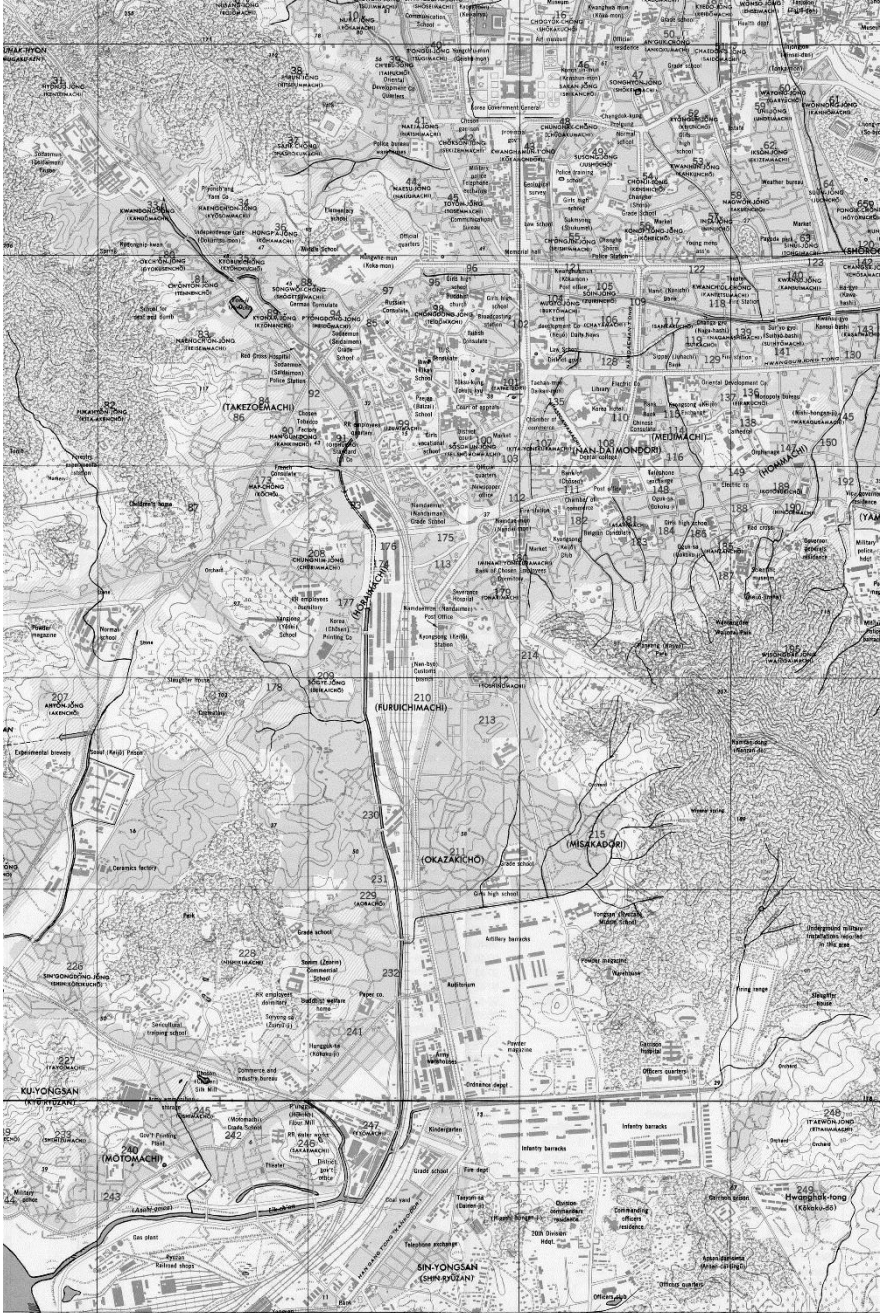


Figure 7. This 1946 map by the U.S. Army Map service shows the entire course of the stream, including tributaries running down from Namsan. Courtesy of Yongsan Legacy

of passage in the local urban exploring community. Plus, the pageantry, liquid courage, and additional reinforcements help with braving the darkness.

Over the years of repeated forays into the tunnel, I had also visited historic and otherwise noteworthy sites around Yongsan Station such as Saenamteo Catholic Martyrs Shrine, Yongsan Railyard, and the site of the January 2009 Yongsan Disaster.

On June 28, 2014, I offered my first walking tour for the RASKB, based on my familiarity with these sites. Our group of 24+ people visited the tunnel entrance but we did not go inside for safety and ethical reasons. So, this tunnel has significance to my contributions to the RASKB.

2.1. Exploring the underground river

I've often said you could pilot a 747 inside the stream entrance, although the presence of concrete pillars makes this impossible. There is a broad concrete surface in front of the tunnel entrance, and a small bridge named Ukcheon Bridge whisks cyclists and pedestrians past this grim landscape, and as a result, few dawdle here.

I use some social engineering principles to get everyone inside, to reduce the possibility of a concerned citizen seeing a group entering and raising the alarm. First we gather under Ukcheon Bridge, then I send people to the entrance two at a time, hiding our numbers and our intentions. I doubt there is any legal trouble in entering but wish to avoid uncomfortable encounters.

Exploring tunnels such as this can be quite dangerous, of course, especially due to the darkness and flooding. For the type of urban explorers known as “drainers” who enter such tunnels, preparation and studying up are necessary. I really should be stricter about forcing anyone who follows me down to read “Predator’s Approach to Draining,” a 22,000-word guide to surviving underground adventures. If you can’t get all the way through it, you probably shouldn’t be venturing underground in the first place.

Of course the darkness can’t hurt you, but it can hide things that will. There are many surfaces that would be unpleasant to fall on, and there are a few holes one could fall into.

Tunnel flooding is a serious concern. This tunnel like most of the others is still used for rainwater drainage. Just as Cheonggyecheon closes on rainy days, Manchocheon can become quite hazardous. During or after a heavy rain, or perhaps a melting period after a snowstorm, there exists the chance a floodgate could open and wash everything out to the river.

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Figure 8. Drainers find what appears to be a giant footprint inside the underground river. What other horrors are in the depths before us? 20190203

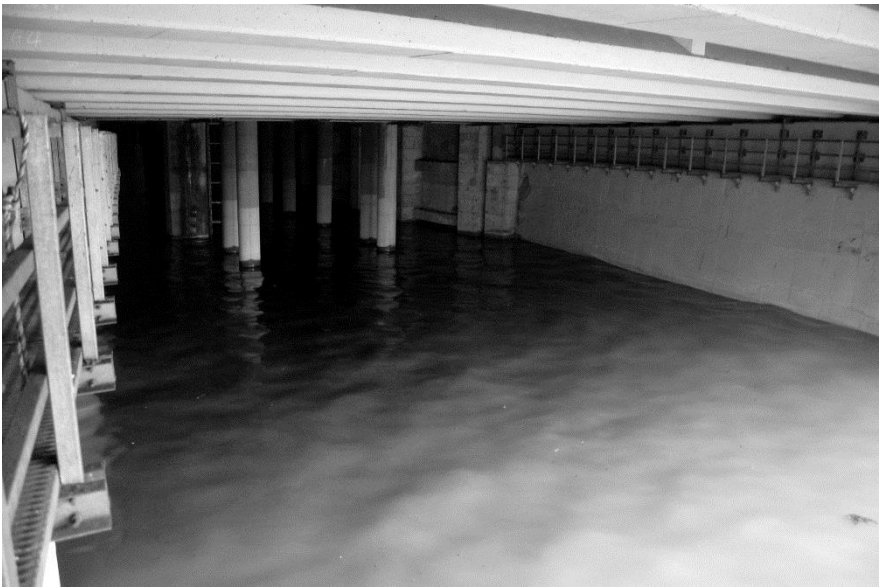


Figure 9. During a flood, the water level rises about halfway up inside the tunnel entrance. 20110727

On July 27, 2011, a day of heavy rain that killed at least 49 people, I visited various locations on the river to see the flooding for myself. From Gangbyeonbuk-ro above, I was able to climb down to a catwalk suspended from the tunnel ceiling and observe the murky brown flood waters rushing out. The mantra “When it rains, no drains” is meant to be taken seriously.

Once we are inside among the pillars, it becomes much safer to move around undetected as our eyes adjust to the dark. There sometimes appears to be a very small homeless camp set up on one of the ledges a safe distance in where the light still reaches, although I have never seen anyone staying there. The concrete surfaces here have attracted graffiti, most of it extremely crude, and detritus on the ground reveals what kind of objects might be washed through here. We have found dead fish, dead birds, party balloons and all sorts of trash, and even an American football once. It doesn't smell great, but we didn't come here for aromatherapy and complaining accomplishes nothing.



Figure 10. A pile of garbage lies beneath a grate. Daylight coming in from the river entrance is visible in the distance. 20190203

The floor of the tunnel is rough, built on broken concrete in places and covered here and there with murky water and a layer of mush. Fortunately on both sides of the tunnel there are passages for walking on bare flat concrete that are cleaner and safer, and it is possible to visit the

tunnel without any special footwear. The left side has several trapdoors leading to fast-flowing water, so we usually opt for the right side.

As we venture deeper, the daylight follows behind us for quite a while, helping light the way ahead. There are holes in the ceiling above where beams of light come in, as well as random garbage, especially cigarette butts which pile up underneath and mark how much time has passed, like dirty grains in an hourglass, since the last flood washed them all away. Sometimes a vehicle passes over a road grate, which results in two rapid loud bangs from the front and back tire. It can be alarming.

The ceiling above is basically the underside of a road, known to surface-dwellers as Cheongpa-ro, although signs underground give it the name Yongho-ro. The road cuts through Yongsan Electronics Market, forming the edge of Wonhyo-ro 2-dong and Singye-dong (新契洞) where it borders Ichon-dong (二村洞) and Hangang-ro 1-dong to the southeast. This segment of Cheongpa-ro was built over Manchocheon starting 1955 and ending 1957.



Figure 11. This aerial photo, taken by Americans shortly after liberation, shows Manchocheon prior to burial. The L-shaped road on the left very clearly follows the same path today, through the electronics market toward Yongsan Station. The newly opened Seoul Dragon City would be in the lower left corner. Courtesy of Yongsan Legacy

The tunnel curves slightly as it progresses, cutting off the riverside light source gradually. The dimensions of the tunnel also shrink down so gradually it would be hard to be consciously aware of it.

2.2. The Halfway Pipe

About 750 meters in, we find the Halfway Pipe, a corrugated metal pipe about two meters in diameter, leading about 50 meters perpendicular to the tunnel. This pipe has extremely impressive acoustics, and we have invited a number of musicians here over the years to try it out, including friends trained in opera, Mongolian throat singing, and pansori.

Here in the main tunnel, the rough, dirty floor is disrupted by a nice flat surface, maybe 10 meters by 10 meters in area, where we often set up camp for a few hours, pulling out tripods for long-exposure photography and trying out many experiments with lightpainting, fireworks, and spinning steel wool. We have had other activities, including an unnerving pitch-dark game of hide-and-seek and an anatomy-drawing competition using only our flashlights and long exposure photography.



Figure 12. An urban explorer appreciates the acoustics inside the Halfway Pipe. 20110202

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Once, inspired by a story of secretive popup speakeasies held in New York locations such as a water tower and an abandoned subway tunnel, I plotted to arrange a super-secretive party at this spot, which would have included live music and tables set up to serve food; it didn't end up happening, probably for the best.

At the far end of the pipe used to be a set of valves that clearly could be opened from the other side by a big gush of water. But at some point prior to 2014, the far end of the pipe was changed and it now leads into a large chamber, also containing large valves. There is a ladder leading out, but the hatch is locked from the outside; nobody out there has ever responded to the noises we've made below, so it serves essentially as a dead end. Aboveground here is an unremarkable two-storey red-brick building bearing one sign that reads Wonhyo Pump Station that's hard to see from the street, nestled among some very nondescript back alleys of Yongsan Electronics Market behind Wonhyo Electronics Plaza.



Figure 13. Wonhyo Pump Station is a large brick building in the alleys of Yongsan Electronics Market. It is unlabeled except for one plaque not easily visible from off property. 20190419

Once we've had enough of the Halfway Pipe, usually when someone complains of the cold, it's time to pack up everything we brought with us and jump back onto the ledge so we can head on, further upstream. The ceiling and far wall start to close in on us, and the passage becomes long and straight for the next 500 meters where the stream passes closest to Yongsan Station, still under Cheongpa-ro.

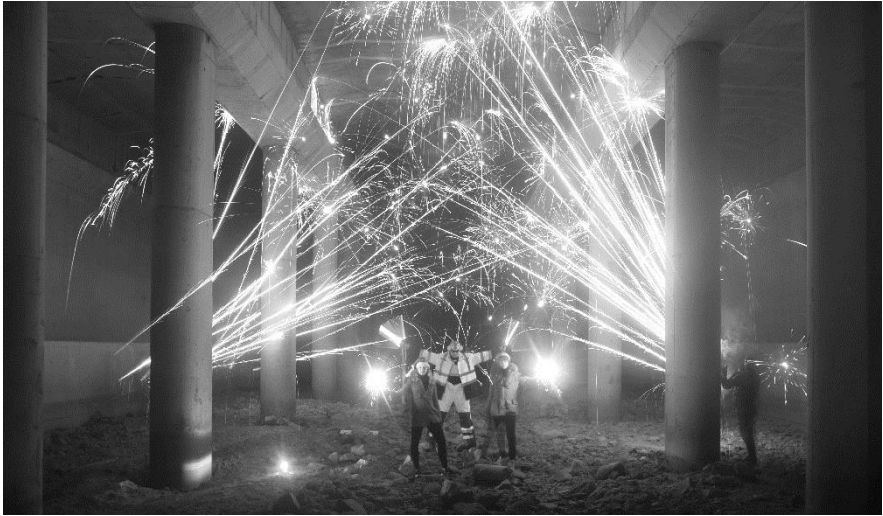


Figure 14. Fireworks are extra fun in the tunnel. 20171223

2.3. Daylight?

In the distance, a light can be seen. It is steady and uniform as we approach. My first time glimpsing it during Christmas 2009, I thought it must be artificial light, perhaps from another tunnel intersecting ours ahead, and I imagined we'd emerge in a subway tunnel. On that walk, we had no idea what laid ahead, not until we got close enough.

The tunnel emerges in Munbae-dong (文培洞) in a strange little urban oasis full of weeds and murky water, and after spending time underground even this concrete enclosure feels vibrant and colourful. All of it is contained in an urban valley stretching about 150 meters aboveground, from the Host Tunnel exit to the Bone Tunnel entrance ahead. The path of the tunnel goes under two train bridges, both for the Gyeongui Line, and runs parallel to Ukcheon Overpass which handles car traffic on Cheongpa-ro. In this area there are several pipes of varying sizes, from stovepipe-sized to human-sized, offering various other paths for water to flow in and possibly out.

There are a few connections to the surface world here, but all carry risks. Next to the tunnel exit is a metal stairway leading up to the green gate of a junkyard, essentially a dead end. There used to be a ladder built into one of the concrete pillars here, which one could climb to get up to the train tracks. Our first time ascending this way, all we found was more junkyards and more dogs, so we ultimately went back the way we came. The area has since seen heavy changes. The only other ways of escape are further upstream, past the train bridge.



Figure 15. An urban explorer ponders escaping from the stream. To right is the Host Tunnel leading to the river, and left is the then-impassable Gyeongui Line train bridge. 20091225

2.4. Gyeongui Line railway bridge

The Gyeongui Line itself intersects the path of the stream here perpendicularly, in the form of a train bridge that goes over the water but under Ukcheon Overpass. A photo taken from a US airplane shortly after liberation in 1945 shows the stream totally exposed to the open air, except for where the bridge crosses; the bridge itself likely dates back to the opening of the Gyeongui Line. I am certain it is that bridge, because of the shape of the slots for water to pass through underneath.

This bridge used to be quite the bane of drainers passing through. Originally the bridge allowed passage of water underneath in a series of 50-meter-long low-ceiling slots, which meant the only way to the other

side was through fast-flowing, heavily polluted water.

To surpass this obstacle, I had the idea to return on January 30, 2010, when the weather was at its coldest. Sure enough, the water under the bridge was frozen over and three of us were able to duck into one of the slots and reach the other side safely. I was first out on the other side so I turned around to photograph my companions emerging from the concrete slot.



