

**KOREAN AS A TRANSITIONAL LITERACY: LANGUAGE EDUCATION,  
CURRICULARIZATION, AND THE VERNACULAR-COSMOPOLITAN  
INTERFACE IN EARLY MODERN KOREA, 1895-1925**

by

DANIEL OLIVER PIEPER

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## Abstract

This study argues that language and literacy during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (1895-1925) were formed through several interactive processes, including the development of “modern” literature and writing styles, processes of translation, dictionary compilation, and the circulation and functioning of language ideologies and discourses on linguistic modernity. Because Japanese engaged with the above processes vis-à-vis Western languages before Korean, Korean intellectuals found in the Japanese language a ready-made model for reform and modernization. Western notions of linguistic modernity—what modern language and literature “ought to be”—as well as the inundation of Korean with Japanese terms due to Korea’s late engagement with dictionary compilation and translation resulted in a Korean language that increasingly came to resemble Japanese. This facilitated the shift to higher Japanese literacy when combined with a colonial curriculum aimed at truncated Korean literacy and expansive Japanese. The convergence of the above processes with the political will engendered in education policy during a period of instability and flux in the orthographical development of Korean from that encoded in Literary Sinitic (*hanmun*) to Sino-Korean Mixed Script (*kukhanmun*) combined to lay the foundations for a shift from semi-literacy in Korean to literacy in Japanese, with Korean acting as a transitional literacy, and the sinograph (*hancha*) functioning as a mediating agent. Whereas pre-colonial language textbooks from various educational streams represented alternative pronouncements on vernacular literacy as well as laboratories for vernacular-cosmopolitan differentiation, Japanese-produced textbooks codified the official vision of colonial literacy, demonstrating a continued commitment to Mixed-Script orthography, directing the gradual diminution of Literary Sinitic, employing the sinograph as a diachronic and translingual mediating agent, and actualizing bilingual literacy transitioning.

## Preface

Portions of Chapter 5 are drawn from the following publication: Daniel Pieper, “Korean as Transitional Literacy: Language Policy and Korean Colonial Education, 1910-1919,” *Acta Koreana* 18, no. 2 (2015): 393-421.

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*To my loving family,  
Who never stopped believing in me*

## Introduction

There are two aspects of Korean culture that tend to both evoke strong emotions among Koreans and conjure up images that shape international perception: the Korean language and the Korean education system. While this may be said of many cultures, in the Korean case popular domestic narratives of the language and of the education system—especially the historical development of each—have reached the level of hegemonic truths, truths that are often projected to an international audience. The popular understanding of the Korean language’s journey throughout the twentieth century is one of linguistic modernization, nationalism and progress triumphing over tradition, toadyism and colonial oppression, a narrative that informs lay perceptions internationally. The South Korean education system has taken on even more significance in the global psyche, though here there is a divergence between domestic and international perceptions; former U.S. President Barak Obama may praise the South Korean system and envy teachers’ titles of “nation builders” (ostensibly a translation of the term *kukka kõnsõlcha*) as emblematic of the importance Koreans place on education, but it is difficult to find South Koreans who are content with the overheated competition and high personal expenditures such a system demands.<sup>1</sup> In this case the global perception is of a democratic and egalitarian system, but domestically most Koreans are well aware of inequalities and shortcomings in their public school system, despite high scores on standardized international tests.

The purpose here is not to deny the attempt to eradicate the Korean language during the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945) or to critique the socioeconomic structure of Korean

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<sup>1</sup> Barack Obama, “State of the Union Address,” January 25, 2011. President Obama mentioned South Korea four times in this speech, mostly in reference to its laudable education system but also expressing envy that South Korea had surpassed the United States in residential internet access.

schooling while constructing a counter-narrative of colonial modernization or post-colonial reproduction.<sup>2</sup> Rather, I wish to point out the relative dearth of research that attempts to historically contextualize and explain contemporary Korean language and education, especially research that is grounded in the exploitative yet crucially formative colonial period. That is to say, while oppressive Japanese colonial policies form an essential backdrop to the historical development of language and education in Korea, in both the popular narrative and the bulk of scholarly research, there seems to be a disconnect between pre- and post-liberation development, the slate being in many ways wiped clean from 1945. The most vivid popular memory of Korean's experience under Japanese rule is the final chapter (1937-1945) during which it faced violent oppression and attempted annihilation, yet the Korean language's integral position as a compulsory part of the curriculum for a majority of the colonial period as well as heavy

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<sup>2</sup> Colonial modernization and post-colonial reproduction are, however, useful frameworks for approaching the role of Korea's colonial period in Korea's modern historical development, themes which will be explored in more detail in later chapters. Here I employ Bourdieu's concept of cultural reproduction as the ability of dominant classes in a society to reproduce through the education system their own cultural arbitrary, to define this culture as legitimate, worthy of being sought, and as the basis of knowledge in the education system. By post-colonial reproduction, I mean the continuation of cultural reproduction in the post-colonial era due to what Bourdieu has described as the durable and monopolistic nature of the education system. According to Bourdieu, "[B]ecause... the educational institution is the only one in full possession, by virtue of its essential function, of the power to select and train, by an action exerted throughout the period of apprenticeship, those to whom it entrusts the task of perpetuating it and is therefore in the best position, by definition, to impose the norms of its self-perpetuation... it is understandable that educational institutions have a relatively autonomous history and that the tempo of the transformation of academic institutions and culture is particularly slow." Thus, despite the ideological reaction against 'Japanese vestiges' in the post-liberation era, the form of legitimized education in national schools, if not the overt ideological content, remained much the same, as did the Japanese-trained personnel entrusted with the task of perpetuating the system. Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture* (London: Sage, 1990), 196-97. For a discussion of post-colonial Japanese influences in Korean education and language, see Daniel Pieper, "The Attraction and Repulsion of Empire: Education and the Linguistic Landscape in Post-Liberation South Korea, 1945-1950," in *Education History in Manchuria and Korea: An International Approach*, ed. Andrew Hall (Hana shoin, 2016).

linguistic influence from Japanese is sublated or minimized. Likewise, the coercive and exploitative turn in colonial schools during Japan's so-called total war period largely shapes contemporary Koreans' understandings of colonial education as a whole, and consequently any actual effects of this education system are ignored or invalidated, while post-colonial legacies of Japanese rule are highly politicized, if acknowledged at all. Such an approach—declaring as illegitimate an entire swath of modern history, a period right at the center of crucial transformations in language, education, and indeed every imaginable facet of Korean society—is to miss an essential piece of the puzzle that is modern Korean history. More critically, however, it is to legitimize a more palatable though equally totalizing (and historically inaccurate) counter-narrative of righteous nationalist resistance and triumph over imperialism. While acknowledging the oppressive nature of Japanese imperialism in Korea, this study intends to break down the totalizing nature of the popular narrative, highlighting instead the actual effects of such policies (and especially the relatively more liberal policies of the 1920s) in laying the foundations for Japanese linguistic hegemony in the public school and the resultant truncated development of Korean literacy. Although this study considers only the period up until the 1920s, the language policy curriculum that would define the remainder of the colonial period—Japanese as the language of instruction and Korean limited to *Chosŏnŏ* class if included at all—had by this time been established, and the subsequent deepening of *kokugo* diffusion served to strengthen the tendencies engendered in the 1920s.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, while the establishment of a direct connection

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<sup>3</sup> Besides the political transformations occurring during the early 1920s and solidified by the mid-1920s, the period also serves as a sort of dividing line between “pre-modern” and “modern” vernacular Korean writing. That is to say, changes in Korean grammar, syntax, orthography, and lexicography, although naturally continuing after the 1920s, were much less significant and fundamental compared to changes up until that time. Thus, for the purposes of this study, the mid-1920s will be understood as the unofficial birthdate of modern Korean writing, the period

between Enlightenment-era, early colonial and post-liberation Korean language practices is beyond the scope of this study, the findings do suggest that the emergence of Japanese hegemony in the colonial education system coincided with a critical formative period in the Korean vernacular, facilitating the uptake of Japanese neologisms through analogous Mixed-Script orthography and engendering a type of transitional bilingualism as colonial rule intensified.

An overarching aim of this research is to enrich both popular and scholarly understandings of the Korean language and education system by offering an historical contextualization based on a critical analysis of developments and transformations in each over time. Specifically, through an analysis of the intersection of language and education—that is, the role of language in mediating the dissemination of legitimized knowledge through education, and language’s own positioning within a contested ideological field which in turn affected the form and content of that knowledge dissemination—this study aims to shed light less on the content of education, as numerous other studies have, but on the medium of that education, and the language ideologies that constructed that medium.<sup>4</sup> The critical intersection of language and education lies in the language classroom, and so this will be a major focus of this study. However, as a foreground to the curricularization of the modern Korean language class, that is, the emergence of *Chosŏnŏkwa* as a subject in modern schools, I present in Chapter 1 an

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that witnessed the virtual completion of the vernacular-cosmopolitan differentiation process by the transition to vernacular grammar and the limiting of Literary Sinitic to the lexical level.

<sup>4</sup> Numerous articles have been penned on the Korean language and on the Korean education system in English, but book-length treatments of these topics are extremely sparse. Some exceptions to this include Yi Ki-mun and Robert Ramsey, *A History of the Korean Language* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Iksop Lee and S. Robery Ramsey, *The Korean Language* (Albany: State University of New York, 2000); Michael Seth, *Education Fever: Society, Politics, and the Pursuit of Schooling in South Korea* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002). Ross King has also written extensively on the subject of Korean linguistics and sociolinguistics.

overview of the pre-modern educational regime, where the cosmopolitan (*hanmun*) reigned supreme and the vernacular served mainly as a tool for accessing ‘truth.’<sup>5</sup>

Language and education form the dual pillars of this study due to the mutually constitutive relationship between them, particularly at the epistemological crossroads of the late nineteenth century. In the pre-modern era during which canonical works of Chinese literature in Literary Sinitic (*hanmun*, hereafter LS)<sup>6</sup> formed a ‘canon of truth’ upon which the entire legitimizing apparatus of the civil service examinations was founded, the medium was very much the message. LS was the unassailable vessel of knowledge as well as knowledge incarnate, and to use another medium or language was not so much impractical or unworkable but rather unimaginable, failing to embody the same legitimacy as the sinograph. Therefore, the emergence of “modern education” in Korea, that is, the break down of the universality and infallibility of Confucian knowledge embodied in Literary Sinitic, was necessarily intertwined with the discursive othering of “*hanmun*,” the nationalizing of “*kungmun*” (the national script), and the differentiation of the vernacular and the cosmopolitan. In Chapter 1 through an analysis of the connection between the pre-modern education system and the vehicle of legitimacy and social mobility, the *kwagŏ* (civil service) examination, I demonstrate the centrality of such knowledge

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<sup>5</sup> Throughout this study, “cosmopolitan” will refer to the writing system utilized within the polities of the Sinographic Cosmopolis, variously termed Literary Sinitic (LS) and *hanmun*. The “vernacular,” on the other hand, will refer to the indigenous Korean writing system. Although the extremes of this writing system continuum may be defined by orthodox Literary Sinitic at the cosmopolitan end of the spectrum—a relatively static written code shared in common across disparate polities—and pure *han’gŭl* at the other end of the spectrum, the duality is invoked when I attempt to emphasize the dynamic process of differentiation between the two. More specific terminology such as *t’o*-style reading, *kukhanmun* (Mixed-Script writing), and *kungmun* (national script)-only will be employed when describing more precise iterations along the cosmopolitan-vernacular continuum.

<sup>6</sup> Literary Sinitic refers to what is most often termed “Classical Chinese” in scholarly literature or simply *hanmun* (漢文) in Korean, although the latter term is problematic in the Korean case for several reasons which will be explained in Chapter 1.

embodied in LS to the entire Sino-Confucian episteme.<sup>7</sup> This account of the centrality of LS to intellectual life and the inferiority of technical education and “language study” forms an essential backdrop to the revolutionary reorganization of the linguistic landscape in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In Chapter 2 I explore this process through a discourse analysis of Enlightenment-era writings by Western missionaries and Korean intellectuals on language and education. Such discourses were mutually constitutive: the abrogation of the *kwagŏ* examination and the opening of modern schools for an expanding segment of the population necessitated broaching the subject of language reform and the antiquated “compartmentalization” of the vernacular and cosmopolitan, while discussions on language at the time would almost inevitably hinge on the most effective method for conveying modern knowledge, the forum of which was the modern school for future generations. Therefore, exploring the discursive process by which LS was demoted and the “vulgar script” (*ŏnmun*) was nationalized is key to understanding the form and function of language deployment in the modern school. Western missionary discourses on the ‘proper’ relationship between the cosmopolitan and the vernacular, as well as the ideal role of the latter in modern schooling were based on Western language ideologies transposed onto the pre-modern Korean episteme, which influenced Korean intellectual discourses on the rightful role of the vernacular. While such discourses were primarily motivated by the desire for an effective tool for proselytization, in the case of Korean intellectuals, discourses on education and language

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<sup>7</sup> I follow Michel Foucault’s definition of episteme as “the ‘apparatus’ which makes possible the separation, not of the true from the false, but of what may from what may not be characterized as scientific.” Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon, trans. Colin Gordon, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980). The Sino-Confucian episteme therefore refers to the “apparatus” of knowledge embodied in the Chinese Classics, knowledge that was propagated through the medium of LS and legitimized as scientific truth through the *kwagŏ* examination system.



were inextricably linked and imbedded within a nationalistic framework. However, what the vast majority of discourses on language among foreigners and Koreans had in common was a linkage to the issue of modern knowledge conveyance, and for both sides what Korea needed most acutely was a modern system of schooling for conveying this knowledge.

The discussion over language and its role in conveying modern knowledge awakened reform-minded intellectuals in the early modern era to the necessity of a standardized vernacular writing system, but the process by which this would take place was a complex and contested field intersected by transnational influences. In Chapter 3 I argue that the establishment of Sino-Korean Mixed-Script writing (*kukhanmun*) for conveying new knowledge was the result of Korean intellectual engagement with a modernizing Japan, and the orthography's solidification as the preferred style of expository writing was the result of *kukhanmun*'s ability to simultaneously embody legitimacy and transparency. This again demonstrates the interconnectivity of language and education: *kukhanmun* was uniquely positioned to bridge the gap between the 'truth' embedded in the sinograph and the transparency of the spoken vernacular for enlightenment purposes; although such a writing system was initially limited to intellectual circles in modest press circulation, these represented important orthographical laboratories that were soon extended into the modern school curriculum in the form of textbooks. In Chapter 4 I analyze representative examples of "language" textbooks utilized in the various educational streams of the pre-colonial period (1890-1910), arguing that these texts represented concrete manifestations of disparate language ideologies, projected visions of vernacular literacy for future generations as well as indices of the progression of vernacular-cosmopolitan differentiation. Thus, the issues of language and education are inextricably connected in the pre-colonial and early colonial periods, and this study will explore the above processes of vernacular

nationalization and cosmopolitan demotion, curricularization, differentiation, and orthographic experimentation in textbooks to illuminate these connections.

Since the late 1990s there has been a considerable increase in English-language research on Korea's colonial period, with some of it questioning previous assumptions on the nature of Japanese rule and the Korean response to it.<sup>8</sup> More recently Korean-language research on the period has begun to critically examine some of the fundamental issues underlying colonial rule and its legacies, interrogating received narratives of collaboration, resistance, and assimilation and exploring topics such as hybridity, post-coloniality and literary modernity.<sup>9</sup> As research on the colonial period accumulates and previously blank spaces are filled in, the field has witnessed a thematic diversification as well in which topics as varied as censorship and publication policy, dictionary compilation and the Sinographic Cosmopolis, ethnography and anthropology, colonial fashion, literature, and film are taken as objects of consideration.<sup>10</sup> One underexplored albeit

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<sup>8</sup> See for example Shin Gi-wook and Michael Robinson, ed, *Colonial Modernity in Korea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999); Andre Schmid, *Korea Between Empires, 1895-1919* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Michael Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920 – 1925* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988); Todd Henry, *Assimilating Seoul: Japanese Rule and the Politics of Public Space in Colonial Korea, 1910-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014). Mark Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Korea, 1910-1945* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009).

<sup>9</sup> Mitsui Takashi, *Chōsen shokuminchi shihai to gengo*, (Tōkyō: Akashi shoten, 2010). Ch'ŏn Chōnghwan. *Kūndae ūi ch'aek ilkki* (Sōul: P'urūn Yōksa, 2003). Chōng Kūnsik, "Ilcheha kōmyōl kigi wa kōmyōlgwan ūi pyōndong," in *Singminji kōmyōl: chedo, t'eksūt'ū, silch'ŏn*, Kōmyōl Yōn'guhoe, 15-63 (Sōul: Somyōng Ch'ulp'an, 2011); Hwang Hodōk and Yi Sanghyōn, *Kaenyōm kwa yōksa, kūndae Han'guk ūi ijungō sajōn* (Sōul: Pangmunsa, 2012). Kang Chinho, "Haebanggi 'kugō' kyokwasō wa t'alsingminjuūi: *Ch'odūng kugō kyobon ūl chungsim ūro*," *Munhak kyoyukhak* 30 (2009): 97-126; Mun Hyeyun, "Haebanggi kugō kyojae rūl t'onghae pon kugō wa chōngjōn ūi hyōngsōng," *Uri ōmun yōn'gu* 51 (2015): 73-101.

<sup>10</sup> Han Mansu, "Singminji sigi munhak kōmyōl kwa inswae chabon," in *Singminji kōmyōl: chedo, t'eksūt'ū, silch'ŏn*, Kōmyōl yōn'guhoe, 137-67 (Sōul: Somyōng ch'ulp'an, 2011); Hwang Hodōk, "Geopolitics of Vernacularity and Sinographs: The Making of Bilingual Dictionaries in Modern Korea—From Sinographic Cosmopolis to 'Sinographic Mediopolis'" forthcoming;

growing area of inquiry is colonial language education<sup>11</sup>, a field positioned at the intersection of pedagogy, history, applied linguistics and sociology and which demands a similarly multi-disciplinary approach.

While part of the aim of the present study is to contribute to this burgeoning and diverse field of research on colonial Korea, especially in the field of sociolinguistics where a dearth of English-language research exists, the bulk of this study (Chapters 1-4) attempts to uncover the roots of modern Korean vernacular and language education by focusing on the pre-colonial period. Thus, examining the historical formation of the Korean language through the dual lenses of pre-colonial and colonial-era schools provides a diachronic perspective that, while acknowledging the significant changes that attended annexation, also attempts to highlight more durable patterns and continuities, such as the adaptation of Japanese neologisms, the continued translation of Korean books (including textbooks) through Japanese, and the interlingual mediation of the sinograph, most notably in GGK-produced school textbooks.<sup>12</sup> Whereas most

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Taylor Atkins, *Primitive Selves: Koreana in the Japanese Colonial Gaze, 1910-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010); Lee Sung-Yup, "Changing Faces: Colonial Rule in Korea and Ethnic Characterizations," in *Critical Readings on Korea's Colonial Period*, ed. Hyung Gu Lynn (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 117-39; Hyung Gu Lynn, "Fashioning Modernity: Changing Meanings of Clothing in Colonial Korea," *Journal of International and Area Studies* 11, no. 3 (2004): 75-93; Boudewijn Walraven, "The Natives Next Door: Ethnology in Colonial Korea," in *Critical Readings on Korea's Colonial Period*, ed. Hyung Gu Lynn (Leiden: Brill, 2013); Christopher Hanscom, *The Real Modern: Literary Modernism and the Crisis of Representation in Colonial Korea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013); Theodore Hughes, *Literature and Film in Cold War South Korea: Freedom's Frontier* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

<sup>11</sup> See for example see Son Insu, *Han'guk kyoyuksa yŏn'gu* (Sŏul: Munŏmsa, 1998); Chŏng Wŏnsik et al., *Han'guk kyoyuk 100nyŏnsa: 1880 – 1999* (Sŏul: Kyoyuk Sinmunsa, 1999); Kim Puja, *Hakkyo pakk ūi Chosŏn yŏsŏng tŭl: chendŏsa ro koch'yŏ ssŭn singminji kyoyuk*, trans. Cho Kyŏnghŭi and Kim Uja (Sŏul: Ilchogak, 2009); Seth, *Education Fever*.

<sup>12</sup> The present study is thus meant as a contribution to the small though growing number of works in English that attempt to delineate not only ruptures but also continuities across the

recent research on the Korean colonial era has remained largely confined to the period from annexation to liberation and has been concerned with binary issues of power, oppression, and resistance, this study attempts to delineate the transitions and continuities, ruptures and shifts that occurred across the pre-colonial/colonial divide, and the functioning of more subtle modes of domination such as linguistic hegemony and the legitimizing potential of mass, modern schooling. Moreover, this study represents a multidisciplinary approach involving diverse bodies of work, notably Korean history, sociolinguistics, critical literacy and pedagogy, and literature, in order to attain a multifaceted understanding while sparking a multidisciplinary dialogue, a discursive engagement that is severely lacking, especially between the fields of history, sociolinguistics, and education.

