

THE Northern
Region
of Korea

HistoryIdentityCulture
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EDITED BY
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The Northern Region of Korea as Portrayed in Russian Sources, 1860s–1913

GERMAN KIM AND ROSS KING

There is an old Korean proverb that goes “*Namnam, pungnyō*,” meaning literally “In the south—men, and in the north—women,” hence “Korean men are more handsome in the southern provinces while women are more beautiful in the north.” This particular proverb resonated in the South Korean popular imagination during the 2002 World Cup soccer championships hosted by Japan and South Korea that year. The South Korean media devoted an inordinate amount of attention to the charm and beauty of the 300 North Korean cheerleaders who, in effect, often garnered more attention from South Korean fans than what was happening on the soccer field.

So are there really physical differences in appearance and/or differences in character between “northern” and “southern” Koreans? Certainly the Korean traditional sources contain well-known discussions of the issue, and claims of this nature were frequently made by western European observers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—some on a merely impressionistic basis, and others on more pseudo-scientific (phrenological or eugenistic) grounds. But neither the Russian observations of an ethnographic and pseudo-scientific, racist nature, nor the specific features of Russian “Orientalist” discourse as revealed in Russian-language narratives about Korea from this period, have been collected and analyzed in a comprehensive manner. Thus, this chapter attempts to survey the Russian sources on northern Korea from the 1860s to approximately 1913, and to demonstrate how Russian observers during this period described the northern region of Korea and the Koreans living there. Our presentation begins with a short introduction to some of the theoretical and methodological problems in any examination of Russian narratives of exploration and discovery in Korea. Then we

proceed with an overview of the Russian materials on the Russo-Korean “contact zone,” which we define as northeastern Korea, the Korean border along the Yalu and Tumen Rivers where many of the early Russian expeditions conducted their work, and the South Ussuri krai (region) in the Russian Far East with its new communities of recently arrived Korean settlers, predominantly from the northeastern Korean province of Hamgyōng.

THE RUSSO-KOREAN “CONTACT ZONE” AND RUSSIAN NARRATIVES OF TRAVEL IN KOREA

In her classic work on western European travel literature, Mary Louise Pratt defines the notion of “contact zone” as follows: “the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality and intractable conflict.”¹

In this chapter we borrow this notion of contact zone and apply it to those regions in the Russian “*Dal’nyi Vostok*” or Russian Far East, in northeastern Korea, and along the Sino-Korean and Russo-Korean borders where Russians and Koreans first came into regular contact beginning in the 1860s. The narratives of contact and encounter explored in this paper were rendered by a wide variety of Russians: travelers and explorers, merchants, regional government officials, administrators and their representatives, military officers, scholars and representatives of Russian learned societies, missionaries, students from the Oriental Institute in Vladivostok, writers, ethnographers, and anthropologists. In some cases, the authors and their backgrounds are well-known, while in others, as G. D. Tiagai notes, we know almost nothing (e.g., K. N. Dadeshkaliani, P. M. Delotkovich, F. M. Vebel’, V. P. Karneev, V. A. Al’ftan).²

There are, to be sure, Russian sources from this period on the central and southern regions of Korea, but for obvious geographical reasons, there is a large and important body of Russian work devoted to the description and study of the northern region of Korea—in particular, the Korean northeast, which we treat here as extending beyond the Russo-Korean border and into the South Ussuri krai in the Russian Far East. This fact alone—the abundance of Russian-language materials on northern Korea from the 1860s until the Japanese takeover of Korea in 1910—suggests the necessity to go back to

these little-known materials and examine them. As V. T. Zaichikov, the noted Russian geographer of Korea, notes: "If, during all this period, Korea was studied geographically quite weakly in general, then the northern region bordering Manchuria was completely inaccessible for investigations of any sort."³ A decade later, another Soviet researcher, writing in a rather Cold War vein, adds more context to the potential value of the Russian materials when compared to sources in other European languages: "In pursuit of their goals of colonization, the western 'researchers' never went outside the boundaries of the more populated southern and central Korea. Anything that did not yield immediate gain in the form of capital failed to attract their interest. This is the only reason that mountainous North Korea remained as a complete 'terra incognita' for the world for a long time."⁴

Russian authors writing about the Korean migrants living north of the Russo-Korean border in the South Ussuri *krai* fall into two main groups: those who opposed the "yellow colonization" of the Maritime Region and campaigned for limitation or outright banning of Korean immigration, and those who, to the contrary, sympathized with the immigrants and championed their rights. Among the most colorful representatives of the former group of authors, Pavel Fedorovich Unterberger (1842-?) must rank first and foremost. Unterberger held the post of Maritime Region governor, and from 1905-1910 served as the region's governor general. The contents of his first book published in 1900 reflect, on the whole, the kind of discretion and tact, vis-à-vis the Korean population, befitting a governor of the Maritime Region.⁵ His second book published in 1912, on the other hand, was completed in the context of Russia's defeat in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905, the annexation of Korea by a Japan hungry for hegemony in the Far East, and the second wave of Korean migration to the region.⁶ In this second book, Unterberger opposes the idea of Korean migration and proposes the introduction of a number of restrictive and prohibitive measures designed to staunch the flow of Korean immigrants and limit their access to employment in the mining and building industries, etc. Among other authors in the opposition camp deserving mention is I. P. Nadarov, whose article from 1889 includes extensive statistical information concerning the Maritime Region population.⁷

Russian authors who were more sympathetic to the Korean migrants in the Russian Far East are more conspicuous, at least as far as published sources are concerned. A. Ragoza and F. Vebel', through their official government

posts, had the benefit of direct contact with the Korean migrants upon which to base the personal observations which complement the official materials in their work.⁸ The same may be said of another official on assignment from the Immigration Department of the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs, A. Rittikh, who made a trip to the Maritime Region, where he became acquainted with the social, economic and legal conditions of the Korean immigrants, and subsequently incorporated these descriptions into his book.⁹

One of the great researchers of Russia's Far Eastern Koreans was N. Nasekin, who held the post of chief official on special assignment attached to the Maritime Region governor general in the 1890s, even though Nasekin had never once actually visited the Korean settlements. Included in a long, general article by him is a short historical essay concerning Korean migration, the administrative divisions of the Korean settlements, a geographical and economic survey of the Korean villages, and information about schools, churches, and missions. The article contains a highly professional ethnographic description of the dwellings, household utensils, food, clothing, religion, and wedding and funeral ceremonies, as well as a description of the Korean "national character."¹⁰ In his analysis, Nasekin reviews other authors' observations of the immigrant Koreans' local circumstances, and goes on to draw his own conclusions, worth citing in full:

So a proper mission and a Russian school are necessary as institutions to bring the Russian spirit into the Korean midst and eliminate differences between the Koreans and the aboriginal Russian population, and to lead its pupils from a very early age in the true Russian direction; and lastly, military service, during which young Koreans will be implanted with the embryo of patriotism and imbued with a sense of faithful devotion to His Majesty. These are the three elements which will make from the Koreans just as loyal men for the Tsar as are dozens of other nationalities, scattered all over the outlying districts of our vast fatherland.¹¹

The so-called "Korean problem" in the Russian Far East was one of the objects of research of the Amur Expedition, dispatched in 1911 by order of the Tsar himself. V. Pesotskii's work on the Koreans was an important outcome of this expedition.¹² In the chapter entitled "The Role of the Koreans in the Region," Pesotskii recorded both favorable and unfavorable opinions regard-

ing the Korean population. In his view, among the cons of the Korean population's presence in the Maritime Region were the following: treasury deprivation due to the cost of producing proper papers for the majority of the Korean population; the financial burden caused by periodic deportations of Koreans back to Korea; the challenge to the development of Russian agriculture; the fall in crop yields due to soil degradation; the danger of corruption and threat, posed by alien elements, to the civic order and morality of the lowest administrative ranks; and the possibility of political infraction or subversion. On the other hand, Pesotskii also enumerated the pluses of Korean settlement in the Maritime Region: benefits to the treasury arising from the issue of Russian official documents and passports; agricultural growth in the region; the placement of cheap Korean labor at the disposal of Russian employers; and the stabilizing effect of industrious, unpretentious and law-abiding citizens in the region.

S. Nedachin's 1913 study furnishes more detailed information and discussion worthy of our attention concerning the Korean immigrants. Nedachin contends that, from the point of view of Russian imperialist ambitions, "History hardly ever gave any better material [than the Koreans] to finish its forthcoming mission—to become firmly established in the Far East."¹³ Nedachin is also known for his work on the history of the Orthodox mission in Korea and the conversion of the Maritime Koreans to Christianity. In common with many other authors, he considers the Koreans a God-fearing people susceptible to Christian teaching, and is optimistic about the potential for the Orthodox church to attract new believers into its fold.¹⁴

Among the representatives of the more "democratic" school of writers were some high-ranking officials. F. Busse, an immigration director in the South Ussuri Region between 1882 and 1892, was one of them.¹⁵ Another such official was M. Putsillo, on special assignment and attached to the Amur oblast' governor, who left not only the first Korean dictionary in a Western language, but also fond memories in the hearts of Korean immigrants.¹⁶ In the spring of 1870, he was sent to establish Korean refugee settlements near the Suifun River and lived there for a year and a half, during which time he worked selflessly to assist newly arrived Koreans. The Koreans were so grateful to him that they erected two monuments in his honor bearing the words: "Captain Mikhailo Ivanych Putsillo. For the love and justice he showed to the Korean people." Subsequently, one of the villages on the Suifun River was

given the name "Putsillovka" in his honor. Putsillo is known to have not enjoyed the favor of the authorities. Essential finances were denied; this undermined his plans to assist the Koreans, and forced him to use his own salary instead.¹⁷

The famous Russian traveler, explorer, and zoologist, N. Przheval'skii, was sent in 1868 by the governor general of Eastern Siberia to the Ussuri Region. With instructions from the Siberian Department of Natural and Historical Research, he proved himself to be not only a brilliant zoologist, but also a master ethnographic observer. The following oft-quoted words of Przheval'skii describing his impressions of the first stage of Korean migration to the Far East were often cited in support of a positive view of Korean colonization there: "Korean immigration to Russia and settlement there in new dwellings should be regarded as a remarkable phenomenon of late."¹⁸ The Siberian historian and publicist, V. Vagin, was also in the vanguard of open criticism of misguided Tsarist policies toward the Korean problem and at the forefront of efforts to protect the Koreans from the scourges of official tyranny, embezzlement of state resources designated for the benefit of Koreans, and from forced Russification and Christianization.¹⁹

The various authors share a sense of sympathy toward the Korean population on Russian lands. Admittedly, these writers are not devoid of weaknesses, inaccuracies, or even outright mistakes. Furthermore, the authors themselves, due to their divergent social classes and official and professional backgrounds, are sometimes inconsistent in their opinions on the same issues. Interesting ethnographic materials can also be found in articles and reports about the Korean village of Blagoslovennoe on the upper reaches of the Amur River; in particular, the fifteen-year lapse between studies allows for some longitudinal tracking of ethnographical features and agricultural data.²⁰