Figure 16. Compare the shape of the slots under the bridge in the lower right corner here to the photos below and on the previous page. Blowup from Fig. 6. Courtesy of Yongsan Legacy



Figure 17. We crossed under the Gyeongui Line bridge when the cold weather had frozen the water. 20100130

Then we tried a couple weeks later on February 13, and it didn't go so well. I was leading the way, hurrying ahead to turn around and get the same photos of them coming out behind me. But the ice broke in such a way that it formed a trapdoor that dropped me straight down, like two shutters swinging downward. I fell into the black water that came up to right below my crotch, mercifully. My companion following behind, alarmed, raced forward to rescue me, but the edge of the ice broke off like a snapping diving board, and she fell onto her back and slid in. We both managed to scramble back onto the ice, which cut through my jeans into my skin, and retreated in the direction we came from, where our remaining companions watched as we drained our rubber boots of the sludge water we'd bathed in. Our adventure that day ended then.



Figure 18. Two explorers hug the wall along the clearing north of the Gyeongui Line bridge. The catwalk and staircase lead into a shantytown, and the sluice gates lead to Munbae Pump Station. 20181222

The bridge has since been renovated sometime prior to our Christmas 2014 visit. The low slots have been replaced with a much larger passage as the bridge itself held up by skinnier columns that leave much more room for us to pass through and remain dry.

On the other side of the bridge is another open area. Fortunately this one has two exits taking adventurers back to dry land and civilisation. One is a sketchy ladder extended over rushing water that leads up to a road cutting through an infrastructure area. Another involves a metal

staircase leading into someone's back yard.

The land surrounding this section holds mostly rail infrastructure, junkyards, and slum housing. Just beyond our urban concrete valley stands Munbae Pump Station, which handles water still flowing through here from a large corrugated metal pipe coming from Yongsan in the northwest where Hyochang Park stands now.



Figure 19. Munbae Pump Station is a large, plain facility. To its right is a small shantytown that backs onto Manchocheon. 20190421

2.5. The Bone Tunnel

Beyond the clearing, we reach the next leg of the tunnel, which we have nicknamed the Bone Tunnel. The entrance to the Bone Tunnel is outfitted with an intimidating-looking rusty old gate. This tunnel is much smaller and more difficult to navigate than the Host Tunnel downstream. It lacks the side ledges, with just a narrow concrete divider separating the spacious middle passage from narrow chutes conveying fast-flowing water. And that middle passage is rough, jagged ground that is flooded unevenly and hides many obstacles. It is possible to walk along one edge in normal footwear and stay relatively dry, although this limits mobility significantly. Rubber boots make it much easier to move around.

The Bone Tunnel gets its name because it is host to dozens and dozens of bones, all of the same type, believed to be cow jawbones with teeth still embedded. The bones are found lined up along the left side of the tunnel, as if carefully arranged there. Their initial discovery in January

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2010 caused alarm, and we hurried out, not returning until Christmas Day 2014 after the Gyeongui Line bridge made access easier.



Figure 20. The Bone Tunnel entrance has an intimidating metal gate. 20141225



Figure 21. An urban explorer holds up a jawbone found in the Bone Tunnel. 20100130

Even with rubber boots, travel up the Bone Tunnel is only easily possible for about 300 meters, where the water deepens as it flows out

from several narrower channels of faster-flowing water. Here, the tunnel forks into two main tributaries: the left passage travels about five kilometers north to Muakjae area, and the right passage twists eastward, heading up Namsan in two smaller tunnels, one passing through Huam-dong and the other through Yongsan Garrison. No names are known for the latter two Namsan tributaries.

3.1. Namsan Tributaries

I have not attempted to go further up the passages to Namsan, as they are basically concrete boxes filled with fast-flowing water. It would be difficult to lower oneself into the water without falling, and the resistance from wading upstream through the fast-flowing water would be strong. I think it could be done with full waders and a couple other more experienced drainers tagging along, but the opportunity hasn't presented itself.

3.2. Huam-dong

The Huam-dong tunnel runs beneath Duteopbawi-ro, the road bordering Huam-dong and the northern wall of Yongsan Garrison. If the size of the hatches in the road are any indication, which they may not be, the stream here could be quite large. Past Yongsan High School Intersection, it follows a winding course up narrow alleys leading up Namsan's slope. High uphill in the curves of a meandering alley clearly built over a small stream, one finds the former site of Jeonsaengseo (典牲署, Ceremonial Sacrificial Animal Bureau), marked by a plaque at the entrance to Young Rak Orphanage, now Yeongrak Children's Welfare Center. This place raised animals for sacrifice in rituals at altars such as Sajikdan. Jeonsaengseo was abolished with the 1894 Gabo Reform, and the Yi House Bureau held onto the property until 1939 when it was sold off to Japanese Christian preacher Soda Gaichi, the only Japanese buried at Yanghwajin. The orphanage appears to have located here in 1947.

3.3. Through Yongsan Garrison

Meanwhile, the course of the rightmost stream is more easily knowable, thanks to maps, the streets above, and a park on post.

First it curves around the Yongsan Park Zai Apartment/Yongsan Daewoo Worldmark complexes found northwest of Samgakji Station, and travels next to the southern wall of Camp Kim beneath Hangang-daero

67-gil. I have located a number of mulberry trees growing along the southern wall of Camp Kim, where they possibly may have once grown along the bank of Manchocheon. Last year I picked some of the berries and shared them with people at the RASKB; I stopped doing this after Bridget Martin, a researcher of USFK redeployment, declined to try even one out of concerns about contamination.



Figure 22. Hangang-daero 67-gil south of Camp Kim covers a stream coming from Yongsan Garrison. Mulberry trees here shed unwanted berries every May. 20180528

The stream crosses under Hangang-daero and continues east below the road running along the northern boundary of the War Memorial. Then it continues on post, passing through some pretty serious gates that must have been set up very meticulously over the decades to prevent slicky boys from popping in on post. Here it emerges aboveground along a stretch of about 500 meters, located behind the former USFK/CFC/UNC headquarters. As the base is slowly exposed to the civilian population, it is being said this is the only natural stream in Seoul that was not cemented over in the 20th century, making it one of the necessary stops on the tour bus that takes Korean civilians inside for a rare look around. What's more, the stream features an authentic Japanese-built stone bridge, complete with concrete gateposts and lampposts.



Figure 23. This bridge, identified only as Arch Bridge on a signpost, traces its history back to the 1910-45 Japanese occupation when Japan occupied Yongsan Garrison. 20180706

According to former RASKB President John Nowell (1997), this stream used to be a constant source of flooding, and it sometimes backed up and flooded nearby buildings, causing losses of documents stored there. Continuing upstream, we find the stream terminates at the eastern wall of the base, into a tunnel entrance behind fastened rusty metal bars and further obscured by thick vinyl drapes.

That tunnel's course is eminently clear by examining maps: its main route crosses under Noksapyeong-daero and heads up the gently curving sloped Gyeongnidan-gil, passing under the big open intersection in front of the Hyatt Hotel and entering Namsan Park. I have found a facility among the trees up in the park that is identified with the Office of Waterworks of the city government, and is likely a locked entrance to the stream. It certainly seems like a good idea to keep it under heavy security, considering it washes out into a USFK base and could pose a security threat.

As well, the park has various springs, ponds, and streams with names like Subokcheon and Yongamcheon, with some possibly recent landscaping installations with no historic basis. I have no reason to believe

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these waters flow any other direction but downhill into Manchocheon, and under the garrison then out to the Han River.



Figure 24. Water flows into Yongsan Garrison from a tunnel hidden behind metal bars and vinyl curtains. 20180706



Figure 25. This facility appears to offer workers access to the upper sections of Manchocheon, uphill of Yongsan Garrison. 20190420

According to a 1946 map, there may have once been a slaughter house in the area. On inquiring about this slaughter house, I've been told it is the former location for Jeonsaengseo, which seems to be located at the Huam-dong tributary, not the Itaewon one. So all we know is in 1946 there was a slaughter house, and also directly downstream there are jawbones deposited in a sharp corner of the stream.

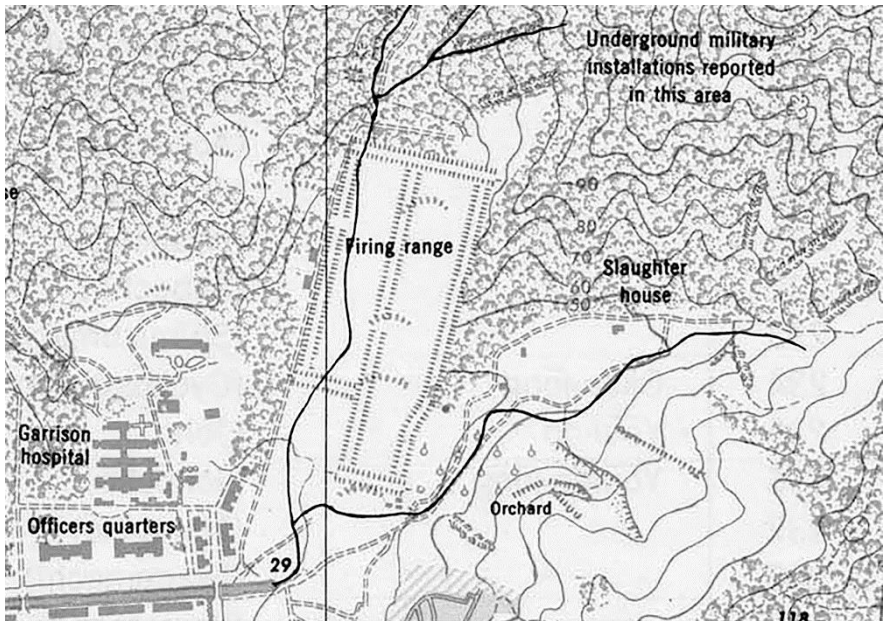


Figure 26. This 1946 map by the U.S. Army Map service shows a slaughter house said to be near the top of the stream passing beneath Gyeongnidan-gil. Courtesy of Yongsan Legacy

My personal theory is somehow the jawbones ended up discarded in the water, where they washed downstream, letting the current carry them until they came to rest where they struck a perpendicular wall where the stream curves southward to the Han River. Why there are only jawbones, I don't know -- perhaps just the only part the slaughterhouse wasted, or maybe the only pieces flat enough that the current wouldn't carry them further out to the river, or maybe they were less attractive to scavengers who carried off other parts? If true, and I don't see a stronger theory, then those jawbones have been down there for decades.

What's more, anything that goes into the groundwater on post has a good shot at flowing into Manchocheon. Any soil or groundwater pollution here would be especially prominent downstream. "The Host" depicts a USFK pathologist ordering his Korean assistant to dump 200

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bottles of formaldehyde down a drain, and while the garrison probably has better wastewater treatment, it is entirely conceivable some of the chemicals could have flowed into the tunnel and contacted whatever creature then mutated into The Host.



Figure 27. Children cross a small stream reconstructed in Namsan Park. The water from this stream likely runs down into Manchocheon. 20190420



Figure 28. Up on the slope of Namsan a few meters uphill of Sowol-gil, a storm drain entrance sealed by metal bars is found. 20190421

4.1. Galwolcheon

The passage northward starts off straightforward, and we know much of its course, and that after so far it basically becomes an endurance test for any who attempt to plunge its depths. For about two kilometers north of the Bone Tunnel entrance, it parallels the Gyeongbu Line which is to the east. It seems to form the border between Cheongpa-dong (靑坡洞) to the west, and Galwol-dong which serves as a namesake and Dongja-dong (東子洞) to the east. However, this border becomes curvy as it runs north, suggesting a few twists and turns that are not reflected in the current street grid above. At one point, the tunnel seems to veer east the train tracks, just south of Seoul Station, judging by the bulge in Cheongpa-dong where it intrudes into Dongja-dong.

I have never attempted to walk this section, but friends have ventured further up this tunnel twice to my knowledge. On the Christmas Day 2014 trip, after we visited the Bone Tunnel we turned around without realising two of our group had stayed behind. I won't give their identities away but both have attended multiple RASKB events. They climbed onto the divider passing through the middle of the tunnel, a ledge more than a meter high and only about a foot wide, with nothing to keep balance but open air on either side. Armed only with two cellphone flashlights, they pressed on to see how far they could get. Cellphone flashlights are the worst, because they are unwieldy to hold, inefficient, and once the batteries are drained you're out of luck. They estimate they went as far north as Seoul Station, a distance of over 1 kilometer, before they worried for their battery levels and turned back. They met up with us a couple hours later at a bar over by the Gyeongui-Jungang Line, damp and exhausted.

This section of the stream actually appears in the folk tale Chunhyangjeon, when Yi Do-ryeong leaves Seoul headed for Namwon. He exits the capital at Namdaemun, following the route of Manchocheon southward to the Han River:

‘청과역졸 분부하고, 승례문 밖 내달아서 칠폐팔폐 이문동,
도제골, 쪽다리 지나 청과 배다리, 돌모루, 밥전거리, 모래톱
지나 동자기 바삐 건너...’

‘Yi Mongryong orders the constables at the Cheongpa Station to accompany him, and heads out of Sungnyemun, and goes to Chilpae (an

old bazaar located just outside of the gate, Yimundong (Yimun was a small wooden gate usually put at the beginning of a road that led to a neighbourhood), Dojegol (or Dojeo-dong, now Dongja-dong where Seoul Station stands), Jjokdari (stepping stone), Cheongpa Bridge, Dolmoru (near Namyeong Station), Bapjeon Street (a generic name for any street with street food caterers), and cross the river at the sandy riverside to Dongjagi (near Dongjak Bridge).'

There was a bridge, Cheongpa Baedari, also known as Ju Bridge (舟橋, Boat Bridge), in the area south of Seoul Station, or rather a couple bridges. However, it has been a stone bridge dating back to the early 1500s. In 1902, the bridge was replaced with a modern one, built 300 meters to the south in front of Cheongpa Three-Way Intersection. A plaque in front of a Unification Church west of the intersection marks the bridge location, but it represents the 1902 location, not the bridge's original site.



Figure 29. This plaque identifies the location of Cheongpa Baedari which crossed Galwolcheon. The bridge here was built in 1902, 300 meters south of the original. 20190418

As we head north upstream, the stream borders Bongrae-dong (蓬萊洞) 2-ga to the east, and Malli-dong (萬里洞) and Jungnim-dong (中林洞) to the west. It appears a section here, near Seoul Station, was the only part of all of the stream that had been buried by the time of liberation, according to a city map from 1946. That would mean the tunnel here is the oldest construction in the whole system. Its burial seems to date to 1939.

4.2. Yeomcheon Bridge

Further north, Bongrae-dong 2-ga gives way to Uiju-ro 2-ga once we reach the next bridge, once called Bongrae Bridge but now known as Yeomcheon Bridge. This one is much easier to locate, as there is still a 150-meter bridge bearing that name there, built in 1920 over the train tracks just north of Seoul Station, 2.4 kilometers north of the Bone Tunnel entrance.



Figure 30. Yeomcheon Bridge, seen from Wise Tower, crosses over train tracks and the former location of the stream, which runs east of the tracks. To the upper right is Seosomun Park, currently under construction.

Yeomcheon Bridge appears to have inherited the name and reputation of another previous bridge over a tributary of Cheonggyecheon by Bangsan Market in Euljiro 5-ga. In that area, gunpowder was made, and the bridge got its name from Yeomchocheong, a government facility for gunpowder production. That bridge had been demolished, and this one over by Seoul Station apparently inherited the name because it was always covered with smoke, just like the other one. In the 1880s Yeomchocheong moved to the Seosomun area, and a bridge in the area came to have the name of the bridge as well. The original bridge name was Yeomchocheong Bridge (焰硝廳橋) which seems to have corrupted to

Yeomcheong Bridge (焰廳橋) and later Yeomcheon Bridge (鹽川橋).

Yeomcheon Bridge earned a historic reputation as a beggars' den during the 1910-45 Japanese occupation, and this history was kept alive by the 1999 drama "Wangcho." It became a common expression for frustrated mothers to tell their crying children "I found you under Yeomcheon Bridge" to scare them.

Also, characters of Yom Sang-seop's serial story "Three Generations," published by the Chosun Ilbo January to August 1931, make use of this area, as characters visit and pass the bridge.