A number of excellent, in-depth studies have been conducted on the development of modern literary Korean and the process of vernacularization as well as the concept of literary modernity in general.<sup>13</sup> While the concept of literary modernity will inform this current study, I am primarily interested in the broader and underexplored area of *linguistic* modernity, which included the convergence and concretization of certain language ideologies<sup>14</sup> which resulted in

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annexation divide: Schmid, *Korea Between Empires*; Jun Uchida, *Brokers of Empire: Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea, 1876-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011); Kyung Moon Hwang, *Rationalizing Korea: The Rise of the Modern State, 1894-1945* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016).

<sup>13</sup> Im Sangsök, *20-segi Kuk-Hanmunch'e üi hyöngsöng kwajöng* (P'aju: Chisik Sanöp-sa, 2008); Sim Chaegi, *Kugö munch'e pyönc'h'önsa* (Söul: Chimmundang, 1999); Hanscom, *The Real Modern*; Mun Hyeyun, *Munhagö üi kündae: Chosönö ro küil ül ssündanün köt* (Söul: Somyöng Ch'ulp'an, 2008); Ch'ön, *Kündae ch'aek ilkki*.

<sup>14</sup> The term language ideology deserves explication, a term foundational to linguistic anthropology and anthropological linguistics. Language ideologies have been defined variably as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use,” as “self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the

major language reforms, such as the perceived need to bring speaking and writing into closer approximation, the supposed anti- or pre-modernity of the sinograph, and the belief that the lack of Western conceptual terms in Korean represented a fundamental cultural flaw that needed to be corrected, among others.<sup>15</sup> In particular, in Chapter 2 I examine the Western discourses on linguistic modernity and demonstrate how these language ideologies were influenced by contemporary Western linguistic theory, and in turn how both these discourses and the concrete activities of Western missionaries (translation, dictionary compilation) influenced the Korean actualization of linguistic modernization. Furthermore, these discourses on linguistic modernity were fundamentally intertwined with the establishment of modern education: the role of

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expression of the group,” and “the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests.” Based on a composite of the above definitions, language ideologies may be articulated by those who hold them or may be merely self-evident, and these ideologies may exist among groups as well as at the individual level. What all scholarly conceptualizations of language ideology have in common is an acknowledgement of the indispensability of the social component to linguistic inquiry. The language ideologies most relevant to this current study were those expressed by Western missionaries and later Korean intellectuals concerning the “self-evident ideals and objectives” of the language hierarchy in pre-modern Korea, their roles in directing the project of linguistic modernization, and their manifestation in language textbook production. See Michael Silverstein, “Language Structure and Linguistic Ideology,” in *The Elements: A Parasession on Linguistic Units and Levels*, ed. Paul Clyne et al (Chicago: Chicago Linguist Society, 1979), 193-247; Shirley Brice Heath, “Social History,” in *Bilingual Education: Current Perspectives*. Vol. 1: *Social Science* (Arlington: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1977), 53 – 72; Judith T. Irvine, “When Talk Isn’t Cheap: Language and Political Economy.” *American Ethnologist* 16, 2 (1989): 248-67.

<sup>15</sup> Inoue Miyako points to the *genbun’itchi* movement in Japan as the primary embodiment of linguistic modernity, specifically its introduction of “reported speech formally separating itself and other and the development of language as a tele-technology to cite, dislocate, and relocate the ephemeral voice of the other.” According to Inoue, the aim of these language reformers was to create “a modern standard Japanese language for their own ends, to rationalize it as a medium for government, education, law, commerce, print capitalism, and the military, as well as to make it a unifying medium for the spiritual bond of the nation” (50). In this thesis I consider the reception of *genbun’itchi* in Korea as a medium for education, as well as the above language ideologies. Kim Pyŏngmun, *Ŏnjŏk kŭndae ũi kihŏek: Chu Sigyŏng kwa kŭ ũi sidae*. (Sŏul: Somyŏng ch’ulp’an, 2013).

sinographs in writing and the extent of their utilization, the proximity of the written to an easily understood vernacular for popular use, and the perceived inability of Korean to shoulder the mantle of conveying modern knowledge were all recurring issues in the field of education during the pre-colonial and early colonial period.

If we are to understand linguistic modernity as an amalgamation of the above projects undergirded by the normalizing discursive logic of Western, Korean, and later Japanese actors, then language and literacy during the Korean Enlightenment<sup>16</sup> and early colonial period (1895-1925) were formed through the interactive processes of modern literature and writing style development, translation, dictionary compilation, and the legitimizing vector of the colonial school. In this relationship the Japanese language functioned as a mediator or ‘filter’ of modernity, providing a deep stratum of sinograph-based neologisms through an orthographically and grammatically analogous Korean writing system. More than merely a remote lens through which modernity was textually refracted, starting from the 1880s Japan represented a concrete site of interface with linguistic modernity. I argue that a number of critical events occurred in the 1880s, each a result of Korean elite exposure to and engagement with Japanese linguistic and cultural practices. This Japanese influence should not be considered the result of thoughtless adaptation and appropriation of Japanese linguistic reforms, nor should it be viewed in the pre-colonial era as the result of forceful imposition by Japan. Rather, these moments of convergence should be perceived as the result of interaction and exchange within a newly cosmopolitanized

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<sup>16</sup> The Korean Enlightenment Period (1876/1895-1910) is the term most often applied in Korean-language research, but due to the term’s implication that “enlightenment” was introduced from without following Western and Japanese encroachment, the term is potentially problematic. Here the term is employed to refer to a very specific period of time in consultation with Korean-language research, analogous to “pre-colonial,” and free of suggestions of solely foreign impetus for enlightenment.

atmosphere, the collision, contestation, and re-combination of linguistic landscapes characterized by disparate language ideologies yet potentially analogous vernacular grammar and syntax.

In terms of Western missionaries in Korea, their observations and research on the Korean language first appeared in a virtual vacuum, and so much like the “radical difference” encountered by Korean intellectuals in Japan, the extreme otherness of the language hierarchy in Korea engendered among missionaries an almost perfunctory discourse on the unassailable position of the cosmopolitan (“Chinese”), the lamentable condition of the vernacular (“*ŏnmun*”), and the impediment it represented for modern education and proselytization. The result of this Western language ideology superimposed on a Sino-confucian episteme was the generation of a discursive logic that drove the process of translation and dictionary compilation, through which the logic of translational equivalence came to gain legitimacy. These discourses on Korea’s antiquated language hierarchy and the need to prepare the vernacular for conveying modern knowledge as well as the cause of lexical modernization were soon taken up by Korean reformers and intellectuals, but their motivations were increasingly nationalized due to the increasing encroachment of Japan and the perceived need to prepare the newly-legitimized Mixed Script for the task of modernity. Throughout the period under investigation, the fundamental issue at stake in the reorganization of the linguistic landscape—the demotion of the cosmopolitan, elevation of the vernacular, and differentiation and standardization of the latter—was developing the most effective means of conveying modern knowledge to a wider section of the population in a modern state where ‘enlightenment’ and social engagement were more and more necessary and *yangban* monopolization of ‘truth’ was no longer tenable. Therefore, the question of language was necessarily and inextricably one of education, beginning with the most nascent attempts at ‘citizen enlightenment’ in the popular press but then proceeding almost

immediately to a discussion of the modern school. The mutually constitutive relationship between language and education forms one of the primary premises of this study.

The present study deals primarily with elite language ideologies and discourses for several reasons. The first is a practical concern, and that is the relative lack of primary sources by non-elite Koreans relating to such issues during the period under investigation. This may be partly attributed to the relatively settled state of the education system and linguistic landscape up to this point, and hence the tendency to not consider such issues as language hierarchy or the medium of education worthy of mention. A more fundamental reason however lies with the extremely high levels of illiteracy among the non-elite population coupled with their low attendance at educational institutions including the village Confucian school (*sŏdang*). Indeed, one of the identifying characteristics of the elite class was literacy in LS, and thus failing to possess such a skill would have precluded non-elite participation in such discourse. It was in fact the first appearance of such novel contrivances as *kukhanmun* and modern schools among elite circles that sparked further discourse on them, and so the earliest discussions were necessarily limited to the intellectual class.

To be sure, however, the non-elite classes possessed their own language ideologies and educational philosophies, views that became more nuanced and informed with the increase in literacy rates and the diffusion of modern education. The continuing vitality and popularity of the *sŏdang* during the first half of the colonial period detailed in Chapter 5 reflects the non-elite response to the official education system as ordinary Koreans attempted to wield agency and reappropriate modern education through instruction in Korean. Despite the increasing enrolments at public schools and *sŏdang* during the period under investigation, the vast majority of older Koreans remained illiterate and uneducated (unschooled), and thus we may only deduce what



their particular language ideologies and educational philosophies must have been. However, judging by the long history of Confucian *sōdang* education on the peninsula and the relatively higher familiarity with, if not direct involvement in, such education, we may surmise that non-elite, rural populations would have embraced a more conservative education carried out at a familiar institution, at least up until the 1920s when education preferences seemed to have diversified. The vibrancy of *sōdang* and the eruption of the language of instruction debate suggest meanwhile that language ideologies in education gravitated toward instruction in the vernacular, although the exact medium or level of vernacularization is unclear. Although the lack of non-elite voices during the pre-colonial period represents an unfortunate shortcoming to this investigation, it is an inevitable byproduct of centuries of elite monopolization of high language literacy and education in Chosŏn Korea.

### **Theoretical Approaches to Colonialism**

Central to any analysis of colonialism is a discussion of the nature of power relations. For Foucault, an understanding of power must begin with an analysis of the modes of resistance against various forms of power, in the same way that an investigation of “insanity” or “illegality” would shed light on what a society means by “sanity” or “legality.”<sup>17</sup> Within this paradigm, resistance is used as “a chemical catalyst so as to bring to light power relations, locate their position, find out their point of application and the methods used...Rather than analyzing power from the point of view of its internal rationality, it consists of analyzing power relations through

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<sup>17</sup> Michel Foucault, Paul Rainbow and Nikolas Rose, *The Essential Foucault: Selections from Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984* (New York: New Press, 2003), 128-29.

the antagonism of strategies.”<sup>18</sup> At its core, this is a resistance to a form of power that creates individuals subjects, a dual subjectification in which one is “subject to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge.”<sup>19</sup> The consideration of forms of resistance to power is crucial to uncovering the nature of the Japanese colonial regime. Not only does it restore a modicum of agency to the subaltern, but it questions a metropolitan-based perspective which has the potential to historicize the colonial era as a narrative of national loss and failure for Japan (ie the “failure” to carry out complete linguistic assimilation) rather than as a case study in subjectification and exploitation rooted in relations of power. The consideration of resistance, in other words, provides a potential counterweight to the sanitizing tendencies of Japan-centered colonial histories by exposing the subjectification and individualization methods of colonial power and in the process reinstating the potentiality for self-identification.<sup>20</sup> However, as evidenced by Korea’s post-liberation nationalistic historiography, resistance-centered approaches to power relations may also form potent, totalizing counter-narratives of their own. Therefore, in this investigation I question the nationalistic narrative of monolithic Korean resistance to colonial authority that has emerged due to the excesses of resistance and victimization discourses in post-liberation South Korean historiography and popular culture while at the same time attempting to salvage aspects of the resistance-oriented approach to illuminate both the functioning of power relations on individual actions and the limitations of colonial regimes.

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, 130.

<sup>20</sup> Andre Schmid, “Colonialism and the ‘Korea Problem’ in the Historiography of Modern Japan: A Review Article,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 59, no. 4 (2000): 951-976.

For Frederick Cooper, such limitations of colonialism are central to an analysis of power, specifically as they relate to differentiating and incorporating tendencies of empire. According to Cooper “empires, old and new, had great difficulty in finding a stable balance between the incorporation and differentiation of populations they colonized, between exploiting older economic structures and building new ones, between maintaining direct, bureaucratic authority and exercising power by linking themselves to patronage structures, networks, and idioms of authority in conquered territories.”<sup>21</sup> The colonized, on the other hand, were confronted with “the terrible difficulty of preserving something of their own way of life while finding means to act within new relations of power.”<sup>22</sup> Striking a balance between these tendencies in the Korean context resulted in a constant tension of assimilation, defining the interaction between the colonizer and colonized. This ‘tension of assimilation’ is demonstrated most acutely in the language of instruction debate analyzed in Chapter 5, when the discourse of *kokugo* as the “national language” and Korean as regional language of the empire collided with pedagogical considerations in the classroom, producing a slippage between *kokugo* signification and policy practice. One of the main goals of Japanese colonial administration was the assimilation of Koreans through education, but despite the increasing monopoly that the Government-General of Korea (GGK) held on accredited education through the colonial period, education remained a contested terrain that Korean actors continued to reinscribe with their own desires. One of the major research themes in Chapters 4 and 5 therefore will be an exploration of the Confucian village school or *sōdang*, an institution that has been relatively little researched, despite its

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<sup>21</sup> Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 201.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

ubiquity in late Chosŏn society and its continuing vitality into the colonial period.<sup>23</sup> The history of the *sŏdang* in Enlightenment and colonial-era Korea is the history of an indigenous response to modernization and Japanese hegemony, a rearticulation of a hybrid Confucianized modernity.

Despite this contestation, however, Japan's ability to incorporate and assimilate the *trajectory* of institutions like the education system if not the actual student or the entire institution itself often proved to be irresistible, leading Chae Oh byung to question why in Korea, unlike in colonies of Western powers with increasing levels of resistance over time, there was a shift in the opposite direction from resistance in the early 1920's by nationalist leaders to widespread collaboration in the 1930's and 1940's.<sup>24</sup> However, what this argument fails to consider is the ambiguous boundary between collaboration and social mobility of any kind with the Japanese amalgamation of modern institutions and the concomitant delegitimization of alternatives. Read differently, the colonial period was an ongoing process of labor market unification based on the strengthening of the habitus in legitimizing institutions such as the public education system, a phenomenon that will be explored in Chapter 5.<sup>25</sup> Although

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<sup>23</sup> One of the landmark studies on the *sŏdang* in the modern period remains Watanabe Manabu, "Kankoku no kyōkō shotō kyōiku to Nihon: Shodō no hattatsu to Nihon no taiō," *Jinbun kakkai zasshi* 15, no. 3 (1984): 7-43. Watanabe explores the evolution of the *sŏdang* and its process of differentiation from *sŏwŏn*, the history of Chosŏn-era regulations of *sŏdang*, and the Japanese response in the early colonial period. The following is a recent work on the social history of the *sŏdang*, which includes a wealth of information on *Chosŏn*-era *sŏdang* curriculum: Chŏng Sunu, *Sŏdang ūi sahoesa: Sŏdang ūro ingnŭn Chosŏn kyoyuk ūi hŭrŭm* (P'aju: T'aehaksa, 2012). Both works will be explored in Chapter 4.

<sup>24</sup> Chae Ou-byung, "The 'Moment of the Boomerang' Never Came: Resistance and Collaboration in Colonial Korea, 1919-1945," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 23, no. 3 (2010): 398-426. Although the 1930s and 1940s will not be analyzed in this current study, the 1910s and 1920s were still characterized by much the same 'tension of assimilation,' that is, the ambiguity between "collaboration" and simple social mobility.

<sup>25</sup> Bourdieu and Passeron, *Reproduction in Education*.

Government General of Korea (Chosŏn ch'ongdokpu, hereafter GGK) “collaboration” and some high-profile political conversions among Korean nationalist leaders suggest increasing incorporationist or assimilationist tendencies, the real vector of Japanese power was its ability to instill an education close enough to the primary habitus<sup>26</sup> of Koreans—through recourse to Confucian virtues in *hanmun* education, Korean language classes, and higher education for a select few—that it functioned as the cultural arbitrary for subsequent generations of Koreans. The low initial enrollment figures for Korean students, rather than hampering this transition, actually enabled it because a completely alien, jarring habitus did not have to be forced upon the wider population. Therefore, cooptation of modern education and the diffusion of Japanese literacy occurred despite coercive assimilationist policies, not thanks to them. Thus, in my use of Antonio Gramsci’s notion of hegemony throughout this study, I place special emphasis on the *voluntary* aspect of control, the aspect that is often elided in scholarly discussions of this concept. In my revisiting of hegemony therefore I focus less on the dominatory characteristics of colonial power and rather try to answer the question why “large groups of people continually acquiesce to, accept, and sometimes actively support governments—and entire social and political systems—that continually work against their interests.”<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> According to Bourdieu, primary habitus is characteristic of a group or class and is the basis for the subsequent formation of any other habitus. It is produced by pedagogic acts in the earliest phase of upbringing. See Bourdieu and Passeron, *Reproduction in Education*, 42-43.

<sup>27</sup> Peter Ives, *Language and Hegemony in Gramsci* (London: Fernwood Publishing, 2000), 6.

## Education and Assimilation

As noted above, the concept of assimilation has figured prominently in research on the colonial era, specifically in education.<sup>28</sup> Many scholars have pointed out various discursive inconsistencies and discontinuities related to the issue of assimilation: contradictions between official government policy statements and actual policy implementation, disagreements within government ranks over the extent and nature of assimilation, and variations in this discourse over time. Leighanne Yuh, examining the ambiguous and contradictory nature of Japanese assimilation, has termed it a kind of “hierarchical” or “calibrated” assimilation necessary to differentiate the culturally and racially similar Koreans from Japanese while still facilitating effective administration.<sup>29</sup> Following Bourdieu she posits that, as opposed to the claims of cultural obliteration (*minjok malsal*) theorists, Japanese officials “both conserved and created Japanese and Korean culture in order to solidify distinctions between the colonizer and the

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<sup>28</sup> For works in English focusing on assimilation and related topics, see Caprio, *Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea*; Uchida, *Brokers of Empire*; “A Sentimental Journey: Mapping the Interior Frontier of Japanese Settlers in Colonial Korea,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 70, no. 3 (2011): 706-729; Chae, “The ‘Moment of the Boomerang’ Never Came”; Clark Sorenson, “The Korean Family in Colonial Space: Caught Between Modernization and Assimilation,” in *Colonial Rule and Social Change in Korea, 1910-1945*, ed. Clark W. Sorenson and Kim Hyung-A (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013); Kim Keongil, “Japanese Assimilation Policy and Thought Conversion in Colonial Korea,” in *Colonial Rule and Social Change in Korea, 1910-1945*, ed. Clark W. Sorenson and Kim Hyung-A (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013); For a sampling of Korean-language works, see Kim Sunjŏn and Cho Sŏngjin, “Ilcheha Chosŏn kyoyuk ũi hyŏnsang kwa chanjae: Tonghwa wa ch’abyŏl ũl chungsimŭro,” in *Cheguk ũi singminji susin: Chosŏn Ch’ongdokpu p’yŏnch’an “susinsŏ” yŏn’gu*, ed. Sun-jŏn Kim et al, 251-82 (Sŏul: Chei aen Ssi, 2008); Chŏng Chunyŏng, “Singminji kyoyuk chŏngch’aek ũi wŏnjŏm: Izawa Shŭji ũi tonghwajuŭi wa ch’ŏnggakjŏk kŭndaesŏng,” *Chŏngsin munhwa yŏn’gu* 34, no. 2 (2011): 153-83; Cho Sŏngun, “1920nyŏndae Ilche ũi tonghwa chŏngch’aek kwa Ilbon sich’altan,” *Han’guk tongnip undongsa yŏn’gu* 28 (2007): 203-260.

<sup>29</sup> Leighanne Yuh, “Contradictions in Korean Colonial Education,” *International Journal of Korean History* 15, no. 1 (2010): 121-49, 121-22.

colonized.”<sup>30</sup> E. Taylor Atkins similarly complicates the narrative of cultural obliteration, claiming that there were spaces for asserting Koreanness within Japanese imperial culture, and that Japanese government officials, scholars, and others actively participated in the “curating” of Korean cultural practices.<sup>31</sup> From a colonial anthropological perspective, “ethnographic accounts and images *maximized* Korean difference to enhance the grandeur of the Japanese empire, dramatize the urgent necessity of Japan’s civilizing influence, and justify the purportedly altruistic intrusion on Korean sovereignty...but often these descriptions and images simultaneously *minimized* Korean difference in accordance with the dictates of the ideology of common ancestry (*nissen dōsoron*)”<sup>32</sup> to facilitate some measure of assimilation where needed. In a similar manner Park Chan-seung questions the actual extent of assimilation, proposing the concept of “colonial dual society” as a more accurate description of the segregated nature of Korean society formed through discriminatory policies in the economic sector, health care, and education.<sup>33</sup>

Jun Uchida’s explorations of Japanese settler colonialism in Korea, while similarly focusing as Park does on Japanese in Chōsen, delves much deeper, probing the role of “affect and sentiment in shaping cross-cultural encounters,” providing texture and nuance to the discussion of colonialism while problematizing Foucauldian approaches that tend to reduce

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid, 124-25.