We find, then, a wealth of data and opinions concerning the Russo-Korean "contact zone" extending from northeast Korea into the Russian Maritime Region from the 1860s to approximately 1913. Apart from the factual, statistical, and other more valuable "objective" data the Russian sources most assuredly afford us, how did these Russian narratives of exploration and discovery depict Korea and Koreans? In other words, can we speak of Russian "Orientalist" discourse, and if so, how does it differ from the (primarily French and British) "Orientalist" narrative strategies first outlined by Edward

Said? Questions of Russia's role in and representations of Asia during the imperial period have been poorly studied, and as Nathaniel Knight notes, "Said's model of Orientalism and the rich discussions it has stimulated have evoked surprisingly little response in studies of the Russian empire."²¹

Such research as exists to date tends to focus on Muslim (Central) Asia rather than East Asia, and studies of the latter almost always concentrate on either China or Japan. With respect to Russian Orientalist discourse *vis-à-vis* Muslim Asia, David Brower and Edward J. Lazzerini note some "parallels between French and British images of Muslim lands and Russian cultural representations of the peoples in the empire's southern and eastern territories" before cautioning that "the Russian empire occupied a unique place among Western states."²² The problem with applying Said's notion of Orientalism to Russia is that Russia itself, both in its history and geography, incorporates much that is Asian or Oriental: "As is often pointed out, in Russia the oriental "other" was not necessarily an unknown creature set apart by thousands of miles and vast oceans. In Russia, the "other" was all around."²³

Brower and Lazzerini lament the marginalization of Russia's legacy in Asia by "the dominant Euro-American academic discourse," and are surely right to attribute it to "both the linguistic handicaps of non-Russianists . . . and, contrarily, the indifference of Russianists, though with important exceptions."²⁴ One of those exceptions is David L. Wells' recent study of Russian travel narratives, in which he shows that the "Russian gaze on Tokugawa Japan was necessarily limited . . . the 'contact zone' between the European subject and the Asian focus of observation is extremely narrow."²⁵ Russian travelers in Japan were often hampered by the inadequacy of available interpreters, something Wells takes as a "metaphor for a more general failure of cultural communication." But as we shall see below, Russians traveling in northern Korea from the 1860s through the first decade of the twentieth century had much better access, better interpreters (some even spoke some Korean themselves), and a generally broader contact zone within which to fashion their narratives of discovery. Thus, we offer this chapter not only as a study of the northern region of Korea, but also as one more contribution to coming to grips with Russian Orientalist discourse on East Asia. To conclude this introductory section, we emphasize that the pre-revolutionary Russian literature on Korea and Koreans—particularly when one includes those works

devoted to the study of the Korean immigrant population in the Russian Far East—is significant both in quantity and quality. In terms of quantity, there are a great many general and specialized texts about the Koreans, and in terms of quality, the depth and breadth of the questions considered and the heterogeneity of views expressed on various important aspects are impressive. Thus, the examples discussed below represent only a selection from a broad range of relevant sources.

Russians and the Korean Settlements in the South Ussuri Krai

When the South Ussuri krai was annexed to Russia as a result of the Aigun (1858) and Peking (1860) treaties, Russia and Korea came to share a common border of just sixteen kilometers (9.9 miles) along the lower reaches of the Tumen River. Thus, after 1860 more intensive contact between these two countries began. The immigration of Koreans from northern provinces (overwhelmingly northern Hamgyŏng Province) began in the mid-1860s and continued in several waves through the mid-1920s. Famines, natural disasters, exploitation by Korean government officials, lack of land ownership, and (later) oppression at the hands of the Japanese colonizers pressured many people to emigrate from Korea to Russia. Other "pull" factors included geographical proximity, tolerance by Russian authorities of Korean immigration, ready availability of rich farmland, and the opportunity to start anew.

A number of works by Russian authors appeared during the first migration of Koreans to the Russian Far East. In some of these works, the authors paid attention to the factors underlying the mass immigration, and also to the social, economic, and legal conditions of the new arrivals to the Maritime Region. Since interest in the Korean influx was dictated primarily by pragmatic rather than purely academic considerations, it comes as no surprise that many of the early authors were dignitaries in the Tsar's administration, as well as officials, military men, writers, and journalists.²⁶

As the overwhelming majority of Korean settlers were originally from the northern provinces, and considering the short period of residence in the Russian Maritime Region of the Koreans concerned, the descriptions rendered by the Russian authors of the Korean immigrants serve as valuable source materials for our task here. As mentioned above, we propose to view the South Ussuri krai as an extension of the Korean northeastern region, and

to define as the Russo-Korean contact zone the Korean northeast, the Sino- and Russo-Korean border along the Yalu and Tumen Rivers, and the South Ussuri Region from the short Russo-Korean border all the way up to Vladivostok, which began to develop a significant Korean population, both transient and more permanent, by the 1870s. Now let us turn to a more detailed examination of some of the more interesting travelogues of the Russo-Korean contact zone.

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE OF NORTHERN KOREANS AS DESCRIBED BY RUSSIAN AUTHORS

For most Europeans, including Russians, "all Koreans look alike"; indeed, many will claim that they cannot tell them apart from the Chinese or Japanese. In their turn, South Koreans visiting Kazakhstan today for the first time will confess that they cannot distinguish Kazakhs from Koreans. What did northern Koreans look like to the first Russians in Korea—travelers, writers, military personnel, diplomats, and missionaries? Korean faces were perceived by Russians differently: impressions ranged from the "pure Mongolian" to "European" types, and the authors compared them with different Asian and European peoples.

For instance, M. Zuber writes, "Koreans represent a separate branch of the Mongolian tribe, and look like Tatars; they have the same flat nose, same high cheekbones, slightly squinting eyes, yellowish skin and very black hair."²⁷ P. Delotkevich notes that the faces of Koreans in Seoul are paler and that their appearance is generally better than that of the Koreans living in the South Ussuri Region. In one village near Puryōng (South Hamgyōng Province) he saw a 26-year-old Korean who was demonstrated to the people as a rarity because the hair on his head, eyebrows, and moustache was very light brown, his face was "white with freckles," and his eyes were slanted. His father and mother were "normal" Koreans with black hair.²⁸

Selivanovskii managed to discern the facial likeness between Koreans and Kyrgyz:

In their appearance Koreans do not look like either the Chinese or Japanese. They resemble most of all the Kyrgyz. However, there are some differences between southern and northern Koreans. In the north of the peninsula

Koreans are taller, white-skinned, attractive, well-mannered and in appearance are to a certain extent close to Europeans. Their cheekbones are not so high, and the eye cut is nearly direct; they have straight beards and slightly aquiline noses. Southern Koreans are closer to the Mongolian type. They have faces with high cheekbones, squinted eyes and thin beards. As a rule Koreans have dark brown eyes, black teeth, coarse hair, and yellowish skin. The men are rather tall, strong, adroit, and smart at work. The women on the contrary, are small, and age very early; when young, they are not beautiful and when old they are ugly."²⁹

The most detailed physical description of the Koreans from the northern provinces of Hamgyōng and P'yōngan can be found in Lubentsov's work *Khamkenskaia i pkhienanskaia provintsii Korei* (The Hamgyōng and P'yōngan Provinces of Korea) published in 1897. As regards the face, skin, and hair, he writes:

The color of the face is slightly yellowish, with a touch of bronze color in P'yōngan Province. The eyes are dark brown. The hair on the head is black and coarse. They never shave their beards and moustaches, which in general are very sparse. The eyebrows are thin and sharply contoured. The form of the head is partly Caucasian, partly Mongolian. One can meet, especially in the northeastern part of Korea and among the upper class, some persons remarkably resembling Europeans: they are given away only by a unique fold on their eyelids, which forms directly above the eyelashes when they raise their upper eyelids. This fold is a characteristic feature of the Mongolian race. The cheekbones sometimes protrude sharply, but their eyes for the most part are not slanted. Their facial expression is good-natured, lazy, and very rarely energetic.³⁰

During his trip to northern Korea, Lubentsov for the first time took measurements of the heights and some other aspects of Korean bodies. Measurements were made according to the method of the well-known English scholar Francis Galton, which was described in his book, *Hints to Travelers*, published by the London Royal Geographical Society in 1878. A stick with two marks was used for taking the measurements. When measurements were taken, only the information as to whether a person was taller or shorter than

the marks was recorded. According to Galton, this method helped avoid mistrust or unwillingness on the part of subjects to undergo the measurement procedure.

Lubentsov measured 249 Korean men from Hamgyōng Province between the ages of twenty and sixty-two. The results of his measurements allowed him to come to the following conclusion: "A Korean is taller than a Japanese and has a rather slender, proportional body. Women, as compared to men, are of very small height." Lubentsov gave as the average man's height 65.3 inches, and as the average length of a Korean man's outstretched arms, 76.25 inches; the average arm length was 28.2 inches; average leg length was 38.1 inches; average hand length was 7.03 inches and average foot length was 9.36 inches.³¹

Another important—indeed, monumental—Russian source from this period is the *Opisanie Korei* (Description of Korea), published in 1900 by the Ministry of Finance.³² The chapter on "Population" has two sections of interest for our purposes here, namely "Physical Description of Koreans" and "Character of Koreans." The section on "Physical Description of Koreans" cites excerpts from the works of non-Korean authors describing the appearance of Koreans. According to the data cited in this work, the different types of Koreans were not evenly distributed throughout the country but could be linked with specific regions. Thus, according to the opinion presented in the *Korean Repository*, people living in the northern provinces of P'yōngan, Hamgyōng, and Kangwōn were physically much stronger than those who live in Ch'ungch'ōng, Kyōngsang, and Chōlla; they could carry on their shoulders a weight of sixteen *poods* (1 *pood* = 36.11 pounds). On average, it was alleged that northern Koreans differed greatly in appearance from southern Koreans.³³ In the north, Koreans were taller, more attractive, and well-mannered; there was something Caucasian in their faces, the cheekbones were not as high, and the eyes were more oval in form compared to other peoples in the Far East. In the northern parts of the country, women were supposedly more beautiful, especially in the province of Kangwōn, whence (it was alleged) in olden times girls were chosen for the harem of the Chinese emperor.