North of Yeomcheon Bridge, the stream enters Seosomun Park, which is now under heavy reconstruction to convert it into a Catholic martyr site, and then follows Seosomun-ro 8-gil along the western edge of the park. Looking at administrative maps of the area, the boundary of Jungnim-dong to the west bulges into Uiju-ro 2-ga, the administrative division where most of Seosomun Park is found; it appears the river may have originally cut much more closely through the park than the street grid would imply.

Apparently the stream and its white sandy beach were important to the executions being located here. There were many villages in the area going back to the 17th century, and it was an important crossing point for travelling to Ahyeon-ri and Mapo. As there is a plan to start a Catholic tourism belt stretching from Seosomun Park to Saenamteo by the river, it almost seems like the best way would be to follow Manchocheon.

4.3. Yi Bridge

Going further upstream, we reach Hap-dong (蛤洞, Clam Dong, after a storage facility/market for fermented clam sauce sold mostly to inhabitants of the old capital) and Migeun-dong (羨芹洞), where at one point there seems to have been Yi Bridge (圮橋), an old-fashioned bridge made of wood with a mud surface on top. The bridge location is often said to be around the Seosomun train crossing south of the Limkwang Building, but other more accurate sources place it at the northwestern corner of Seosomun Park toward the Brownstone building nearby, which seems much more likely.

Just north of this location is Salvation Army Bridge Corps, a homeless shelter, although the name seems to be a total coincidence and the center opened only in 2002.

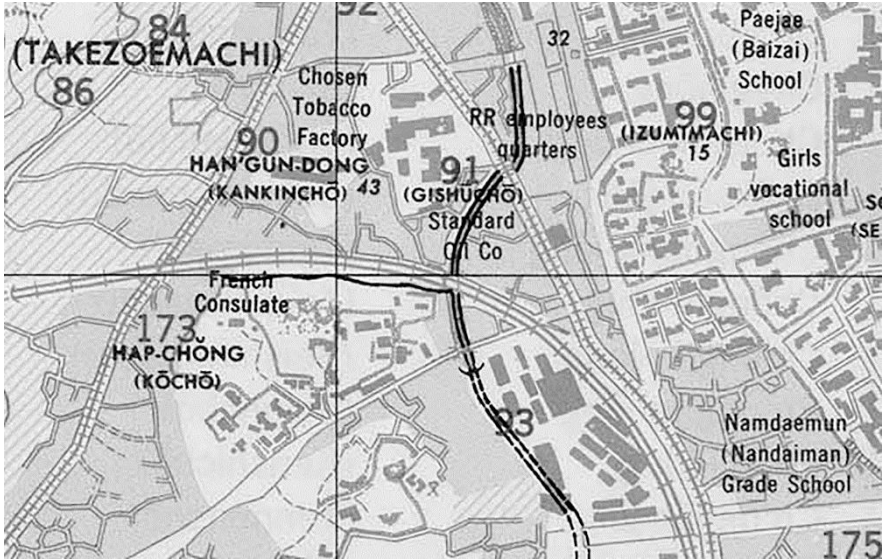


Figure 31. This 1946 map by the U.S. Army Map service shows the course of the stream through Seosomun area and where it crosses Tongil-ro. Seosomun Park is the cluster of buildings marked 93, and Seosomun Apartment is where the 91 is found. Yi Bridge was likely located between the two. Courtesy of Yongsan Legacy

Behind that, we can find a Seoul City Office of Waterworks building. It seems to be an administrative office primarily and not that old, but its location here can't be a total coincidence. It may have been the site of a pumping station long ago, and the land stayed with the city government in the custody of relevant offices, but further research will bear out the reliability of that guess.

5.1. Muakcheon

Past the Gyeongui Line, the tunnel begins following a significantly curvier path. The name Galwolcheon seems to have outlived its usefulness this far upstream, and Cheongpa-ro ends here right by the Salvation Army Bridge Corps, so I'm going to arbitrarily use Muakcheon to refer to anything upstream from here. That name seems to have fallen out of use in 1914, likely just as Muak Mountain lost its name, later becoming An Mountain.

This stream passes under the street that runs just east of the elegantly curved 115-meter-long Seosomun Apartment in Migeun-dong, certainly giving that building its unique curved footprint (but worth noting that the actual walls are all flat, for the sake of interior organization of

furniture). The apartment was built in 1972, and it is unclear to me how much earlier than that the stream was buried here.



Figure 32. Seen from above, this corner of Seodaemun Apartment can be seen to curve gently to fit the shape of the stream which would have run under the road between the apartment and the ledge I took this picture from. 20190419

The stream crosses under Tongil-ro, which had once had a stone bridge named Sin Bridge (新橋, New Bridge) here. This bridge should have been right around the eastern end of Seodaemun Apartment, and it is apparent where its course picks up on the other side. Upstream of the bridge, it follows the course of Tongil-ro 4-gil, an odd little roadway that curvily parallels Tongil-ro. This street is trapped behind a row of new highrises and in front of Ewha Girls' Foreign Language High School, and the neighbourhood still conforms to its meandering route. The sliver of buildings between Tongil-ro 4-ga and Tongil-ro is Uiju-ro 1-ga, while the other side of the stream is Sunhwa-dong (巡和洞).

Where Saemun-ro intersects the stream, it ploughs through Chungjeongno 1-ga and Pyeong-dong (平洞), two of only three administrative divisions along with Migeun-dong where the stream cuts through, rather than forming a border between dong.

5.2. Gyeong Bridge

This is where we could have found Gyeong Bridge (京橋, Capital Bridge). This bridge is straight out from Seodaemun, and clearly was an influential feature of the area, as its name indicates its entrance to the capital. North of the bridge, the stream follows beneath a currently unnamed road southwest of Seoul Red Cross Hospital.

During the Japanese occupation, a mansion was built nearby for Choi Chang-hak, a Japanese collaborator who got rich off gold mining. It was named Jukcheomjang (竹添莊), but after liberation this was changed to Gyeonggyojang, after the bridge.



Figure 33. Gyeonggyojang is visible as part of the hospital complex at Samsung Medical Center. 20190419

In November 1945, returning members of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea, who led the resistance against Japan in China, took up residence in the house. Kim Gu, a significant figure in the provisional government and an active voice post-liberation, lived in the house until he was assassinated here on June 26, 1949. The house remained an important site for decades after, housing the ambassador of the Republic of China, then U.S. Special Forces and medical personnel during the 1950-53 Korean War, and the Vietnamese Embassy from 1956 to 1967. Samsung Foundation purchased it in 1967 as the site for Korea Hospital, renamed in 1995 as Kangbuk Samsung Hospital. It was named tangible cultural property No. 129 in 2001 but

upgraded to national cultural property No. 465 in 2005. Restoration work began in 2010, and in 2013 it reopened as a branch of Seoul Museum of History. A glass pane shows where two bullets fired by Ahn Doo-hee passed through and killed Kim Ku, and bloodied clothes and a death mask are displayed inside.

5.3. Gyonam-dong

Only once have I heard of anyone exploring the tunnel beyond this point. Sometime in the second half of 2016, two Korean friends made preparations and went further up the tunnel than anyone else I know; I doubt we will see anyone go farther, knowing what they endured. After travelling a whopping four kilometers from the Bone Tunnel entrance, they complained that the tunnel was getting too small and they were feeling too cramped, dreading even the prospect of turning around and heading back the way they'd come (another four-kilometer trek to the Bone Tunnel entrance). So, they made the dangerous choice to pop a manhole lid from below. This is highly risky, as you don't know where you'll emerge. A busy road, where a car speeds by and takes your head off? A market street where people gathered stop and stare as you emerge from the depths? In front of a police station? They came close to all three, but escaped unharmed and undetected. The location of their egress is fascinating, and confused me for quite some time.

Past the Red Cross Hospital, the tunnel travels under Gyeonggyojang 1-ro. On the west side of the road there remains one short block of small buildings that look like they may be old enough to date back to when the memory of a stream was still alive through here. This sliver of buildings between Gyeonggyojang 1-ro and Tongil-ro is historically called Gyonam-dong (橋南洞, Bridge South-dong). To the east it borders Pyeong-dong (平洞), Songwol-dong (松月洞), Hongpa-dong (紅把洞), and Gyobuk-dong (橋北洞, North Bridge-dong).

All of this has now been reconstructed as the massive Donuimun New Town complex, removing all traces of the previous urban fabric including the stream and street grid. Gyeonggyojang 1-ro gives way ahead to a new kind of underground, a parking garage entrance. Due to the deep excavation for the New Town construction, the water is almost certainly disrupted as of 2014, the only part of the whole Manchocheon system where there has been any major disruption in recent years. Clearly there must be some new form of drainage through or around the area, because even modern apartments are no match for constant water erosion. The new development here is an opportunity squandered that could have inspired

creativity and historicity in the design of the massive apartment complex.



Figure 34. A row of old buildings along Gyeonggyojang 1-ro may date back to the time before the stream was buried. The road disappears into a parking garage. 20190420

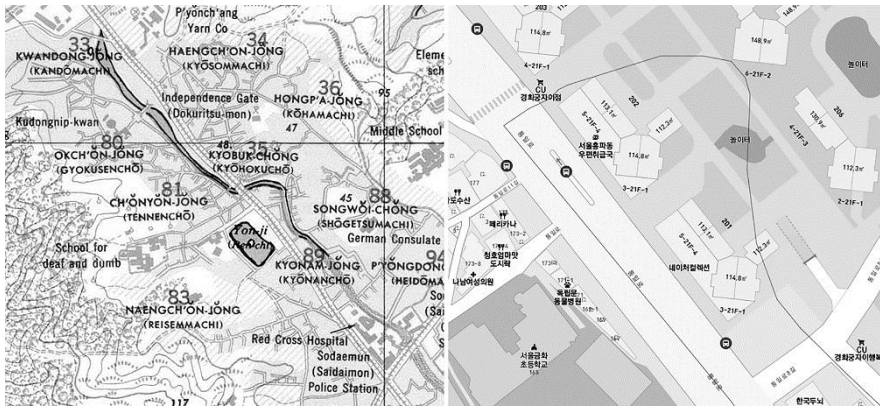


Figure 35. The figure on the left, taken from Korea City Plans 1946, shows the original course of the stream that makes the boundary of Gyonam-dong, as well as a pond at the current location of Seoul Geumhwa Elementary School. On the right, a more enlarged present-day map showing the boundary of Gyonam-dong reveals that same curve cutting through an apartment complex. Courtesy of Yongsan Legacy (left), Daum Kakao (right)

Previously, the stream's course wound through a wonderful little curved road cutting through a Hanok village, sort of in the shape of a cane handle. It was formerly a neighbourhood filled with nice examples of Hanok architecture which was slotted in between the stream and Tongil-ro, and. One house in particular built right inside the crook of the stream

curved to follow its contours.

If you look at a map of the administrative boundaries of Gyonam-dong, you can still see that graceful curve overlaid on the topographically featureless apartment complex that has displaced all that came before it.

The stream and recently demolished village are documented in many media in a nearby (hopefully?) permanent display, “Records and Recollections of Two Villages: Gyonam-dong and Saemunan Village” housed at Donuimun Museum Village, formerly Saemunan Village, in a former Italian restaurant named Agio.



Figure 36. A scale model recreation of Gyonam-dong is on display at Donuimun Museum Village. This angle shows where the road following Muakcheon curves in from the lower left. The Hanok on the corner takes an unusual shape to fit its natural contours. 20190419

My two Korean friends emerged on the sidewalk on the east side of Tongil-ro, right where the cane handle contacted Seok Bridge. Had they gone further, they would have been underneath Yeongcheon Market.

5.4. Seok Bridge

Where the Gyonam-dong curve hits Tongil-ro, we find the former location of Seok Bridge (石橋, Rock Bridge), which gives Gyonam-dong its name. West of the bridge, the stream runs underneath Yeongcheon Market.

There are at least three places here bearing the bridge name Seokgyo: Seokgyo Sikdang serving entrails, Seokgyo Hoetjib serving raw fish, and Seokgyo Methodist Church (built in 1916 and given Seoul Future Heritage status in 2013), whose position higher uphill would have once given it a remarkable view of the surroundings, now ruined by highrises.



Figure 37. An entrails restaurant on the right bears the name “Seokgyo Sikdang,” named after Seok Bridge that once stood nearby. 20190419

The historic names of this area, rather than being derived from the bridge as in Gyonam/Gyobuk, contain the syllable “cheon” seemingly reflecting the watery nature of the area found here on the eastern slope of Geumhwa Mountain. Except of four place names, three different Chinese characters for “cheon” are used: 泉 for wellspring, 川 for stream, and 天 for sky. Yeongcheon-dong itself was 靈泉洞 (Sacred Spring-dong, a generic term for spring water possessing miraculous healing properties). It appears there used to be a waterfall flowing down through the oblong-shaped Okcheon-dong (玉川洞, Pure Stream-dong), a well producing clear water by the site of Gyeonggi University in Naengcheon-dong (冷泉洞, Cold Spring-dong), and a natural pond at the site of Geumhwa

Elementary School in Cheonyeon-dong (天然洞, named after Cheonyeonjeong, a pavilion which became the first Japanese legation in the 1870s).

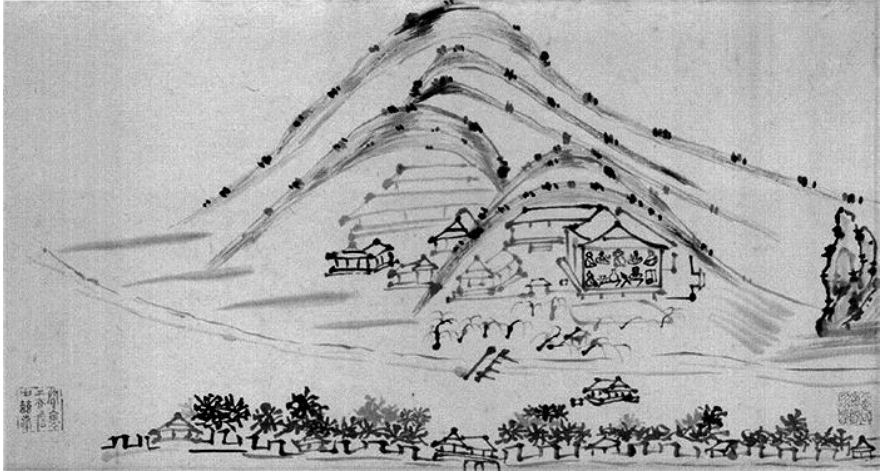


Figure 38. This painting by Jeon Gi (田琦, 1825-1854), titled “*징심정 시회도*” (*澄心亭詩會圖*), appears to look from the capital over the western wall toward Muakcheon. The landscape is vastly changed but my guess is the bridge is Seok Bridge and the peak is Geumhwa Mountain.

5.5. Yeonjeok Bridge

There had been one final bridge along the course of the stream, named Yeonjeok Bridge (硯滴橋, Inkstone Bridge) after a drainage feature resembling an inkstone. Its location is said to be near Seokgyo Church. To the north is Independence Gate, built 1896-97 on the former site of Yeongeun Gate (迎恩門, Welcoming Gate of Obligation) following China's defeat the First Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 to celebrate Korea's new shortlived independence. The current gate was moved about 75 meters north in 1979 for infrastructure needs. It is worth remembering this had been an important passageway. Joseon envoys to China travelled this course, following the path of the current Tongil-ro north, and it is also here that foreign envoys from China were received as guests to the Joseon capital. What these visiting and returning envoys would have seen of this area, we can imagine refreshed them after a long trek south.

Further upstream, the course becomes difficult to trace, and likely there are sources all over the slopes of An Mountain and Inwang Mountain that fed the stream. I was able to locate one opening, right

outside the front gate to Inwang Temple up on the slope of Inwang Mountain, downhill of the city wall. Here in a stony canyon, I found a reinforced concrete box barely large enough for me to fit inside.



Figure 39. Up on the western slope of Inwang Mountain near Inwang Temple's front gate, I cram into a tunnel that leads 7.7 kilometers downstream to the Han River. 20190419

It is highly likely that a motivated enough, small enough person could enter here and walk the 7.7 kilometers all the way to the Han River, where the tunnel would enlarge gradually to the point where a 747 could be parked waiting for our dwarven adventurer.