<sup>31</sup> Atkins, *Primitive Selves*, 3.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, 53

<sup>33</sup> Park Chan-Seung, “Japanese Rule and Colonial Dual Society in Korea,” *Korea Journal* (Winter 2010): 69-98.

“complex local human interactions to relations of power, dominance, and hegemony.”<sup>34</sup> By focusing on the minutiae of the day-to-day, weaving “sentimental texts” such as memoirs, letters, and oral testimonies into the more ‘official’ historical narrative, Uchida demonstrates how “ethnic boundaries and cultural identities were constituted, negotiated, policed, and transgressed through the quotidian rhythms of daily life.”<sup>35</sup> While a welcome contribution to the thematic and perspectival diversification of Korean colonial history, what an examination of these “sentimental texts” reveals, much like a more traditional analysis of colonial institutions and structures, is the way in which even everyday minutiae and “quotidian rhythms” are inextricably imbedded in relations of power that ascribe identity and hold sway over ostensibly free choice. Uchida correctly qualifies the potentially problematic usage of “memory” and constantly repositions this trope within the larger framework of power and dominance, but what is often overlooked in this discussion is the power-based privilege which *allowed* such transgression and negotiation of identity among settlers but *demand*ed of the colonized such reciprocal types of border crossing, not as taboo transgressions but as required foundations of colonial citizenship and social mobility. Where settlers were free to adopt “certain aspects of the indigenous lifestyle”<sup>36</sup> as they saw fit, consuming the quaint, quotidian delights of *kimch’i* and *ondol* flooring and achieving enhanced cultural capital through a smattering of Korean with ultimate recourse to expertise in *kokugo*, the colonized did not enjoy such cross-cultural interactive

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<sup>34</sup> Uchida, “A Sentimental Journey,” 706.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, 708.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*, 710.



privileges.<sup>37</sup> Proficiency in the national language and the education which it both afforded and developed were the preserve of the elite, and the transgressing of cultural and linguistic boundaries in order to ‘pass’ as the Other meant something quite different for Koreans and Japanese, both in the colony and in the metropole.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Bourdieu offers a compelling explanation for the ability to acquire cultural capital through recourse to a language with less linguistic capital (ie Korean in the case of native Japanese speakers) with his concept of “strategies of condescension.” In explaining strategies of condescension, Bourdieu uses the example of a mayor from the southwest French region of Bearn who, in the course of a ceremony honoring a *Bearnais* poet, addressed the audience in “good quality *Bearnais*,” a “thoughtful gesture” which reportedly had “greatly moved” the audience. How is it that an audience of people whose mother tongue is *Bearnais* should be ‘greatly moved’ by being addressed in their own language by a *Bearnais* mayor on the occasion of honoring a *Bearnais* poet? According to Bourdieu, the audience (or any group of people) must first “tacitly recognize the unwritten law which prescribes French (or any dominant language) as the only acceptable language for formal speeches in formal situations.” Based on this criteria, because the *Bearnais* mayor is sufficiently inculcated in the dominant language (French) by virtue of his elite education and since this objective disparity is sufficiently known and recognized by the persons involved, the mayor may derive profit from the objective relation of power by symbolically negating that very relationship. In short, this mayor and any other person competent in a dominant language can derive this profit because they can *afford* to by virtue of their indisputable participation in the superior language. It is highly doubtful that such *patois* would be praised as a “good quality *Bearnais*” coming from the mouth of a *Bearnais* peasant ignorant of legitimized French. See Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 68. A contemporary example would be Facebook founder and CEO Mark Zuckerberg addressing “stunned” crowds of Chinese entrepreneurs at Tsinghua University in Beijing, a move which apparently drew adulatory applause. See Alex Hern and Jonathan Kaiman, “Mark Zuckerberg Addresses Chinese University in Mandarin,” *The Guardian*, October 23, 2014.

<sup>38</sup> For example, failure to assimilate linguistically proved deadly for some Zainichi Koreans. In the wake of the Kantō Earthquake of 1923 and rumors that resident Koreans had been poisoning the well water and planning insurrection, vigilante groups formed to dispense justice to suspected Korean residents. One of the methods employed to determine nationality was the use of certain shibboleths, Japanese words known to be difficult for the native Korean speaker to pronounce ‘properly.’ Those failing the ‘test’ were deported, beaten, or killed. This incident shows both the anxiety and threat felt by Japanese about assimilation that was ‘too successful,’ as well as the primacy of the language issue in defining identity in the empire. Koyama Wataru, *Language and Its Double: A Critical History of Dialects, Languages, and Metalinguistics in Japan* (PhD Thesis, University of Chicago, 2003), ProQuest.

In this current study I place particular focus on the linguistic aspects of assimilation, especially through the hegemonic tendencies of legitimized education in *kokugo*. In that sense, I concur with Yuh’s intercession in the cultural obliteration narrative, questioning not the existence or severity of such a policy but rather the extent to which such a methodological approach explains the explosive demand for “denationalizing” common school (*pot’ong hakkyo*) education among Koreans from the 1920s, or the high level of bilingualism among Korean elites as the colonial period wore on.<sup>39</sup> Therefore, in this research I am attempting to strike a balance between the narrative of violent coercion and cultural obliteration and outright collaboration. While ambitious Koreans were not afforded the freedom of ‘selective acculturation’ enjoyed by Japanese settlers, those wishing to access the best the colony had to offer in terms of education and career prospects had little choice but to acquiesce to the prescribed version of vernacular literacy and education, a version that engendered nascent textual literacy transitioning to higher-level Japanese. One of the episodes that most vividly illustrates the ambiguity of assimilation and the fine line between “collaboration” and social mobility is the debate in the early 1920s over the language of instruction in common schools, detailed in Chapter 5. Most of the Korean reformers called for an enhanced role for Korean in the curriculum, some even calling for the demotion of Japanese to language class alone—a complete inversion of current policy—but very few expressed direct antagonism to the logic of *kokugo* diffusion or utilitarianism, or even Japanese-led modern education more generally, but rather based their arguments on pedagogical concerns for early childhood education and development. The ultimate failure of the Korean activists to change the structure of the curriculum stemmed from the fundamental disconnect between Japanese official discourse on assimilation and co-education and the imbalance in the curriculum,

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<sup>39</sup> This is a topic that will be taken up below.

namely the unwillingness to institute mutual, bilingual education for both Japanese and Korean students. A discourse analysis of this debate moreover demonstrates the ability of the Japanese administration to effectively co-opt the trajectory of modern institutions such as the common school and engender voluntary assimilation among those desiring higher education.

### **The Purpose and Role of Colonial Education**

Three major theses have been proposed concerning the role of education in colonial Korea, namely education as a form of cultural obliteration (*munhwa malsal*), education as a process of subaltern identification within the Japanese empire, and education as assimilation. While most scholars do not limit education to a single role but rather acknowledge several different functions in society, many nevertheless tend to ascribe more or less weight to one of the above roles or purposes. Most of the standard Korean-language accounts of Japanese cultural policy have included cultural obliteration as an integral part of the colonial narrative. For example, Son Insu claims that the main attribute of Imperial Japan's education policy in colonial Korea was cultural obliteration through assimilative education.<sup>40</sup> Echoing the cross-colonial comparisons often voiced by Meiji-era policy-makers, Son invokes the familiar assimilationist/nativist dichotomy: whereas France tended to discourage the maintenance of indigenous cultural practices and vernacular education in its colonies, Britain encouraged vernacular education "for the elevation of indigenous peoples (*wŏnjumin*)."<sup>41</sup> Japanese policy, according to Son, was even more insidious in that, while resembling French assimilation policy, it actually aimed at the extinction of the Korean ethnicity rather than a French-style assimilation

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<sup>40</sup> Son, *Han 'guk kyoyuksa yŏn 'gu*, 298.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*, 322.

that retained at least residual native culture.<sup>42</sup> Not only does this perspective create a problematic hierarchy of exploitation—implying that a more ‘enlightened’ method of oppression (British?) is achievable or desirable in a relationship that is inherently exploitative—but it also glosses over fluctuations in Japanese policy over time and projects more draconian policies throughout the period. Neither Japanese discourse or actual policy implementation were this one-dimensional or focused, and while certain actions of the Government General of Korea (Chosŏn ch’ongdokpu, hereafter GGK) do suggest the aim of eradicating aspects of Korean language or culture, I argue that this was not the central thrust of Japanese administration.

Chŏng Wŏnsik, on the other hand, provides a slightly more balanced analysis, claiming that there were several purposes for colonial education. Based on a diachronic investigation of colonial policy on education, Chŏng argues that the purpose of the First and Second Rescripts on Education was the encouragement of low-level vocational education, the production of ignorant subjects of the empire (*uminhwa*), and the assimilation of Koreans to the Japanese race, whereas the Third and Fourth Rescripts on Education (1938, 1943) aimed at the obliteration of Korean culture and language.<sup>43</sup> While offering a diversity of explanations and acknowledging fluctuations in Japanese policy over time, Chŏng’s history tends to privilege nativist movements and resistances,<sup>44</sup> echoing the narrative of monolithic resistance and ignoring any possibility of

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid, 298-99.

<sup>43</sup> Chŏng, *Han’guk kyoyuk 100nyŏnsa*, 180-82; 232-33; 246-247.

<sup>44</sup> For example, Chŏng devotes just two pages to private schools run by foreigners, but six pages to the Korean-run private schools, despite the arguably greater influence of the former. Chŏng, *Han’guk kyoyuk 100nyŏnsa*.

mutual interaction and even cooperation between Korean actors and colonial agents.<sup>45</sup> The National Institute of Korean History (Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe) provides a predictably nationalistic view of colonial education, claiming that the ultimate purpose of the First Rescript on Education was the cultivation of Koreans into Japanese citizens (*sinmin*) based on a policy of gradualism (*chŏmjinjūi*) where “education would be made appropriate to the era (*sise*) and the cultural level (*mindŏ*) of the people.”<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, education was aimed at the formation of work habits (*kŭllo sŭpkwan*), elementary and vocational education was emphasized, and the propagation of Japanese was encouraged.<sup>47</sup> This source notes little substantive change following subsequent educational ordinances: discriminatory policies continued after 1919, this time based on linguistic distinctions, as noted above. Structurally speaking, the purpose of GGK public education was to control and eventually paralyze the Korean private school system, thus funneling students into the more controllable and assimilationist Japanese schools.<sup>48</sup>

Many scholars argue that the purpose of public education for Koreans was to enact a process of subaltern identification in the Japanese empire, referencing Japanese rescripts on education (*kyoyunгыŏng*) which stated that Japan would attempt “to give the younger generations of Koreans such moral character and general knowledge as will make them loyal subjects of Japan.”<sup>49</sup> Chang Migyŏng points to the ideological content of the *National Language*

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<sup>45</sup> Mitsui Takashi offers an excellent case for mutual interaction in his analysis of orthography reform in colonial Korea. See Mitsui, *Singminji Chosŏn ūi ŏnŏ chibae kujo*.

<sup>46</sup> Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe, *Paeum kwa karŭch'im*, 306.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, 366.

<sup>49</sup> Seth, *Education Fever*, 20.

*Reader (Kokugo tokuhon)* as a source of subaltern identification,<sup>50</sup> a text which emphasized Korea (and Taiwan's) peripheral and dependent status in the Japanese empire. Sa Hüiyön on the other hand examines the content of certain textbooks in Japanese schools to explain the stratification of the labor market through the inculcation of a kind of labor mentality. Sa notes the portrayal of Chosön youths toiling in the fields, called upon to contribute to the family's well being and indirectly to the war effort by harvesting potatoes.<sup>51</sup> When juxtaposed with the portrayal in the same book of a young Japanese child buying the harvested potatoes, the implication is clear: the appropriate position for the colonial subject was that of manual labor and other unskilled occupations, preferably contributing to the 'proper' functioning of society.

If Korean students were indoctrinated to become loyal subjects—conscious of their peripheral status and steeped in a labor mentality—what was to be the role of female students, who were traditionally marginalized from the realm of education and public life in general? An increasing amount of research focuses on the underexplored topic of women's education, arguing that a separate consideration of this subject matter is needed due to the strikingly gendered history of learning and the family structure in Korea.<sup>52</sup> Kim Kyöngil for example notes the

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<sup>50</sup> Chang Migyöng, "Ilbonö kyogwasöro pon singminji kyoyuk: Chosön 'pot'ong hakkyo kugö tokpon' kwa Taeman 'konghakkyo-yong kungmin tokpon' ül chungsimüro," *Ilbonö munhak* 48 (2011): 201-220; Pae Such'an, "Ilche kangjömggi 'kugö kyoyuk' üi singminji kündeasöng yön'gu sööl—pot'ong hakkyo kugö tokpon ül chungsim üro," *Hanguk önö munhwa* 39, (2009): 5-30.

<sup>51</sup> Sa Hüiyön, "1940nyöndaeh hanil 'kugö' rül t'onghae pon cheguk kwa singminji kyoyuk koch'al," 288-292.

<sup>52</sup> In his Foucault-inspired analysis of women in colonial Korea, Theodore Yoo positions women as a contested ideological category in his investigation of the regulation of education, labor, and health in colonial Korea. See Theodore Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor and Health, 1910 – 1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008). For other works on women's education in colonial Korea, see Kim Kyöngil, "Singminji yösöng kyoyuk kwa chisik üi singminjisöng: Singmin kwöllyök kwa kündeasöng üi kakch'ük," *Sahoe wa yöksa* 59 (2001): 83-109; Kim, *Hakkyo pakk üi Chosön yösöngdül*.

gendered nature of the public school curriculum, claiming that, while all education tended to be non-academic, men's education was inclined toward vocational and industrial training and women's education focused on the professionalization and improvement of domestic and family-centered work, reflecting influential discourses of the time.<sup>53</sup> Kim Puja further claims that colonial authority and patriarchal authority unintentionally colluded (*kongbŏm*) to exclude women from the education system in large numbers. Therefore, viewing colonial education from a totalizing nationalist narrative which claims the assimilation of Koreans, their subaltern identification in the empire, and/or the obliteration of their culture and language creates a kind of symbolic violence that subsumes the identification and incorporation of women at the intersections of patriarchy and modernity, colonialism and nationalism, gender and the state. Kim's approach is useful in that it problematizes the infallibility of indigenous cultural practices—often imbued with moral imperative in their mobilization for nationalist resistance narratives—revealing the multi-faceted nature of women's oppression and the occasional complicity of the colonizer and colonized.

What all three of these educational roles seem to engender—assimilation, subaltern identification, and cultural obliteration—is the effective maintenance of control. Scholars such as Michael Robinson, writing on the common school education system, have claimed that “the Japanese self-consciously used the powerful tool of education in the colony to advance cultural assimilation (not social equality) and insure cultural control.”<sup>54</sup> Leighanne Yuh similarly claims

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<sup>53</sup> Kim, “Singminji yŏsŏngkwa chisik ūi singminsŏng,” 95.

<sup>54</sup> Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea*, 82; Ha Yong Chool also posits the centrality of control in his tripartite analysis of colonial systems. Ha describes colonies as consisting of three ‘spaces:’ the “colonial superstructural space” where the colonizer attempts to establish hegemony over the colonizer and containing such policies as forced assimilation, the

that the contradictions inherent in colonial rule, that is, assimilation in order to create loyalty and obedience and discrimination to maintain Japanese hegemony and justify occupation, were ultimately for “the construction of a subaltern Korean identity...and the maintenance and consolidation of control.”<sup>55</sup> Colonial education was indeed aimed at the maintenance of control, and to that end policies of assimilation, cultural obliteration and the ascription of subaltern identification were variably pursued according to global actualities, exigencies in the colony, and the proclivities of individual policy makers, among other factors. An overarching theory that seems to best explain Japanese machinations to maintain control through the vector of public education is the theory of social reproduction and the habitus.<sup>56</sup> That is to say, if ‘habitus’ is a kind of “durable training,” “the product of internalization of the principles of a cultural arbitrary capable of perpetuating itself after PA [pedagogic act] has ceased,”<sup>57</sup> then assimilation, subaltern identification, and cultural obliteration were simply disparate manifestations of various points along a continuum of perceived habitus establishment and inculcation. Coercive GJK assimilation and cultural obliteration policies at certain points in the colonial period reflected a perceived gap among Japanese policy makers between Korean habitus and that forming the basis

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“colonial functional space” in which the “functional arrangements necessary to accomplish the primary goal of economic exploitation are made” and consisting of institutions such as the education system, and the “colonial social space” that is a residual space least controlled by colonial authority, an example of which would be the family structure. Each space is characterized by more or less coercive control by the colonizer, with the colonial superstructural space exhibiting the most and the colonial social space the least. See Ha Yong Chool, “Colonial Rule and Social Change in Korea: The Paradox of Colonial Control,” in *Colonial Rule and Social Change in Korea, 1910 – 1945*, ed. Hong Yung Lee, Yung Chool Ha and Clark W. Sorenson, 39-75 (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2013).

<sup>55</sup> Yuh, “Contradictions in Korean Colonial Education,” 144-145.

<sup>56</sup> Bourdieu, *Reproduction in Education*.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, 31.



of public education; on the other hand, the increase in voluntary school attendance and literacy rates represented the convergence of Korean and Japanese habitus to some extent and a shift toward the unification of the linguistic market. Specifically, the decrease in coercive political authority and concomitant spike in enrollment rates in the 1920's represented such a convergence of habitus. Although the subsequent total-war period witnessed higher enrollment and literacy rates, the coercive political atmosphere, "being confronted with the problem of its own perpetuation,"<sup>58</sup> engendered a visceral resistance in most Koreans, resulting in a post-liberation backlash. Consequently, while late-colonial excesses such as forced name changes, compulsory Shinto shrine visits, and Korean language obliteration campaigns brought about virulent, reactive cultural campaigns in post-1945 North and South Korea, the more effective habitus instituted through the public school system—appealing as it did to logic and rationality and based as it was on apparent free choice—remained largely intact in post-colonial Korea. When viewing the colonial period as a series of convergences and divergences between Japanese and Korean habitus, patterns of "resistance" and "collaboration" gain new meaning.

### **Japanese Language Research on Korean Sociolinguistics and Education**

Japanese-language research on the history of Korean education and issues in Korean sociolinguistics is extensive, and unfortunately an encyclopedic accounting of this research is beyond the scope of this study.<sup>59</sup> One recent study on education in Korea in the modern era by Sano Michio gives special consideration to the relationship between Japanese authority and the

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid, 33.

<sup>59</sup> Kubota Yūko, *Shokuminchi Chōsen no Nihongo kyōiku: Nihongo ni yoru "dōka" kyōiku no seiritsu katei* (Fukuoka: Kyūshū daigaku shuppankai, 2005).

colonial education system, as well as to the role of the GGK in carrying out ideological indoctrination through the school. In a metropolitan approach common to much Japanese-language research on the topic, Sano claims that, under the banner of “universal benevolence” (一視同仁) Japan created a discriminatory colonial education system, both quantitatively and qualitatively.<sup>60</sup> Sano explores this system from a variety of angles, including the institutionalization of emperor worship, the teaching of distorted history, and the conscription system, and further analyzes the post-colonial campaign to eradicate such vestiges, as well as the current state of education for Koreans in Japan.<sup>61</sup>

The multi-faceted nature of this research is a welcome addition to the field, but Sano does not give separate consideration to the central issue at stake in such a discriminatory system, and that is language education and language *in* education, which I argue was the most fundamental and vexing problem for both Japanese administrators and Korean parents and students. Although I give close consideration to GGK education and language policy pronouncements, as Sano and other researchers do, my main concern is with the actual pedagogical implications of these policies, the Korean response to them, and the effect on Korean literacy development. To that end, in Chapters 4 and especially 5 of this study, I closely analyze the manifestation of colonial language policy in textbooks of the time, giving particular consideration to the utilization of Korean vernacular and the mediation of sinographs as functional tools for the imparting of basic literacy that would facilitate higher-level Japanese literacy throughout the curriculum.

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<sup>60</sup> Sano Michio, *Kindai Nihon no kyōiku to Chōsen* (Tōkyō: Shakai Hyōronsha, 1993), 34.

<sup>61</sup> Another recent book-length treatment of colonial schooling in Korea is Hiura Satoko, *Jinja gakkō shokuminchi: Gyakukino suru Chōsen shihai* (Kyoto: Kyoto daigaku gakujutsu shuppankai, 2013). However, much like Sano’s work this book gives primary consideration to the nexus between the common school and imperial citizen creation, that is the spiritual assimilation of Korean students, and gives scant attention to the issue of language education.