Japanese physician Mazanao Koike examined and measured seventy-five healthy Koreans from Pusan between the ages of twenty-five and fifty in 1883 and 1884. The *Opisanie Korei* lists the results of his observations in a table, which for comparison purposes shows similar figures received after observa-

tion of a considerable number of Japanese subjects. The comparison revealed that, on average, the height of Koreans ages twenty-one through twenty-five was 5 feet 10 inches, whereas for the Japanese (2,499 persons were measured) it was only 5 feet 2 inches (and for the 919 Japanese soldiers – 5 feet 4 inches). Even taller were the Koreans from the age group between twenty-six and fifty, where the average height was 5 feet 11 inches. Though the difference in height was significant, the weight and chest measurements for the Korean and Japanese people were nearly the same.³⁴

To return to Russian sources, one neglected and extremely rare publication is N. V. Kirillov's *Medico-Anthropological Study of Korea*, published in 1913. We have been unable to unearth much information on Kirillov himself, but he appears to have made somewhat of a hobby of traveling around the Russian Far East and taking phrenological measurements from Koreans he could find. Thus, he found that prisons on south Sakhalin included so many Koreans and Chinese as to be a "living anthropological museum."³⁵ In support of his eugenistic approach, he cites Deniker, Reclus, then Griffis and Ross, the latter of whom sharply divided southern and northern Koreans.³⁶ Kirillov was aware of and cited both Lubentsov's northern Korean measurements and Koike's Pusan measurements, and was convinced of the great heterogeneity of Koreans in terms of anthropological types.³⁷ He even referred to the "pure, fair-haired villages north of Seoul," whatever those may have been.³⁸ Northeast of P'yōngyang and south of Pusan he discerned a Malayan type.³⁹

ETHNO-PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF NORTHERN KOREANS IN RUSSIAN SOURCES FROM THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH TO THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURIES

In his impressively researched *Statistical and Economic Study of Korea*, Russian scholar N. V. Kiuner of the Vostochnyi Institut (Oriental Institute) in Vladivostok⁴⁰ cites some fragments allegedly from the works of sixteenth-century Korean scholar Yi Hwang, better known under the pen name Yi T'oegye (1501–1571), stereotyping Koreans from different regions. Upon closer inspection, Kiuner's source is in fact a French scholar citing Yi T'oegye; alas, the French scholar does not cite the text, but it seems clear enough that he based his remarks on a Korean text in literary Chinese (*hanmun*) that he thought belonged to Yi T'oegye, so we include the information here in the

hopes that readers might identify the original source.⁴¹ The mysterious Korean author chose the bull as the symbol of Hamgyŏng Province, representing the stupidity of the population that was “rather more Chinese, both in language and customs.” The alleged stupidity of the Hamgyŏng population was reflected in the fact that in this province the people died of various accidents more often than in other provinces: Children would drown or be burned alive; travelers would fall to their deaths as they walked along broken bridges; and old men would freeze to death or get lost in the snow. Villagers would build their huts in dangerous places at the feet of bare mountains despite the fact that their houses were regularly washed away by avalanches. Those who managed to survive would build their homes anew in the same places.⁴²

As the symbol for P’yŏngan Province, the Korean mystery author chose the Korean horse. Like a Korean horse, the people of P’yŏngan Province were small yet feisty and courageous; they were not as tall as people from other provinces but were brave and fearless. They were stubborn and persistent, did not know flattery and low intrigues, and though not particularly communicative, were loyal to the end. Their toughness and wildness were sometimes close to brutality, and cases of premeditated murder, rare though they were in Korea, happened in P’yŏngan Province much more often than in other parts of the country.⁴³

Proceeding from the characteristics enumerated by Yi T’oegyŏ (or whoever the Korean author was) for the people living in the different provinces of Korea, Kiuner came to the conclusion that the most important point was that the prevailing moral qualities of the population in different parts of the peninsula were, he supposed, inherited from distant ancestors, northern and southern representatives of the Mongolian race. The supposed perfidy, falsity, and inconsistency of the people from Chŏlla Province were alleged to be well-preserved, typical qualities of the Malayan race, whereas open-heartedness, fearlessness, and a kind of intellectual underdevelopment were characteristics of the peoples of Inner Asia of Mongolian ancestry. Therefore, according to Kiuner, we can discern in the “unflattering but fair opinion” of “Yi T’oegyŏ” about his compatriots proof of the dual origins of the modern Korean people.⁴⁴

The Russian orthodox missionaries left a considerable amount of data and materials on Korea and Koreans including: Archimandrite Khrisanf (Schetkovskii; 1869–1906), Archimandrite Pavel (Ivanovskii; 1874–1919), Archimandrite Irinarkh (Shemanovskii), Father-Superior Vladimir (Skrizhalo),

Monk Palladii (Seletskii), and Archimandrite Feodosii (Fedor Ivanovich Perevalov; 1875–1933). Archimandrite Khrisanf’s 1905 travelogue is particularly germane to our purposes here. Khrisanf writes that it was his “desire to acquaint myself as intimately as possible with the Koreans, their customs and mores” that motivated his journey.⁴⁵ Archimandrite Khrisanf in his travelogue also pointed to the regional character differences among Koreans:

The character of the people in the northern province is significantly different from the character of the Koreans in the central provinces; whereas the latter give the impression of being—and in fact are—cowed and timid beings, the former, to the contrary, conduct themselves with dignity and even with a certain amount of pride. Among the Koreans of the central provinces I never encountered and never heard any contradictions or defiance, and everything that the European says they take on faith without any debate; the Koreans of Hamgyŏng Province, by contrast, always, no matter what you start to talk to them about, think things over from the start, ask and ask again several times, and constantly state their opinion, sometimes even getting into arguments. One notes among the latter a strong tendency to the critical method of thinking; among the former—credulity and dullness. The northern Koreans are keen of character, somewhat coarse and restless; but ours [meaning the Koreans in Seoul where the Orthodox Korean mission was] are soft, peaceful, and sickly sweet and smooth-tongued. From the missionary point of view, the soil for the spread of Christianity among the northern Koreans is considerably better and more fruitful than among the central Koreans. The northern Koreans can master Christianity and be good Christians in a rather more solid way, and rather more intelligently, while our Koreans are ready to change their faith like gloves; in the qualitative aspect missionary success should be on the side of the former, but in the quantitative aspect, on the side of the latter.⁴⁶

According to Zhdan-Pushkin and others, the populations from different parts of the Korean peninsula have specific character traits in regards to both intellect and morals. Thus, people from the four northern provinces and Kangwŏn Province, especially from North and South P’yŏngan provinces, were supposedly endowed with better intellectual abilities than other Koreans. Their courage and restive nature sometimes manifested itself in indignation. In addition, the ruling dynasty considered them to be secret enemies of the state.

Inhabitants of Hwanghae Province, by contrast, were said to be intellectually limited. They were accused of extreme stinginess and lack of conscientiousness. The population of Kyōnggi Province where the capital was situated, and of North and South Ch'ungch'ōng provinces, was light-minded and inconsistent, fond of life, and full of joy and pleasure. The people from Chōlla Province were considered impudent, hypocritical, and cheating, pursuing their own interests only for the sake of profit and were ready to shamelessly betray each other. The Cheju Island people, belonging to South Chōlla Province and a place of exile for criminals, were known for their rudeness. In Kyōngsang Province, the people stuck to the values of old more than in other provinces. Luxury and wastefulness were rarely met with there; on the contrary, the spirit of thriftiness reigned everywhere and this supposedly explained why there were so many well-off families and how even modest inheritances could pass from father to son over long periods of time. There were more people interested in research there than anywhere else. Quite often one could see a young person who, having worked the whole day in the fields, sits down to read in the evening and even into the night.⁴⁷

Curiosity and Hospitality

There seems little doubt that the first impressions of a person, people, or country are the most vivid even if afterwards they turn out to be false. So what did the Russians who came to Korea for the first time notice in the "character" of Koreans? Books and articles by Russian authors are unanimous in pointing to the limitless curiosity aroused in Koreans by all strangers, though obviously most Koreans were seeing a white person for the first time in their lives. Thus, the very first Russian to visit Kyōnghūng in northernmost Hamgyōng writes: "Soon a massive crowd formed, surrounding us on all sides In fact, this impudent curiosity with which they observe you from head to foot had already become unbearable, and they feel you, take things right out of your pocket or hands, and practically tear them to pieces."⁴⁸

Dadeshkaliani writes: "The Koreans are witty, lively, impressionable, inquisitive. During my stay in Korea I was a true martyr; I ended up in some village and became the focal point of a throng of a hundred people; I had to answer a mass of questions, give information about distant regions, explain

the meaning and use of every thing that was on my person; frequently things would go so far that I simply had to undress, in order to show the inner parts of European clothing."⁴⁹

Delotkovich describes similar throngs from his first days in Korea: "As soon as I entered the room a big crowd of people gathered and it was difficult to breathe. In the room of one square sazhen' [1 sazhen' = 7 feet] I counted 29 persons, big and small. Everyone says he will be leaving after having a look at me, but as soon as one leaves another appears in his place."⁵⁰ Then, he says, "As soon as I entered the town there came cries of 'Orasi' ('Russian'), 'orasi chun' ('a Russian is coming') from all sides, and the people followed me *en masse*, blocking the way completely."⁵¹ Strel'bitskii likewise writes of having to "push aside the throng and, after barricading ourselves behind the gates, free ourselves from our obliging, but extremely importunate, hosts."⁵²

Hospitality is another feature of Koreans that is unanimously recognized (and appreciated) by the Russian authors who visited the northern regions of the country. In his morbid short story, "Masha the Korean," set in a Korean village in the South Ussuri krai and published in 1887, A. Ia. Maksimov describes a scene where two lecherous Russian soldiers barge into a Korean home to ogle Masha, the comely Korean girl living there with her aging parents. Despite their rudeness, they are greeted with the "spirit of cordial hospitality, so typical of Koreans."⁵³ Lubentsov writes:

Hospitality is one of the most attractive traits of Koreans. If a stranger stops near a *fanza* [peasant hut], a host comes out and keeps asking him to enter and honor him with his visit. Refusal on the part of a stranger is considered an insult to the host and will not be forgotten for a long time; fellow villagers will remind him of it, saying that he was not courteous enough to a stranger. Hospitality is truly unlimited and a stranger can live in a *fanza* for weeks and even months and the host will provide shelter and food. Many Koreans make use of it, especially lately when the Korean population has become so remarkably mobile. During the last Japanese-Chinese war many inhabitants of the regions enveloped by war escaped to places far from the war theater and took advantage of people's hospitality there. The same happened during the cholera which swept P'yōngan Province in late summer and early autumn. Finally, during our trip many Koreans from the southern and western prov-

inces fled out of fear of the Japanese to northeastern parts of Korea and even to Russia and China where they made use of the hospitality of their compatriots.⁵⁴

Strel'bitskii, whose expedition and travel narrative are dominated by military objectives and whose work ends with a recommendation to more or less occupy and annex the far north of Korea, writes of the incredible kindness and assistance that the Koreans provided: "It was positively touching to see how eagerly and painstakingly the natives would spend entire days in order to lighten somewhat for us a difficult ascent or conceal for our wheels the ungracious rocks of their homeland. . . . I suppose the routes in Korea would become a great deal more convenient if 'distinguished foreigners' passed through more often."⁵⁵ Other Russian authors who note Korean hospitality are Ragozin, who wrote, "Koreans are hospitable to the extreme,"⁵⁶ and Nasekin, who notes, "Hospitality is observed by everyone as one of the most sacred duties."⁵⁷ In the opinion of Selivanovskii, excessive hospitality on the part of Koreans had led to a situation in Korea where there were many spongers who took advantage of traditional hospitality and managed to live at somebody else's expense. One could cross the whole country without a coin in his pocket.⁵⁸