6.1. Conclusions

Where else do US chemicals, movie monsters, and blood of martyrs flow together in the water?

Manchocheon is all but forgotten today, but in tracing its route it is clear the influence it has had on urban development. The stream never enters the traditional capital as denoted by the gate system, instead

keeping a good distance outside the western city wall, likely even informing its shape. It served the people living out here similarly to how Cheonggyecheon served people in the capital, providing water for sustenance and crops, as well as other foods for consumption. When the city began to expand outward, the stream's presence was an influential factor, and subsequent developments changed its nature and concealed its existence. This is likely why most of the sites along the stream tend to have richer modern rather than ancient history.

Now as Seoul heads toward a new chapter in history, with the removal of USFK from Yongsan Garrison and the return of its land to the country, history will come to the surface, quite literally in Manchocheon's case. Once the base is returned to Korea, awareness of the stream will increase. It would be unthinkable that the final Yongsan Park, once opened to the public however many years from now, hides Manchocheon underground. It is suitable for a Korean public park as is, bridge and all.

This may lead to other segments of the tunnel being daylighted, or at least being symbolically rebuilt, similar to the recreation of Junghakcheon north of Jongno between Kyobo Building and D Tower. To do any actual restoration work would likely require a total cleaning of the upstream area, to improve water quality and eliminate odours. It would be a lot of work but worth it for the sake of the city's ecosystem.

Good candidates for transformation are Gyeonggyojang 1-ro, Tongil-ro 4-gil, Seosomun-ro 8-gil, and Hangang-daero 67-gil, four underused, redundant roads whose replacement would increase pedestrian interconnectivity.

Gyeonggyojang 1-ro would provide recreational benefits for residents of Donuimun New Town. The sidewalk is wide enough that installing a fountain would leave plenty of room for pedestrians, and it would become a nicer route for all Donuimun New Town residents walking to Seodaemun Station. As for cars, there are other roads around the apartment complex that are newer and better paved.

Tongil-ro 4-gil which weaves behind office buildings is a dead street right now, with very little pedestrian and vehicle traffic. Most vehicles just take Tongil-ro to the west. Replacing the street with a stream would inconvenience few people, and make the walk between Seodaemun Station and Seosomun Park much more pleasant.

Seosomun-ro 8-gil is currently used mainly by construction vehicles working at Seosomun Park. There remains a parking garage under the complex that will likely still be used after reopening, but a three-lane road seems unnecessary to service it. Additionally, its south end it has quite the hazardous turn into heavy traffic. Recreating the stream

and its sandy bank here would certainly enhance the experience of visiting the park, and also provide much-needed recreational space for nearby residents and office workers.

The section of Hangang-daero 67-gil that runs along Camp Kim's wall could easily be daylighted with negligible disruption to traffic. Perhaps after Yongsan Park opens this plan will seem more feasible. Imagine if the area were properly cleaned and turned into a park full of plants bearing edible fruit.

Not every section of the stream can be daylighted. Unlike Cheonggyecheon, which was basically replaced with one long elevated highway in the 1950s and 1960s and thus restored easily, different parts of Manchocheon were buried in different eras and used differently afterward. It would be destructive to restore the stream through Yeongcheon Market, and I could only see that being done as part of a redevelopment project that razes the whole area; while that would be a great tragedy, it wouldn't be the first, and the best we could hope for is some acknowledgement of the traditional lines in the new design.

Same goes for Yongsan Electronics Market -- daylighting the stream through here would be terrible for commerce and transport. But here, where the tunnel is so large, I have another idea. Sunlight can be restored to the water, not by removing the road surface, but by placing powerful mirrors at the river entrance, which could fill the first 500 meters with daylight. Likely something similar could be done where the tunnel surfaces near Samgakji. And many other points of lens irrigation could be installed along its course, with light-collecting tubes redirecting sunlight beneath the surface. Additionally, pedestrian entrances could be placed along Cheongpa-ro, enabling travel between the market and the river, and maybe even north to Camp Kim, connecting Yongsan Park somehow.

Manchocheon, like Cheonggyecheon, would still serve as a storm drain during heavy rain, so obviously access should be restricted during rainstorms. Also, it would be difficult to build too much down there because the rain would sweep it away. So, the solution to this is to hang things from the ceiling. Offering suspended pedestrian walkways would be much safer and more pleasant than having people walk along the current concrete ledges. The obvious thing to do with the interior space is to attract as much vegetation as possible, particularly that can thrive in a moist subterranean environment such as hanging vines and mosses, just like its name implies. This would help improve the air quality for users, perhaps even better than an aboveground stream.

There have been proposals for underground spaces like this lit up by daylight. New York's "Lowline" project would fill an old trolley

terminal with sunlight. There was talk of transforming one section of Jonggak Station on Seoul Metro Line 1 into an underground daylight space. However, as neither location has natural openings, I believe Manchocheon is even more suitable.



Figure 40. Illustration courtesy of Paul Evans



Figure 41. This stretch of tunnel under Cheongpa-ro could be renovated easily into a public park. 20130530

It will likely take years before any of these projects come to fruition, not until after the existing segment opens to the public in Yongsan Park, and who knows when that will be? If you're reading this and actually want to see it for yourself, talk to me and I'll consider inviting you along next Christmas.

Jon Dunbar, a council member of the RAS and general editor of *Transactions*, is an urban explorer who has been documenting urban renewal in Seoul and around Korea since 2005. He curates a database of over 500 various abandoned and forgotten areas around Korea, including underground rivers. He works as an editor for *The Korea Times*, as well as maintaining the website Daehanmindecline.com, one of Korea's oldest remaining English-language blogs, and has published the punk zine *Broke in Korea* since 2005.

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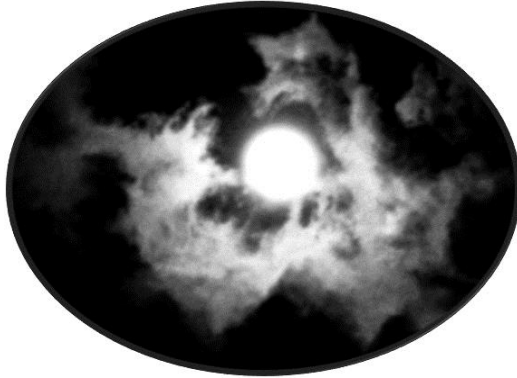
Exploring Manchocheon, Seoul's Underground River

within are the author's own. Santa will be good to you next Christmas, but please bring raspberry wine in lieu of milk and cookies.



Figure 42. Santa squats inside the Bone Tunnel. 20181222

Coveting the Dragon's Pearl



Fred Jeremy Seligson

We suffer emotionally and physically from birth until death. Our daily lives are fraught with worries for survival. This is why we have conjured up a dragon savior and its wish-fulfilling jewel. The latter brightens a super-sensibility and brings good fortune.

Coincidentally, above both the Joseon king's and the Buddha's thrones, twin yellow and blue dragons fly in circles, chasing a flaming *yeouiju*. Eagerly, they lunge for it with open jaws. So doing, they harmonize the interplay of *yin* and *yang gi* throughout the cosmos. Coiling and uncoiling, alternating to the extremes of *yin* and *yang*, they mingle the "Five Phases" of Wood (木), Fire (火), Soil (土), Metal (金), and Water (水), creating "the 10,000 things" of existence.

The wish-fulfilling gem is a black and white, blue and red, gold, green, white or clear sphere with an antler-shaped flame on its surface. Born of continence, it coalesces in a dragon's spine.

A dragon usually gives one, but on special occasions seven, to a deserving human. Clashed against a heart, it drives away evil spirits, cures any ailment or grants a boon according to the holder's will. No wonder, while suffering oppression, so many people yearn for one. That's why

they show up in dreams. Swallowing one, supposedly, can transform a human into a dragon.

March 3, 2019 in Dream Country:

A gray spider is crawling over the ground in front of me. It finds a pebble a little bigger than its body and encircles it with its eight long legs, rolling it forward under its body. I point this out to someone behind me. It is riding on the pebble, propelling it with its legs pushing on the ground around. Now it comes to a dark hole, wider than its body. I am afraid it will drop the pebble, which is like a pale pearl. As it makes its way down a small depression, it holds on to its pebble, one stage at a time, lying on and rolling it as a vehicle.

☀Years ago I purchased a crystal ball at a shop in the Tibetan town of Ladhak up in the Himalayas. During meditation, I clasp it between my fingers which can translate into the dream spider's legs. The ball becomes the spider's body and the pearl it rides on. I enter into the crystal ball with its ice-like caverns.

ξ Fancy cupping a *yeouiju* in your hands. Gaze deeply into it and feel its soothing sensations. Watch it shape an aura about you.

Miss Kang tells a folktale about how someone will go to any costs to obtain a *yeouiju*:

“Even though old man Kim employs many servants, his wealth has been stolen several times. On a full moon night, a four-foot-long carp rises out of a pond and drops a pearl into his palm. She says, ‘This pearl will guard your wealth.’

Another night the gem floats outside and captures a thief. Awakened by a cry, old Kim sees it return to its original place.

One day, Gu-ryong (Nine Dragons) shows up. Coveting the pearl, the scoundrel feigns love for Kim's daughter and proposes marriage. Then he urges her to steal the pearl from her father. When she does, the lovers meet and sit on the pond's bank.

The pearl wakes old Kim up. He discovers and kills them. Despairing, he commits suicide.

The girl dies with the pearl tucked in her bosom. A new flower blooms around her grave. People name it ‘Pearl Flower.’”

☀It doesn't pay to steal a *yeouiju*. It is a conscious object that only rewards good intentions.



2002 World Cup Lottery Ticket

2000, the Year of the White Metal Dragon: I buy a lottery ticket at a kiosk which bears a curvy jade dragon, clutching a jade green *yeouiju* in its claw against a rose background. Green represents wealth. Opportunities are offered to the possessor of a *yeouiju*. Who wouldn't want one?

Mr. Jong said, “Earlier this year, I heard that a poor friend of mine made a fortune in just one night. He bought a lottery ticket and won 100,000,000 won (equivalent to \$100,000.00).”

As usual, someone asked him, “Did you dream a lucky dream?” He answered, “Yes, in my dream”:

It is raining with thunder and lightning. When I step outdoors, I see an enormous blue dragon flying about the flashing sky. It flies down in front of me and says, ‘I dropped a golden globe somewhere around here. Could you please help me find it?’

I look around for a while and find it. Secretly, I keep it for myself.

“When I woke up, I ran out and bought the lottery ticket.”

☀An air-refreshing storm is generated by a dragon clutching a *yeouiju* in its claws. The *yeouiju* enables the dreamer to realize their desires.

Coveting the Dragon's Pearl

Considering a dragon's integrity, if the man hands over the golden globe, it would give back extra blessings!



Red Dragon & Pearl, *Bongwon Temple*

The following dreams illustrate the preciousness of a *yeouiju* and the kindness of dragons. Mr. Joh says, “My mother told me, “In your *taemong* (conception dream):

I walk by the riverside in the middle of the night. Someone is following me. So I run back to the house, enter my room and lock the door from inside. Undaunted, he opens it and walks in. I look at his face. He is not a man but rather a dragon. He gives me a gem and disappears like smoke. The gem is very bright as if there is a sun in it. The light from the gem illuminates all of the room.

After this, my mother was in the family way.”

☀Composed of 100% *gi*, the dragon glides around the door's atoms. Generously, he conveys a *yeouiju* containing the sun which illuminates the room. Now it clarifies the young man's soul.

A dragon shows a sense of humor. Mr. Koo says, “When my mother was pregnant, she had a curious dream at the peep of dawn:

While I climb a mountain path, a dragon bursts from between clouds. I am frightened out of my wits.

It drops a white baduk (Japanese go) chip, flies up in the sky and

disappears. The chip flashes on the ground as if a glittering jewel. I try to pick it up, but it's too hot.

☀ We can hear the woman cry out, “*Ouch! Too hot to handle!*” when touching the dragon’s gift. Her forthcoming child is the *yeouiju*. Perhaps he’ll become a *baduk* champion!

A *yeouiju* comes as a surprise. Miss Noh says, “This *taemong* was dreamed by Aunt Sun-nae. She said:

I am sitting on the terrace in front of our house facing our beautiful garden. Birds are singing and the brook is murmuring. Suddenly, I remember that I have forgotten to wash the dishes, so I walk into the kitchen.

Looking out the window, I see a serpentine creature crawling out of the brook. It grows larger and larger until it's as big as our house! I can see its face clearly, staring at me fiercely with red eyes through the small windows. I am struck dumb with fright. Yes, it is a huge lizard, rather a dragon!

I reach under the sink to take out the garbage, tie up the bag and pick up the garbage can. Holding it in front of me, I take mincing, backward steps, stuttering in fear. With a terrible crash, the dragon bursts into the house. I cry out, ‘Don’t eat me! Please don’t eat me!’ Instead of attacking me, it smiles and leaves me a gleaming dewdrop pearl.

“A few weeks later, my aunt’s daughter-in-law bore a baby boy. It was during The Year of the Dragon. Isn’t it marvelous?”

☀ Confused, Aunt Sun-nae tries to take the garbage out! Alarmed, she grasps the lid for a shield. But the dragon means no harm. Instead, he shows an amiable, giving heart.

Her grandson will grow up into a big man, brightened by the blessings of the Dragon Year and the *yeouiju*.

A *yeouiju* burns with life. Mr. Choi says, “When my mother conceived me, she dreamed a *taemong*:

A dragon flies in the cloudy sky. It carries a dragon ball in its mouth and puffs white smoke out of its nostrils. I freeze in fear. I want the dragon ball but there is no way. So I pray to heaven, ‘Almighty, please let me have it!’

Coveting the Dragon's Pearl

Answering my prayer, the dragon twists about and throws the ball into my house. It burns down from the ball's heat. After this, only the dragon ball is left where the house had been. I walk over and embrace it.'

“A few days later, she found out that she was pregnant.”

☼ Steam issues from the dragon's boiler-pot body. The woman overcomes her fear and prays to the dragon as “Almighty,” as if a god.

So what if your house burns down if you have a *yeouiju* child who can grant any wish, including one for a new and finer abode?

One afternoon, during a shaman (a mediator between Heaven and Earth) ritual for my friend's deceased mother, I ask the shaman, “What is the *yeouiju*?”

She replies, “The *yeouiju* is the universe. There is a drop in everyone's heart.” Imagine -- a drop of the universe -- *our shared nature*.

Another shaman tells me, “In my dream”:



Ascetic & Mani-stone, Hoeryong Temple

Coveting the Dragon's Pearl

A red-and-white dragon flies down from the ceiling into my room and lands in front of me. Then it flies up, out into the sky. Soon it flies back in again and sets a jade yeouiju, the size of a baseball (she places a hand over a fist to show me the size) on my desk and, also, a red sheet of paper with the words, 'You got blessed,' on it. They enter my heart. The dragon smiles and laughs, 'Hah hah, hoh hoh!' I feel a great rush of power. So I smile and laugh, too, 'Hah hah, hoh hoh!' A strong wind blows all around. It is very powerful!

“When I woke up, I felt a great headache that wouldn't go away. Two months later, I told my story to a shaman. She exclaimed, 'You're a shaman!'”

I ask the shaman, “Can you see the dragon, and feel the *yeouiju* in your body now?”

“Yes, I feel the power. Sometimes, it is invisible. Other times, I can see the dragon for only a second.”

“What color is it?”

“It is shiny black, gray or of mixed colors.”

☼The dragon is full of spiritual power. The wind, aroused by its rushing around, empowers the woman. A personal deity, the dragon can shift colors and endow her with esoteric understanding. The *yeouiju* and the paper charm's protection from demons are housed in her heart. The jade ball combines a *yeouiju* and a dragon. They grant powers and enable the shaman to cooperate with other shamanic deities.

ξ Close your eyes and hear heavy breathing in front of you. Feel a dragon place a *yeouiju* inside your heart. Make a wish!

Occasionally the Dragon King in his human form gives away a *yeouiju*. Miss Cho says:

My grandmother strolls along the seashore. The water is wavy and foggy. A small island rises from the middle of the sea. On it is an old man with a long white beard. My grandmother is surprised and confused. The old man tells her, 'I want to give you this present, come here.'

She says, 'I can't because I don't have a boat.'

He says, "Open your long skirt."

She does and he throws her a bead which she catches in her skirt.