Other Japanese-language research attempts to challenge well-established narratives of Japanese coercive exploitation and monolithic indigenous resistance. For example, Mitsui Takashi takes aim at historical revisionist discourse that posits Japanese rule over Korea as a form of “contribution,” which he claims is “clearly a reaction against the over-emphasis on coercive Japanese language policies in previous research on language subordination under colonial rule.”<sup>62</sup> He goes on to state, however, that “at even greater issue is the incompetence displayed in the critique of this discourse by the opposing camp.”<sup>63</sup> In his book-length treatment of the Korean language movement, Mitsui attempts to chart an alternative approach, demonstrating areas of cooperation between the Korean Language Society (Chosŏnŏ hakhoe) and the GGK for means of mutual expediency.<sup>64</sup> Although Mitsui provides an exhaustive overview of the Korean language movement, especially in terms of orthography reform, he admits that a consideration of the Japanese language in relation to Korean was all but absent from his analysis.<sup>65</sup> As the premise of his argument is to problematize the dominant-subordinate dichotomy prevailing in Korean language scholarship on the colonial period, arguing instead that a “dynamic relationship” existed between the GGK and the indigenous Korean language movement fluctuating between antagonism and collaboration depending on social transformations in the colony, the omission of at least the spectre of *kokugo* leaves the question of colonial-era language education unanswered.

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<sup>62</sup> Mitsui Takashi, “Shokuminchika Chōsen ni okeru gengo seisakugaku: Chōsen gengo seisaku, shakaishi saikō,” *Hallim Ilbonhak* 62 (2012): 61-80, 62. Mitsui reiterates this argument in Mitsui Takashi, “Singminjigi Choson esō ūi han’gūl undong e kwanhan yōn’gu tonghyang kwa kū pip’anjōk kōmt’o,” *Ōnō munhwa* 11, no. 1 (2008): 55-83.

<sup>63</sup> Mitsui, “Shokuminchika Chōsen ni okeru gengo seisakugaku,” 62.

<sup>64</sup> Mitsui, *Chōsen shokuminchi shihai to gengo*.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid*, 367-68.

Following Mitsui's welcome contribution to this discourse on collaboration and resistance, while acknowledging the dynamic relationship of political interaction that lay at the foundation of Korean language reform, the present study also considers the politically dominant role of the national language itself (*kokugo*) and its increasing hegemony in public education, the literary market, and the circulation of ideas as manifested in dictionary publication and diffusion. That is to say, languages in the colonial setting necessarily existed within a relationship of interconnectedness and competition with each other, and to attempt to examine the development and transformation of a language in isolation is only one part of the equation. In the colonial public school, where languages were explicitly framed in diametric opposition through curricular institutionalization, this dynamic was even more pronounced.<sup>66</sup>

Yamada Kantō has questioned in his research accepted narratives of forced, unilateral assimilation, writing extensively on the GGK's Korean Language Encouragement Policy (*Chōsenjo shōrei seisaku*) carried out in the 1920s and 1930s that provided monetary incentives for those passing Korean proficiency tests.<sup>67</sup> Far from promoting mutual harmony and assimilation, Yamada argues that the main purpose of this encouragement policy was to establish more effective control of the colony, and this is born out by a cursory observation of policy statistics. Although the campaign was initially envisioned to be more ambitious, encompassing

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<sup>66</sup> Mitsui likewise writes extensively on the spread of GGK and Chosōnō hakhoe orthographies in common schools, but next to nothing on Japanese language education in these schools.

<sup>67</sup> Yamada Kantō, *Shokuminchi Chōsen ni okeru Chōsenjo shōrei seisaku: Chōsenjo wo manada Nihonjin* (Puli ch'ulp'an, 2004); "Nihonjin ni yoru Chōsenjo gakushū no keiro to dōki: *Gekkan zasshi Chōsenjo* (1926-29nen) keisai no "Gōkakusha shokun no kushindan" no bunseki wo motoni," *Shokuminchi kyōiku to gengo mondai* (2000): 37-50; "Chōsenbun Chōsenjo kōgiroku hakko no haikai: Chōsenjo gakkai ni taisuru juyō no hensen," *Hokutō Ajia kenkyū* 17 (2009): 135-155. See also Kiyoe Minami, "Forgotten Reciprocity of Languages of the Colonizer and the Colonized: Korean Language Study by Japanese Colonial Agents" (MA Thesis University of British Columbia, 1999).

all GGK employees in the colony, by the mid-1920s examination passers were dominated by members of the colonial police, to the point that the proficiency test received the unofficial moniker ‘policeman’s test.’<sup>68</sup> Yamada’s research is a very welcome contribution to an area of colonial policy that had been little researched previously, and provides an East Asian context to Bernard Cohn’s classic work on British Orientalists’ study of language in British colonial India.<sup>69</sup> Yamada’s work is most informative to this present study in what it reveals about the demographics of Korean study among Japanese, and the nature of the language they studied, often basic conversational Korean for everyday interactions, especially for policemen.<sup>70</sup> Most notable is the low percentage of Japanese teachers who sat for the encouragement exam, especially puzzling due to the rather lucrative bonuses available and the potential usefulness of such a skill in the classroom setting. Although teachers were an identifiable demographic sitting for the examination, and personal accounts of their study for the exam may be found in certain “language journals” of the time,<sup>71</sup> their numbers were miniscule in comparison to the colonial

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<sup>68</sup> Yamada, “Nihonjin ni yoru Chōsenko gakushū no keiro to dōki,” 42; “Chōsenbun Chōsenko kōgiroku hakko no haikai: Chōsenko gakkai ni taisuru juyō no henshen,” *Hokutō Ajia kenkyū* 17 (2009): 135-155.

<sup>69</sup> Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996). See also Bernard Cohn, “The Command of Language and the Language of Command,” *Subaltern Studies* 4 (1985): 276-329.

<sup>70</sup> Kajii Noboru has also written extensively on the Korean Encouragement Examination (朝鮮語奨励試験) as well as the Korean language instruction network that existed for GGK employees, the vast majority of whom he also notes were police officers. See Kajii Noboru, *Chōsenko kangaeru* (Tōkyō: Ryūkei shosha, 1980), Chapters 6 and 7.

<sup>71</sup> One such “language journal” was titled *Chōngūm* (Correct Sounds, 1934-1937), the organ journal of the Korean Language Research Society (Chosōnōhak yōn’guhoe), championed by Pak Sūngbin, a lawyer by training but who possessed much interest in language-related issues. This organization, which championed the historical *han’gūl* orthography, was the main rival of the larger and more influential Korean Language Society (Chosōnō hakhoe) which promoted

police. This suggests that Japanese teachers on the whole heeded official GGK policy to conduct education completely in Japanese, with implications that will be explored in Chapter 5. Yamada's research is also helpful in reminding us that language education was far from unilateral in colonial Korea, and that linguistic boundaries were transgressed on a daily basis, although for fundamentally different motivations.

Finally, one object of this present study is to challenge the received 'truth' that *kokugo* diffusion was never that extensive, and hence Japan 'failed' in its ultimate mission of linguistic assimilation and cultural obliteration.<sup>72</sup> This notion is problematic in that it is premised on two paradoxical conceptualizations of GGK authority. On the one hand, one popular narrative of Japanese rule is that GGK policies were uniformly harsh and draconian, no dissent was tolerated, and Koreans were forbidden from speaking Korean and coerced into speaking only Japanese and taking Japanese names.<sup>73</sup> Conversely, Japan ultimately failed in its goal to annihilate Korean language and culture evidenced by "relatively" low school enrollment and Japanese diffusion. These seemingly paradoxical narratives—forced assimilation that failed miserably—may be seen as an attempt to enshrine the colonial period as a monolith of victimization and resistance while

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morpho-syllabic orthography (more akin to today's system) and published the organ journal *Han'gŭl* beginning in 1927 and running a total of nineteen issues.

<sup>72</sup> Many authors have pointed out what they consider to be relatively low rates of literacy in Japanese, even with the higher public school attendance rates that marked the late colonial period. See Mitsui, "Singminjiha ūi Chosŏnŏ ŏnŏ chŏngch'ihak," 89; Yi Myŏnghwa, "Chosŏn Ch'ongdokpu ūi ŏnŏ tonghwa chŏngch'aek: Hwangminhwa sigi Ilbonŏ sangyong undong ūl chungsimŭro," *Han'guk tongnip undongsa yŏn'gu* 9, (1995): 277-94. Kim Puja, "Singminji sigi Chosŏn pot'ong hakkyo ch'wihak tonggi wa Ilbonŏ—1930nyŏndae chungsim ūro," *Sahoewa yŏksa* 17 (2008): 39-55.

<sup>73</sup> One dramatic retelling of the name change policy in action may be found in Richard Kim, *Lost Names* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010). Pak Wansŏ provides a slightly more nuanced version of the policy implementation, claiming that "pressure" to conform better characterized the policy than outright coercion. See Pak Wansŏ, "Kŭ mant'ŏn singa nŭn nuga ta mŏgŏssŭlkka: Pak Wansŏ changp'yŏn sosŏl (Sŏul: Ungjin ch'ulp'an, 1992).

simultaneously salvaging the nationalistic credentials of the *minjok*, the legitimate keepers of an indominatable spirit.

Like most narratives, these are not without elements of truth. The school enrollment rate in rural areas and among girls remained relatively low throughout the colonial period, as did the rate of Japanese diffusion. Even after the dramatic uptick in the late 1930s, common school enrollment for girls hovered around 30%, and the oft-cited statistic on Japanese (spoken) proficiency maintains that by 1943 “only” 5,722,448 Koreans or 22.15% of the total population were “conversant” in Japanese.<sup>74</sup> However, these arguments begin from fundamentally different premises and so do not align with the approach in this present study for two reasons. First, there was a rather dramatic gap in Japanese proficiency between rural and urban populations. Dong Wonmo cites GGK statistics which record that, while those conversant with the Japanese language made up six percent and 18.9% of the population in 1930 and 1943 respectively, those conversant in urban areas over the same years constituted 24.8% and 45.3% of the populations.<sup>75</sup> In larger urban areas, the rate was even higher, which we can see from the following statistics from 1943, all of which are considerably higher than the average of 22%: Wōnsan (62.7%), Pusan (56.0%), Seoul (53.9%), Taegu (47.6%), Hamhŭng (41.6%), and P’yōngyang (41%).<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> *Chōsen kindai shiryō: Chōsen sōtokufu kakei jūyō bunsho senshū* [Source Materials on the Recent History of Korea: Selections from the Important Documents of the Government-General of Korea], quoted in Dong, “A Study in Assimilation,” 495.

<sup>75</sup> *Quinquennial Census, 1930; Chōsen kindai shiryō: Chōsen sōtokufu kakei jūyō bunsho senshū* [Source Materials on the Recent History of Korea: Selections from the Important Documents of the Government-General of Korea], quoted in Dong, “A Study in Assimilation,” 496.

<sup>76</sup> *Chōsen kindai shiryō: Chōsen sōtokufu kakei jūyō bunsho senshū* [Source Materials on the Recent History of Korea: Selections from the Important Documents of the Government-General of Korea], quoted in Dong, “A Study in Assimilation,” 496.

These numbers correspond to areas with higher concentrations of common schools, and so suggest the role of colonial education in spreading Japanese literacy.

Secondly, arguments on low *kokugo* diffusion tend to proceed from a unilaterally metropolitan premise, taking the ultimate goal of public schooling and *kokugo* diffusion to be the eradication of *Korean* nationality and language, and so any results that fall short of this popular narrative of absolute obliteration of Korean culture are taken as evidence of failure. For example, Michael Robinson writes the following on the state of late-colonial linguistic assimilation: “In retrospect the language programs within the assimilation project failed. It was clear by 1945 that the Japanese had not even begun to stamp out Korean language use. The symbolic abomination of required Japanese use affected mostly middle- and upper-class Koreans—or those Koreans enmeshed in Japanese organizations, companies, bureaucracies and schools.”<sup>77</sup> If we are to view the spread of Japanese and indirectly common school enrollment as a zero-sum game of linguistic assimilation, then Japan’s policy did indeed fail, and I concur with Robinson’s assessment. However, the second part of the statement above describes the central conceptualization of Japanese diffusion in this present study, and that is through the hegemony of Japanese cultural institutions in colonial Korea. Common schooling in Japanese had the ability to draw “upper- and middle-class Koreans” into the Japanese cultural orbit for purposes of social mobility, and through a curriculum engendering superficial development of vernacular Korean literacy, transitioning to higher-level Japanese.

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<sup>77</sup> Michael Robinson, *Korea’s Twentieth-Century Odyssey* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 95.



## Structure and Methodology of the Dissertation

Chapter 1 of the dissertation provides a brief overview of the education and Civil Service Examination systems during the Koryŏ (918-1392) and Chosŏn Dynasties (1392-1910), giving particular attention to the mutually reinforcing relationship between each system as they combined to both legitimate and disseminate learning based on the Classics of Confucian literature and determine cultural capital through the distribution of government posts.<sup>78</sup> Chapter 1 concludes with a discussion of the linguistic landscape in pre-modern Korea, that is the relationship between the vernacular (Korean) and the cosmopolitan (Literary Sinitic)<sup>79</sup> within the field of pre-modern education, setting the scene for the monumental transformations in the linguistic landscape described in the following chapter. Chapter 2 delineates the process by which the “vulgar script” was ‘nationalized’ and became the national script (*kungmun*), subsequently shouldering the mantle of modern education. Broadly conceived, this chapter is a discourse analysis of Western missionary and Korean intellectual writings on linguistic modernity and its role in developing vernacular Korean for use in modern education. In part one I analyze the earliest writings on the Korean language and writing system by Western observers, the majority of them missionaries, and identify common language ideologies that characterized them. I argue that these discourses on the “superiority” of the native Korean script, the “pre-modernity” of *hanmun* and the “backwardness” of Korean culture for failing to elevate the alphabet to its proper position as conveyor of modern knowledge represented Western language ideologies superimposed on the Korean linguistic milieu. Part two will examine views on the language question expressed in the vernacular Korean media, discourses that initially displayed

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<sup>78</sup> This terminology will be explained below.

<sup>79</sup> This term will be explained in Chapter 1.

many commonalities with Western discourses but soon morphed into a discussion over how best to ‘prepare’ the written language for the task of mediating modern knowledge conveyance in the growing number of schools, a dialogue spurred primarily by the growing influence of Japanese authority during the Protectorate Period (1905-1910). In Chapter 3 I trace the emergence of Sino-Korean Mixed-Script writing (*kukhanmun*) as the dominant style in expository prose of the Enlightenment Era, arguing that this was a style spearheaded by Korean elites through transnational interaction and intellectual engagement with Japan. In other words, the emergence of *kukhanmun* as a viable orthography for expository writing was intimately connected with Korea’s exposure to Japanese textual and linguistic practices, and was the result of contact with the radical difference yet potential consanguinity of Japanese writing. I then describe the process by which Korean vernacular in *kukhanmun* was drawn closer to Japanese within a positive feedback mechanism: *kukhanmun* structure facilitated greater translation through Japanese, while the ongoing process of translation drew the translator into closer contact with and employment of Japanese writing conventions, which in turn became assimilated into vernacular Korean as readers acclimated to increased vernacularization and accompanying Japanese-made neologisms. In delineating the process of *kukhanmun* ascendance, I highlight the functionality of this *écriture*<sup>80</sup> in embodying the legitimacy of the sinograph and the transparency of the vernacular script, a critical combination that enabled the effective conveyance of modern knowledge in schools.

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<sup>80</sup> I take this concept of *écriture* (writing) from Derrida’s formulation in *L’écriture et la différence* (Writing and Difference), where writing is designated as a social institution and as a function of intertextuality, where no one text may be read in isolation but rather should be understood within a larger milieu of culturally endorsed texts, conventions, codes, and meanings. See Jacques Derrida, *Writing and Difference*, trans. Alan Bass (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 2010).

In Chapter 4, I outline the various streams of modern education during the Enlightenment Era: *sōdang* (village schools), private secular schools, Chosŏn government schools, missionary schools, and Japanese public schools after 1905. Through the lens of the ‘language’ textbook, I analyze the nature of language pedagogy in each of these schools. These textbooks offer critical glimpses into the ongoing process of vernacular-cosmopolitan differentiation, and represent alternative pronouncements of vernacular literacy. I pay close attention to the function of sinographs in these textbooks, arguing that their particular deployment reflects the evolving state of vernacular written Korean, the (individual and corporate) authors’ own language ideologies, and the perceived status and literacy level of the target audience. Finally, the *Pot’ong haktoyong kugŏ tokpon* (National Language Reader for Common School Use, 1907), Japan’s first declaration of its vision for vernacular Korean literacy, displayed a commitment to Mixed-Script orthography and the breakdown of *hanmun* phrases into constituent two-syllable sinographs, held in common with Japanese, a form of literacy that continued into the colonial period.

In Chapter 5, utilizing GGK language and education policy pronouncements as well as the writings of Korean observers and Japanese policy-makers in the popular press, I analyze the consolidation of virtually monolingual education in common schools and the confirmation of Korean as “foreign first language.” Through a policy analysis of GGK legislation, I examine the officially-stated purpose of language education, particularly the relationship between Japanese, Korean and *hanmun* in the curriculum. I argue that the sinograph functioned as both a diachronic and translingual mediating agent, linking LS lexicographically to both Japanese and Korean while simultaneously “connecting” these two languages through the reinforcing tendencies of language’s positionality in the curriculum, where Korean was limited to language class alone and Japanese was the language of instruction. Although an active campaign to institute Korean as the

language of instruction erupted following the March First Movement, a campaign that I detail through analysis of the popular press, the Second Rescript on Korean Education confirmed the hegemony of Japanese due to the central impasse between the co-educationists and those calling for Korean as the language of instruction. The *sōdang* represented a viable alternative to common schools well into the 1920s, offering instruction in Korean, but due to increased pressure from Japan and the expansion of the common school network to satisfy demand, the *sōdang* experienced continual decline and the compromising of its curriculum. Japanese coercion worked hand-in-hand with the indigenous desire for modern education, and so students were increasingly funneled to the common school and the official vision for vernacular literacy. Finally, through an analysis of *Chosonǒ kǔp hanmun tokpon* (The Common School Sino-Korean Language Reader 1915-1918) and *Chosonǒ tokpon* (The Korean Language Reader 1923-1924) I demonstrate the continued GGK commitment to Mixed-Script orthography and the connecting of Korean to the ‘national language’ through the mediation of the sinograph, resulting in continued transitioning to Japanese literacy for educated Koreans and the atrophy of Korean literacy.

# Chapter 1: The Historical Development of Language and the Education System in Korea

## 1.1 The Pre-modern Education System in Korea

Two of the cornerstones of pre-modern education on the Korean peninsula were the system of educational institutions<sup>81</sup> and the *kwagŏ* (科擧 civil service) examinations, and the relationship between these two systems will form the basis of this chapter. It is crucial to consider the examination and educational regimes concurrently because of the mutually constitutive nature of each. The curriculum in the various schools of the Koryŏ period (918-1392) came to closely resemble the Tang-inspired, Confucian-infused subject matter of the *kwagŏ* exam, which meant “a convergence between the *kwagŏ* examination system and the state’s educational objectives.”<sup>82</sup> This close equivalence between the education system and the *kwagŏ* examination—the only avenue to high-level government employment and academic prestige—remained throughout the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392-1910) until its abolition in 1894.<sup>83</sup> An analysis of the *kwagŏ* examination and its relationship to education also provides an interesting backdrop

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<sup>81</sup> I hesitate to call these ‘schools’ because of the modernist connotation such a term contains. When the word school is employed for lack of an alternative, it should be remembered that such institutions differed significantly from “modern schools” which emerged in the 1880s and which will be introduced in a later chapter. Such pre-modern institutions differed most markedly in terms of curriculum, operating agents, and criteria of enrollment.

<sup>82</sup> Son Insu, *Han’guk kyoyuksa yŏn’gu* (Sang) (Sŏul: Munŏmsa, 1998), 42. A chart comparing the education and examination systems appears on page 43.

<sup>83</sup> Although many historians, mostly Korea-based, tend to date the Chosŏn Dynasty’s conclusion to the year 1897, when Chosŏn’s King Kojong proclaimed the Empire of Korea (*Taehan cheguk*) and took the title of emperor at the urging of the Independence Club (*Tongnip hyŏphoe*), due to the continuities exhibited in government structure, operation, and most importantly reigning family after 1897, in this study Japan’s annexation of the Korean peninsula in 1910 will mark the end of the Chosŏn Dynasty.

to the evolving public/private power dynamic in Korean history. Throughout the Koryŏ and Chosŏn periods, cycles of state support for public education were followed by eras of decline, which coincided with the emergence of private initiatives to fill the void. Various educational institutions became the media by which the state and private actors asserted their interests vis-à-vis the relatively consistent and exclusive vehicle for government service and social mobility, the civil service examination.