Above all, hospitality was shown to Russian travelers by Korean local and provincial administrators who, due to their official duties, were to make sure that nothing untoward happened to the strangers from Russia. Thus, they did their best to assist them in their trips through Korea. Delotkevich writes: "At about 20 *verst's* [1 *verst'* = .66 miles] from our lodging for the night I met the head [R. *nachal'nik* K. Moksa] of Kilju. . . . He is a thoughtful old man and he has sent his assistant several times to me to find out whether I have enough food and to inquire after my health."⁵⁹

Finally, N. Nasekin noticed the same kind of hospitality among Korean settlers on Russian territory. He wrote that during trips and when moving to other places, Koreans gave food and shelter not only to their compatriots but also to the Russians and Chinese; if travelers had some food with them, their hosts would cook it, adding their own spices. A traveler could stay as long as he wanted and, according to Korean etiquette, he was to warn that he could not pay for the shelter. If he kept silence it meant he would pay; the latter concerned coaching inns and eating houses, as in the villages they did not take money.⁶⁰

Neo-Confucian Patriarchy and Ethics: The Place of Women

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Korea was a patriarchal society with a centuries-old traditional way of life. The natural economy, weak contacts between the provinces and the center, and regionalism reflected the everyday life of the Koreans. The Russian scholars, travelers, military men, and missionaries, all of whom were well-educated and familiar with European civilization and culture, discovered in Korea what seemed to be a primordial and patriarchal society quite different from the Russia that had changed after the abolition of serfdom in 1867. Lubentsov writes:

One of the most characteristic features of Korean everyday life is its patriarchy and the cult of ancestors. The forefather of the family is honored from generation to generation and every year the head of the family reveres his memory by conducting a ceremonial rite. However, lately this patriarchy is starting to lose its meaning, a fact which is partially demonstrated by the following anecdote. A new *kunshiu* [Kunsu] arrived in the area and upon his arrival addressed the people with a speech describing his way of thinking and said: "I revere God and honor my ancestors." One of the Koreans shook his head. The *kunshiu* asked: "And who do you revere most?" "My bull." "Why?" "My bull works and feeds me, but my ancestors do not give me anything, even though we have to spend money for funeral rites in their honor!"⁶¹

Yet Lubentsov points to the exclusive importance of ancestral belonging in Korean society and writes: "The greatest solidarity is characteristic of the members of the same ancestral line. Thus, when a Korean becomes bankrupt, if his debts are not paid by his close relatives, they are to be paid by members of the same ancestral line, even if they are the most distant relatives and have never seen the person in debt."⁶²

The famous Russian writer Nikolai Georgievich Mikhailovskii (1852–1906), better known perhaps by his pen name Garin-Mikhailovskii, accompanied Korf and Zvegintsev on their expedition of 1898, and later published a hugely popular account of his travels under the title *In and About Korea, Manchuria, and the Liaodong Peninsula*.⁶³ Garin-Mikhailovskii recorded interesting ethnographic observations and sketches of daily life in the far north of Korea, and made numerous remarks on Korean ancestor worship and on the inordinate predi-

lection of Koreans for digging up their dead and reburying them in more auspicious grave sites. "(22 September) From Musan they take birch bark, in which they wrap up the deceased when they move them from one grave to another. Given the love of Koreans for transporting such dead people around, this is a decent branch of trade—the bones don't rot inside the birch bark."⁶⁴ Selivanovskii was amazed at the mutual assistance among the Koreans, as not only relatives and friends but also strangers hurry to render assistance to those suffering from misfortune. New settlers are readily given ploughs, seeds, and other things and are assisted in building a house and other buildings. All around support is rendered to those in need during weddings, funerals, illnesses and especially after floods, fires, earthquakes, and other natural disasters.⁶⁵

Superiority of men over women, the absolutism in the rights of a husband and total lack of rights for Korean women made educated Russians wonder and many Russian authors were highly critical regarding the relationships between spouses and condemned the situation of Korean women in Korean society. One of the first things commented on was the way in which Korean women—particularly those of the upper classes—were sequestered away in the inner quarters of the houses and generally kept out of sight and under wraps. During his foray into Kyōnghūng, Przheval'skii saw only men: "Incidentally, there were only men in the crowd; I did not see one woman during the whole time I was in Kygen-Pu [Kyōnghūng]."⁶⁶

Prince Dadeshkaliani seemed positively frustrated that he could not turn his gaze more effectively to Korean women:

However lax the Korean man may be in family life, the Korean woman is that much faithful and moral; you cannot buy her off or tempt her with anything; woe is she who shows weakness: she can be beheaded by her husband or a relative with impunity. The strictness of Korean women's morals has led to a situation where all Europeans living in Korea are forced to send off to Japan for wives. Unfortunately, I was unable to create for myself any understanding, whether of the type or costume of these Oriental Penelopes: they do not reveal themselves to outsiders and appear on the streets only in covered palanquins or on foot, but covered from head to toe in a white blanket. I saw only married women from the simple folk, who dress themselves in anything at all and who have lost all feminine charm from their heavy labours. But

judging from the type of the men, and their tall height, it is probable that the women of Korea, too, are not devoid of attractiveness.⁶⁷

But Russian travelers were also quick to notice that many of the strictures on women in evidence in Seoul were relaxed in the northeast. Delotkovich records: "Starting from Von-zan [Wōnsan], the women and girls in the villages do not wear any mantles. Among them I saw not only pretty ones, but even a few of very fine appearance. If one encountered pleasant faces, though, in the majority of cases they were disfigured by smallpox. In Chānbān [probably Chōngp'yōng] Korean women clustered around me in such a significant number that I left without even eating."⁶⁸ When Arkhimandrit Khrisanf arrived in Hamhūng, a huge crowd surrounded him and his party as usual:

Here even the women go around completely in the open . . . no sooner had we entered the inn, than the entire village gathered around us, even the women. In the central provinces, and especially in Seoul, Korean etiquette does not allow women to appear openly on the streets and especially not to mix in the company of men; here, though, obviously, this etiquette did not exist, not only for the common folk, but even for the wives of the officials, as in Hamhūng we stopped at the home of an official and his wife walked around completely openly, sat with us and observed our luggage with exactly the same curiosity as everybody else. From the missionary point of view this is a most important circumstance: it offers the possibility to spread the word of God freely even among women, in the hands of whom lies the raising of children . . . for the Seoul women one needs a female missionary as well as a separate, closed place in the sanctuary, whereas here, neither the one nor the other is necessary.⁶⁹

And when Khrisanf arrived in Pukch'ōng, it was market day: "It was remarkable that the vendors were almost exclusively women in bright, colorful attire; we hardly noticed any male vendors at all. This is exactly the opposite from Seoul. Entering and exiting the city we encountered many women riding on horseback, on oxen and cows, with various goods produced in the countryside."⁷⁰ Khrisanf continues, "As usual a substantial crowd of people gathered and among them nearly all had been more than

once in Vladivostok, even the women; one woman spoke tolerably well in Russian."⁷¹

Seven years earlier, on the Russian side of the border, Shreider paid a visit to one of the Korean villages, where he noticed that some of the older customs were already falling away.

I took advantage of the opportunity—one that seldom falls upon the European—to take a close look at the Korean woman, who is usually hidden away according to the customs of this tribe, in the depths of their uncomfortable halves, whither nobody is allowed to penetrate, and whence they, back home in Korea, have no right to leave without the permission of the head of the family, especially during the day. But obviously this custom is not observed so strictly here. In Korea, though—no more than 175 *verst's* from the village where I was now, that is—the traveler rarely succeeds in meeting a woman on the street. . . . The women here are rather pretty: they are tall, stately, well-proportioned, although with a noticeably fat waist; with the regular lines of a matt face, they yield nothing to European women in their external appearance. Occasionally one encounters even real beauties.⁷²

The notion that Korean women did not have names was widely commented on by Russian travelers, starting with Przheval'skii already in 1869: "It is amazing that Korean women have no name, and are called by their kin relation, for example: mother, auntie, grandmother, etc."⁷³ Shreider, in his rambling account of his three years in the South Ussuri krai, writes:

No woman is as disenfranchised and voiceless a creature as the Korean woman. The Korean woman is a slave in the full sense of this word, a humiliated being, who does not even have her own name! . . . If you ask a Korean man the name of his wife, sister, mother, daughter, bride, niece, grandmother, etc., he will not understand you at all: the Korean woman, as I have already said, has no name at all. "Tu-iun-shan's mother," "Kim's wife," "Pin-ian's grandmother"—this is what you will hear in answer to your question.⁷⁴

N. Nasekin writes: "Among Koreans, as among other Asian peoples, the situation of women in the family and society is humiliating and insultingly subordinate. . . . Women do not have names."⁷⁵

All the Russian travelers were men, and not surprisingly, the Russian traveler's gaze turned to the physical charms (or lack thereof) of Korean women.

Compared to the men, the women are much smaller in stature, in which they remind of their Japanese fellow tribeswomen. The women wither quickly, which on the one hand can be attributed to the heavy role of work which falls on women of the simple folk, and on the other, to the ceruse, which is in great vogue among Korean ladies. Whiteness is considered a mark of beauty among the women, and even the word "pretty" in Korean includes a particle indicating white color (ko-pun-ge [kobun ke] "pretty" where "pun" means whiteness).⁷⁶ We were able to see on more than one occasion women of the upper class covered in a thick layer of ceruse.⁷⁷

Maksimov's story written in 1887, "Masha the Korean girl," fetishizes Korean feminine beauty as follows: "In the open doors stood a shapely, charming girl, with black fiery eyes, and with a happy laugh. . . . The girl's full, round face breathed the health and freshness of innocence; her long, tightly plaited braids, the glory of Korean women, hung like black serpents almost down to her heels . . . her blouse barely conceal[ed] her virgin breasts and her full, classical shoulders."⁷⁸ When one of the two lecherous Russian soldiers introduced above continues to stare at her, Masha "felt that he was admiring her half-open torso and breasts. . . . 'Didn't I tell 'ya, Laskin? Let me tell 'ya now: I've never seen a girl like her in my whole life. And how about those clothes—you can see practically everything that's for dinner. Can't take my eyes off her. See what a beauty she is? But why is she being so shy and awkward?'"⁷⁹

Garin-Mikhailovskii's gaze falls often on the Korean women he encounters; sometimes he sees in them women no different than the Russian women back home:

(20 September) A pretty, white-faced Korean is walking by. She is carrying a jug on her head, and her gait is somehow special as she maintains her balance. Biblik's face breaks into a most blissful smile: "Damn, she's pretty. . . ."⁸⁰

(24 September) I sat down to observe a group of Korean women who were waiting for the ferry. . . . They are all well-proportioned, and there is much

grace in them, but their faces are not pretty. Their costume is similar to the Russian lady's. . . . The elegant manners, the hairdo—this is a group of our Russian ladies.⁸¹

Literacy

The Russian sources contain a number of interesting observations on Korean literacy habits, starting with some general notes on Korean language and script: "The Korean language is absolutely original and in its nature has nothing common with Chinese, Manchu, or Japanese, although it has taken in quite a few words borrowed from these dialects. The Korean alphabet is also hieroglyphic, but much simplified, with no more than 28 sound-producing signs."⁸² Al'tan had the following to say about Korean reading practices:

Literacy in Korea is very widespread. There is a school in every hamlet, and one rarely meets a Korean who does not know how to read and write. Frequently in the evenings from a dimly lit peasant hut, jam-packed with little kids sitting on their haunches wherever they can find space, one hears the frenzied singing of a strange, monotonous tune of two or three notes. This means that a lesson is in full swing. This peculiar method of teaching literacy via singing, insofar as we know, exists among only three peoples: the Koreans, the Japanese, and the Chinese. They learn not only reading, but also counting via singing. And this method will be with them forever. I happened once to see how they brought a piece of paper to the *nachal'nik* [head] of a province for him to sign. The *kun'-shu* [Kunsu] or *kvan-tsarsa* [Kwanch'alsa] himself, having turned over the long sheet of paper, upon which something was written in large letters in vertical columns, parallel with short margins, from right to left, immediately struck up a little song. The Koreans present, who were also interested in the contents of the letter, clustered around him, and without any sense of embarrassment in his presence, also set to reading the letter, loudly echoing their *nachal'nik*. Every morning, when my Korean interpreter was calculating his expenses, he would almost always get carried away and break into an aria, until a burst of laughter brought him back to his senses.⁸³

And Garin-Mikhailovskii, too, renders a description of Korean *viva voce* reading practice:

(18 September) The noise from the unpacking died down, dinner was cooking, and somewhere behind me some pleasant tenor was singing some oriental song. Like the pattern of the flowers in their mountains and valleys, it suits them, and fits the sensitive, but squeezed and meek souls of the Korean. There is something tender and melancholy that seizes you by the soul in this monotonous melody. The individual roudades and notes are comprehensible and have a strong effect, but all together require translation for our ear—this is material only for that composer who would like to study the music of the Orient. P. N. arrived and explained that it wasn't singing, but reading, and that here, when they read, they sing, and that the person reading was one of the best readers in the town.⁸⁴

Most of the Russian observers claim widespread literacy in the vernacular script: "The Russian Koreans are almost all literate in Russian and Korean (*õnmun*)."⁸⁵ Korf and Zvegintsev advised using "*õnmun* only" for notices in case of a military occupation, as "all Koreans are literate."⁸⁶ Garin-Mikhailovskii provides a nice confirmation of the (allegedly) gendered nature of vernacular script usage at his time of writing:

(14 September) The heir is a completely degenerate person, who does not need even his wife. Great hopes lie on the illegal son of the Korean king, who is being educated in Japan. He is 22 now. He is a very bright and educated man. He "knows all foreign writing systems, and knows ours, both the men's and the women's." The men's script is Chinese writing, and the women's is the Korean script, simplified for the common folk. Half the Koreans know the women's script, and the other half are illiterate.⁸⁷

Later, Garin meets an old scholar who is adept at storytelling: "(17 September) Incidentally, it became clear that the nobleman knows only Chinese writing, but not Korean women's writing, which makes of him an illiterate living among the common folk. But it is understood to be improper for a nobleman to know the women's writing of the simple folk."⁸⁸

But the Orthodox missionary Khrisanf implies, after conversations with an American missionary in a northeastern village, that literacy in the vernacular script may not be so widespread after all: "According to the missionary, the people here are coarse, and—what is surprising—do not like book learning,

and this is why one can encounter many illiterates among the Hamgyōng Koreans, something one does not find in the central and southern provinces."⁸⁹

Selivanovskii writes that scholars were very much respected in both Korea and China, and that mainly they studied the works of Chinese men of wisdom. Until (the Kabo Reforms of) 1894, state posts were given to the scholars who had passed special examinations, although quite often exam passes and state posts could be acquired with money rather than scholastic achievement. Ordinary people would buy cheap books of verse, stories, fairy tales, and dramas.⁹⁰

Alleged Shortcomings in Habits and Character: Drinking and Smoking

The Russian authors did not fail to comment on what they perceived as weaknesses and shortcomings in the Koreans. Lubentsov thought that one major shortcoming of the Koreans was their passion for alcoholic drinks and smoking tobacco. Smoking tobacco is described by the Russian authors as an inveterate habit of nearly everyone. Already in 1869, Przheval'skii wrote: "They all smoke, even the women."⁹¹ During more ceremonious meetings with Korean local officials, pipe smoking was almost *de rigeur*. Thus, when Przheval'skii met the *satto* (magistrate) in Kyōnghūng, he described the meeting as follows: "He was a rather good-looking middle-aged man of 41 years, called Iun'-Khab [probably Yun Hap] and held the rank of captain, *satti* [sic] in Korean . . . two pipes were brought out and lit up . . . then they brought a geographic atlas of Korean authorship. . . . His knowledge concerning Russia was so extensive, that he even knew about the torching of Moscow by the French. When my translator was unable to understand and translate this, Iun'-Khab took some ash from the pipe bowl, placed it on the map where it said Moscow, and said "Frantsuzy" [the French]."⁹²

In his story, "Masha the Korean girl," Maksimov describes a bizarre scene of reunion between father, mother, and daughter—all three kiss (surely a fantasy!) and sit down to smoke a pipe upon their reunion.⁹³ Ten years later, pipe smoking is part of Shreider's unflattering portrait of the Korean porters in Vladivostok: "They cannot get them to overcome their simply incomprehensible laziness and cease their *dolce far niente* with the pipe that never leaves

their mouth. Thanks to this, it is rare for Kauli [the local Russian term for Koreans, from Chinese "Gaoli"] to join the ranks of people and achieve material well-being and security."⁹⁴

Back in Korea itself, Khrisanf writes: "As soon as they have eaten, they light up their pipes and belch horribly. Korean men and women love to smoke: a non-smoking Korean man or woman is a rarity."⁹⁵ According to Selivanovskii, a small chibouque with a long stem and a purse with tobacco was an accessory of nearly every Korean.⁹⁶

Regarding opium smoking the opinions differ. For instance, Lubentsov wrote that "despite the proximity of China it is unknown in Korea."⁹⁷ But Selivanovskii assumed that, despite the strict prohibitions, many people smoked opium, mixing it with tobacco.⁹⁸ Khrisanf writes: "They smoke locally grown tobacco, which is cultivated all throughout Korea. . . . Pipe-smoking, by the way, is not so terribly evil and one can fight it relatively more easily than the other harmful and difficult-to-eradicate predilection growing in Korea—opium."⁹⁹ He continues, "Our Koreans here [in Seoul] with Russian citizenship who work as court interpreters are almost all opium addicts. . . . Idleness, wine, opium, gambling, and debauchery of every nature swallow up the days and nights of the lives of capital dwellers. . . . They told me that Koreans consider the best way to quit smoking opium to be drinking."¹⁰⁰

As for drinking, here, too, the first comment comes from Przheval'skii, who happened upon a funeral in a Korean village in the South Ussuri krai "... they offered me the tastiest of beverages—warmed vodka with honey; I forced myself to try a swallow—a terrible abomination."¹⁰¹ The same beverage is alluded to by Maksimov in his short story, "Masha the Korean Girl," as the "favorite beverage of Koreans—warmed vodka with honey."¹⁰² Dadeshkaliani, in a description of a typical Korean meal, writes: "All of this is washed down with a handsome quantity of rice vodka."¹⁰³ And Lubentsov notes that many of the local officials he met were fond of drink: "The governor [in Kyōngsōng] was obviously a great lover of alcoholic beverages."¹⁰⁴ He adds, "Incidentally, all Koreans in general seem to be distinguished by this feature. We were able to meet quite a few drunks, especially in the cities."¹⁰⁵ More generally, Lubentsov finds that "One great deficiency of the Koreans is their love for alcoholic beverages and smoking tobacco. Both are typical also of women, especially in P'yōngan Province. Drunkenness is

extremely widespread, especially on holidays. Vodka [suri, suli] is prepared in every fanza and its cost is negligible."¹⁰⁶

Finally, Garin-Mikhailovskii describes an encounter with a Chinese peddler of Chinese rice vodka along the Sino-Korean border:

(16 September) In our fanza we find an old Chinese man.... "He didn't show you the most important thing," said P. N., "Chinese vodka, khanshin, as the Russians call it, or khodzhiu as the Chinese say, or tanu-stsur in Korea. This vodka is what he trades in the most of all. In Korea the sale of vodka is permitted unrestrictedly and is not assessed any excise." I tried this vodka—it has a very strong fusel smell and a rather bitter taste. "It's very strong," says P. N., "if you light it with a match, it will burn." I light a match, but the match dies out, and the vodka doesn't want to burn. "He poured lots of water in." The Chinese smiles. "This is cheap vodka," he says.¹⁰⁷

RUSSO-KOREAN CONTACTS IN THE RUSSO-KOREAN "CONTACT ZONE"

Among other things, the Russian travel narratives are full of indications of the extent and spread of Russian cultural influence in northeastern Korea, and of the general goodwill towards Russia and Russians felt by Koreans in that region. It is clear from the different accounts that many Koreans have traveled to and/or worked in Vladivostok or other areas of the Russian Far East, and it is not unusual to meet Koreans who speak tolerably good Russian. Thus, Delotkovich writes already in 1886, as he was approaching Sōngjin: "From here many Koreans go to Vladivostok, completing the journey in 4–5 days in good weather. From Pukchan [Pukch'ōng] a great many people go to Vladivostok, too, which takes 6 or 7 days of travel time."¹⁰⁸ He continues:

The city Khordian" [Hoeryōng] lies on the upper reaches of the river Tomongam [Tuman-gang or Tumen River]. From here it is 170 *verst's* to Kyekhyun [Kyōnghūng]. I met a Korean with the surname Chuprov, called Pētr, and in Korean Kim-tu-shej [probably Kim Tu-sōng]. Chuprov lives in Kyekhyun, but spends most of his time in Ianchikhe, our Korean village close to Novokievsk. Chuprov served as interpreter for two and half years with our border *komissar* in the South Ussuri krai, Mr. Matiunin,¹⁰⁹ and reads, speaks, and writes

Korean and Russian very well, and also speaks Chinese. Chuprov wants to find work as an interpreter in Seoul with our *chargé d'affaires*, Mr. Veber. The Korean authorities approve of Chuprov, especially the *pussa* Sheo-khin-shiun [probably Sō Hyōng-sun], who has known Chuprov for eight years, and also the duty collector, Pkhan-khan-diu [probably P'an Han-ju].¹¹⁰

Al'ftan tells a similar tale:

At the present time, when a defeated China has been pushed to the side, a period of almost open battle between two influences has started in Korea: Russian and Japanese.... The people in the north living in constant contact with us have already been able to get accustomed to us. Many Koreans have spent time in Russia in the Ussuri krai, have earned some money here, and returned home to Korea with good memories of our krai. In almost every village up to 100 *verst's* from our border one can meet Koreans who speak Russian. And upon meeting us, all of them shouted with joy, "Zdraustvui, kapitana!" [sic: "Greetings, Captain!"]¹¹¹ Expressed in this greeting is the pride at being able to greet someone in Russian, and a genuine good will with respect to us Russians. Many of these Koreans were able to conduct themselves half-decently in Russian. Further to the south the number that have spent time in Russia and knowing Russian gradually dwindles, and finally, to the south of Kil'chu (200 *verst's* from our border) we hardly encountered any at all. About the Japanese, people from our border as far as Ken-shen [Kyōngsōng] (150 *verst's* from the border) knew little and were not particularly interested.¹¹²

Whereas north of Kyōngsōng the Koreans paid little mind to the Japanese, south of Kyōngsōng the rise in anti-Japanese feelings was palpable for our Russian observers, and concomitant with that sentiment they reported a pronounced pro-Russian attitude. "The situation is different to the south of the city of Ken-shen [Kyōngsōng]. The further one gets from it, the sharper and more pronounced is the attitude of the people to the Japanese. In Kil'chzhiu we met a very interesting Korean.... According to him, the entire people now await help only from Russia."¹¹³

Lubentsov was positively puzzled by the pro-Russian sentiments he witnessed: "The further we got from Russian territory, the more cordially [radu-

shnee] and sincerely [zadushēvnee] we were greeted, and the more respectfully they treated us. I have positively no idea to what to attribute this."¹¹⁴ Garin-Mikhailovskii's diaries are full of episodes where Koreans express positive feelings for Russia and Russians. A railroad engineer by training, Garin shares the following conversation with a Korean eager for railroad technology for Korea:

(17 September) "Ah, we're already building a road like that, but without the knowledge we won't be able to use it." I answered that the Koreans are a talented people, and that once they start learning technology, they will learn it just as quickly as the Japanese, and surpass the Europeans.