Coveting the Dragon's Pearl

It is purple-blue. Other women gather around her. They want to see the bead. She grips it and doesn't show it to anyone. She returns home and opens her blue-stained palm.

My mother is born. She grows up to be bright and beautiful.

☀️The Dragon King dwells on a submersible island in his Water Palace (*Su Gong*). The bead is a *yeouiju*. Purple is a blending of red and blue, *yin* and *yang* qualities and potentials. The skirt symbolizes the womb.

Composing a poem is like riding on a dragon's back. Not knowing what will pop up next, the poet explores in shadows, open to everything. Sunlight dapples the path. Words pop up and a poem comes together. The following fragments celebrate the *yeouiju*, also known as the "Demon-Expelling Pearl" and the "Pearl of Truth."

The Yellow Emperor went wandering.

On the way home,

He lost his night-colored pearl

The Yellow Emperor said,

"Strange, indeed; Nothingness

Had the night-colored pearl"

- Chuang-Tzu (4th c. B.C. China), Thomas Merton tr.

With an aura like the *Mani*-pearl,

Its brilliance knows no day or night

- Monk Shide (8th c, China) James Hargett tr.

Though face and form alter over the years,

I hold fast the pearl of the mind

- Monk Toson's *taemong* (827-879, Korea)

In one thousand postures, ten thousand appearances,

A dragon toys with a pearl

- Monk Ryokan (12th c Japan) K. Tanahashi tr.

Coveting the Dragon's Pearl

The black dragon jewel
You search for
Is everywhere

- Monk Dogen (13th c Japan)

☼When we let go of the self and act for a purpose grander than the ego -- for example, in the search for enlightenment -- we stand on the holy ground of nothingness and can align with everything. Once in that state we can grasp the pearl and receive its blessings.

July 18, 2018, in Dream Country:

A handsome Russian prince invites me to a dance. There, I transform into a woman and dance lightly through the air to the orchestra's beautiful music. It is gentle and transcending.

Next I approach an arching door. Through its window-pane, on the far wall, I see the painted head of Jesus, and then Mary. When I am about to enter, an Orthodox Russian priest and some officers push by. He shouts, "Where is the Wish-Fulfilling Jewel?"

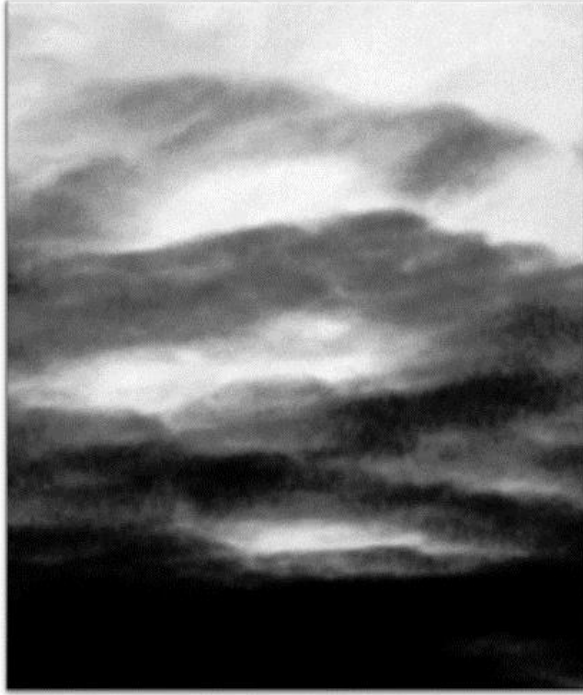
I turn around and depart, for it is my jewel -- it is shining black and held against my breast. I will escape with it.

☼The *yeouiju* fits comfortably in my hand. It has a mysterious potentiality. As human beings, we are capable in our dreams and fantasies to become male/female, Russian/Chinese, Jesus/Mary, anything of our whimsies. At root, we are formless, nobody at all. Paradoxically, just like empty space, we are not nothing but something. We contain everything and so can assume any form, at least for the timespan of a dream.

October 22, 2010: Attending an exhibition of 14th century Goryeo Buddhist paintings at the National Museum of Korea, I stand before a haloed Buddha who is balancing a clear sphere *yeouiju* between the tip of his middle finger and thumb. It contains nothing and so mirrors everything. The Buddha can see from a 360 degree perspective, free from "me" and "you." At one with the orb, he can manifest anything. For example, by raising one thought, "Lotus," a beauteous flower of white light appears in his open palm. He smiles, hoping we will understand that our mind is the *yeouiju*. From the roots of holiness grows love and beauty. Our thoughts can spread justice and freedom to our planet.

Coveting the Dragon's Pearl

Two Tibetan lamas in red-purple wine-colored robes walk over to the painting. I gather courage and ask, "Is the Buddha's halo three-dimensional?" Smiling, they say, "Yes!"



Green Cloud Dragon

What is the "night-colored pearl? When free of thought we become clear and still like a mountain pond, so can contain the sun and moon, the spheres of light. Closing eyes we see an orb of darkness, but also containing light and color around us, too. After a span of silence we forget our self and become oneness. This is our original nature, exemplified by the Cloth Sack Buddha, the round "Laughing Buddha" of Nothingness and Abundance.

When Jijang (Earth Womb) Bodhisattva vows to save all sentient beings and, so, descends into the darkness of Hell, he lifts up a *yeouiju*, which is actually the spotlight of his mind. It illuminates the caverns and clears the ignorant thoughts of the inmates who have created their own circumstances. Witnessing the secret of happiness, they get freed by their own awareness.

Coveting the Dragon's Pearl

Daehaeng (Great Practice) nun's *No River to Cross, No Raft to Find* (2005) shares a vision as a young wanderer in the forest:

One day, a huge dragon transforms into a thousand shapes. It is spectacular. Many Mani-jewels come out from its mouth and are connected by a string. Suddenly I feel that it is not a dragon. Instead it is the manifestation of a single thought from the foundation. After this, the dragon soars into the sky and makes a huge column of fire. The symbol 卐 lays flat on top of the column of fire. The column rotates. It feels as if everything around is connected to and rotating with this column.

☉The nun says the dragon is “the manifestation of a single thought from the foundation.” A holy ground of no thought and form underlies all things. The dragon is an instrument of Change. “A thousand shapes” emerge from it.

Universal consciousness appears as a string of wish-fulfilling gems. Together, they produce a pillar of fire, like Moses' ever-burning bush, and the waterwheel symbol (backwards swastika) of continuously turning life. Rotating, the fire column burns off impurities and unites everything.

Fred Jeremy Seligson, a counselor of the RAS, is currently writing about dragon dreams.

*Grit and Enterprise:
Western Correspondents in Korea during the Russo-Japanese War*

Matt VanVolkenburg

Japan's victory in the 1904-05 Russo-Japanese War was an important stepping stone in its rise to great power status and its imperialist expansion into Korea and Manchuria. This titanic clash of arms, which resulted in the unprecedented defeat of a Western great power by an Asian nation, also generated another clash between East and West – that between the Japanese War Office and the Western journalists who tried to cover the war. On the one hand, the Japanese military initially tended to perceive the foreign correspondents who came to cover the war as potential security threats and sought to strictly control them. On the other hand, the reporters were left at the mercy of the Japanese War Office because, believing war would not break out, their newspapers neglected to dispatch them until it was nearly too late.

A dozen or more reporters who sailed from San Francisco on the *Siberia* arrived in Yokohama on January 25, just two weeks before the war broke out, only to discover that civilian passenger ships to Korea were no longer available. Forced to rely on the good offices of the Japanese Army, Western journalists were attached to specific Armies, and it was not until early April, two months after hostilities began, that the correspondents with the First Army were permitted to leave Japan for Korea. Those with the Second Army only arrived at the front in August, while it was not until early winter that those with the Port Arthur Army arrived in Manchuria.¹

Not every correspondent was forced to spend months in Tokyo filing stories about geisha and sumo wrestlers, however. Three Western journalists managed to make their way to Korea before war broke out and civilian travel was curtailed. The first to arrive, on January 31, 1904, was Frederick Arthur McKenzie, a Canadian who had lived as an expatriate in

¹ Frederick Arthur McKenzie, *From Tokyo to Tiflis: Uncensored Letters from the War* (London: Hurst and Blackett, Ltd., 1905), 270.

London for a decade and who was writing for the *London Daily Mail*. The next day, Robert Lee Dunn, a Tennessee native who had worked as a photojournalist for years, arrived at Chemulpo to cover the war for *Collier's* magazine. The last to arrive two weeks later was a correspondent for the *San Francisco Examiner*, an up-and-coming author from California named Jack London.



From left: Frederick McKenzie, Robert Dunn, and Jack London.²

Though the month they spent traveling through Korea with the vanguard of the Japanese Army may not be well-remembered today, it was well-documented. McKenzie wrote a book about his wartime experiences, while London and Dunn wrote numerous articles and took hundreds of photos. What follows makes use of these sources to shed light on how these three reporters covered the war. Central to their efforts was the journey they made from Chemulpo (modern-day Incheon) to Pyongyang, a winter-time undertaking made arduous by the fact that the railways linking Pusan and Uiju were not yet finished.

Korea was not entirely devoid of railways, of course. Upon McKenzie's arrival in Chemulpo, he took the train to Seoul "in greater comfort than one travels as a rule from London to Dover." He stayed in

² Photo sources: James Hare, ed., *A photographic record of the Russo-Japanese war* (New York: P. F. Collier & Son, 1905), 200; Richard Harding Davis et al., *The Russo-Japanese war; a photographic and descriptive review of the great conflict in the Far East* (New York: P. F. Collier & Son, 1905), 88, 89.

Seoul a few days, impressed by the city's "strange combination of barbarism and modernity," and interviewed figures such as Minister Yi Yong-ik, who argued there would be no war.³

In contrast to this, Dunn stated there was "evidence on every hand that [war] would start shortly. The harbor of Chemulpo was studded with war ships, nearly every nation being represented. The port closed. The mails stopped. The wires became silent. Tidings from the outside world were not to be had."⁴ With dispatches cut off, the Russian gunboat *Korietz* tried to leave for Port Arthur on February 8, but was quickly forced by a group of Japanese battleships to return to harbor. The Russians aboard the *Korietz* and the cruiser *Variag* could do little but watch as "the Japanese transports landed their first 3,000 soldiers on the bund of Chemulpo."⁵

McKenzie, then in Seoul, hurried to Chemulpo to witness the landings.⁶ As Dunn related, "The landing of troops continued far into the night, and as long as the opportunity lasted I busied myself taking flashlight pictures. Those were really the only happy and satisfied hours I spent on Korean soil. The scenes I witnessed were weird and picturesque and full of promise of still better things to come."⁷

The first harbinger of things to come occurred when he was "stopped, searched and cross-examined for at least an hour, and with the [soon-to-be] familiar phrase, 'I am very sorry for you,' was permitted to depart."⁸ The next came when, "as a matter of formality," he visited General Yasutsuma, who "discouraged the idea of starting for Seoul that night" and offered him a seat on the train with the troops the next morning. "I was so pleased that I spent all night developing the films that represented the result of my first day's work at the front," but upon arrival at the station the next morning "the place was dead. Not a soul, civil or military, was to be seen." Arriving in Seoul on the next train, he "found all the soldiers again. They had undoubtedly been boarding the trains at the very hour I was talking with their commander the night before."⁹

Despite his annoyance at having been misled, "Seoul presented many scenes picturesque – the arriving soldiers, the school children

³ McKenzie, 21-38.

⁴ Robert L. Dunn, "In Korea with the Kodak," *Collier's*, August 13, 1904, 21.

⁵ *Ibid*; McKenzie, 41.

⁶ McKenzie, 39-40.

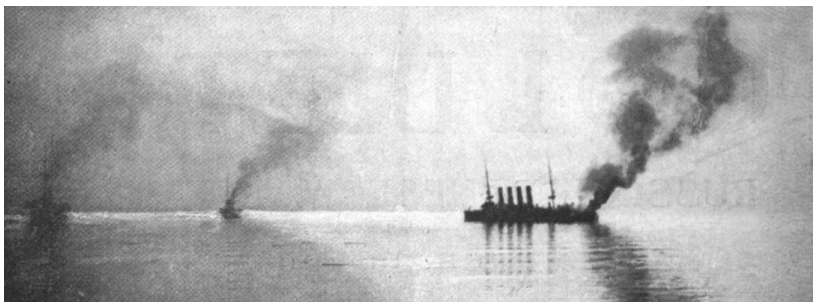
⁷ Robert L. Dunn, "Ways That Are Dark, And Tricks That Are Vain," *Colliers*, July 23, 1904, 9.

⁸ Dunn, "In Korea with the Kodak," 21.

⁹ Dunn, "Ways That Are Dark," 9.

massed into line to meet them, and the heavily laden bulls carrying towering loads of supplies for the army corps.” He was to soon regret this move to Seoul, however.

“It was just at the stroke of twelve that a dull boom sounded, miles away; another and another, and yet another. The war had begun. The first battle was on at Chemulpo, twenty odd miles back. The war I had come to see had started, and I was not at the starting.”¹⁰ As Dunn made his way back to Chemulpo, McKenzie watched as the *Korietz* and *Variag* made a suicidal run towards the open sea. During the forty-minute battle, the *Variag* suffered direct hits and was riddled with shrapnel to devastating effect for the men aboard.¹¹ Arriving at Chemulpo, Dunn hired a sampan to take him out to the U.S.S. Vicksburg so he could photograph the aftermath of the battle. “The *Variag*, powerful as she was when I photographed her the day before, now rolled with every wave of the incoming tide. Her funnels were perforated, her decks strewn with wreckage, her guns twisted and almost completely dismantled.” After the Russians abandoned ship, the *Variag* burned and sank and the *Korietz* was scuttled with a thunderous explosion.¹²



The *Variag* on fire in Chemulpo Harbor.¹³

On February 16, a week after the battle, Jack London sailed past these wrecks. Though Dunn had befriended London on the *Siberia*, he wrote, “When London arrived in Chemulpo I did not recognize him. He was a physical wreck. His ears were frozen; his fingers were frozen; his

¹⁰ Dunn, “In Korea with the Kodak,” 20. Dunn describes an arduous Jinriksha ride to Chemulpo that is, to say the least, rather improbable.

¹¹ McKenzie, 42-54.

¹² Dunn, “In Korea with the Kodak,” 20. Dunn’s photos of the burning ships appeared in *Collier’s* six weeks later.

¹³ Photo Source: *Collier’s*, March 26, 1904.

feet were frozen.”¹⁴ Delayed by a sprained ankle – and by being arrested as a spy for taking photos around the Japanese base at Moji – London was eventually able to board a steamer for Chemulpo, only for it to be forced off course by the Japanese navy at Pusan. The next steamer he took was forced to land at Mokpo, so he spent eight days in a sampan sailing up Korea’s west coast in freezing weather with Korean and Japanese sailors. Despite being “absolutely down and out,” as Dunn put it, “He said that he didn’t mind his condition so long as he got to the front.”¹⁵

Reaching the front provided numerous challenges. One of the most pressing was the fact that the correspondents did not have official permission to travel with the Japanese Army. Once in Seoul, as London described it, “we were advised by the Japanese Minister and generals to remain there until the Headquarters Staff should arrive.” They were not officially forbidden to leave, however, and they “had in mind always the Chino-Japanese War, wherein, by similar tactics, all but two or three men were inveigled into missing about everything that happened. The few that succeeded in seeing anything, had succeeded by virtue of the fact that they had shoved on.” They decided to set off for the front without explicit permission and left directions for their permits to follow them.¹⁶

With the Seoul-Uiju rail line still under construction, they would have to share a narrow, snow-covered road with Japanese soldiers for 250 kilometers. There was another complication for London: “The trip had to be performed on horseback. I did not know how to ride.” Dunn and McKenzie set out to teach him, but finding the right horse proved to be a challenge.¹⁷ Korean ponies were known for their viciousness. McKenzie’s, for example, had a habit “of kicking fore and aft, and biting any stranger who approached him,” though they quickly learned to get along.¹⁸ A crowd of curious Koreans in front of Seoul’s Grand Hotel watched as the first horse London was placed on, a stallion, attacked the other horses and threw him into a snowbank. Korean Customs chief McLeavy Brown then sold London a gentle horse he grew fond of until it walked into a wall, revealing that it was blind. Finally, by chance he was

¹⁴ R.L. Dunn, “Jack London Knows Not Fear,” *San Francisco Examiner*, June 26, 1904.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ King Hendricks and Irving Shepard, eds., *Jack London Reports: War Correspondence, Sports Articles, and Miscellaneous Writings* (New York: Doubleday Company, Inc., 1970), 64.