The Koryŏ Dynasty witnessed the widespread establishment of educational institutions as well as the full-scale implementation of the *kwagŏ* examination in 958 CE.<sup>84</sup> The *kwagŏ* examination was a mechanism by which talented men were selected for government service based on erudition and knowledge of the Confucian corpus and literary composition, although in this period there was more emphasis placed on the latter, with a shift to the former in the late Koryŏ and into the first half century of the Chosŏn Dynasty. The Koryŏ-era examination was restricted to mostly sons of the capital elite and functioned more as a perquisite for promotion rather than credentials for initial appointment, although it was opened to a wider segment of the population during the Chosŏn Dynasty.<sup>85</sup> The examination system closely followed the system prevailing in Tang China, being divided into the following sections: 1) *chesulkwa* (製述科), which emphasized skill in literary composition and awarded the *chinsa* (進士) degree, 2)

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<sup>84</sup> Although government service exams were held on a small scale as early as the Unified Silla period, they were administered on a full-scale basis only from the Koryŏ period. For example, Ch'oe Yŏng-ho points out that in the *Samguk sagi* (Record of the Three Kingdoms) it is recorded that in 788 AD a reading examination based on the Chinese Classics was given to prospective officials, but it is unknown whether these examinations were continued on a regular basis thereafter. Koreans were allowed to sit for the civil service examinations in China from the eighth to tenth centuries and beyond. See Ch'oe Yŏng-ho, "The Civil Examinations and the Social Structure in Early Yi Dynasty Korea, 1392-1600," (PhD diss. University of Chicago, 1971), 1, ProQuest.

<sup>85</sup> John Duncan, *The Origins of the Chosŏn Dynasty* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), 60-63.

*myŏnggyŏngkwa* (明經科), which tested candidates' knowledge of the Chinese Classics,<sup>86</sup> and *chapkwa* (雜科) or miscellaneous fields, designed for students of “medicine, law, mathematics, and geomancy,” as well as foreign languages.<sup>87</sup> According to Cho Chwaho, the *kwagŏ* examination was held a total of 252 times during 435 years of the Koryŏ Dynasty, during which time 6,718 men received the *chinsa* degree, the highest degree awarded.<sup>88</sup> As for who was qualified to sit for the exam, Ch'oe Yŏng-ho claims that although “a small number of disenfranchised and the offspring of disloyal and unfilial men were barred” from taking the examination, “it appears certain that the examination was open not only to men of high birth but to men of common origins as well.”<sup>89</sup> Although no legislation existed that explicitly barred commoners from sitting for the examination, in actual practice the vast majority of test takers would have been the sons of elite families.

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<sup>86</sup> The exact meaning of “Chinese Classics” and what they encompassed will be explained in detail in a later section.

<sup>87</sup> Ch'oe, “The Civil Examinations and the Social Structure in Early Yi Dynasty Korea,” 2-3. The *Chapkwa* examination, especially the foreign language component, will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

<sup>88</sup> Cho Chwaho, “Yŏdae ūi kwagŏ chedo,” *Yŏksa hakpo* no. 10 (1958), 125-65, quoted in Ch'oe, “The Civil Examinations and the Social Structure in Early Yi Dynasty Korea,” 3.

<sup>89</sup> Ch'oe, “The Civil Examinations and the Social Structure in Early Yi Dynasty Korea,” 3. Although the *kwagŏ* examinations were technically open to all but a few specifically excluded categories, the education necessary to produce a successful candidate would have been far beyond the means of most non-*yangban* households, hence the common misconception in Korean academia and society that the exams were closed to all but those of *yangban* status. State education at *hyanggyo* (provincial schools) and semi-private village schools (*sŏdang*) was also technically open to students of non-*yangban* status, but private education in the form of *sŏwŏn* which came to dominate Korean higher education from the mid-Chosŏn onward became increasingly selective as to the pedigree of their students. These issues will be discussed in more detail below.

Although the dominant religion during the Koryŏ Dynasty in terms of popular belief and state support was Buddhism, the most prestigious areas of the *kwagŏ* examination were from the outset solidly rooted in the classics of Chinese *belles lettres* and the Confucian canon. This was because the respective roles of Buddhism and Confucianism were clearly defined and not necessarily contradictory. According to Ch'oe Sŏngno's (927-989) twenty-eight proposals for contemporary government (*simu isipp'al cho*), Buddhism was "the foundation for personal cultivation, while Confucianism was called the foundation for the governing of the state."<sup>90</sup> When Buddhism did face its first direct critiques from Neo-Confucians in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the arguments had more to do with the excesses and corruption that had befallen the religion under state sponsorship rather than a frontal attack on the tenets of the belief system itself. By the close of the Koryŏ Dynasty, however, Buddhism was facing a more aggressive attack from emboldened Neo-Confucian ideologues, and with the establishment of the Chosŏn Dynasty (1398-1910), the new ruling government found itself on solid enough economic and ideological footing to enact sweeping reforms of the religion. Although the *kwagŏ* examination remained firmly undergirded by Confucian and Neo-Confucian material, with a shift toward the latter along with a de-emphasis of the classical Chinese literature so valued in the Koryŏ era, the removal of state support for Buddhism resulted in important ramifications for the educational system.

The intensifying critique of Buddhism that accompanied the rise of Neo-Confucian thought in the 14<sup>th</sup> century also had an effect on the examination system. Within the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the Mongol Yuan Empire, where officials from throughout the

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<sup>90</sup> Quoted in Yi Sŏngmu, "The Influence of Neo-Confucianism on Education and the Civil Service Examination System in Fourteenth and Fifteenth-Century Korea," in *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea*, ed. William Theodore De Bary and Ja Hyun Kim Haboush (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 125.



empire mingled in the Yuan capital, Koryŏ officials had direct access to the latest developments in Neo-Confucian thought, a philosophy that had only recently been granted legitimacy by the Southern Song (1230) before being introduced by An Hyang (An Yu, 1243-1306) during the reign of King Ch'ungnyŏl (r. 1274-1308).<sup>91</sup> Yi Sŏngmu describes Neo-Confucianism's rapid spread in Koryŏ according to the following periodization: first, the period during the early 14<sup>th</sup> century when Neo-Confucianism was first introduced; second, the period of its increasing acceptance a half a century later; and third, the period of Neo-Confucian struggle against Buddhism near the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>92</sup>, coinciding with the fall of Koryŏ and the founding of the strongly Neo-Confucian-inspired Chosŏn Dynasty.<sup>93</sup>

As a result of this ascendance, the examination system came to be transformed in important ways. In 1314, after a century-long hiatus, the Yuan Dynasty permanently reestablished the *kwagŏ* system and, reflecting the growing status of Neo-Confucian thought in

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<sup>91</sup> Yi Sŏngmu writes that there is some disagreement over who actually introduced Neo-Confucianism to Korea, An Hyang or the scholar-official Paek Ijŏng, the latter's claim based on his biography appearing in the *History of the Koryŏ Dynasty (Koryŏsa)*. Yi argues that each scholar had a role in propagating the new religion in Korea, stating that “[W]hile An Hyang was a national political figure and scholar official who created a situation favorable for the study of Neo-Confucianism, Paek Ijŏng was a scholar who himself studied and understood Neo-Confucianism.” For a discussion of this disagreement over the roots of Neo-Confucianism in Korea, see Yi, “The Influence of Neo-Confucianism on Education,” 128-30.

<sup>92</sup> Yi, “The Influence of Neo-Confucianism on Education,” 130.

<sup>93</sup> Duncan has shown that the Neo-Confucian focus on philosophy and government policy did not immediately overtake the Koryŏ-era focus on literary composition as a percentage of the *kwagŏ* examination, but rather did so over the course of more than a century. Duncan writes, “We should not interpret the preeminence of the mixed Ancient Style-Ch'eng-Chu Learning to mean the old T'ang belletrist style disappeared completely after the founding of the Chosŏn Dynasty. There is ample evidence of the persistence of belletrist tendencies well into the fifteenth century. Survival of the ornate literary style was closely related to the persistence of Buddhist beliefs and practices not only among both the new royal family, as is widely known, but also among many of the *yangban* who staffed the new dynasty's bureaucracy.” See Duncan, *Origins of the Chosŏn Dynasty*, 251, 251-62.

the preceding years, established the *Collected Commentaries of Chu Hsi on the Four Books* (四書章句集註 *Sasŏ changgu chipchu*) as major texts from which examination questions were drawn.<sup>94</sup> Based on coordination with the Yuan's new examination system, Koryŏ's own system was altered in 1315 so that it would serve as a kind of provincial or qualifying exam of the Yuan Empire.<sup>95</sup> Koryŏ also adopted a thoroughly Confucianized curriculum for its exam system, including canonical works such as the *Elementary Learning* (*Sohak* 小學), and the *Four Books* and *Five Classics*.<sup>96</sup> Further reforms included measures to increase impartiality<sup>97</sup> and to curb the influence of the old capital aristocracy, which had come to dominate literary licentiate (*chinsa*) degrees through the solidification of a master-protégé system and the gradual exclusion of provincial literati.<sup>98</sup> Finally, in 1369 Koryŏ adopted the Yuan "triple-tier" system consisting of a provincial examination (*hyangsi*), a metropolitan examination (*hoesi*), and palace examination (*chŏnsi*), a system which eventually became a permanent fixture of the Chosŏn *kwagŏ* system.

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid, 147.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid. Thereafter the Koryŏ Dynasty sent three candidates from among the 33 who passed the highest-level examination to the Yuan capital to sit for the special examination for non-Chinese.

<sup>96</sup> The *Four Books* refer to the *Great Learning* (*Taehak* 大學), the *Analects* (*Nonŏ* 論語), *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Chungyŏng* 中營), and *Mencius* (*Maengja* 孟子). The *Five Classics* refer to the *Book of Odes* (*Sigyŏng* 詩經), the *Book of Documents* (*Sŏgyŏng* 書經), the *Book of Changes* (*Chuyŏk* 周易), the *Book of Rites* (*Yegi* 禮記), and the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Ch'unch'u* 春秋).

<sup>97</sup> These included the prohibition of books being brought into the examination hall, as well as the copying of each exam by a copyist from 1365 onward to maintain the anonymity of the examination writer, whose identity may have been revealed through his calligraphy. Yi, "The Influence of Neo-Confucianism on Education," 148.

<sup>98</sup> Yi, "The Influence of Neo-Confucianism on Education," 146.

These reforms in the closing years of Koryŏ were accelerated and solidified with the political mandate of the new dynasty. Following his crowning in 1392, the first monarch of the Chosŏn Dynasty, King T'aejo, issued an edict declaring the following changes:

It is proper that both civil and military (*munmu* 文武) examinations be adopted. In the capital Kukhak students will be established and in the provinces *hyanggyo* students will be increased, and more energy will be devoted to the lecturing of students and the fostering of talent. The fundamental goal of the *kwagŏ* examination is to select talented men for the service of the country, but these so-called masters (*chwaju* 座主) and protégés (*munsaeŋ* 門生) strive for private virtue through a public foundation, a method which is not supportive of the law. Henceforth, the Sŏnggyun'gwan *Kwagŏ* Examination Office (Sŏnggyun'gwan chŏngnokso 成均館正錄所) in the capital and the surveillance officers (*allyŏmsa* 按廉使) in each province shall select those who are studied in the Classics and exemplary in their behavior, and send their age, family seat, and their family background for three generations along with a list of the Classics which they have mastered to the Sŏnggyun'gwan Board of Review. The Board will then test the candidate on their knowledge of the *Four Books* and *Five Classics* along with the *Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government* (*T'onggam* 通鑑).<sup>99</sup>

The proclamation goes on to outline two additional stages of the examination: the second stage conducted by the Board of Rites and testing documentary prose (*p'yomun* 表文), memorials (*changju* 章奏) and archaic rhyme-prose (*kobu* 古賦), and the third stage testing the candidate's ability to compose essays related to policy issues (*ch'aengmun* 策問). A further reform which reflected the growing influence of Neo-Confucian governance and the breakdown of the Koryŏ examination system was the initial omission of the preliminary exam for the literary licentiate degree (*chinsa*), although the exam was eventually reestablished as a permanent

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<sup>99</sup> “一，文武兩科，不可偏廢。內而國學，外而鄉校，增置生徒，敦加講勸，養育人才。其科舉之法，本以爲國取人，其稱座主門生，以公舉爲私恩，甚非立法之意。今後內而成均正錄所，外而各道按廉使，擇其在學經明行修者，開具年貫三代及所通經書，登于成均館長貳所，試講所通經書，自四書五經《通鑑》已上通者...” “T'aejo ūi chŭgwi kyosŏ,” *T'aejong sillok* 1, July 28, 1392.

practice after 1452.<sup>100</sup> The focus in this exam on literary skills in three genres of LS was viewed as a holdover from the Koryŏ period, and hence criticized by the more scripted Neo-Confucians, who encouraged a narrower focus on established texts of the Confucian canon. Because the written medium was deemed more effective in ascertaining literary skill while an oral test was more desirable in determining knowledge of the classics, a protracted debate took place over whether to offer the oral classics exam or written literary exam as a preliminary test, long after the *chinsa* test had already been permanently adopted.<sup>101</sup> This again demonstrated the continual solidification of Neo-Confucian orthodoxy in Chosŏn ruling ideology.

## 1.2 The Structure of the *Kwagŏ* Examination during the Chosŏn Dynasty

Despite some lingering resistance to these changes in the Koryŏ examination system, particularly in the case of the oral-written debate, by the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century the Chosŏn examination system that would remain until the nineteenth century had been largely established. As mentioned above, the examination now broadly consisted of civil, military, and technical categories. The most prestigious type and the focus of this work was the civil examination, which was divided into three categories: the prefectural (*kun*) examination, which was used to legitimize the local elite, though rarely translating into a central government position, the *sama*

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<sup>100</sup> Yi, “The Influence of Neo-Confucianism on Education,” 149.

<sup>101</sup> For an overview of this debate, see Yi, “The Influence of Neo-Confucianism on Education,” 149-152. Yi Sŏngmu has written extensively on the *kwagŏ* examination system in Korea more generally, including several book-length treatments: Yi Sŏngmu, *Han’guk kwagŏ chedosa* (Sŏul: Minŭmsa, 1997); *Han’guk ūi kwagŏ chedo* (Sŏul: Chimmundang, 2000).

(lower) examination and the *munkwa* (higher) examination.<sup>102</sup> The *sama* examination (司馬試) was further divided into two types based on the content to be tested and the degree awarded; the classics exam (*saengwŏn* 生員) tested knowledge of the *Four Books* and *Five Classics* while the literary licentiate exam (*chinsa* 進士) expected competence in literary composition. Each exam consisted of two stages, the provincial and metropolitan, and the curriculum for each level was identical. Provincial exams were held in the capital city of each province, and the authority to select candidates to sit for the exams rested with each provincial governor or with the Sŏnggyun’gwan (成均館 Confucian College) in the case of capital residents. The *Kyŏngguk taejŏn* (經國大典 Great Statutes for the Governance of the State, 1485)<sup>103</sup> stipulated a specific quota system in which each province would send a prescribed number of candidates to sit for the metropolitan exam. The quotas were as follows:

<u>Provinces</u>	<u>Saengwŏn</u>	<u>Chinsa</u>
Seoul	200	200
Kyŏnggi	60	60
Ch’ungch’ŏng	90	90

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<sup>102</sup> John Duncan, “Examinations and Orthodoxy in Chosŏn Dynasty Korea,” in *Rethinking Confucianism: Past and Present in China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam*, ed. Benjamin Elman et al (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian Pacific Monograph Series, 2002), 72.

<sup>103</sup> The Sŏnggyun’gwan was the highest institute of learning in the Chosŏn Dynasty government education system. This and other “schools” will be explained in more detail in the section below on education. The *Kyŏngguk taejŏn* was a complete code of laws which comprised laws, acts, customs and ordinances from the late Koryŏ and early Chosŏn Dynasties that was commissioned by King Sejo (1417-1468) in 1468 and revised in 1469, 1471, and 1481 at the behest of King Sŏngjong (1469-1494) before finally being printed in 1485. It is based on the earliest administrative code of the Chosŏn Dynasty, the *Kyŏngje yukchŏn* (經濟六典 Six Codes of Governance), which was published during the reign of Chosŏn founder King T’aejo, but has not been preserved.

Chöllla	90	90
Kyöngsang	100	100
Kangwön	45	45
P'yöng'an	45	45
Hwanghae	35	35
Hamgyöng	35	35
Total:	700	700 <sup>104</sup>

After being assembled in the capital and registered in the *Sönggyun'gwan*, candidates were given a 'screening test' (*hangnyegang*) on the *Elementary Learning* (compiled under the direction of Chu Hsi) and the *Family Rituals of Master Chu* (*Chuja karye* 朱子家禮), a method of confirming that test takers possessed a sufficiently strong grounding in basic Neo-Confucian ideals and ritual decorum.<sup>105</sup> The metropolitan *saengwön* examination was divided into two essays. The first essay was called *üi* (義) and required the candidate to elucidate the meaning of a given passage from one of the *Five Confucian Classics*. For the second essay, known as *üi* (疑), the candidate was presented with "several passages of ambiguous or controversial meaning from the *Four Books* and was asked to discuss various issues involved."<sup>106</sup> On the other hand, for

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<sup>104</sup> Table adapted from Ch'oe, "The Civil Examinations and the Social Structure in Early Yi Dynasty Korea," 38. The low quota for the northern provinces became a sticking point later in the Chosön period when an increasing number of exam passers from these provinces failed to translate into an equivalent number of government appointments. For example, Kim Sun Joo argues that historical discrimination against P'yöngan Province among the capital elite prevented the ascendance of self-empowered P'yöngan literati in central government, despite their increasing placement in the *kwagö* examinations, partially explaining the Hong Kyöngnae Rebellion (1812). See Kim Sun Joo, *Marginality and Subversion in Korea: The Hong Kyöngnae Rebellion of 1812* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007).

<sup>105</sup> Ch'oe, "The Civil Examinations and the Social Structure in Early Yi Dynasty Korea," 38; Yi, "The Influence of Neo-Confucianism on Education," 150; Son, *Han'guk kyoyuksa*, 425-26.

those candidates for the *chinsa* degree, of whom competence in literary composition was required, the curriculum of the exam could be drawn from classical poetry (*si* 詩), *pu* (賦, a Tang literary form that combined poetry and prose), documentary prose (*p'yo* 表), exposition of a literary passage (*chǒn* 箋), and a practical essay (*ch'aengmun* 策問, devising a solution to a given political issue), and the examinee would be required to complete one each of the *si* and *pu* forms, based on the given topic and rhyme scheme. According to the results of the examination, 100 successful examinees would be selected for conferment of each degree—referred to as *paekp'ae* (white diploma 白牌) due to the color of the diploma—and presented by the king.<sup>107</sup>

The most significant privilege that accompanied the conferral of such a degree was admission to the Sōnggyun'gwan and the opportunity for further study in preparation for the higher civil service examination (*munkwa*) and possible higher-level government service. However, not all examination passers chose to pursue further studies or a career in the central bureaucracy. The *chinsa* and *saengwǒn* degrees carried a significant degree of social distinction, particularly in provincial areas where the overall level of academic attainment was much lower than in the capital. Furthermore, in a system where higher government officials could not be appointed to their home territory (the law of avoidance), in an attempt to forestall favoritism and nepotism, *chinsa* and *saengwǒn* degree holders were able in such a power vacuum to enjoy a high level of distinction, rising to the level of local elites of their respective communities.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Ch'oe, "The Civil Examinations and the Social Structure in Early Yi Dynasty Korea," 39.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid, 40. The diploma for the *munkwa* examination, being red in color, was referred to as *hongp'ae*.

<sup>108</sup> Ch'oe, "The Civil Examinations and the Social Structure in Early Yi Dynasty Korea," 46.