"Northern Korea will get science from Russia."

"If Korea wants it. Russia counts Koreans as her brothers."

"We want it, but we don't know about the others."¹¹⁵

Garin, too, records instances of spontaneous expressions of Russophilia:

(18 September) A white Korean ran out of one of the *fanzas* and, extending his hand, shouted in Russian: "Greetings, greetings, come to my *fanza!*" This was a Korean who had returned from working in Russia. I treated him to a cigarette, shook his hand, and we parted, as his entire store of knowledge was limited to the phrase above.¹¹⁶

Often, Garin puts expressions of pro-Russian sentiment in the mouths of the Korean characters he describes:

(17 October) The name of the Russian in Korea is sacred. Russia has done too much for us and is too magnanimous for us not to value this. The Russian is our most honored guest. We are between two open maws: on the one side, Japan, on the other, China. If neither one nor the other swallows us up, it will, of course, be thanks only to Russia.¹¹⁷

The Orthodox priest and missionary Archimandrite Khrisanf records similar experiences along his journey: "In the northern province bordering Russia (Kham-gion-do) [Hamgyōng-do], which I have traveled throughout, starting from the south, I noticed a strong influence from Russia. . . . Some of the

Koreans command Russian, and one finds Russian goods in the Korean stores; they wear Russian clothing and old soldiers' uniforms purchased in Vladivostok in the open-air market."¹¹⁸ Khrisanf also records, "We left Yōnghŭng early in the morning. . . . We went 40 li and stopped to feed the horses in the large village of Ch'owōn. In this village we heard the Russian word *khleb* ("bread") for the first time from a native of the village—the owner of the inn who, as it turned out, had been in Vladivostok several times on business. The Koreans really love Russian bread, and as soon as they arrive in Vladivostok the first word they learn is *khleb*."¹¹⁹

The following episode, also from Khrisanf, took place in Hongwōn: "The inhabitants of the city are frequently in Vladivostok on business, and some of them know a few words of Russian and are quite flattering in their remarks about Russians. We pushed on further, and after passing a few li from the city, three Koreans caught up to us, one of whom recognized me as a Russian priest and immediately starting speaking with me in a broken version of Vladivostok Russian; he called himself by the Russian name "Andrei" and, apparently, was very pleased to meet us."¹²⁰ By the time Khrisanf had got as far north as the pass at Mullyōng, "Here you can 'smell Russia' already. All the local Koreans have been in Vladivostok many times and praised the kindness of Russia. For those Koreans who know Russians well, the word 'Russian' has become a synonym for 'good.'"¹²¹

After the division of Korea into North and South and in the context of the new Cold War, expressions like these of pro-Russian feeling were seized upon by Soviet commentators and woven into the Soviet discourse of "internationalism" and "friendship of peoples," especially "friendship of Russia with all peoples."¹²² This was especially true of passages from Garin-Mikhailovskii, whose birth centenary in 1952 occasioned a flurry of publications about him as well as new editions of his works, and also coincided with the Korean War. Another example is Zaichikov; citing G. Kennan, who wrote about Korea in 1905, Zaichikov comments:

We should note that the fraternal relation to the Korean people and the high appraisal of their moral qualities were characteristic for almost all Russian travelers in Korea. And this is all the more important to underline, namely, that for the majority of western European and American "tourists" in Korea, as well as for the Japanese expansionists, a derisive relation toward this

nation was characteristic, and a view of the Korean nation as an inferior one, incapable of progress or independent existence. The slander of the American racists toward the Korean people went so far as monstrous expressions like the rotten product of a degenerate oriental civilization.¹²³

Kolos writes: "In the works of N. G. Garin we find a clear expression of how, already in the nineteenth century, a great feeling of friendship to the Russian people had formed and ripened in the consciousness of the laboring masses in Korea. The first thing that caught Garin's attention after he became acquainted with Koreans was their especially good relations toward Russia."¹²⁴

BACK TO THE QUESTION OF NORTH-SOUTH DIFFERENCES

We have already related some of the claims made by Europeans, both Russian and non-Russian, as well as Koreans (the mystery premodern author cited by Kiuner from Rouelle), about differences in character and physique between southern and northern Koreans. Let us now examine a few more such claims and their resonances in later Soviet writing. One point worth noting here is that, to the Russians writing these travelogues (and, one assumes, to the Koreans they were working with), the "south" included P'yŏngan Province. Thus, Zvegintsev writes: "Over the pass ['Togurion-Miti' to the south of Kanggye], I unfortunately came to the conclusion that my interpreters also poorly understand the locals here and that the locals, for their part, poorly understand them; the very appearance of the locals changed, their eyes became more slanted, and they were smaller in stature."¹²⁵ Garin-Mikhailovskii, too, when his party finally crossed over into P'yŏngan Province from Paektusan and the source of the Yalu River, writes: "(11 October) In the evening the fanza filled with Koreans. They talked politics, about the flow of things. . . . I double-checked my earlier information. I could sense a certain difference between the southern and northern Koreans. The southerners are darker, their eyes are more severe, and burn with little fires, their speech is fast, passionate. . . . But they are just as hospitable and well-disposed."¹²⁶

Views like these were picked up and elaborated by Soviet researchers in the 1950s and 1960s as part of the new discourse on the "friendship of peoples" and in support of the USSR's ally, North Korea.

There does in fact exist a difference between southern and northern Koreans. They differ from each other in their physical type, in their language, and in their culture. The southerners are somewhat smaller in stature, and the Mongolian type is expressed more strongly with them. . . . We should only note that the differences in physical types noted by Garin related to the inhabitants of the eastern and western provinces of North Korea. Between the population of these locales in Korea, apparently, there also exist differences in physical type, perhaps as a result of the closer ties which have existed since ancient times between the northwest seashore and the south of Korea. The northeast of Korea remained relatively isolated for an extended period of time.¹²⁷

Finally, Kolos writes in his commentary on Garin-Mikhailovskii and the Korean folktales that Garin-Mikhailovskii collected:

The history of Korea tells us that since ancient times the most populated places on the Korean peninsula were the northern regions. The northern Korean tribes were more advanced, and here, earlier than with other ethnic groups of Korea, are noted the development of both government and culture. Chinese writing and culture penetrated here first, effecting a great and positive influence on the development of the culture of Korea. It is precisely here, in the North, whence flow the currents of Korean history [citing a DPRK source]. We daresay: everything that is typical and characteristic in general for the Korean, his life and culture, is, in the first instance, characteristic for the northern Korean. By dint of this, the rather limited territorial study of Korea and its culture in the case observed here is nonetheless not too narrow in its coverage, and has a pan-Korean significance.¹²⁸

CONCLUSIONS: THE BEAR AND THE SWAN?

The excerpts from Russian travel narratives in the Russo-Korean "contact zone" cited above are but a small portion of the data we have collected for this project, and could easily be amplified to include economy and trade, religion, music and dance, etiquette, food, language and dialect, administrative structure, descriptions of individual Korean local officials, etc. But from what we have demonstrated thus far, it should be clear that the Russian writers during this period left a rich body of descriptive and factual material about Korea and

Koreans on the whole, with special emphasis on the northern provinces adjoining Russia.

But just as important as the facts and observations offered up by the Russians are the rhetorical devices and discourse in which they are couched. Thus, and perhaps unsurprisingly, the Russian sources on Korea, like British and French works on the "Orient" from this period, reveal many of the same "Orientalist" tropes and images familiar to us now from Said's analysis. Soviet Garin scholar Kolos is eager to point out that Garin-Mikhailovskii "polemicized with bourgeois philosophy, science, and with bourgeois exoticizing literature (R. Kipling, P. Loti)" and "angrily condemned racist theory,"¹²⁹ but the Korea that Garin-Mikhailovskii writes about is a surreal place, veiled in Romantic imagery—it is a *skazka* (fairy tale)-like land much like the Korean fairy tales he so lovingly recorded during the Korf & Zvegintsev expedition. In the forward to his book *Koreiskie Skazki* (Korean Folktales),¹³⁰ Garin-Mikhailovskii writes, "Entire sheafs of violet and orange rays from the yellow sun, just setting in all its glory, filled this distant place; the sun glittered and flashed one last time before disappearing, like an apparition, in the shafts of the fast-approaching twilight. And everything around me—this remote place, these people and their lives—seemed like a fairy tale, too."¹³¹ He continues, "Ah, what magical children, locked to this day in their own fairy tale world!"¹³² On another occasion he adds, "The Korean needs . . . nothing; he needs tales of happiness. And tales and stories are dearer to him than heavy coins or a scrawny patch of field."¹³³

This romantic imagery extends to other, less literary writers like Lubentsov, saying, "Like a forbidden fruit, she [Korea] was imagined with much enigmatic fascination."¹³⁴ Another dominant descriptive strategy is the infantilization of the Koreans, as expressed in the words of Strel'bitskii: "It felt as though all around us was a crowd of curious children; but affectionate, artless children."¹³⁵ Garin-Mikhailovskii, too, writes: "(27 September) I remember the words of one Russian tourist—that the Korean loves the stick and that one needs to conduct oneself with great dignity with him, and to beat him from time to time. I am ashamed of such Russian tourists. What animal would take it into his head to resort to the fist among these children!"¹³⁶ And the missionary Khrisanf complains, with respect to Korean curiosity: "The Koreans are like children, and absolutely everything interests them, starting with my clothing and finishing with how we walk and sleep. . . . They are

simply children, and the most naïve ones, at that."¹³⁷ David N. Wells, in his study of Russian narratives of travel in Japan, notes the same imagery, and relates it to a Russian paternalism—a Russian assumption of superior culture: "To Goncharov the Japanese are like children . . . they must look now to European instructors to find a way out of their impasse."¹³⁸