¹⁷ *Jack London Reports*, 33.

¹⁸ McKenzie, 98.

sold a large horse that had belonged to the Russian Minister that he named Belle.¹⁹

They next had to gather supplies. As London put it, “Everything was to be bought – saddles, bridles, blankets, hitching straps, nose bags, rope lashings, spare sets of horseshoes all around, horseshoer’s tools, pack-saddles, extra girths, canned goods, rubber boots, mittens, caps, gloves, clothes, flour, cooking utensils, shoes, candles, and all the thousand and one articles necessary for a campaign which might extend into Manchuria. And it was New Year’s!”²⁰

As the supplies and pack horses to carry them were gathered, so too were the Korean and Japanese men needed to facilitate their travel: the interpreters, “boys,” and mapus, or grooms. “Boys,” or general helpers, could refer to actual boys, but often did not. McKenzie described his “number one boy,” Kim Mingun, the “overlord of my coolies, master of my horses, bodyguard and friend,” as a man of forty,²¹ while the two boys hired by Dunn appear in photographs to be teenagers.²² Photos of London’s “gem of a boy,” Manyungi, who served as London’s “cook, interpreter, treasurer, [and] manager,” show him to be in his twenties.²³ London had less luck in hiring a Japanese interpreter, who it turned out had simply memorized English phrases, so “five minutes later I had to borrow Dunn’s interpreter in order to understand what my interpreter was talking about.” Dunn alienated the interpreter he hired by addressing him as “boy,” so London hired him instead. As London put it, “I engaged always to call him ‘Mr. Yamada,’ whereupon he looked very pleased and asked me for an advance of two months’ salary.”²⁴

The advent of war quickly drove up prices and caused the value of Korean currency to skyrocket. Creating more difficulty was the fact that Korean “cash,” or the strings of coins used in daily transactions, were not made to be transported easily, as Dunn discovered to his dismay. When he sent out his new interpreter, Kurita, to convert \$150, he was shocked by the result when Kurita returned hours later. “It took me only an instant to realize that I was the proud owner of what looked like a whole city block of real money – money enough to sink a ship.” “I could not carry it, and nothing short of an army could move it.” Kurita “insisted

¹⁹ *Jack London Reports*, 33-37.

²⁰ *Ibid*, 37. McKenzie overcame a Chinese tailor’s reluctance to work on the holiday by promising to write about him in his book. McKenzie, 66-67.

²¹ McKenzie, 72.

²² Dunn, “In Korea with the Kodak,” 21.

²³ *Jack London Reports*, 35, 43.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 35.

that twenty men were needed to guard my wealth, night and day, until I should be ready to move it.” He hired the necessary guards, but due to their wages, by the time Dunn returned “the heap of money had eaten itself up.”²⁵



Robert Dunn with his pile of money.²⁶

Dunn and McKenzie had planned to head north on February 22 before London was fully ready, but they met with delays, so it was London who left first two days later, taking McKenzie’s pack horses ahead with him. Before he could leave, however, he was confronted by the mapus who demanded higher wages; already getting double the normal rate, they demanded twice as much again. As McKenzie described it, “I might have compromised, but the spirit of my comrades fired me to fight. ‘These men are money mad,’ cried Jack London. ‘We’re not going to give way.’ The men threw the packs on the road.” In the end, however, “Our servants stood by us. The packs were replaced, and the strikers found the procession of ponies starting north without them.”²⁷

Dunn was the first to catch up. According to London, “that night, at the end of fifty li, found Dunn sans boy, sans mapus, sans everything and dining with me.”²⁸ McKenzie headed out the next day carrying only a

²⁵ “A ‘Cash’ Transaction in Korea,” *Collier’s*, June 4, 1904, 8.

²⁶ Photo Source: “A ‘Cash’ Transaction in Korea,” *Collier’s*, June 4, 1904, 8.

²⁷ McKenzie, 74.

²⁸ *Jack London Reports*, 37. In his earliest articles London referred to Dunn and McKenzie as “Jones” and “McLeod,” respectively. I have corrected this.

blanket, a toothbrush, and a revolver, followed by his interpreter and boy. He described the “Peking Road” they were to take north as “surprisingly well made, although often in a bad state of repair.” He rode all day and into the night until finally “I could hear the voices of my friends, who...were now shouting for us.”²⁹

McKenzie wrote memorable descriptions of his friends. “If ever a man deserved success, Jack London is he. Whatever came during the days of our trip north (and we had our share of the very rough) his open, frank face never lost its laugh. He had to learn riding, and before many days his flesh was raw with saddle soreness. Then he laughed the more, even though his teeth were clenched, only insisting that we should ride harder, and himself hardest of all.” He described Dunn as “American every inch. A Tennessee man, trained in New York, he will do anything, bear anything, go anywhere, to get a beat. He is capable of asking a General to delay a bombardment until the light grows better for picture taking.”³⁰

Once gathered, “We three had among us eighteen ponies and thirteen men, boys and interpreters.” This was, as London put it, “a puzzling parcel to deposit in chance livery stables along the way. And stables were a necessity, first because of the impossibility of carrying horse food or of grazing horses at night in the snow, and second because Korean ponies are only fed on cooked beans and soup, piping hot.”³¹ Also complicating the journey was the fact that “supplies of food had been cleared out for the troops and many villages were wholly taken up by the advance guards. One night Dunn had to keep out by sheer physical force a party of Japanese soldiers who wanted to take over our hut.”³² These food supplies were also important because “After the first day or two we had left our carts and boys behind and had pushed on with one native attendant, relying mainly on native supplies for food. The weather had been exceedingly trying. Several of our boys had broken down from the quick exertion [and] Dunn was struggling against an attack of pneumonia.”³³

London also described the demanding conditions: “I shall not soon forget such an ice-slope we climbed at the rear of a column of infantry. The men were sprawling right and left. Slipping became contagious. McKenzie, in front of me, after mad gyrations, went down. A

²⁹ McKenzie, 81-84.

³⁰ *Ibid*, 64-65.

³¹ *Ibid*, 74; *Jack London Reports*, 43.

³² McKenzie, 88.

³³ *Ibid*, 92.

soldier picked him up and promptly went down himself. My feet were inclined to move in divers simultaneous directions, and the resultant was precarious equilibrium maintained at hazard and by miracle. But poor Belle, my horse, had four feet sliding in many simultaneous directions.” By the time they made it to the top almost all of her shoes had come off. The necessity of carrying one’s own horseshoe supplies soon became apparent.³⁴ As London wrote of Korean villagers, “Love, money, or force could not procure from them a horseshoe or a horseshoe nail. ‘Upso,’ was their invariable reply. ‘Upso,’ cursed word, which means ‘Have not.’”³⁵

At a time of war and possible invasion by Russians, Korean villagers were, unsurprisingly, not always willing to put Dunn, London, McKenzie, and their entourage up for the night, despite the income they could earn. A memorable instance of this took place in Hwangju, which London described as “an ancient walled city of an estimated population of 30,000.”³⁶ That day they had “started at dawn and traveled hard until evening, climbing over two stiff mountain passes in the afternoon, and keeping on for long after dark.” London had fallen behind, but when the McKenzie and Dunn arrived, exhausted, “the head man there absolutely refused to give us shelter,” nor would anyone sell them food for the horses.³⁷ As London put it, “there were frequent invitations to go on to the next village, ‘ten li more.’ This phrase, ‘ten li more,’ has a peculiarly irritating effect on Dunn. He avers that he has heard nothing else since he entered the country, and that he has heard it so often and under such exasperating circumstances that he is going to write a book on Korea and entitle it, ‘Ten Li More.’”³⁸ When they were led to the gates, McKenzie tried another tactic: “I shifted my revolver from my hip pocket to the front of my coat, ostentatiously letting the head man see my every movement.” He then made it clear they would not be leaving, and, “As if by magic, the head man’s expression changed.”³⁹ In retaliation, their horses’ blankets were stolen off their backs during the night, and only a tense confrontation the next morning, during which they all drew their guns, got the blankets back.⁴⁰

³⁴ *Jack London Reports*, 54-55.

³⁵ Jack London, “The Yellow Peril,” in *Revolution and Other Essays*.
<http://london.sonoma.edu/Writings/Revolution/yellow.html>

³⁶ *Jack London Reports*, 57-58.

³⁷ McKenzie, 88.

³⁸ *Jack London Reports*, 58. “Jones” has been changed to Dunn.

³⁹ McKenzie, 88.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 89-91; *Jack London Reports*, 59-60.

Such dramatic interactions were uncommon, however. As McKenzie put it, “We early learned to submit ourselves to the friendly curiosity of the people. They crowded around us, timid and good-natured, making holes in the paper windows to spy our doings, and noticing our every movement.” He described how London would amuse himself by sitting in the doorway and, “gazing vacantly at the crowd in front of him,” would let his false teeth begin to drop from his mouth. “Then he would start up with a shout and the whole mob would fly helter-skelter in terror.”⁴¹

Despite being beset with hardships during their journey north, they “could not fail to be struck by the majestic beauty of the land.” As McKenzie put it, “I shall never forget the evening when one descended from the hills, and crossed the ice on the broad Imjin River – as grand a stretch of mountain and river scenery as I have ever beheld.”⁴² In addition to the natural landscape, the march of Japanese infantry, horses, artillery, and pontoons with which to make bridges presented many opportunities for a war photographer – especially when he was one of only two foreign correspondents with a camera in Korea. As Dunn put it, “There never was a time when good photographic scenes failed to present themselves.” But while finding subjects to photograph was easy, developing the film and sending the photos back to New York was not.⁴³

One problem was interference by the Japanese military. “Being stopped and detained for hours at a time got so common that shortly I quit protesting,” Dunn wrote. Whenever he wanted to develop film, “A hut if possible was located at the extreme side of a village, where the soldiers could not interfere without going far out of their way.”⁴⁴

Though Dunn had brought with him a developing machine, chemicals, and a great deal of film, he was forced to develop the film in sub-zero weather. “The next problem,” according to Dunn, “was water. One well to a village is the rule and water in plenty one must have when there are dozens of films to be developed. The moment I entered a village...the entire population was sent scurrying to the town’s only well for water. The primitive method by which I obtained my water supply is well illustrated by the picture of the Korean girl with the big jar of water

⁴¹ McKenzie, 87. He does not mention London by name, but London himself described how he removed his teeth while in a Korean fishing village, after which “one old fellow...crept in to me at three in the morning and woke me in order to have another look.” *Jack London Reports*, 11.

⁴² McKenzie, 81-82, 91.

⁴³ Dunn, “In Korea with the Kodak,” 20. London also had a camera.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 21-22.

on her head. It would tax a man to lift such a weight to his shoulder, yet this mere child, inured to hardship, carried it without difficulty. Indeed, the opportunity to earn a little money was so attractive to her that she followed our little party from place to place for the sake of what she could get in this way. Sometimes she could not keep pace with us, and for a few days we would not see her; then she would again appear on the scene, ready to help in the carrying of water for my developing machine. By the time my helpers with the packs arrived, water in every conceivable pot and pan in town was in readiness for the developing.”⁴⁵



One of Dunn’s water carriers.⁴⁶

Among his helpers were two Korean boys, and with their aid he spent hours developing photos. “The water had to be warmed, so had the machine, and by working rapidly we were able to develop the roll before the developer would get too cold.”⁴⁷ The two Korean boys he hired “proved exceptionally smart and bright. It took only two or three days before they were able to run the developing machine, and in fact mix all the chemicals for developing. They learned to dry the films, clean the developing machine, and very often would take a Kodak and make a fairly good photograph.”⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Dunn, “In Korea with the Kodak,” 20.

⁴⁶ Photo Source: Dunn, “In Korea with the Kodak,” 20.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*



Dunn working with a Korean boy to develop photos.⁴⁹

“With my Kodak under my saddle and the saddle for a pillow I turned in usually about midnight,” surrounded by drying films. He would rise early, caption his photos, and then arrange to send them abroad.⁵⁰ As Dunn put it, “I sent a messenger almost daily for over a month. These messengers were Korean coolies, generally the ones who had worked for the missionaries and could be fairly well trusted. It took a coolie, traveling very hard, on foot, about six days and half the nights, to arrive at Seoul. At Seoul arrangements were made with foreigners to see that the films and correspondence got the first available craft for China.” Many of the messengers were involuntarily drafted by passing Japanese soldiers and forced to turn around and carry their packs north. As a result, some took weeks to make the trip to Seoul, and some never made it there at all.⁵¹

Upon their arrival in Pyongyang on March 2, after eight days of riding, Dunn and London photographed the exhausted Japanese troops waiting for a pontoon bridge to be built across the Taedong River. The city offered many opportunities to those with cameras, and they both took

⁴⁹ Photo Source: Dunn, “In Korea with the Kodak,” 21.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 23.

⁵¹ Ibid, 21. Dunn later tried to mail a number of photos from Pyongyang, but never saw them again and assumed the Japanese had confiscated them. *Collier's*, May 21, 1904, 12-13.

photos of Japanese troops marching into the city, a re-enactment of a skirmish with Russian scouts at the city walls, and the interior of a Korean palace then being built in the city.⁵²



The pontoon bridge being built at Pyongyang.⁵³

Pyongyang also offered the correspondents other opportunities. According to McKenzie, after days of eating only rice and hard-boiled eggs, they were “dominated by one great longing – the desire to find bread, white bread, without which all the rest of the good things of this earth are almost worthless.”⁵⁴ Upon arriving at a Japanese inn on the river bank, McKenzie was sent out to find bread but slipped and fell on the ice-covered steps, fracturing his wrist,⁵⁵ so it was ultimately Dunn who went out to gather all the bread he could.⁵⁶ Though they were staying at “a Japanese Hotel crammed with soldiers,” it offered at least one comfort,

⁵² London’s photos of Pyongyang can be seen at the Huntington Library’s website: <https://hdl.huntington.org/digital/collection/p16003coll7/id/632/rec/302>

⁵³ Photo source: *Collier’s*, April 23, 1904, 5.

⁵⁴ McKenzie, 92.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 93.

⁵⁶ Dunn, “In Korea with the Kodak,” 23.

described by London in a letter in which he stated he was “ordering whiskey just now” for Dunn and McKenzie.⁵⁷

In Pyongyang, they also came across the American missionaries active there: Samuel Moffett, Graham Lee, and Edwin Koons. McKenzie praised their self-sacrifice and patient endurance, saying they “deserve admiration and regard in the highest degree.” Koons tried to help McKenzie convert a bank draft from Seoul, and also convinced London to buy Japanese silver dollars with paper yen that would be useless further north.⁵⁸ London later found Moffett’s Korean name, Mah-mok-sah, “a word to conjure with” when dealing with Korean villagers further north.⁵⁹

After several days in Pyongyang, Dunn, London, and McKenzie were anxious to move further north to Anju where Japanese scouts were encamped. The Japanese Army was reluctant to let them go, however, and the fact the correspondents’ permits had not yet caught up with them was “the string by which the War Department had hold of us.”⁶⁰ At first only gentle pressure was applied. At numerous meetings with the Japanese Consul in Pyongyang, they were “neither permitted to go on, nor commanded to stay back.” As well, General Sasaki urged them to wait and travel with him, which, as London told it, convinced one of them to remain: “Mackenzie fell by the wayside. Most anxious of the three of us to push on at once north to Anju, he allowed himself to be persuaded by General Sasaki and departed on a side-trip to the seaport” of Chinnampo.⁶¹

On March 8, Dunn and London headed north but faced so many delays they made it only 13 kilometers before having to stop for the night at a village called Poval Colli. Amid villagers coming to stare at them, London set the scene as he tried to write: “My interpreter comes in with his daily report. Manyoungi, my Korean cook and interpreter, comes in with tea and toast. Dunn sends down half a can of hot pork and beans – and there are a thousand interruptions.”⁶²

Soon after setting out the next day, they were met by a Korean messenger who delivered news from missionaries that Russians had been sighted north of Anju, 50 kilometers away, and that they should press on as fast as possible if they wanted to witness the imminent clash.⁶³ When

⁵⁷ *Jack London Reports*, 13.