For those students who did desire to continue their studies, a considerably more complex and rigorous trial awaited them in the *munkwa* examination, the primary path to major government posts and the wellspring of power and prestige for the successful candidate as well as his clan.<sup>109</sup> Indeed, success in the *munkwa* (along with whether or not one bore taxes) was the primary means by which a clan confirmed its position in the ranks of the *yangban* literati class, and failure to place an examination passer for multiple generations after initial success often resulted in the deterioration of the clan's name and reputation. The *munkwa* examination was divided into three parts, namely the *ch'osi* or preliminary examination (held at the provincial level and hence also known as *hyangsi* 鄉試), the *poksi* or metropolitan examination held in the capital and conducted under the auspices of the Board of Rites (*yejo* 禮曹), and finally the *chönsi* or Palace Examination (殿試), conducted under and ceremoniously administered by the reigning monarch.<sup>110</sup>

The preliminary examination consisted of three sections, namely the *ch'ojang* (first examination), *chungjang* (middle examination), and *chongjang* (final examination). In the *ch'ojang* the candidate was required to write two essays, one answering an *üi* (義) or *üi* (疑) question from the *Four Books* and *Five Classics*—reminiscent of the first essay from the *saengwön* exam—and the other presenting a discussion of a designated topic (*non* 論).<sup>111</sup> The

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<sup>109</sup> There were, however, alternative avenues to central government service. Ch'oe Yönggho points out the significant presence of *üm* privilege appointees as well as the eligibility of *chinsa* and *saengwön* degree holders for lower-level state posts from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, whereas previously such status had merely meant an intermediary stage before advancing to the level of *munkwa* degree holder. See Ch'oe, "The Civil Examinations and the Social Structure in Early Yi Dynasty Korea," 42-45.

<sup>110</sup> Ch'oe, "The Civil Examinations and the Social Structure in Early Yi Dynasty Korea," 51-53.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid*, 51-52.



*chungjang* was divided into two sections, and in the first the candidates “were to write a composition in a form selected by examiners from among fixed forms, such as rhyme-prose (*pu* 賦), eulogy (*song* 頌), inscription (*myǒng* 銘), admonition (*cham* 箴), or memorandum (*ki* 記). The other composition tested the candidate’s ability to compose a formal memorial (*p’yo* 表) or a report (*chǒn* 箋).”<sup>112</sup> Finally, the *chongjang* exam tested the ability of candidates to propose effective solutions to political problems (*ch’aengmun*). The Sǒnggyun’gwan, Sǒul, and each province then selected a fixed number of candidates to sit for the metropolitan examination in the capital.<sup>113</sup> The quotas are presented in the following table:

Sǒnggyun’gwan	50
Sǒul	40
Kyǒnggi	20
Ch’ungch’ǒng	25
Chǒlla	25
Kyǒngsang	30
Kangwǒn	15
P’yǒng’an	15
Hwanghae	15
Hamgyǒng	<u>10</u>
Total	240 <sup>114</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Ibid, 52.

<sup>113</sup> The quota for Kyǒnggi Province was merged with Sǒul following the Imjin Invasions (1592-97).

Subsequently, the selected candidates gathered in the capital for the metropolitan examination, which was also divided into three sections: *ch'ojang*, *chungjang*, and *chongjang*. The curriculum for each test was equivalent to that of the preliminary exam, except that the test of the *Four Books* and *Five Classics* in the *ch'ojang* was given orally in a test designated as *kanggyōng* (講經), or discussion of the classics, a decision which came about after protracted debate within the government. As Yi Sōngmu points out, “written tests were not deemed adequate for the examination in the classics, because in a written examination a student with skill in composition [*chesul* 製述] but a limited knowledge of the classics might do well, while one having a profound knowledge of the classics but lacking skill in composition could not display his knowledge properly.”<sup>115</sup> Eventually, the practice of placing the oral test at the first stage of the *munkwa* examination was included in the *Kyōngguk taejōn* and became the basis for Chosŏn administrative governance. Although an oral exam had existed as part of Koryŏ's *kwagŏ* system, the decision to put the exam first seemed to place greater emphasis on the memorization of a set canon of classical Confucian works, which represents a further consolidation of Neo-Confucian governing philosophy and a shift away from the *belles lettres* orientation of the Koryŏ period. However, the composition section of the *munkwa* examination was by no means eliminated, and remained an integral part of the examination regime until the late nineteenth century.

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<sup>114</sup> This table is adapted from Ch'oe, “The Civil Examinations and the Social Structure in Early Yi Dynasty Korea,” 52.

<sup>115</sup> Yi, “The Influence of Neo-Confucianism on Education,” 150. Yi outlines the major arguments for and against the oral and written tests as mechanisms for testing knowledge, including issues related to impartiality, exactness of criteria, and the quality of talent recruited through each method. Yi also claims that the confrontation between the pro-oral and pro-written test factions eventually developed into political antagonism between the state school-based *hun'gu p'a* (勳舊派) and the private school-affiliated *sarim p'a* (士林派), an interesting intersection between the Chosŏn-era education system and the examination system. See Yi, “The Influence of Neo-Confucianism on Education,” 150-52.

The final stage of the *munkwa* examination was the palace exam (*chönsi*), which was administered to just 33 successful candidates selected from the metropolitan exam results. As Ch'oe claims, those candidates who reached this stage were already assured of a high-level position in the central bureaucracy, and “the only pertinent function served by the final palace examination was a determination of respective rankings among the thirty-three candidates.”<sup>116</sup> The exam was held in the presence of the reigning monarch, and the curriculum required the examinee to devise a solution to a given political problem (*ch'aengmun*) in the form of an essay in one of the following styles: dissertation (*non* 論), memorial, report, admonition, eulogy, edict (*che* 制), or proclamation (*cho* 詔). Following the submission of the examination papers, a panel of examination officials composed of men known for their literary prowess<sup>117</sup> evaluated the submissions. In order to ensure impartiality, the candidate's name was removed from the exam sheet and replaced by a number in a practice adopted from China called *pongmi* (封彌), and the entire exam was furthermore rewritten by an official copyist to ensure that the examinee's calligraphy would not be recognized.<sup>118</sup> The *kwagö* examination system was in many ways a model of efficiency and impartiality.

Despite the various safeguards put in place to ensure fairness and impartiality, concerns were voiced from time to time over both the veracity of such measures, as well as the overall

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<sup>116</sup> Ch'oe, “The Civil Examinations and the Social Structure in Early Yi Dynasty Korea,” 53.

<sup>117</sup> According to Ch'oe, the supervision of the exam was assigned to the Board of Rites, with assistance from the “Four Offices:” the Confucian College, the Office of Royal Decrees, the Office of Diplomatic Correspondence, and the Office of Editorial Review. As for the examiners themselves, which numbered seven, “three of them were senior officials of the second rank or higher; the remaining four were junior officials of the third rank or lower.” See Ch'oe, “The Civil Examinations and the Social Structure in Early Yi Dynasty Korea,” 61-62.

<sup>118</sup> Ch'oe, “The Civil Examinations and the Social Structure in Early Yi Dynasty Korea,” 62-63.

caliber of the candidates. The following passage from the reign of King Chǒngjo (1752-1800; r: 1776-1800) attests to the perception of the state of the *kwagǒ* examination and scholarship in general among certain Chosŏn officials.

Some of the most serious abuses of our day are those pertaining to the *kwagǒ* examination. To summarize these evils, the first is simply that scholars do not read the material; second, the examiner tends to favor the first test papers to be submitted; third, the testing location is in a state of disorder; and fourth, scholars with some ability are writing examinations for others. Generally, although the writing performed for the examination differs from academic treatises on classical works, it must nonetheless be rooted in the six Confucian Classics (六經) and resonate through multiple schools of thought, and this is why in the past, selecting men of talent most certainly meant those with literary ability, while to give an examination was most certainly the domain of a wise scholar (賢士). However, because today's scholars put forth no effort in reading texts, their literary style is rough and unrefined, quite a few grades below the writing of several decades ago.<sup>119</sup>

An additional passage from the reign of the preceding monarch King Yǒngjo (1694-1776; r: 1724-1776) echoed the concern over transparency in the examination process and proxy test-takers, while again suggesting a perception among officials that many incoming officials having 'passed' the exam were a pale make of the 'ideal' candidate:

As the mores of the scholar class continue to deteriorate, certain of them, having never read a single thing but nonetheless suddenly desiring to pass the higher civil service examination, search far and wide for a skilled writer, unabashedly bringing him to the testing site to write the examination in his stead and, when passing the test and taking his ill-gotten place alongside incorruptible officials (*ch'ǒnggwan* 清官), luminaries (*hwajik* 華職), and other government officials, seem undeterred by any of it.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>119</sup>“當今之弊，科舉爲甚，而論其概則士子之不讀書一也，試官之取早呈二也，科屋之雜亂三也，有勢者之借述四也。蓋程式之文，雖與經術有異，必源之六經，達之諸家，此古昔所以取必實才也，試必賢士也。今之爲士，不務讀書，文體荒拙，比數十年前，不啻落下幾層。” *Chǒngjo sillok* 27, March 27, 1789.

<sup>120</sup>“十數年來士習日益壞敗，有未嘗讀一卷書，遽生決科之心，廣求能文者，率入場中，使之代述，略不羞愧，及夫登科，次第推遷，清塗華貫，少不見礙。” *Yǒngjo sillok* 81, April 3, 1754.

These quotations above, taken together with the measures put in place to prevent academic dishonesty and uphold integrity mentioned earlier, reveal both the perception of the deteriorating nature of the examination system, at least among some, as well as the importance placed on that same system. Although there was concern that the level of scholarship was falling, and that perhaps the examination implementation process needed reform, the examination itself and the criteria it purported to evaluate are unquestioned. In fact, the extreme measures students ostensibly employed in order to succeed at the *kwagŏ* examination suggest the centrality and legitimacy of such an institution in the scholarly lives of upwardly mobile literati. Several authors have questioned the efficacy of Korea's examination system, claiming that, in comparison to the system in China, Chosŏn's particular fondness for holding special examinations (*pyŏlsi*) outside of the standard triennial examinations (*singnyŏnsi*)<sup>121</sup> resulted in an irregular curriculum based on pre-scripted, abridged study material.<sup>122</sup> Therefore, such a testing system encouraged education 'taught to the test', which actually inhibited the stated intention for education—to instill and inculcate Confucian ideology.<sup>123</sup> Perhaps Kim Kyŏngyong, however, asks the more fundamental question pertaining to the *kwagŏ* examinations, and that is whether virtue (*tŏksŏng* 德性) is even something that can be objectively tested by such an examination.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Ch'oe Yŏngho, following Kye Hunmo, claims that there were a total of 104 *sama* examinations held from the beginning of the Chosŏn Dynasty to 1649, meaning that *pyŏlsi* made up a considerable portion of the examinations, at least in the first half of the Chosŏn Dynasty. See Ch'oe, "The Civil Examinations and the Social Structure in Early Yi Dynasty Korea," 40-41.

<sup>122</sup> Yi Wŏnjae, "Chosŏn chŏn'gi kwagŏ sihŏm ūi kyoyukchŏk yŏkkinŭng," *Han'guk kyoyuksahak* 35, no. 1 (2013), 22.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid*, 23-24.

<sup>124</sup> Kim Kyŏngyong, "Chosŏn chunggi kwagŏ chedo chŏngbi kwajŏng kwa kŭ kyoyukchŏk ūiŭi," *Kyoyuk sahak yŏn'gu* 20, no. 1 (2010), 21-22.

Despite the inevitable limitations of the *kwagŏ* examination system, there is little doubt that it served as the primary avenue to higher government posts in the central bureaucracy and as the only true source of durable social prestige for the individual and his clan. Furthermore, and more significantly, it was perceived as such by all classes in Chosŏn society, which drove a continual demand for test-taking spots, encouraged the creation of a peninsula-wide network of educational institutions for teaching examination curriculum, and even resulted in the infelicitous behaviors noted above. Finally, the legitimacy accorded such knowledge at the highest levels of the social ladder engendered the inculcation of Neo-Confucian knowledge beyond even the established literati, spurred primarily by various forms of education, a process that will be taken up in the following section.

### 1.3 Education and the Examination System

Several scholars have convincingly claimed that there is nothing in the historical records that conclusively proves that commoners (non-*yangban*) Koreans were specifically barred from sitting for the *kwagŏ* examination,<sup>125</sup> refuting a commonly held view by many earlier Korean scholars of the subject. While it seems that many commoners did sit for the examinations in Koryŏ and Chosŏn, one institution that did remain largely exclusivist at higher levels and especially in the private sector was the pre-modern education system. Over the course of the Chosŏn and Koryŏ Dynasties, two major cycles or shifts occurred, from state support and

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<sup>125</sup> Duncan, *Origins of the Chosŏn Dynasty*; Ch'oe claims that the *Kyŏngguk taejŏn* nowhere specifically bars those of non-*yangban* status from sitting for the examination, but rather excludes the following four classes alone: 1) Those who, having been convicted of a crime, are permanently barred from government service, 2) Sons of corrupt officials, 3) Sons and grandsons of remarried widows and or immoral women, and 4) Descendants of concubines. *Kyŏngguk taejŏn*, 207-208, quoted in Ch'oe, "The Civil Examinations and the Social Structure in Early Yi Dynasty Korea," 148.

relatively higher inclusivity to privately-led initiatives and greater exclusivity. The education system was always closely intertwined with the examination regime, and the system of schools represented the forum in which various descent groups exercised their own interests vis-à-vis the *kwagŏ* examination and social mobility. I use the term descent groups and not classes because, as John Duncan has convincingly argued, the relative lack of social differentiation in Koryŏ and Chosŏn society and the “absence of significant urban and commercial groups and [the] erosion of the material and social bases of *hyangni*<sup>126</sup> power in the late Koryo,” meant that there was no group in pre-modern Korean society that was in a position to challenge the hegemony of the *yangban* aristocracy.<sup>127</sup> Thus, before the emergence of the new intellectual class in the late nineteenth century and its unification through a shared orientation to Western education and so-called “culture and enlightenment” (*munmyŏng kaehwa*), clan-based identity seems the most coherent basis for an analysis of Koryŏ and Chosŏn society in relation to education and the examinations.

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<sup>126</sup> Yi Ki-baik writes the following on the nature and duties of the *hyangni*: “In each provincial and local administrative unit duties were allocated among six “chambers” (*pang*)—personnel, taxation, rites, military affairs, punishments, and public works—on the model of the Six Ministries in the capital. The duties of these offices were discharged by a hereditary class of petty functionaries (*hyangni*, also known as *ajŏn*) native to the area in which they served. For liaison purposes an *ajŏn* from each county was stationed in Seoul... and at the headquarters of the provincial governor... Thus it was the *ajŏn*, or *hyangni*, that actually carried on the operations of the local government offices, and since they were an indigenous element, they could serve as a bridge between the magistrates who governed in the name of the king, and the local agency that represented *yangban* power in the locality. On the “erosion of the material and social bases of *hyangni* power,” Yi continues: “*Hyangni* had existed in Koryŏ as well, but they were a powerful group from among which men constantly rose to the ranks of the aristocracy in the capital; the vital difference in the *hyangni* of the Yi Dynasty is that they were barred from rising to *yangban* status.” See Yi Ki-baik, *A New History of Korea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 178.

<sup>127</sup> Duncan, *Origins of the Chosŏn Dynasty*, 277.

## 1.4 The Structure of the Koryŏ Education System

Following Son Insu's categorization, I divide the Koryŏ education system into the public and private spheres.<sup>128</sup> The state system consisted of the Kukchagam (國子監) and the *haktang* (學堂)<sup>129</sup> in the capital and the *hyanggyo* in the provinces, while the private sector consisted of the 'twelve schools' (*sipido*) and the *sŏdang* (village schools). While the private schools were administered through private initiative and received little or no official support or interference, they were significant in training personnel for placement in the central bureaucracy after confirmation through the examination system. Below I give a short description of each type of institution before describing the cycle of shifts from public to private education in Koryŏ and Chosŏn and the ramifications for the *kwagŏ* examinations.

The Kukchagam was founded in 992 in the Koryŏ capital of Kaesŏng as the successor to the Silla-era Kukhak (國學)—inspired by the Tang and Song institution of the same name—to serve as the highest institution of learning in Koryŏ society. Much like its Chosŏn successor, the Sŏnggyun'gwan, the Kukchagam combined scholarly training with Confucian worship of sages and worthies.<sup>130</sup> During the greater part of the Koryŏ Dynasty the Kukchagam included both the Confucian Department (*Yuhakpu*) and the Technical Department (*kisulbu*), although with the rise of Neo-Confucianism and a more orthodox approach to curriculum in the late Koryŏ period, it

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<sup>128</sup> Son, *Han'guk kyoyuksa yŏn'gu*, 297. For other works on the history of education in Korea that follow a similar categorization, see Kim Yongjin, *Han'guk kyoyuksa* (Sŏul: Sungmyŏng yŏja taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu, 1984); Kwŏn Nagwŏn and Son Insu, *Han'guk ūi kyoyukhak kwa kyoyuksa* (Sŏul: Han'guk kyoyukhak kyosu hyŏbŭihoe, 2011); Kim Sŏnyang, *Kyoyuksa* (P'aju: Han'guk haksul chŏngbo, 2011).

<sup>129</sup> These will be explained in more detail below.

<sup>130</sup> Son, *Han'guk kyoyuksa yŏn'gu*, 298.



was christened Sönggyun'gwan in 1362 and came to teach only Confucian material.<sup>131</sup> Each department was further divided into three sections, with the Confucian Department being divided into the Kukchahak (University College 國子學), T'aehak (The National Academy 太學) and Samunhak (Four Portals College 四門學) sections, and the Technical Department into Sōhak (The Calligraphy College 書學), Sanhak (College of Mathematics 算學), and Yulhak (College of Law 律學) sections.<sup>132</sup> As the Confucian Department was the more prestigious of the two departments, admissions criteria were more stringent, and more detailed records are extant. The primary purpose of the Kukchagam was preparation for the *kwagō* examination, and as such passing the examination meant graduation from the college. The curriculum and time schedule for the Kukchagam were as follows: *Nonō* (論語) and *Hyogyōng* (*Classic of Filial Piety* 孝經) one year each, *Sangsō* (*Document of the Elders* 尚書, or *Sōgyōng*, *Book of Documents* 書經), *Kongyangjōn* (公羊傳) and *Kongnyangjōn* (穀梁傳)<sup>133</sup> two and a half years each,<sup>134</sup> *Chuyōk*

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid, 301-302. The Kukchagam underwent many different name changes and some curriculum changes in the late Koryō. Following the separation and removal of the Technical Department, its three constituent subjects were assumed by separate authorities under the auspices of the newly-formed Ten Schools (*siphak*). *Yulhak* was undertaken by *chōnpōpsa* (典法司), *sanhak* was brought under *p'andosā* (版圖司), and *sōhak* (書學) was undertaken by *chōn'gyosa* (典校司). This organization continued into the Chosōn Dynasty. See Son, *Han'guk kyoyuksa yōn'gu*, 302.

<sup>132</sup> The admissions criteria for each section were progressively more stringent, and all were limited to sons of government ministers. The Kukchahak was generally limited to sons of civilian or military ministers (*munmugwan*) of the third rank or higher, the T'aehak to sons of the fifth rank or higher, and the Samunhak to the seventh rank or higher. All sections of the Technical Department, however, were open to sons of government ministers of the eighth rank or higher as well as to certain commoners (*sōin*). Later in 1298 (reign of Ch'ungsōng) the *myōnggyōnghak* (明經學) was established, and the various sections were comprehensively termed the *ch'ilhak* (七學). See Son, *Han'guk kyoyuksa yōn'gu*, 299; 302.

<sup>133</sup> *Kongyangjōn* and *Kongnyangjōn* along with *Chwajōn* (Commentary of Zuo 左傳) constitute the three commentaries on *Ch'unch'u* (Spring and Autumn Annals 春秋).

(*The Book of Changes* 周易), *Mosi* (毛詩, or *Sigyŏng*, *Book of Songs* 詩經), *Churye* (*Rites of Zhou* 周禮), and *Ŭirye* (*Rites and Ceremonies* 儀禮) two years each, and finally *Yegi* (*Book of Rites* 禮記) and *Chwajŏn* (*Commentary of Zhou* 左傳) 3 years each.<sup>135</sup> Each student, however, was not required to complete every text, nor follow the normal yearly progression: students elected to ‘major’ in a specific set of texts as part of a particular cohort,<sup>136</sup> and those making significant progress were allowed to proceed to the next work, once they displayed mastery of the text. However, the standard rate of progress was one page per day.<sup>137</sup> In addition to the canonical works listed above, students studied arithmetic and how to devise solutions to political problems, and were also made to read *Kugŏ* (國語),<sup>138</sup> *Chayang* (字樣),<sup>139</sup> *Charim* (字林),<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Son Insu posits that allotting two and a half years to relatively minor works such as *Sangsŏ*, *Kongyangjŏn*, and *Kongnyangjŏn* while allowing less time (two years) for the study of major works such as *Chuyŏk*, *Mosi*, *Churye* and *Ŭirye* does not make sense, and so surmises that the correct amount of time is actually one and a half years. Son, *Han’guk kyoyuksa yŏn’gu*, 299-300.

<sup>135</sup> Son, *Han’guk kyoyuksa yŏn’gu*, 299.