Another classic "Orientalist" trope found in Garin-Mikhailovskii is his frequent description of Korean men in Korean garments as somehow feminine or lady-like: "Twenty or thirty Koreans in their lady-like white blouses, their lady-like hats with the broad brims and their high narrow crowns, surrounded us, sitting on their haunches."¹³⁹ These images of femininity, softness, whiteness, and infantilism converge in the image of the swan: "They call the Koreans cowards. Because of their white attire and their timidity the Russians call the Koreans white swans. . . . Yes: like swans, the Koreans are incapable of fighting among themselves, of spilling human blood; like swans, they can only sing their songs and tales. To take everything from them, even life itself, is as easy as to do the same with children or swans—all one needs is a trusty rifle and a good eye."¹⁴⁰

Some of the Russian writers (admittedly few) deploy rather blatant racist imagery at times, the most egregious being Shreider, who refers to Koreans as weak, stupid, semi-human, half-dead, and half-asleep, their homes "constant sources and hotbeds of all manner of infectious diseases."¹⁴¹ Shreider adds, "This is a strange creature—children of the 'land of eternal beggars,' as if they were completely devoid of nerves and blood. What you see before you is not living people, but walking mummies. And even in their external appearance they are similar to dried out skeletons. You look at them, and the thought creeps into your head that their place is not here, among living people, but somewhere in a museum or anatomical theater."¹⁴²

But while the Russian authors are clearly guided by certain stereotypes, these stereotypes are more cultural than racial, and this, in turn, implies that the Russian observers saw the possibility for Koreans to transcend their current difficulties. Like Georgiev, the Russian orientalist scholar studied by Nathaniel Knight, most of the Russian writers "show little concern for representing the contemporary 'other' and creating the cognitive apparatus for domination."¹⁴³ Thus, there is much sympathy for the Koreans' plight at the turn of the twentieth century, as well as optimism for Korea's future. Grounds for optimism can be found close to home, in a comparison of the fates of the Koreans on either

side of the Russo-Korean border; in Lubentsov's evaluation: "Many accuse the Koreans of laziness, but the best counter-evidence of this is the flourishing situation of the Korean settlements both close to Blagoveshchensk and in the South Ussuri krai: namely, literally the poorest Koreans, who had nothing but their healthy hands and the heads on their shoulders settled within Russian territory in the 1860s."¹⁴⁴ Garin tempers his at times idyllic images of a Korea stuck in a fairy tale past with bright visions of its potential: "The time will come when your valleys will be green with gardens and vineyards, and the people's labor will be vindicated ten times more than now. Then Korea will be rich."¹⁴⁵ Perhaps most optimistic of all is Lubentsov, whose research on P'yŏngan and Hamgyŏng provinces revealed so much of the latent economic potential of these regions: "Korea has significant potential energy, and, finding itself on the crossroads of the Old and New Worlds, can look forward to a brilliant future and perhaps, not too far in the future, this country will leave behind its condition of poverty and nothingness and make of itself one of the richest and most blessed corners of the Pacific rim."¹⁴⁶

It is this combination of standard European racial, but mostly cultural stereotypes, and cautious presumptions of superiority, with the sympathies of a Russian nation that itself is ambivalent in its own identity as to its European and "Oriental" components, that make the Russian narratives of travel in Korea unique and valuable.

NOTES

1. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 6.
2. Tiagai, *Po Koree: Puteshestviia 1885-1896 gg.*, 6-7. Some useful surveys of Russian published sources on Korea from the Tsarist era are: Adami, "Die Geschichte der Koreaforschung im zaristischen Russland"; Adami, *Die russische Koreaforschung: Bibliographie 1682-1976*; Kontsevich, "O razvitii traditsionnogo koreevedeniia v tsarskoi Rossii (Istoriko-bibliograficheskii ocherk)"; and Ko Songmu, "Chejŏng rŏsia esŏ ūi han'gugŏ mit han'guk yŏn'gu." A survey of specifically ethnographical literature is Dzharylgasinova, "Iz istorii rossiiskogo etnograficheskogo koreevedeniia."
3. Zaichikov, "N. G. Garin-Mikhailovskii i ego puteshestvie vokrug sveta," 15.
4. Kolos, "N. G. Garin-Mikhailovskii o Koree i sobrannye im koreiskie skazki," 206-207.
5. Unterberger, *Primorskaia oblast'*, 1856-1898.
6. Unterberger, *Priamurskii krai*, 1906-1910 gg.

7. Nadarov, "Iuzhno-Ussuriiskii krai v sovremennom ego sostoianii."
8. Ragoza, "Kratkii ocherk pereseleniia Koreitsev v nashi predely"; idem, "Pos'etskii uchastok"; idem, "Kratkii istoricheskii ocherk pereseleniia Koreitsev v nashi predely"; and Vebel', "Poezdka v Koreiu."
9. Rittikh, *Pereselencheskoe i krest'ianskoe delo v Iuzhno-Ussuriiskom krae*.
10. For the valuable Korean linguistic (dialect) data in Nasekin, see King, "Russian Sources on Korean Dialects."
11. Nasekin, "Koreitsy Priamurskogo kraia."
12. Pesotskii, *Koreiskii vopros v Priamur'e*.
13. Nedachin, "Koreitsy-kolonisty. K voprosu o sblizhenii Koreitsev s Rossiei," 198.
14. Nedachin, *Pravoslavnaia tzerkov' v Koree: k 10-letiiu eia sushchestvovaniia*; and idem, "K voprosu o priniatii Koreitsev v khristianstvo."
15. Busse, *Pereselenie krest'ian morem v Iuzhno-Ussuriiskii krai v 1883-1893 gg.*
16. Putsillo, *Opyt rusko-koreiskogo slovaria*.
17. See King, *Russian Sources on Korean Dialects* for more details on Putsillo himself, as well as a detailed analysis of the dialect materials in his dictionary.
18. Przheval'skii, "Inorodcheskoe naselenie v Iuzhnoi chasti Primorskoj oblasti," 195.
19. Vagin, "Koreitsy na Amure."
20. King, "Blagoslovennoe: Korean Village on the Amur, 1871-1937."
21. Knight, "Grigor'ev in Orenburg, 1851-1862," 75.
22. Brower and Lazzerini, eds., *Russia's Orient*, Preface: xviii.
23. Knight, "Grigor'ev in Orenburg, 1851-1862," 97.
24. Brower and Lazzerini, eds., *Russia's Orient*, Preface: xix.
25. Wells, *Russian Views of Japan*, 13-14.
26. Kim and King, *Istoriia, kul'tura i literatura Kore saram*, 4-9.
27. Zuber, "Ekspeditsiia v Koreiu: Iz zapisok byvshego flotskogo ofitsera M. G. Zuberai," 232-33.
28. Delotkovich, "Dnevnik Pavla Mikhailovicha Delotkovicha," 162.
29. Selivanovskii, *Kak zhivut i rabotaiut Koreitsy*, 12-13.
30. Lubentsov, *Khamkenskaia i pkhienanskaia provintsii Korei*, 168.
31. *Ibid.*, 166.
32. As L. R. Kontsevich notes, this three-volume compendium is a truly encyclopedic work about Korea, and is based on a comprehensive survey of published sources available at the time, as well as on original research conducted specifically for the purposes of the book. This work contains data on the history of Korea, its industrial potential, trade, finances, state administrative structure, military forces, population, religions, language, literature, and education. Statistical tables, maps, international

agreements, the Korean system of chronology, and measurements of weight and height are also included in appendices. The enduring importance of this work can be seen from its numerous translations and editions; a Japanese translation (Nōshōmushō & Sanrinkyoku 1905); a North Korean translation (Chosŏn Minjujuūi Inmin Konghwaguk Kwahagwŏn 1959); a Soviet abridged edition (Institut Narodov Azii 1960); and a South Korean translation (Kim Pyōngnin 1983).

33. Korean Repository (1892), 269.
34. Opisanie Korei, 337.
35. Kirillov, Koreaia. Mediko-antropologicheskii ocherk, 2.
36. Ibid., 5.
37. Ibid., 10.
38. Ibid., 11.
39. Ibid., 12.
40. For a short history of this institution, see Serov, "Vostochnyi Institut (1899–1909 gg.)."
41. The source cited by Kiuner was Rouelle (1907). We were unable to locate anything in Yi T'oegye's works resembling the source cited.
42. Kiuner, Statistiko-geograficheskii i ekonomicheskii ocherk Korei, 232, and Rouelle, "Les coréens jugés par un de leurs sages," 50.
43. Rouelle, "Les coréens jugés par un de leurs sages," 52–53.
44. Ibid.
45. Khrisanf, Ot Seula do Vladivostoka, 1.
46. Khrisanf, Iz pisem Koreiskago missionera, 9–10.
47. Zhdan-Pushkin, "Koreia: Ocherk istorii uchrezhdenii, iazyka, npravov, obychaev i rasprostraneniia khristianstva," 133.
48. Przheval'skii, Puteshestvie v Ussuriiskom krae, 1867–1869, 97.
49. Dadeshkaliani, "Kratkii ocherk sovremennogo sostoianiia Korei kniazia Dadeshkaliani," 55.
50. Ibid., 26.
51. Ibid., 28. Delotkovich complains frequently about the spectacle that was made of him, but then realizes: "My guide, it turns out, was a scoundrel. All along the way he had been collecting money from the crowds for showing me to them." Ibid., 160.
52. Strel'bitskii, Iz Khunchuna v Mukden i obratno po sklonam Chan"-Bai-Shan'skago khrebta, 31.
53. Maksimov, Na dalekom vostoce: Razskazy i ocherki, 51.
54. Lubentsov, Khamkenskaia i pkhienanskaia provintsii Korei, 175.
55. Strel'bitskii, Iz Khunchuna v Mukden i obratno po sklonam Chan"-Bai-Shan'skago khrebta, 119.
56. Ragozin, Koreaia i Iaponiia, 18–19.