⁵⁸ McKenzie, 104-107; *Jack London Reports*, 68-72.

⁵⁹ *Jack London Reports*, 82-84.

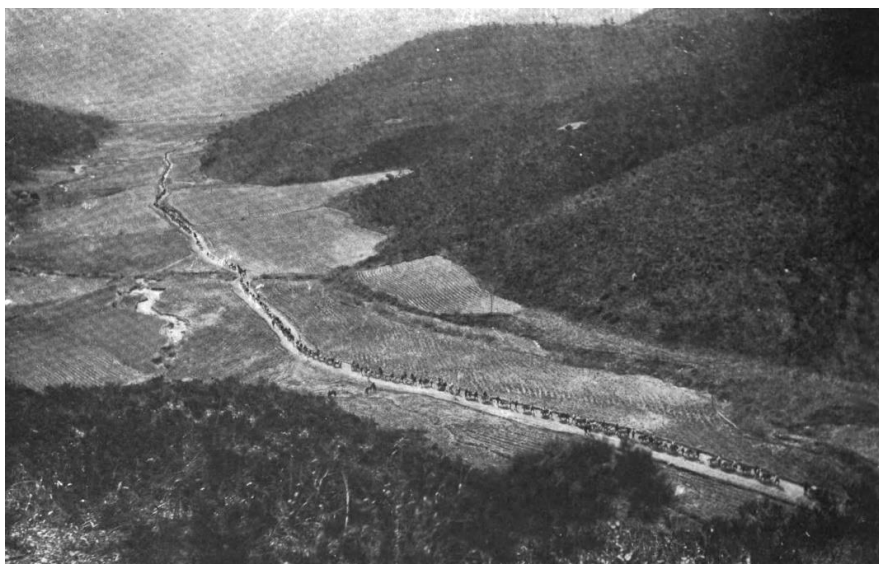
⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 92.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, 65-66.

⁶² *Ibid*, 15.

⁶³ *Jack London Reports*, 66.

they arrived in the nearby village of Sunan, however, they were surrounded by a detachment of soldiers there who had been tipped off by the group's Japanese interpreters. Orders soon came from General Sasaki that Dunn and London were not to proceed farther.⁶⁴



Japanese troops on the move through northern Korea.⁶⁵

Though the infantry captain there provided them with food and they were free to ride their horses, any attempt to go north was challenged by Japanese sentries.⁶⁶ As most of the villagers had fled at the outbreak of war, London set up camp in a deserted house on the main street and watched as soldiers and supplies streamed by, heading north. During their stay in Sunan, many villagers began to return, and London himself proved to be a star attraction. "All of my functions, from eating to sleeping are performed in public" and "all day long there is a rapt and admiring audience before my door." "There is a constant discussion going on as to why I do this or that; but my star performance is shaving. When Manyungi brings the hot water and I lather my face the street blocks up." London returned the favor by setting up an outdoor photo studio, and he and Dunn took turns photographing the villagers.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Dunn, "Ways That Are Dark," 9.

⁶⁵ Photo source: *Collier's*, May 14, 1904, 10.

⁶⁶ *Jack London Reports*, 16-17, 75.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 73-77; *The Russo-Japanese War*, 59, 66.

After two or three days in Sunan, Dunn went back to Pyongyang “to wake the dead in an effort to get permission to proceed,” leaving London to pass the time sending Korean poems to his future wife and trying to “grind something out of nothing for the *Examiner*.”⁶⁸ In Chinnampo McKenzie also found himself sequestered. Intending to watch the landing of Japanese troops there until a despatch boat arrived from China, his wait stretched into more than a week because, unbeknownst to him, the Japanese had turned the boat back. As all of the hotels were filled with Japanese officers, he was “isolated in a lonely Korean hut,” where he typed out two or three chapters of his book.⁶⁹

Dunn, London, and McKenzie eventually came to learn what had led to their detainment. As London put it, “The Japanese are disciplining us for our rush ahead and the scoop we made – and they are doing it for the sake of the correspondents who remained in Japan by advice of the Japanese and who have made life miserable for the Japanese by pointing out that we have been ahead gathering all the plums.” After correspondents in Tokyo threatened to go to Korea on their own, the War Office ordered those in Korea to obtain official permits.⁷⁰

In Pyongyang, the Japanese Consul told Dunn “that complaints were coming to him daily,” and ordered him back to Seoul.⁷¹ As Dunn saw it, these complaints came from men “who did not have the grit or the enterprise to get anywhere near the field of action.”⁷² Dunn packed up his gear and headed back to Seoul the way he had come, and after a six-day trip he arrived in Seoul on March 20.

After more than a week of waiting in Chinnampo, McKenzie was given a written order of expulsion by a police official. His plan to take an army transport the next day changed when *The Times*’ despatch boat docked for a short visit, and he was invited to join the crew as they sailed to Chemulpo. While aboard, McKenzie revelled in the “strange luxury” of Western food, a bed, and a hot bath.⁷³

London was ordered to return to Pyongyang, and upon arriving there on March 16, he was ordered back to Seoul. He rode down to Chinnampo but was given no time to view the troops landing. “The Japanese Consul, turning a deaf ear to the complaints of the captain, held

⁶⁸ *Jack London Reports*, 17, 23, 75.

⁶⁹ McKenzie, 109-111, vi. Or so one assumes; this was only time he was alone in Korea.

⁷⁰ *Jack London Reports*, 17, 92.

⁷¹ *Collier's*, May 21, 1904, 12-13.

⁷² Dunn, “Jack London Knows Not Fear.”

⁷³ McKenzie, 111-112.

a coasting steamer all afternoon and long after dark until he saw us safely on board and steaming out of the harbor.”⁷⁴

By March 18, London and McKenzie were back in Seoul, but were forced to wait three weeks for the other correspondents attached to the First Army to arrive from Tokyo.⁷⁵ As London passed the time learning billiards and giving a reading of *Call of the Wild* at the Seoul YMCA, he complained about the “irritating inactivity,” writing, “Have never been so disgusted with anything I have done. Perfect rot I am turning out. It’s not war correspondence at all.” Unable to see any war, they were faced with “gorgeous uncertainty and a hotel proprietor who raises the rates every little while and calls it a war price.”⁷⁶

In mid-April London and McKenzie joined the group of correspondents who had arrived from Tokyo. They sailed to Chinnampo, rode to Pyongyang and collected the gear they had left behind, and then headed north with the First Army so they could witness the Battle of the Yalu River, the first major land battle of the war. From there they followed the Japanese Army into Manchuria.

Dunn was not so lucky. Though he had been explicitly assured in Pyongyang that the Japanese Minister in Seoul could authorize him to rejoin the army, “there was a hitch somewhere,” so he was ordered to return to Tokyo. “I fumed and flared,” he wrote, “but had to go.” Upon arriving in Tokyo in early April, he found he would not be assigned to the First Army along with London and Dunn, nor to the Second Army, but rather to the Third Army. After a wait of almost two months, he left Tokyo in disgust on June 10 and headed home.⁷⁷

“To tell a man plainly that he can not do a certain thing, and to stick to it, has evidently never been dreamed of in Japan,” he wrote. “It is so much easier to promise with a smile and break with a shoulder-shrug. At Tokio the game is played hourly – at the War Office, at the telegraph office, at the hotels, everywhere.” He proposed that if the war correspondents were to collect every case of misrepresentation together, “no book of size hitherto seen would be large enough to hold their tale of woe.”⁷⁸

McKenzie disagreed. Though he was critical of the way the Japanese antagonized the foreign correspondents in the field and treated them with suspicion – something an Imperial rescript put an end to in the

⁷⁴ *Jack London Reports*, 17, 93.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 18; McKenzie, 112.

⁷⁶ *Jack London Reports*, 18-20, 93.

⁷⁷ Dunn, “Ways That Are Dark,” 10.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*.

fall of 1904 – he found that many of the charges of bad faith resulted from misunderstanding. “Much trouble was caused by the fact that the Japanese mode of expression is different from our Western way. When a Japanese has to refuse your request, courtesy forbids that he should reply with a direct negative.”⁷⁹ As for so many correspondents being held back in Tokyo, he wrote that the War Office was “undoubtedly overwhelmed by the total of applications from so-called correspondents,” many of whom, he asserted, “were not proper war correspondents but mere posers,” a “crowd of irresponsible outsiders.”⁸⁰

London was soon sailing home as well. In late May, after he got into an altercation with a Japanese groom who was stealing his horse’s feed, he barely escaped being court martialled and, after stopping in Seoul and Tokyo, headed home.⁸¹ After the Battle of Liaoyang in late August, McKenzie began a journey that took him to Poland and the Caucasus to report on the war’s effects on Russian society.⁸²

Anyone learning about the opening of the Russo-Japanese War today has almost certainly come across Robert Dunn’s photos, but this trip marked his only involvement with Korea. Frederick McKenzie returned to Korea in 1906 and wrote a critical account of Japan’s protectorate titled *The Tragedy of Korea*. He followed this up with an account of the March First Independence Movement of 1919 titled *Korea’s Fight for Freedom*. Though he is not well remembered today, practically every South Korean has seen the photo of Righteous Army soldiers he took in 1906.

Jack London never returned to Korea, but it continued to exert an influence on him. He brought his Korean “boy,” Manyoungi, to the U.S. to work as his valet for several years, and his experience in Korea influenced his short story “Nose for a King” and a chapter of his 1915 novel *The Star Rover*, in which he wove his own experiences in Korea into a fictional reworking of Hendrik Hamel’s *Journal*. But perhaps the most noteworthy result of his time in Korea may have been “Jack London,” a World War II-era film about his life which climaxed with the realization, while in Korea in 1904, that Japan posed a dire threat to the West. While today it is not uncommon for globally popular American films to have scenes set in Korea, it may be worth remembering that the first Hollywood film to feature Korea as a setting was based on the journey London undertook with McKenzie and Dunn in 1904.

⁷⁹ McKenzie, 279-80, 275.

⁸⁰ Ibid, 273-74.

⁸¹ *Jack London Reports*, 24-25.

⁸² McKenzie, 281-316.

Grit and Enterprise

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2018 Annual Report
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
KOREA BRANCH

President's Report for 2018

The year 2018 already seems far away as I write in May 2019! I was asked to continue as President for a further two years in the autumn, but I hope that by the end of 2020 we will be able to welcome a new and younger President.

What strikes most is the continuing decline in the number of excursions using buses, in favor of walking tours inside of Seoul. The difficulty of getting out of Seoul and back at weekends is certainly one factor, while using a train then a local bus sends the price up a lot, but we are also facing a lack of members able to lead interesting new excursions, and the reality that there are many attractive alternative ways of spending a weekend in and around Seoul now. Attendance at lectures remained good and our other groups met regularly. It is certain, however, that the number of active (dues-paying) members is decreasing. Several longterm members left Korea during the year and we are finding it difficult to make our activities known to new arrivals.

The main change in 2018 was the way Tom Coyner and his wife Yeri Choi took up the challenge of being our General Manager after Yonjoo Hong found it impossible to continue because of her enrollment in a course of doctoral studies. We were most grateful to Tom and Yeri, especially when they continued to fulfill their responsibilities in the midst of a family tragedy.

During the autumn I was obliged to sound the alarm regarding our financial situation. It looked as though we would have completely exhausted our resources by the end of the year and be unable to cover even our basic expenses. A good number of our members responded very generously to our appeal for help, some making donations or taking out life membership in order to help us out. Then an article about our

venerable history and current plight in a major Korean newspaper brought several very generous offers of help from Korean foundations and organizations. Thanks to them we are able to face the immediate future with rather less anxiety.

Still, at the start of 2019 we undertook a revision of our ways of operating in order to reduce our monthly expenses, relying more on volunteers and hiring a part-time Programs Coordinator instead of a Manager. It remains that our only hope of long-term survival is a significant increase in paid-up membership, and an increase in the numbers participating in our activities. It is well-known that the most frequently used word to describe life in Korea is “busy” and the RAS is certainly suffering because everyone is so tied up with other obligations.

I would like to thank our Officers and Council members for their support and encouragement throughout the year. I hope that by the time I come to write the report for 2019 for next year’s *Transactions*, I will have more joyful news to share. I am grateful to all our members for their kind words and faithful attendance at our events. In 2018 our Garden Party was held in the British Ambassador’s garden. We welcomed Simon Smith as the new ambassador, and our new Honorary President, early in the year and we were very grateful for his kind welcome, together with his wife Sian Stickings. The party was extremely well attended and generally accounted a great success.

In conclusion, I would like to remind you that our office houses a collection of books for sale, including some that are now unobtainable elsewhere. It also contains our library, which continues to grow slowly. You are welcome to pay a visit. We are making every effort to ensure that the office is usually open and ready to welcome you.

With my sincere best wishes and thanks.

Brother Anthony
President, RAS Korea

RAS Lectures 2018

January 9 Ned Forney:
The Hungnam evacuation

January 23 Suk Jihoon:
Making Records of All Kinds of Korean Music, 1906: The Earliest
Korean Musical Recordings and Their Historical Significance.

February 6 Maija Devine:
Asian Beliefs: How Chinese Zodiac Signs Affect Women

February 27 Henny Savenije:
Understanding the Importance of Classifying Old Maps of Korea

March 13 Michael Devine:
The Korean War Remembered: An international perspective

March 27 Matt VanVolkenburg:
The Suppression of Youth Culture in 1970s South Korea

April 10 David Kendall:
Cropping Korea: Shifting National Characters on Display at
Changgyeong-gung, -won, -Palace, -Zoo, -gung

April 24 Kathryn Weathersby:
Amazing Aftermath of Seoul 1988 Olympics

May 8 Robert Fouser:
Changing Attitudes toward Korean Language Education in Japan

May 29 Chelle Jones:
LesBiTrans Migrant Life in South Korea

June 5 John Lee:
The Green Hills, Reconsidered: Korea's Environmental History in World-
Historical Perspective.

June 28 Doohee Chung:
Techniques Used in Royal Portraiture During the Late Joseon Dynasty

July 3 Andray Abrahamian:
Myanmar and North Korea: Divergent Paths

July 18 David Shuster:
Virtuous and Sexy: Making National Subjects in 1960s North Korea.

July 24 Miliann Kang:
What Are the Challenges Confronting Working Mothers in South Korea?
Negotiating Gender, Work and Family Issues

September 3 Mark Peterson:
Rewriting Korean History: How Korea got its History Wrong

September 18 Michael Hope:
The Korean Peninsula and the Mongol Empire in Comparative
Perspective

October 16 Bonnie Tilland:
Bring Out the “Passion Crews”: Youth Volunteer Culture at the
PyeongChang Olympics

October 30 Ian Henderson:
Korea’s Extreme Metal Underground

November 13 David Tizzard:
North Korea’s Diplomatic Relations with Britain

November 28 Ahn Young-Ok:
The Amazing Story of Korea’s Industrial Development

December 11 Michael Hay:
Working a Dozen Years in Pyongyang

2018 Excursions

Feb 13 – 22
Bhutan (Tom Coyner)

Saturday March 3
Old Gunsan: Exploring the Remains of Colonial Korea (Robert Koehler)

Sunday March 25

Exploring the Old Incheon (Suk Ji-hoon)

Saturday April 7

Jinhae Blossoms & ROK Naval Excursion (Sue Bae)

Saturday April 14

Modern Korean History in a Nutshell: Changgyeong-Gung (David Kendall)

Monday May 7

Jongno History (Suk Ji-hoon)

Saturday-Sunday May 12-13

Tea, Temples and Food in Jirisan (Br Anthony)

Saturday May 19

Heavenly-Treasure and and Buddha-Rock Temples on Mt. Bulam-san (David Mason)

Buddha's Birthday Tuesday 22 May

Seoul temples (Jeremy Seligson)

Sunday May 27

Hanok History and Preservation Walking Tour (Robert Fouser)

Sunday June 10

RASKB goes to a ball game (Patrick Burgo)

Wednesday July 11

Modern Art exhibition at Deoksu-gung (Suk Ji-hoon)

Sunday July 15

Jeongdong - Discovering history of the old "Legation Street" (Suk Ji-hoon)

Saturday August 18

Gaesong Industrial Complex Exhibition Walking Tour (Jun Y.K. Shin)

Saturday September 1

Ganghwa Island (Sue Bae)

Saturday September 22

Architecture in Daehangno and Hyehwa-dong (Robert Fouser)

Saturday September 29

Naju by KTX with KHS

Wednesday October 3

Korea's Native Faiths and Gods (Jun Shin)

Saturday October 13

Ichon pottery (Sue Bae)

Saturday October 20

Suwon city walls (Peter Bartholomew)

Saturday October 27

Inner & South Seoraksan Autumn Foliage (Sue Bae)

Saturday Nov 10

Southern Seoul's City of Metal walking tour (Jon Dunbar with Ian Henderson)

Nov 24

Exploring the trace of the American Expedition to Korea in 1871 (Thomas Duvernay)

National Museum of Contemporary Korean History

Wednesday, May 16

Jeju 4.3 is Now Our History

Wednesday November 21

The Country They Have All Dreamed Of

Business & Culture Club 2018

The Business & Culture Club meeting is held at midday every 3rd Tuesday of the month for people with little spare time.