<sup>136</sup> This cohort system was instituted in 1109. For a description of these various cohorts and the texts associated with them, see Son, *Han’guk kyoyuksa yŏn’gu*, 301.

<sup>137</sup> Son, *Han’guk kyoyuksa yŏn’gu*, 301.

<sup>138</sup> This is a Chinese work authored by Zuoqiu Ming relating the history of the eight kingdoms during the Spring and Autumn Period (722-481 BC).

<sup>139</sup> Alternately titled *Yanshi ziyang* (顏氏字樣 The Shape of Characters by Mr. Yan) after the Tang Dynasty scholar and compiler Yan Shigu (顏師古 581-645), this was a list of standard sinograph forms.

<sup>140</sup> *Forest of Characters* (Ch: *Zilin*, c. 350 CE) was a Chinese dictionary containing 12,824 entries and compiled by the Jin Dynasty lexicographer Lu Chen.

*Samch'ang* (三倉),<sup>141</sup> and *Ia* (爾雅).<sup>142</sup> Students in the *Yulhak* (律學), *Söhak* (書學), and *Sanhak* (算學) sections studied law, *p'alsö* (八書), and arithmetic, respectively.<sup>143</sup>

During the Koryö Dynasty intermediate public education was handled by the various *hyanggyo* in the provinces and by the Eastern and Western District Schools (*Tongsö haktang*) and later *Obu haktang* (五部學堂)<sup>144</sup> within the capital. The most significant difference between these institutions was that *hyanggyo*, much like the *Kukchagam*, combined veneration of Confucian sages and worthies with academic training, whereas the *Obu haktang* in the capital were concerned only with Confucian studies. The *hyanggyo* and *Obu haktang* functioned as equivalent education institutions, and because they were intermediate schools, many of their graduates advanced to the *Kukchagam* for more focused examination preparation. Although mention of them in the *Koryösa* is sparse,<sup>145</sup> it seems that the earliest *hyanggyo* were established in the late 10<sup>th</sup> century before being expanded to each county (*kun*) and prefecture (*hyön*) by the

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<sup>141</sup> Ch. *Sancang* (三倉 The Three Chapters) or *Cangjiepian* (倉頡篇) was a character dictionary written in small seal script (*sojön* 小篆) during the Qin Dynasty (221-206 BC) by the Chancellor Li Si (李斯) as an attempt to standardize the script.

<sup>142</sup> Ch. *Erya*, which means “approaching the correct,” was a work of unknown authorship dating to the Han Period (206 BC-220-AD). Considered the oldest surviving Chinese ‘dictionary,’ it attempted to clarify the ‘correct’ meanings of concepts appearing in the Chinese Classics.

<sup>143</sup> *P'alsö* (八書) is the title of a book which divided historical annals into the following eight categories: *yesö* (禮書), *aksö* (樂書), *yulsö* (律書), *yöksö* (曆書), *ch'ön'gwansö* (天官書), *pongsönsö* (封禪書), *hagösö* (河渠書), and *p'yöngjunsö* (平準書).

<sup>144</sup> These capital schools were first established in 1261 on the eastern and western ends of the capital, and so were first initially called *tongsö haktang* (East and West [District] schools 東西學堂). With the strengthening of Confucian thought over the next century or so, in 1390 schools were established in the north, south, and central areas of the capital and came to be termed *Obu haktang*.

<sup>145</sup> A keyword search for the term *hyanggyo* in the *Koryösa* database, for example, reveals only ten instances of its appearance.

early 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>146</sup> The Eastern and Western District Schools were founded in 1261, and eventually expanded to the *Obu haktang* by the end of the Koryŏ Dynasty. Unfortunately, for these schools the kind of detailed curriculum and timetable for study described for the Kukchagam above is not available in the historical record. However, in 1127 during the period of *hyanggyo* expansion it was recorded that “in various provinces (*chu* 州) proclamations have been handed down and schools established, spreading teaching (*kyodo*) far and wide”,<sup>147</sup> while Confucian scholar Yi Kok (李穀, 1298-1351) later said of *hyanggyo*, “The rules of our *hyanggyo* combine [Confucian] shrines and academic study under one roof (*tonggung* 同宮).”<sup>148</sup> Furthermore, according to the “Biography of Chŏng Mongju (Chŏng Mongju chŏn 鄭夢周傳)” in the *Koryŏsa*, “in the interior the *Obu haktang* have been constructed, and in the exterior the *hyanggyo* have been established, and in this way Confucianism has been promulgated.”<sup>149</sup> Thus, these schools seem to have played an important role in spreading not only knowledge of text-based Confucian teaching but also practical rites and decorum beyond the capital and into the provinces, though the reach of such education was undoubtedly limited to members of clans who

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<sup>146</sup> Son, *Han'guk kyoyuksa yŏn'gu*, 303.

<sup>147</sup> *Chŭngbo munhŏn pigo* (增補文獻備) Kwŏn chi ibaegi hakkyo koil, quoted in Son, *Han'guk kyoyuksa yŏn'gu*, 303.

<sup>148</sup> Quoted in Son, *Han'guk kyoyuksa yŏn'gu*, 303-304. The following passage by Yi Chehyŏn (李齊賢 1287-1367) speaks to the importance of the *hyanggyo* in propagating Confucian learning to the provinces, balancing the education in the capital: “Since the reign of Kwangjong [光宗, 925-975; r: 949-975] scholarship (*mun'gyo*) was refined, in the capital the Kukhak was revered and in the provinces the *hyanggyo* were established such that the sound of recitation rang out in every village school and township classroom, and it is not an overstatement to say that our own culture [*munmul*] was no different than that of the Central Efflorescence [*Chunghwa*].” “光廟之後，益修文教，內崇國學，外列鄉校，里庠黨序，絃誦相聞，所謂文物侔於中華，非過論也。” Yi Chehyŏn, *Koryŏsa* 110, Yŏlchŏn 23.

<sup>149</sup> “又內建五部學堂，外設鄉校，以興儒術。” Chŏng Mongju, *Koryŏ sa* 117, Yŏlchŏn 30.

could spare able-bodied boys and men to prolonged periods of study in a labor-intensive, primarily agrarian society.

Intermediate private education during the Koryŏ Dynasty was administered by the so-called *sipido* or twelve schools, the first having been established in 1055 by the former government minister Ch'oe Ch'ung (崔冲, 984-1068) in his own home for training future generations.<sup>150</sup> According to Son Insu, these schools placed emphasis on the Confucian belief in developing the moral character inherent in all humans.<sup>151</sup> As important centers of Confucian learning and training for future government ministers, the curriculum had much in common with the Kukchagam, including study of the *Nine Books* (*Kugyŏng* 九經), *Three Histories* (*Samsa* 三史), and composition (*chesul*). Over the course of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries the influence of the *sipido* continued to increase, and in 1317 the examination conducted at these schools (*kujae saksi* 九齋朔試) came to replace the examination taken at the Kukchagam as a qualifying test for the *kwagŏ* examination.<sup>152</sup> Moreover, in 1354 Yi Saek stated, “Let us test the students of the *hyanggyo* in the provinces and the *haktang* in the capital for enrollment in the *sipido*, and let us test the *sipido* students for entrance into the Sŏnggyun'gwan,”<sup>153</sup> a proposal which effectively

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<sup>150</sup> Son, *Han'guk kyoyuksa yŏn'gu*, 307.

<sup>151</sup> Son, *Han'guk kyoyuksa yŏn'gu*, 307

<sup>152</sup> Yi, “The Influence of Neo-Confucianism on Education,” 138.

<sup>153</sup> The entire proposal read as follows: “In the fourth month the *chinsa* Yi Saek (李穡, 1328-1396) submitted to the throne the following: ‘Let us test the students of the *hyanggyo* in the provinces and the *haktang* in the capital for enrollment in the *sipido*, and let us test the *sipido* students for entrance into the Sŏnggyun'gwan. Thus, we may establish a fixed term of study and ascertain the virtue and skill of these students, elevating them to the level of the Ministry of Rites [禮部]. Successful candidates shall be conferred posts according to precedent; unsuccessful candidates shall be given positions according to ancestral affiliation. Excepting those wishing to

placed the *sipido* as the intermediary between the local state schools and the Sönggyun'gwan. Yi Söngmu gives three reasons for the rise of these private schools and the decline of the public sector during the Koryö period. First, Confucianism was still overshadowed by Buddhism.<sup>154</sup> T'aejo Wanggön (877-943) founded the Koryö Dynasty with Buddhism as the state religion, and phrases such as *Yugwan Pulsim* (儒冠佛心 “Confucianism is the crown, Buddhism the mind”) attest to the established roles of each belief system in Koryö governance. Secondly, the government was unable (or unwilling) to support a state system, especially when the examination system offered a much less costly alternative for providing a ready supply of thoroughly Confucianized potential ministers. Finally, the private education system naturally emerged to perform the function of supplying candidates for government service who shared a similar educational background to products of the state system, again with less expense.<sup>155</sup>

The *sipido* were established by retired government ministers, scholars who naturally were products of the examination system and thoroughly imbued with the Confucian thought which constituted its foundations. These schools were exclusive in nature, accepting only the sons of

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sit for the *kwagö* examination and Kukhak students, those currently holding public office shall not be allowed to take this [qualifying] examination.” “四月 進士李穡上疏, ‘請外而鄉校, 內而學堂, 考其才, 而陞諸十二徒, 十二徒又摠而考之, 陞之成均, 限以日月, 程其德藝, 貢之禮部. 中者, 依例與官, 不中者, 亦給出身之階. 除在官而求舉者, 其餘, 非國學生, 不得與試.’” *Koryösa* 74, Chi 28, Söngö 2, Hakkyo, Kukhak.

<sup>154</sup> Yi, “The Influence of Neo-Confucianism on Education,” 137.

<sup>155</sup> Yi, “The Influence of Neo-Confucianism on Education,” 137. Son Insu points to two related reasons for the rise of private education in Koryö. First, a decline in the Kukchagam due to turmoil during the mid-Koryö period redirected students toward the *sipido*. Second, scholars who founded the *sipido* were themselves graduates of the examinations, and as such attracted students to their schools due to their first-hand knowledge of the process and their positions as provincial examiners. See Son, *Han 'guk kyoyuksa yön 'gu*, 310.

aristocratic families for study.<sup>156</sup> A close relationship between master and protégé developed in these schools (*chwaju munsaeŋje*), in effect a bond between examiner and examinee, resulting in what Yi Sŏngmu has termed academic cliques and political factions,<sup>157</sup> as well as discontent among provincially-based literati who still drew prestige from their backgrounds as former holders or descendants of holders of office in the central government.<sup>158</sup> As mentioned above, during the reign of King Kongmin in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century a number of changes were made to the *kwagŏ* examination system, and during this time transformations took place in both the private and public education systems, as well. As a result of pressure from provincial *yangban* as well as the growing strength of Neo-Confucian ideology, the Sŏnggyun'gwan was rebuilt in 1367, classes on the *Four Books* and *Five Classics* were inaugurated, renowned scholars were allowed to lecture at the Sŏnggyun'gwan while holding central government office, and the construction of local schools was made one of the seven duties of the local magistrates.<sup>159</sup> All of these measures combined to increase the prestige and influence of government schools while weakening the grip of the once-powerful *sipido*. The private schools were finally closed in 1391, signaling a further invigoration of public education that would mark the opening decades of the new dynasty.

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<sup>156</sup> Yi, "The Influence of Neo-Confucianism on Education," 137.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid, 146-47. Based on evidence from the famous Ming-Dynasty gazetteer *Da-Ming yitongzhi* (Records of the Unity of the Great Ming 大明一統志), which listed private academies (*shuyuan*) in China, James Palais has concluded that "one of the motives for the construction of a strong system of state schools in the early Yi Dynasty was a desire to get away from the strong personal bonds of the Koryŏ examination system." See James Palais, *Politics and Policy in Traditional Korea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 113-14.

<sup>158</sup> Duncan, *Origins of the Choson Dynasty*, 147.

<sup>159</sup> Yi, "The Influence of Neo-Confucianism on Education," 138.

## 1.5 The Education System of the Chosŏn Dynasty

Despite the many changes that marked the founding of the Chosŏn Dynasty, we must be cautious not to overstate the shift in central government personnel in the Koryŏ-Chosŏn transition. Although the percentage of high-ranking central-government officials holding examination degrees increased during the Chosŏn period, indicating greater importance being placed on meritorious, Neo-Confucian rule, the Koryŏ-Chosŏn transition displayed a relatively modest increase in such officials.<sup>160</sup> According to John Duncan, the central bureaucracy of the early Chosŏn period displays “substantial continuity in both composition and structure of the ruling stratum” from the Koryŏ period.<sup>161</sup> Duncan describes the relationship between the locally-based elite and the capital aristocracy in less antagonistic terms than Yi Sŏngmu, painting a picture of mutual reciprocity between the two groups:

The great central-official descent groups constituted a highly privileged and prestigious upper tier in the capital. At the same time the local township headman descent groups of the prefectures and counties formed a second tier, which continued to manage local affairs with a substantial degree of autonomy and enjoyed institutionalized means of access to central bureaucratic posts, in effect forming a socially qualified reservoir of talent for recruitment.<sup>162</sup>

In other words, early in the Chosŏn Dynasty local elites in this second tier represented not a revolutionary class of “scholar-officials” which overtook the old capital-based aristocrats of the Koryŏ period, as many scholars have claimed,<sup>163</sup> but were rather intended as a pool of talent

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<sup>160</sup> Duncan, *Origins of the Chosŏn Dynasty*, 63.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid*, 99.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid*, 63.

<sup>163</sup> Duncan argues that many scholars claiming the rise of a so-called “scholar-official” class in the early Chosŏn Dynasty may be categorized more broadly as adherents to the internal development theory (*naejajjŏk palchŏn non*), the representative example of which was Yi Kibaek’s *Han’guksa sillon*. An additional example of scholarship which argues for discontinuity



which was gradually recruited for membership in the central bureaucracy and ruling class, following their confirmation through the examination system, although over the course of the dynasty the Chosŏn government drew on this pool of talent less and less as capital elites monopolized power.<sup>164</sup> Over the course of the Chosŏn Dynasty, however, these local elites who had challenged capital elites were eventually pushed out of the inner circle of power to the status of *hyangni*, becoming a hereditary class of local government clerks.<sup>165</sup> Although local elites recruited through the examinations may have exerted pressure on the late Koryŏ and early Chosŏn governments to reform the *kwagŏ* system, reinvigorate state education, and weaken the exclusionary private school system, based on Duncan's persuasive findings on the remarkable continuity in the decent groups constituting the central bureaucracy during the Koryŏ-Chosŏn transition, it is questionable whether this transition really inaugurated the rise of a new, provincially-based, scholar-official class.

If continuity in the great descent groups that constituted the central bureaucracy marked the Koryŏ-Chosŏn transition, then how do we account for the considerable reforms to the *kwagŏ* examinations and the education system during this time? The ascent of Neo-Confucian ideology in the 14<sup>th</sup> century seems a more likely reason for these transformations, given the shift in the

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in the ruling stratum of Chosŏn society is Chŏng Tuhŭi, *Chosŏn ch'ogi chŏngch'i seryŏk yŏn'gu* (Sŏul: Ilchogak, 1983). For examples of studies that, like Duncan's, have argued that greater continuity rather than radical change characterized the Korean ruling class during the Koryŏ and Chosŏn periods, see Hugh H. Kang, "The Development of the Korean Ruling Class from Late Silla to Early Koryŏ," (PhD diss. University of Washington, 1964) ProQuest; Kim Tangt'aek, *Koryŏ muin chŏngkwŏn yŏn'gu* (Sŏul: Saemunsa, 1986); James Palais, *Politics and Policy*; and Kim Yongmo, *Chosŏn chibaech'ŭng yŏn'gu* (Sŏul: Ilchogak, 1977).

<sup>164</sup> Martina Deuchler, *Under the Ancestor's Eyes: Kinship, Status, and Locality in Premodern Korea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015).

<sup>165</sup> John Duncan et al, *The Institutional Basis of Civil Governance in the Chosŏn Dynasty* (Seoul: Seoul Selection, 2009).

examination and school curriculum to more Neo-Confucian-oriented material, the addition of a qualifying examination on the *Elementary Learning* and the *Family Rituals of Master Chu*—two staples of the Neo-Confucian canon—prior to the *sama* preliminary exam, and the controversy in early Chosŏn over the position of the literary licentiate degree in the examination system, among other changes. Moreover, the new dynasty turned to reinvigoration of the state education system as a means of garnering ideological support and justification for its rule, a kind of political mandate of legitimacy through carefully controlled education. The great expense incurred by the state in instituting this extensive system of education is testament to the importance placed by leadership on cultivating properly trained personnel, especially when private education in the form of *sŏdang*, the *sipido*, and private tutoring had been ostensibly fulfilling that function effectively. Nevertheless, the first century of Chosŏn rule experienced a strong, state-directed program to develop a comprehensive education system based on systematic training in prescribed, canonical works of Neo-Confucianism.

The Chosŏn Dynasty public education system as stipulated in the *Kyŏngguk taejŏn*<sup>166</sup> law code consisted of provincial schools (*hyanggyo*) established in each county,<sup>167</sup> the four district schools (*sabu haktang*) established in the new capital of Hanyang (Sŏul) replicating the Koryŏ district school system,<sup>168</sup> and the highest institute of learning, the Sŏnggyun'gwan, founded in

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<sup>166</sup> This work was revised several times over a number of years, and its final publication in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century was not the first time that such an educational system was outlined; this system continued and in many ways strengthened the system of schools that had been established during the Koryŏ period.

<sup>167</sup> This was an expansion of the already existing system of provincial schools.

<sup>168</sup> The Southern District School was established in 1412, and in 1422, 1435, and 1438 the Central, Western, and Eastern District Schools were founded, respectively, reproducing the district school system of the Koryŏ Dynasty. The Northern District School had been shut down during the late Koryŏ period.

1398.<sup>169</sup> Within the atmosphere of ideological antagonism that existed between Buddhism and an ascendant Neo-Confucianism in early Chosŏn, the new leadership took economic advantage to further its reform agenda. Yi Sŏngmu points out that, along with the philosophical challenge to Buddhism, the physical infrastructure of the religion following state withdrawal of support was also utilized, as temple facilities, land, slaves, and resources were often directly appropriated by the state in the establishment of public education facilities.<sup>170</sup> The state moreover took advantage of the formerly powerful *sipido* when in 1411 it bestowed all slaves and property formerly belonging to the twelve private schools to the state schools.<sup>171</sup> By the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, the quota for the number of students allowed to attend all of the public schools amounted to 15,750 students, although it is unclear how often these quotas were actually filled.<sup>172</sup> Thus, the new dynasty made extensive use of both its ascendant ideological position and the material resources of Buddhism and the former private schools to consolidate its Neo-Confucian education system.

The highest institute of education was the Sŏnggyun'gwan, and like its Koryŏ predecessor the Kukchagam, it served as a training ground for *kwagŏ* examination candidates

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<sup>169</sup> Yi, "The Influence of Neo-Confucianism on Education," 139.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid, 139-40.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid, 140. According to the *T'aejong sillok*, each provincial school was given an allotment of land (12-58 *kyŏl*) depending on the size of the county within which it resided, which totaled 5,000 *kyŏl*. The number of slaves given each *hyanggyo* was also determined by the size of the county, and this number ranged from 15-50, totaling 6,700 slaves. Yi, "The Influence of Neo-Confucianism on Education," 157.

<sup>172</sup> This figure is based on the following quota system: Sŏnggyun'gwan (200 students), district schools (100 students each), *hyanggyo* (varied from 30-90 depending on county size and rank in the hierarchy of administrative subdivisions). Watanabe Manabu gives a number of 333 local districts for the country in 1413. Watanabe Manabu, *Kinsei Chōsen kyōikushi kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Yūzankaku, 1969), 163; Palais, *Politics and Policy*, 112; 326.

and future members of the central bureaucracy. The curriculum was divided into three sections: lectures (*kangdok*), which dealt with the *Four Books*, *Five Classics*, and various histories (*chesa* 諸史), composition (*chesul*) which focused on the method of writing *ũi*, *non*, *pu*, *p'yo*, *song*, *myǒng*, and *ki*, and *sǒpǒp* (principles of writing 書法), in which the three methods of calligraphy were taught: *haesǒ* (楷書 square, printed style), *haengsǒ* (行書 semi-cursive style), and *ch'osǒ* (草書 cursive style).<sup>173</sup> The quota for the school was limited to 200 students, the vast majority of whom were passers of the *sama* examinations.<sup>174</sup> Progress was determined according to individual mastery of each canonical work, and a regular progression of study was observed.<sup>175</sup> A point system was put in place based mainly on attendance and performance on daily, tri-monthly, monthly, and yearly examinations, and students attending a total of 300 days with

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<sup>173</sup> Son, *Han'guk kyoyuksa yǒn'gu*, 434.