57. Nasekin, "Koreitsy Priamurskogo kraia," 27; Opisanie Korei, 1: 346–47.
58. Selivanovskii, Kak zhivut i rabotaiut Koreitsy, 30.
59. Delotkovich, "Dnevnik Pavla Mikhailovicha Delotkovicha," 41.
60. Nasekin, "Koreitsy Priamurskogo kraia," 28.
61. Lubentsov, Khamkenskaia i pkhienanskaia provintsii Korei, 175.
62. Ibid., 174.
63. Baron N. A. Korf and Staff-Captain A. I. Zvegintsev headed up an expedition to Korea in 1898, the results of which were published in 1904 as Korf & Zvegintsev, Voennyi obzor Severnoi Korei. This expedition, much larger in scale than previous Russian expeditions, also led to the compilation of a new map of Korea, described in detail in Korf, Severnaia Koreia: Sbornik marshrutov (1901). Zvegintsev and his team engaged in geological and botanical research, and also compiled detailed information on the locations, sizes, and economy of Korean communities near the border between Russia, China and Korea, especially on the Chinese side of the border.
64. Garin-Mikhailovskii, Iz dnevnikov krugosvetnogo puteshestviia: Po Koree, Man'chzhurii i Liaodunskomu poluostrovu, 133.
65. Selivanovskii, Kak zhivut i rabotaiut Koreitsy, 30.
66. Przheval'skii, Puteshestvie v Ussuriiskom krae, 1867–1869, 97.
67. Dadeshkaliani, "Kratkii ocherk sovremennogo sostoianiia Korei kniazia Dadeshkaliani," 57.
68. Delotkovich, "Dnevnik Pavla Mikhailovicha Delotkovicha," 145.
69. Khrisanf, Ot Seula do Vladivostoka, 76–77.
70. Ibid., 79.
71. Ibid., 81.
72. Shreider, Nash Dal'nyi Vostok, 156.
73. Przheval'skii, "Inorodchesko naselenie v Iuzhnoi chasti Primorskoii oblasti," 199.
74. Shreider, Nash Dal'nyi Vostok, 166.
75. Nasekin, "Koreitsy Priamurskogo kraia," 27–29.
76. This is a folk etymology, as the phrase *kobun ke* "pretty thing" is from the descriptive verb *kopta* "be pretty."
77. Lubentsov, Khamkenskaia i pkhienanskaia provintsii Korei, 168.
78. Maksimov, Na dalekom vostoce: Razskazy i ocherki, 46.
79. Ibid., 52.
80. Garin-Mikhailovskii, Iz dnevnikov krugosvetnogo puteshestviia: Po Koree, Man'chzhurii i Liaodunskomu poluostrovu, 126.
81. Ibid., 137–38.
82. Dadeshkaliani, "Kratkii ocherk sovremennogo sostoianiia Korei kniazia Dadeshkaliani," 54.

83. Al'ftan, "Poezdka v Koreiu podpolkovnika general'nogo shtaba Al'ftana v dekabre 1895 i ianvare 1896," 245-46.
84. Garin-Mikhailovskii, *Iz dnevnikov krugosvetnogo puteshestviia: Po Koree, Man'chzhurii i Liaodunskomu poluostrovu*, 119.
85. Zvegintsev, "Poezdka v severnuiu Koreiu," 503.
86. Korf and Zvegintsev, *Voennyi obzor Severnoi Korei*, 63.
87. Garin-Mikhailovskii, *Iz dnevnikov krugosvetnogo puteshestviia: Po Koree, Man'chzhurii i Liaodunskomu poluostrovu*, 93.
88. *Ibid.*, 113.
89. Khrisanf, *Ot Seula do Vladivostoka*, 76.
90. Selivanovskii, *Kak zhihut i rabotaiut Koreitsy*, 37.
91. Przheval'skii, "Inorodcheskoe naselenie v Iuzhnoi chasti Primorskoii oblasti," 198.
92. Przheval'skii, *Puteshestvie v Ussuriiskom krae, 1867-1869*, 100.
93. Maksimov, *Na dalekom vostokey: Razskazy i ocherki*, 47.
94. Shreider, *Nash Dal'nyi Vostok*, 16.
95. Khrisanf, *Ot Seula do Vladivostoka*, 23.
96. Selivanovskii, *Kak zhihut i rabotaiut Koreitsy*, 29-30.
97. Lubentsov, *Khamkenskaia i pkhienanskaia provintsii Korei*, 175.
98. Selivanovskii, *Kak zhihut i rabotaiut Koreitsy*, 29-35.
99. Khrisanf, *Ot Seula do Vladivostoka*, 23.
100. *Ibid.*, 25.
101. Przheval'skii, *Puteshestvie v Ussuriiskom krae, 1867-1869*, 94.
102. Maksimov, *Na dalekom vostokey: Razskazy i ocherki*, 49.
103. Dadeshkaliani, "Kratkii ocherk sovremennogo sostoianiiia Korei kniazia, 58.
104. Lubentsov, *Khamkenskaia i pkhienanskaia provintsii Korei*, 60.
105. *Ibid.*, 71.
106. *Ibid.*, 169.
107. Garin-Mikhailovskii, *Iz dnevnikov krugosvetnogo puteshestviia: Po Koree, Man'chzhurii i Liaodunskomu poluostrovu*, 105-106.
108. Delotkovich, "Dnevnik Pavla Mikhailovicha Delotkovicha," 156.
109. N. G. Matiunin served as the border commissar in the South Ussuri krai from 1880-1895, and later served as a commercial agent in Korea and Manchuria, as *chargé d'affaires* in Seoul from 1898, and as consul in 1889. Thus, he had frequent occasion to visit Korea and published at least two short accounts of his impressions there (see Matiunin, "Nashi sosedi na krainem Vostokey").
110. Delotkovich, "Dnevnik Pavla Mikhailovicha Delotkovicha," 163.
111. Note that the flavor of the Russian is somewhat pidgin-like, with its informal ty-form imperative and spurious -a on kapitan.

112. Al'ftan, "Poezdka v Koreiu podpolkovnika general'nogo shtaba Al'ftana v dekabre 1895 i ianvare 1896," 256-57.
113. *Ibid.*, 258.
114. Lubentsov, *Khamkenskaia i pkhienanskaia provintsii Korei*, 120.
115. Garin-Mikhailovskii, *Iz dnevnikov krugosvetnogo puteshestviia: Po Koree, Man'chzhurii i Liaodunskomu poluostrovu*, 112.
116. *Ibid.*, 116. Zaichikov also notes, "Behind us is a crowd of little kids and all kinds of people. They are all friendly, polite, and well-disposed. You can hear the affectionate arasa (Russian)." Zaichikov, "N. G. Garin-Mikhailovskii i ego puteshestvie vokrug sveta," 26.
117. Garin-Mikhailovskii, *Iz dnevnikov krugosvetnogo puteshestviia: Po Koree, Man'chzhurii i Liaodunskomu poluostrovu*, 252; Kolos, "N. G. Garin-Mikhailovskii o Koree i sobrannye im koreiskie skazki," 210; and Zaichikov, "N. G. Garin-Mikhailovskii i ego puteshestvie vokrug sveta," 26.
118. Khrisanf, *Iz pisem Koreiskago missionera*, 8-9.
119. Khrisanf, *Ot Seula do Vladivostoka*, 73.
120. *Ibid.*, 78.
121. *Ibid.*, 83.
122. See Tillett, *The Great Friendship*.
123. Zaichikov, "N. G. Garin-Mikhailovskii i ego puteshestvie vokrug sveta," 27.
124. Kolos, "N. G. Garin-Mikhailovskii o Koree i sobrannye im koreiskie skazki." 209.
125. Zvegintsev, "Poezdka v severnuiu Koreiu," 514.
126. Garin-Mikhailovskii, *Iz dnevnikov krugosvetnogo puteshestviia: Po Koree, Man'chzhurii i Liaodunskomu poluostrovu*, 229.
127. Zaichikov, "N. G. Garin-Mikhailovskii i ego puteshestvie vokrug sveta," 438 and also in note 68.
128. Kolos, "N. G. Garin-Mikhailovskii o Koree i sobrannye im koreiskie skazki," 221.
129. *Ibid.*, 208.
130. This collection contains sixty-four Korean folktales recorded from Korean informants during the journey; originally there were more, but one of Garin's notebooks was lost. Garin's Korean folktales continued to be reprinted and translated into other languages well into the 1950s (see bibliography for reprints and translations). Another participant in the Korf & Zvegintsev expedition was Sergei Nikolaevich Syromiatnikov, who collected objects of material culture and a number of Korean books, all of which are now housed in the library of the Oriental Faculty, St. Petersburg University: see Kontsevich, *Izbrannye raboty*, 548; and Trotsevich, "Opisanie Koreiskikh pis'mennykh pamiatnikov, khianiashchikhsia v biblioteke vostochnogo fakul'teta

S.-Peterburgskogo universiteta." Garin-Mikhailovskii's folktales remain a valuable source to this day, both for the stories themselves, as well as for the linguistic forms he recorded in them.

131. Garin-Mikhailovskii, *Koreiskie skazki*, Forward.
132. Ibid.
133. This quote is cited in Kolos, "N. G. Garin-Mikhailovskii o Koree i sobrannye im koreiskie skazki," 213.
134. Lubentsov, *Khamkenskaia i pkhienanskaia provintsii Korei*, 37.
135. Strel'bitskii, *Iz Khunchuna v Mukden i obratno po sklonam Chan"-Bai-Shan'skago khrebta*, 29.
136. Garin-Mikhailovskii, *Iz dnevnikov krugosvetnogo puteshestvii: Po Koree, Man'chzhurii i Liaodunskomu poluostrovu*, 154.
137. Khrisanf, *Iz pisem Koreiskago missionera*, 4-5.
138. Wells, *Russian Views of Japan, 1792-1913*, 18-19.
139. Garin-Mikhailovskii, *Koreiskie skazki*, Forward.
140. Ibid.
141. Shreider, *Nash Dal'nyi Vostok*, 17.
142. Ibid., 281.
143. Knight, Nathaniel. "Grigor'ev in Orenburg, 1851-1862," 82.
144. Lubentsov, *Khamkenskaia i pkhienanskaia provintsii Korei*, 248. Isabella Bird Bishop makes similar remarks about the stark contrast between Korean communities in Korea and Russia in *Korea and Her Neighbours*.
145. This is cited in Kolos, "N. G. Garin-Mikhailovskii o Koree i sobrannye im koreiskie skazki," 212.
146. Lubentsov, *Khamkenskaia i pkhienanskaia provintsii Korei*, 252.

11

Images of the North in Occupied Korea, 1905-1945

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Images that the Japanese created of Korea following Japan's annexation of the peninsula from 1910 initially presented the territory as a single homogeneous region, rather than as a territory comprised of diverse regions. The Japanese government characterized residents as "Korean" with little consideration for regional uniqueness. This characterization followed a similar practice employed by Meiji Japan to define other peripheral territories annexed from the late nineteenth century, including the Ryukyu Kingdom (Okinawa), Ezo (Hokkaido), and Taiwan. It reversed a Tokugawa-era trend that had divided domains (*han*) and peripheral areas such as the Ryukyu Islands and Ezo into smaller territories.¹ The practice further coincided with Meiji-era policy that consolidated multiple domains into a single prefecture. In Korea's case, the Japanese developed an expansive vocabulary to promote the Korean peninsula as a homogeneous zone—the *hantō* (peninsula), its people as *senjin* (Korean people), and their union as *naisen* (Japan and Korea).

Occasionally, however, distinctions emerged as Japanese began traveling to different parts of the peninsula. Magazines that published travel experiences described these adventures as trips to *hokusen* (northern Korea) or to *nansen* (southern Korea). Informants identified characteristics of the landscape, people, and culture in their writing. Japanese migration to Korea provided a second factor which also encouraged regional definition. Their initial concentration in the south promoted discussion that contributed to the formation of a northern image by questioning why the north was so unappealing to Japanese. Japanese expansion into the Asian continent in the late 1930s increased the value of, and subsequently Japanese interest in, Korea's north-