March 20, “The Arrival of New Women” at Deoksugung Museum led by Jun Shin

April 17, “Dasi Sewoon, a megastructure reborn” led by Jon Dunbar

May 15, “A short tour to Korea’s 1st skyscraper & nicest coffee shop!” led by Jacco Zwetsloot

June 19, “From Old KEPCO building to Myeongdong park” led by Jun Shin

July 17, “An Exhibition on Kaesong Industrial Complex” at Culture Station 284 led by Jun Shin

September 18, “Yakhyun Catholic Church & a Japanese House” led by Jun Shin

November 20, “King Gojong’s Road” led by Jon Dunbar

December 18, “the Art of Korean Empire” led by Jun Shin

Korean Literature Club 2018

We began a new chapter in May 2018, after Patrick Burgo found he could no longer lead the group. Yon-joo Hong took over as leader, we changed the name of the group, and were welcomed to a new venue in the basement of the North Terrace Book Cafe. The group continues to talk about a Korean short story or novel read in advance in English translation.

Wednesday May 23

The White Book by Han Kang translated by Deborah Smith

Wednesday June 27

I Go to the Convenience Store by Kim Ae-ran translated by Sophie Bowman

Wednesday July 25

The Accusation by Bandi translated by Deborah Smith

Thursday August 30

Incurable by Kang Young-sook translated by Brother Anthony

Thursday September 27

The Good Son by Jeong You-jeong translated by Kim Chi-young

Wednesday October 31

The Hole by Hye-Young Pyun translated by Sora Kim-Russell

Thursday, November 29

The Court Dancer by Kyung-sook Shin translated by Anton Hur.

Saturday December 15 (Special book launch)

The Underground Village by Kang Kyeong-ae translated by Anton Hur.

The Library

Our Library continues to grow under the care of our Librarian, Michael Welles. The following books were added to the Library in 2018

Law and Justice in Korea: South and North Choi, Chongko

Click into the Hermit Kingdom: Virtual Adventure into the Chosun Dynasty Yang, Sung-jin; Lee, Nam-hee

Gong Yang: A comic book with Korean temple food stories and recipes

Korean Society: An introduction Kim, Andrew Eungi

Topography of Korean Discourse, A: Politico-Philosophical Reflections on Confucian Discourse Since Modernity Lee, Seung-hwan; Song, Jae-yoon (trans); Lee, Seung-hwan (trans.)

Contemporary Korean Cinema: Identity, culture and politics Lee, Hyangjin

Best Loved Poems of Korea, selected for foreigners Ko, Chang-soo

(trans.)

South Korea: Dissent within the economic miracle Ogle, George E.

Underground Village, The Kang, Kyeong-ae; Hur, Anton (trans.)

Study of Foreign Languages in the Chosŏn (Choson) Dynasty, The Song, Ki-joong

Under the Loving Care of the Fatherly Leader Martin, Bradley K.

그들 이 꿈 꾸었던 나라 : 대한 민국 정부 수립 70년 기념 특별전 = The country they have all dreamed of : 70th anniversary of the Republic of Korea government.

Endless Blue Sky Lee, Hyosek; Capener, Steven D. (trans.)

Bamboo Grove, The: An Introduction to Sijo Rutt, Richard (trans.)

Doing Business in Korea: An expanded guide Coyner, Thomas L., Jang Song-hyon

Ainu, Ainu Chung Yeun-hee

한국의 부채 (扇)/Han'guk ũi puch'ae (sŏn) 김만희/ Kim Man-hee

한국의 화조도 (I) /Han'guk ũi hwajodo (I) 김만희/ Kim Man-hee

한국의 용/Han'guk ũi yong 김만희/ Kim Man-hee

한국의 봉황도/Han'guk ũi ponghwangdo 김만희/ Kim Man-hee

문방구도/Han'guk ũi munbanggudo 김만희/ Kim Man-hee

한국의 화조도 (II) /Han'guk ũi hwajodo (II) 김만희/ Kim Man-hee

Paved with Good Intentions: The NGO Experience in North Korea Flake, L. Gordon; Snyher, Scott (eds.)

First person sorrowful Ko, Un

House of Twilight, The Yun, Hueng-gil

Contrived Life, A Moon, Jung Young; Mah Eunji; Karvonen, Jeffrey (trans)

Cozy Path, The Chan, Jung; Lee, BoKyung (trans)

Descendants of Cain, The Hwang Sun-won; Suh Ji-moon, Pickering, Julie (trans)

Tears of my Soul Kim Hyun Hee

Korean war, The: An international History Steuck, William

Recently Published Books in Korean Studies

Readers might like to see a list of scholarly books related to Korean Studies published in recent years (until May 2019).

2019

David Cheng Chang. *The Hijacked War: The Story of Chinese POWs in the Korean War*. Stanford University Press. 2019. ISBN: 978-1503604605

David P. Fields. *Foreign Friends: Syngman Rhee, American Exceptionalism, and the Division of Korea* (Studies In Conflict Diplomacy Peace). University Press of Kentucky. 2019. ISBN: 978-0813177199

Joseph Jonghyun Jeon. *Vicious Circuits: Korea's IMF Cinema and the End of the American Century*. Stanford University Press. 2019. ISBN: 978-1503608450

Minsoo Kang. *Invincible and Righteous Outlaw: The Korean Hero Hong Gildong in Literature, History, and Culture*. University of Hawaii Press. ISBN: 978-0824874421

Kim Man-jung, Heinz Insu Fenkl, *The Nine Cloud Dream*. Penguin Classics. 2019. ISBN: 978-0143131274

Monica Kim. *The Interrogation Rooms of the Korean War: The Untold History*. Princeton University Press. 2019. ISBN: 978-0691166223

Cheeyun Lilian Kwon. *Efficacious Underworld: The Evolution of Ten Kings Paintings in Medieval China and Korea*. University of Hawaii Press. 2019. ISBN: 978-0824856021

Jungmin Kwon. *Straight Korean Female Fans and Their Gay Fantasies*. University of Iowa Press. 2019. ISBN: 978-1609386214

Nym Wales, Kim San. *Song of Arirang: The Story of a Korean Rebel Revolutionary in China*. Kaya Press. 2019. ISBN: 978-1885030566

Gender and Class in Contemporary South Korea: Intersectionality and Transnationality (Transnational Korea 4) edited by Hae Yeon Choo, John Lie, and Laura C. Nelson. Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley. 2019. ISBN: 978-1557291820

Korea's Premier Collection of Classical Literature: Selections from Sŏ Kŏjŏng's Tongmunŏn. Translated by James B. Lewis, Xin Wei. Series: Korean Classics Library: Historical Materials. University of Hawaii Press. 2019. ISBN: 9780824877309

Revisiting Minjung: New Perspectives on the Cultural History of 1980s South Korea (Perspectives On Contemporary Korea) edited by Sunyoung Park. University of Michigan Press. 2019. ISBN: 978-0472074129

2018

Juhn Young Ahn. *Transgression in Korea* (Perspectives on Contemporary Korea). University of Michigan Press. 2018. ISBN: 978-0472073771

Jinsoo An. *Parameters of Disavowal: Colonial Representation in South Korean Cinema* (Global Korea). University of California Press. 2018. ISBN: 978-0520295308

Victor Cha, David Kang. *Nuclear North Korea: A Debate on Engagement Strategies* (Contemporary Asia in the World). Columbia University Press revised ed. 2018. ISBN: 978-0231189224

Inshil Choe Yoon. *A Place to Live: A New Translation of Yi Chung-hwan's T'aengniji, the Korean Classic for Choosing Settlements* (Korean Classics Library; Philosophy and Religion). University of Hawaii Press. 2018. ISBN: 978-0824877606

John Jorgensen. *The Foresight of Dark Knowing* (*Chŏng Kam nok*, Korean Classics Library: Philosophy and Religion). University of Hawai'i Press. 2018. ISBN: 978-0824875381

Jiyeon Kang. *Igniting the Internet*. University of Hawai'i Press. 2018. ISBN: 978-0824856571

Recently Published Books in Korean Studies

Charles R. Kim. *Youth for Nation: Culture and Protest in Cold War South Korea* (Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University). 2018. ISBN: 978-0824879389

Cheehyung Harrison Kim. *Heroes and Toilers: Work as Life in Postwar North Korea, 1953–1961*. Columbia University Press. 2018. ISBN: 978-0231546096

Immanuel Kim. *Rewriting Revolution: Women, Sexuality, and Memory in North Korean Fiction*. University of Hawaii Press. 2018. ISBN-13: 978-0824872632

Gooyong Kim. *From Factory Girls to K-Pop Idol Girls: Cultural Politics of Developmentalism, Patriarchy, and Neoliberalism in South Korea's Popular Music Industry* (Lexington Studies in Rock and Popular Music). Lexington. 2018. ISBN: 978-1498548823

Suk-Young Kim. *K-pop Live: Fans, Idols, and Multimedia Performance*. Stanford UP. 2018. ISBN-13: 978-1503605992

Sunglim Kim. *Flowering Plums and Curio Cabinets: The Culture of Objects in Late Chosŏn Korean Art* (Korean Studies of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies). University of Washington Press. 2018. ISBN: 978-0295743417

Katherine In-Young Lee. *Dynamic Korea and Rhythmic Form*. Wesleyan University Press. 2018. ISBN: 978-0819577054

Sungyun Lim. *Rules of the House: Family Law and Domestic Disputes in Colonial Korea*. University of California Press. 2018. ISBN: 978-0520302525

Mark A. Nathan. *From the Mountains to the Cities: A History of Buddhist Propagation in Modern Korea* (Contemporary Buddhism). University of Hawaii Press 2018. ISBN: 978-0824872618

Yujeong Oh. *Pop City: Korean Popular Culture and the Selling of Place*. Cornell University Press. 2018. ISBN: 978-1501730719

Eugene Y. Park. *A Genealogy of Dissent: The Progeny of Fallen Royals in Chosŏn Korea*. Stanford UP. 2018. ISBN-13: 978-1503602083

Recently Published Books in Korean Studies

J. P. Park. *A New Middle Kingdom: Painting and Cultural Politics in Late Chosŏn Korea (1700—1850)*. University of Washington Press. 2018. ISBN: 978-0295743257

Michael J. Seth. *North Korea: A History*. Red Globe Press. 2018. ISBN: 978-1352002218

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Rowman & Littlefield. ISBN: 978-1442235175

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Sunil Kim, ed. Berlin: Logos Verlag. 2016. ISBN 978-3832543327

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Editors: Christopher P. Hanscom; Dennis Washburn. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2016. ISBN: 978-0824852801

The Story of Hong Gildong. Ed / trans Minsoo Kang. Penguin Classics.
2016. ISBN: 978-0143107699

RAS Publications

The Catholic Church in Korea: Its Origins 1566-1784. 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. \$20 / KW20,000

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. \$33 / KW33,000

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. \$20 / KW20,000

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. \$8 / KW8,000

Early Encounters with the United States and Japan: Six Essays on Late Nineteenth-Century Korea. Lew, Young-Ick, RAS-KB, 2007. Hardback and Softbound. 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 1897, degenerated into a protectorate of Japan. \$25 / KW25,000

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. \$15 / KW15,000

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. \$15 / KW15,000

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. ISBN 89-7225-086-4. 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. This is the first translation based on the original manuscript. \$15 / KW15,000

Imjin War, The. Sam Hawley. RAS-KB 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 89-954424-5-X. A collection of 50 vignettes of commonplace Korean life. 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. \$4 / KW4,000

Introduction to Korean Music and Dance, An. Lee Hye-ku, RAS-KB, 1977. Softbound. 54 pp. A general discussion for non-specialist Western reader. \$4 / KW4,000

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. \$25 / KW25,000

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. \$6 / KW6,000

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. \$20 / KW20,000

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. \$15 / KW15,000

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. \$15 / KW15,000

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. \$20 / KW20,000

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. \$8 / KW8,000

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. \$8 / KW8,000

Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society Korea Branch, Volumes 60-86. KW10,000 per volume. The complete bound set, hard-bound, containing Volumes 1-85. \$1,000 / KW1,000,000 (Please contact our office for the price of a complete set where only volumes 1-40 are hardbound.)

Virtuous Women: Three Classic Korean Novels. Translated by Richard Rutt & Kim Chong-un, RAS-KB, 1974. Hardbound. 399 pp. ISBN 89-954424-3-3. 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. \$20 / KW20,000

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. \$2 / KW2,000

Yogong: Factory Girl. Robert F. Spencer, RAS-KB, 1988. Softbound. 185 pp. ISBN 89-954424-4-1. 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. \$10 / KW10,000

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Undiplomatic Memories. William F. Sands, 1930. RAS-KB Reprint, 1990 Softbound. 238 pp. A delightfully informal account of Korean affairs and foreign policy at the turn of the century as seen by a young American foreign service officer. \$15 / KW15,000

The Song of a Faithful Wife, Richard Rutt, trans. RAS-KB Reprint, 1999, Paperbound, 97 pp. Here is the timeless love story of Korea--the story of Ch'unhyang. An official's son and a girl of low birth fall in love and are secretly married. The official and his family are sent far away, and the girl becomes the property of a local official who abuses her. Her lover, though, attains the rank of government inspector and returns to punish the local official and rescue his beloved. Rutt's translation in narrative form is the most readable of English translations currently available. \$7 / KW7,000

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Korean Ideas and Values, Michael C Kalton, (Philip Jaisohn Memorial papers) Philip Jaisohn Memorial Foundation (1979) (\$4 / KW4,000)

South Korea (P. Bartz) Clarendon Press (\$8 / KW8,000)

The United States and Korea: American-Korean Relations 1866-1976. Andrew C. Nahm, Editor. Kalamazoo, MI: The Center for Korean Studies, Western Michigan University, 1979 (\$8 / KW8,000)

Korea through Myths and Legends. Robin Rhee. Seoul Press. (\$10 / KW10,000)

Democracy in Korea. Sang-yong Choi Seoul Press for the Korean Political Science Association, 1997 (\$6 / KW6,000)

Early Voyagers: Collected Poems. James Wade. Hollym 1969. (\$2 / KW2,000)

Humanity and Self-cultivation. Tu Wei-ming. Berkeley, CA: Asian Humanities Press (\$10 / KW10,000)

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Korea and the Old Orders in Eastern Asia. M. F. Nelson, 1946, RAS-KB Reprint. 1975. Hardbound. 330 pp. This classic in the field of Korean studies examines the assumptions and traditions which conditioned events in late 19th century Korea. Nelson reconstructs the system of international relations which existed before the onset of Western influences. \$25 / KW 25,000

Korean Repository, The, Vol. 1 (1892)-v. 5 (1898). RAS-KB Reprint, 1975. 5 vols. Hardbound. One of the early English-language periodicals (monthly) on Korea, the articles of culture, events and other Korea provide a wealth of primary material during a fascinating period in Korean history. \$420 / KW 420,000

Korea Review, The, 1901-1906. Homer B. Hulbert, ed., RAS-KB Reprint, 1975. 6 vols. Hardbound. One of the early English-language periodicals (monthly) on Korea, the articles of culture, events and other Korea provide a wealth of primary material during a fascinating period in Korean history. \$480 / KW 480,000

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New Korea, The. Alleyne Ireland, 1926. RAS-KB Reprint, 1975. Hardbound. 352 pp. Ireland's study gives a positive view of the Japanese colonial rule in the mid-

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