<sup>174</sup> Ch'oe Yǒngho notes that, when there were not enough *chinsa* and *saengwǒn* degree holders to fill the quota, students from the district schools in Sǒul were permitted to attend, as well as those who had passed the provincial examination at either the lower or higher level. Ch'oe, "The Civil Examinations and the Social Structure in Early Yi Dynasty Korea," 122.

<sup>175</sup> The prominent Chosǒn-era Neo-Confucian scholar Yulgok Yi I (栗谷 李珥 1537-1584) wrote in the "Reading" section (*Toksǒ cho*) of *A Model Education (Hakkyo mobǒm)* that "only after familiarizing oneself with a single book should one move on to the next work." He prescribes a clear progression of reading: "As for the order of reading, the foundation is first cultivated with *Sohak*, and the parameters set with *Taehak* and *Kũnsarok* (Reflections on Things at Hand 近思錄). Following this, he is to read *Nonǒ*, *Maengja*, *Chungyong* and the *Five Classics (Chuyǒk, Sǒgyǒng, Sigyǒng, Yegi* and *Ch'unch'u)*, and if time permits *Sagi* (Records of the Grand Historian 史記) and other works relating to the nature of the past worthies (*sǒnhyǒn ũi sǒngni*), and so through this broaden the mind and refine the intellect." Furthermore, he warns that "if not a work of the sages (*sǒngin*) do not read it, and if not a useful book do not look upon it." "Hakkyo mobǒm," Che 3 cho toksǒ: kongbu ũi naeyong kwa kyokwasǒ (1582). According to Ch'oe Yǒngho, "These Rules eventually became widely used as a basic guide for students in both the government schools and the private academies." Ch'oe Yǒngho, "The Private Academies (*Sǒwǒn*) and Neo-Confucianism in Late Chosǒn Korea," *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 21, no. 2 (December 2008): 139-91, 154.

favorable test scores became eligible to sit for the *munkwa* examination.<sup>176</sup> The following excerpt from the Sönggyungwan School Regulations (Sönggyungwan hangnyöng 成均館學令) provides a glimpse into the basic curriculum and expectations for model students at the Sönggyun'gwan.

- 1) The classics (*kyöngsö* 經書) examination and literary (*chesul* 製述) examination will be administered, and at year's end the grades are to be calculated, at which time the student may be considered for the regular *kwagö* examination (*singnyönsi* 式年試).
- 2) Those who read works outside of the field of Neo-Confucianism, such as works of Taoism and Buddhism, along with those who indulge in boisterous talk and divergent theories, shall receive punishment.
- 3) Those who slander the Royal Court, disrespect the instructor, express flattery to authority, or indulge in talk of vice and women will be punished.
- 4) Those who break the Five Relations [of Confucianism] (*oryun* 五倫) or bend principle, as well as prideful and wasteful students shall be expelled from the college.
- 5) The results of the oral exposition of the classics (*kanggyöng* 講經) examination shall be divided into *taet'ong* (大通), *t'ong* (通), *yakt'ong* (略通), and *chot'ong* (粗通), and those within the latter group shall receive punishment.<sup>177</sup>

It is clear from the above regulations that the Sönggyun'gwan maintained a narrow curriculum based on prescribed works of Neo-Confucian orthodoxy, while shunning texts considered to be unorthodox. Education is also clearly oriented toward success in the *kwagö* examination, which is invoked in the first stipulation. Also notable is an adherence to proper Confucian decorum, including the observance of the Five Relations and respect for authority.

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<sup>176</sup> This minimum of 300 days was stipulated by the *Kyöngguk taejön*, although the requirement was at times lowered by royal mandate. See Ch'oe, "Private Academies," 122.

<sup>177</sup> These rather disciplined and standardized regulations are in stark contrast to the observations of an anonymous foreign missionary in 1892, who wrote the following in the pages of the *Korean Repository*: "The Chinsa Hak Dong [presumably Sönggyun'gwan] is considered of first importance by the Koreans. There is only one school of this kind. It is located in Seoul and is open to those only, who have the title 'Chinsa.' This school is fed by numerous schools of a lower grade which are scattered throughout the country.....The studies pursued in these various schools including the head school are the same. There are no teachers. The whole routine has more the appearance of play than work, of a club than a school. The scholars assemble in groups of few or many, read, chat, smoke a friendly pipe and have a generally good time." X, "Korean Schools," *The Korean Repository*, February, 1892, 37-38.

Below the Sŏnggyun'gwan was the network of four district schools (*sahak*) and equivalent provincial schools (*hyanggyo*), a system inherited from the Koryŏ Dynasty but expanded during the first few decades of the Chosŏn Dynasty. These schools were designed to educate students above the age of 16,<sup>178</sup> and it was during this time that many students sat for the *saengwon* and *chinsa* examinations, as candidates for this examination were required to maintain their registry at provincial or district schools.<sup>179</sup> The educational methods and curricular content of these schools were comparable to those of the Sŏnggyun'gwan, however Confucian shrines were not established and rites were not performed, and the focus seems to have been on academics alone.<sup>180</sup> In the first decades of the Chosŏn Dynasty the district and provincial schools received considerable material support from the state, and students were bestowed with coveted benefits such as exemptions from military service and taxation.<sup>181</sup> The following memorial by Kim Chongjik (金宗直, 1431-1492) may shed some light on the reasons for this robust approach to public education in early Chosŏn:

The customary behavior [among the people] has been deteriorating and self-cultivation at court neither advances nor reaches out to influence the people. Reflecting on these matters, I conclude that the cause of this sickness [in Korean society] lies in the schools, that in the schools the classics are not being taught clearly so as to illuminate the people's understanding. If the classics are taught clearly and well, the people will learn filial piety and loyalty to the king, and this learning will reach out from the schools to

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<sup>178</sup> This age limit was stipulated by the *Kyŏngguk taejŏn*. See Son, *Han'guk kyoyuksa yŏn'gu*, 450-51.

<sup>179</sup> Ch'oe, "Private Academies," 126.

<sup>180</sup> The regulations for these schools, referred to as *Oehakche* (External School Regulations 外學制), were presented at the Ministry of Rites during the reign of King T'aejong, and may be found in *T'aejong sillok* 22, November 16, 1411.

<sup>181</sup> Ch'oe, "Private Academies."

move the people with such intensity that the people cannot help but accept the five cardinal principles.<sup>182</sup>

Thus, these provincial schools were considered crucial centers of popular Confucian propagation in the countryside, a way to merge the ruling philosophy with that of the masses in order to instill loyalty and legitimize rule. Furthermore, enrollment in these schools was not limited to the sons of literati office holders but rather was available to commoners as well, meaning that the state investment in education did not represent merely an attempt to improve government recruitment but also strove to propagate its ruling Neo-Confucian ideology among an expanding *yangban* class as well as upwardly mobile commoners who shared a similar ideological disposition.<sup>183</sup>

Beginning in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, the robust system of public education began to deteriorate, and shortly thereafter a new institution termed the *sŏwŏn* (書院 private academy) emerged to fill this vacuum and satisfy the demand for Neo-Confucian education and bureaucratic training. Several theories have been put forward to explain the rise of *sowŏn* in 16<sup>th</sup>-century Chosŏn, primarily theories arguing that the *sŏwŏn* were an attempt to supplement or replace the state system, as well as the result of Neo-Confucian ideological intensification. For example, Yu Hongyŏl argues that the rise of *sŏwŏn* can be attributed to a decline in the quality and standards of state schools and resultant private initiatives to revitalize education,<sup>184</sup> the

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<sup>182</sup> Kim Chongjik, *Chŏmp'ilche sŏnsaeng munjip* (Miryang, 1892), 1, 22b, quoted in Ch'oe, "The Civil Examinations and the Social Structure in Early Yi Dynasty Korea," 124-25.

<sup>183</sup> For a persuasive argument on the open nature of public schools vis-à-vis commoners in the Chosŏn era, see Ch'oe, "The Civil Examinations and the Social Structure in Early Yi Dynasty Korea," 129-39.

<sup>184</sup> This decline was punctuated by the abusive reign of Prince Yŏnsan (Yonsan'gun 燕山君, r. 1494-1506) who carried out a number of literati purges, creating many disenfranchised scholars who retired to the countryside. In his 1504 purge, Prince Yŏnsan, according to James Palais,

movement by *sarim* scholars to enshrine martyrs and noted officials popular among Neo-Confucians and the combination of these shrines with centers of learning,<sup>185</sup> and the political purges during the reign of Prince Yōnsan which drove many literati out of the central bureaucracy and into more secluded lives of scholarship in the countryside.<sup>186</sup> Yi T’aejin, while also acknowledging the centrality of the *sarim* scholars in the rise of the *sōwōn*, claims that these schools were actually the manifestation of growing influence among such scholars rather than their withdrawal from government, despite the setbacks created by the purges.<sup>187</sup> On the other hand, Chōng Manjo argues that the *sōwōn* represented an attempt by *sarim* scholars to rectify the degraded mores of government officials, which they believed contributed to the decline of state education.<sup>188</sup> Overall, we get the sense that, by the 16<sup>th</sup> century the Chosōn government no longer felt an acute need to create or bolster an ideological foundation for legitimate rule or micromanage the inculcation and training of its future bureaucracy through curricular supervision and could instead rely on private initiative to supply all the appropriate personnel it needed. This it could achieve through tacit approval or symbolic gestures toward the *sōwon*,

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“turned the National Academy [Sōnggyun’gwan] into a pleasure park and abolished one of the Four Schools. King Chungjong (r: 1506-44) found it difficult to restore the official schools system and decided to encourage private and local initiative in the reconstruction of education.” See Palais, *Politics and Policy*, 327.

<sup>185</sup> Palais similarly notes a “fusion of the private school with the local shrine that produced the new type of private academy of the mid-sixteenth century.” Palais, *Politics and Policy*, 113. Ch’oe also points out that, because all students registered at *hyanggyo* were exempted from military obligations, many students flocked to the *hyanggyo* to avoid military taxation, resulting in a decline in standards at such institutions. See Ch’oe, “Private Academies,” 167.

<sup>186</sup> Yu Hongyōl, *Han’guk sahoe sasangsa non’go* (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1980), 59-92.

<sup>187</sup> Yi T’aejin, “Sarim kwa sōwōn,” in Kuksa p’yōnch’an wiwōnhoe, ed., *Han’guksa* (Seoul: Kuksa p’yōnch’an wiwōnhoe, 1978).

<sup>188</sup> Chōng Manjo, “Chosōn sōwōn ūi sōngnip kwajōng,” *Han’guk saron* 8 (1980).



through continued yet minimal support for public education, and through the legitimizing mechanism of the examination system.

From the founding of the first *sŏwŏn* in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, these were institutions closely aligned with the Song Dynasty Neo-Confucian tradition in every way. The founding of the first *sŏwŏn* dates to the year 1543, when Chu Sebung (周世鵬, 1495-1554) established the Paegundong *sŏwŏn*<sup>189</sup> at Sunhŭng in Kyŏngsang province.<sup>190</sup> The name “Paegundong *sŏwŏn* (白雲洞書院 White Cloud Grotto Academy)” was a tribute to the famous White Deer Grotto Academy (白鹿洞書院 *Báilùdòng Shūyuàn*), repaired and supplemented with shrines by the most prominent of Neo-Confucians, Zhu Xi. Significantly, Paegundong was founded in Sunhŭng, the birthplace of An Hyang (安珦, 1243-1306), a Koryŏ government official who is traditionally credited for first spreading the doctrine of Song Neo-Confucianism to the Korean peninsula, and in what would become a distinguishing feature of *sŏwŏn*, the academy began as a Confucian shrine to a venerated worthy and later was supplemented with study facilities.<sup>191</sup> Furthermore, it is stated in *Myŏngjong sillok* that the rules and regulations concerning the *sŏwŏn* were modeled after those of the White Deer Grotto Academy of the Great Master Zhu Xi, in order to spread “literary culture (*munhak*)” and “Confucian learning (*Yuhak*)” throughout the “Eastern Land”

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<sup>189</sup> *Paegundong* (White Cloud Grotto Academy) was later renamed *Sosu sŏwŏn* (紹修書院) through the conferral of a royal charter (*saaek* 賜額) by King Myŏngjong in the year 1550. The name of the *sŏwŏn* originated from the following passage in the charter: “Fallen knowledge and learning has been restored for continual refining.” (旣廢之學紹而修之).

<sup>190</sup> Ch’oe, “Private Academies,” 141.

<sup>191</sup> Ch’oe Yŏnggho writes the following on the convergence of *sŏwŏn* and *sau* (祠宇 shrines): “Ever since Chu Sebung established a *sau* (shrine) for An Hyang as an integral part of *Sosu Sŏwŏn*, it became an accepted practice for virtually every private academy in Korea to set up a shrine for a Confucian worthy or worthies within its compound.....Although normally all *sŏwŏn* maintained a *sau*, not all *sau* were attached to *sŏwŏn*.” Ch’oe, Private Academies,” 144; 169-170.

(Korea).<sup>192</sup> As this was the first such institution, these “rules and regulations” (*sŏwŏn chi kyu*)—that is, Zhu Xi’s Articles of The White Deer Grotto Academy (Paengnoktong sŏwŏn hakkyu 白鹿洞書院學規)—were closely modeled by subsequent *sŏwŏn*, becoming the standard of private education for the rest of the Chosŏn Dynasty. Due to the significance of these guidelines for centuries of Chosŏn scholarship, I translate them here:

Articles of the White Deer Grotto Academy (白鹿洞書院學規)

Between Father and Son there is intimacy. Between Ruler and Subject there is righteousness. Between Husband and Wife there is distinction. Between the Young and Old there is order [hierarchy], and between Friends there is sincerity. These are the five essentials of learning.

These have been passed down by Emperor Yao and Emperor Shun, and these five laws are respected far and wide. This is all there is to learning. As for the order of learning, there are also five rules, which are as follows:

Study it broadly. Inquire into it. Consider it carefully. Delineate it lucidly. Practice it devoutly.

This is the order of learning. Study, inquiry, consideration, and delineation are what is called pondering. In the matter of devout practice, there is the cultivation of one’s personhood and with it the conduct of one’s affairs, as well as one’s approach to the material world, and in this too there are necessary elements, which are as follows:

Speak with loyalty and faithfulness. Conduct oneself with warmth and respect. Discipline anger and control desire. Pursue goodness and reform transgressions. These are the necessities of cultivating one’s personhood.

Grasp its righteousness and do not measure its profit. Elucidate the Way and do not calculate its benefit. These are the ways of conducting one’s affairs.

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<sup>192</sup> *Myŏngjong sillok* 17, October 10, 1554.

What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others. If your actions do not produce the expected results, look upon yourself for answers.<sup>193</sup>

These guidelines for scholarship were reinforced by a thoroughly Neo-Confucian curriculum, similar in many respects to that of the Sōnggyun'gwan. The *Four Books* and *Five Classics* figured prominently in the curriculum, as did the *Elementary Learning* and *Family Rites*, while various histories, philosophies, and works of Classical literature, although important for *kwagŏ* examination preparation, were of secondary importance. In fact, another important characteristic of the *sŏwŏn* seemed to be the vaunting of a kind of pure scholarship—knowledge for knowledge's sake—and a concomitant demotion of self-centered, career-driven study oriented toward gaining success in the examinations. Despite the marked influence from the Chinese tradition, some researchers point to this trait as an important difference between the two countries; whereas the Chinese *shuyuan* remained primarily an institute for bureaucratic training, Chosŏn *sŏwŏn* were centers of personal cultivation and seclusion from public life (*changsuch'ŏ* 藏修處) as well as significant centers of local power and moral authority.<sup>194</sup> Influential Neo-Confucian scholars such as Yi Hwang (李滉, 1502-1571), Yi I and Pak Sech'ae (朴世采, 1631-1695) echoed the importance of pure, selfless scholarship in the rules for their respective *sŏwŏn*,

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<sup>193</sup> 父子有親。君臣有義。夫婦有別。長幼有序。朋友有信。右五教之目。堯、舜使契為司徒，敬敷五教，即此是也。學者學此而已。而其所以學之之序，亦有五焉，其別如左：

博學之。審問之。謹思之。明辨之。篤行之。

右為學之序。學、問、思、辨四者，所以窮理也。若夫篤行之事，則自修身以至於處事、接物，亦各有要，其別如左：

言忠信。行篤敬。懲忿窒欲。遷善改過。右修身之要。正其義不謀其利。明其道不計其功。右處事之要。己所不欲，勿施於人。行有不得，反求諸己。右接物之要。

<sup>194</sup> Kwŏn and Son, *Han'guk ūi kyoyukhak kwa kyoyuksa*, 420. For a study of the Confucian scholar Pak Sech'ae and his ideology relating to the *sŏwŏn* as a preferred destination for 'pure scholarship' not necessarily driven by career ambitions, see Pak Chongbae, "Namgye Pak Sech'ae ūi sŏwŏn kyoyuk sasang kwa silch'ŏn," *Kyoyuk sahak yŏn'gu* 24, no. 2 (2014): 29-56.

and at times drew a careful distinction between their own institutions and the degraded *hyanggyo*. Pak for example stated that, “The reason the former sages founded *sŏwŏn* to be independent of *hyanggyo* was that the students of *hyanggyo* studied for the civil service examinations, and this prevented them from devoting their efforts solely to the study of the sagely learning.”<sup>195</sup> Elsewhere, Pak wrote on the importance of *sŏwŏn* locations in comparison to *hyanggyo*, claiming that “*Hyanggyo* are located in the administrative counties and are thus bound by various laws and regulations. *Sŏwŏn*, however, are situated mostly in leisurely and isolated surroundings so that the scholars there can devote their minds and hearts to the study of the classics and to the lives of the sages and to exchange what they have learned. Truly this is the reason why Confucian scholarship flourishes nowadays.”<sup>196</sup>

However, while the stated purpose of these *sŏwŏn* regulations was the eschewing or at least downgrading of career-driven academic pursuits, the increasingly important position of *sŏwŏn* within the Chosŏn education system ensured that they nevertheless functioned as training grounds for future members of the Confucian elite, though not necessarily central government service due to their remote locations. The *sŏwŏn* modeled its curriculum in many ways on that offered by the Sŏnggyun’gwan, and attempted to operate on par with this institution more generally. Like the Sŏnggyun’gwan, the major prerequisite for entrance into *sŏwŏn* was the possession of a *saengwon* or *chinsa* degree, the result of passing provincial examinations that were closely integrated into the larger *kwagŏ* examination system. Thus, *sŏwŏn* students would have already been invested to some extent in the examination system, and it is difficult to believe

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<sup>195</sup> *Namgye Pak Se-ch’ae munjip*, 65: 10a. Quoted in Ch’oe, “Private Academies,” 158.

<sup>196</sup> *Sŏwŏn tŭngnok* (Seoul: Minch’ang munhwasa, 1990) (Kyujanggak Collection No. 12905), 577 (Sukchong 20/10/6), Quoted in Ch’oe, “Private Academies,” 165.

such students would have simply curtailed their ambitions for social mobility due to the high-minded intentions of their *sŏwŏn* heads, scholars who had often been driven out or otherwise alienated from the central bureaucracy. Furthermore, another entrance criterion for many of the more prestigious *sŏwŏn* was proof of membership in a *yangban* decent group, the identity of which was primarily confirmed through continual *munkwa* exam passing and placement in the central government. Therefore, students entering the *sŏwŏn* were already ensconced in a thoroughly institutionalized matrix of examination study and career performance, which would have been difficult to squelch through the lofty academic ideals of rusticated literati. As the *sŏwŏn* continued to proliferate, especially in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, they came to replace the *hyanggyo* as the primary institution of Neo-Confucian inculcation and ‘pure scholarship’, as well as career-driven bureaucratic training, replacing the *hyanggyo* as learning centers in the provinces and precipitating the diminution of the Chosŏn public education system.<sup>197</sup>

The rate of *sŏwŏn* establishment decreased in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, the result it seems of restrictions implemented by King Sukchong (r: 1674-1720) and subsequent monarchs. Palais notes that “only eighteen academies were founded in the period 1725-50 and only thirteen new ones in the last half of the eighteenth century.”<sup>198</sup> The Chosŏn government began to place restrictions on *sŏwŏn* from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century for a variety of reasons. The earliest comprehensive critique of the *sŏwŏn* was launched by Sŏ P’ilwŏn (徐必遠, 1614-1671), the

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<sup>197</sup> For an examination of *sarim* scholar attitudes toward *hyanggyo* in late Chosŏn society, specifically in comparison to *sŏwŏn*, see Ch’oe, “Private Academies.” Ch’oe also provides a table with the number of *sŏwŏn* established by reign, which reveals that the most prolific period was during the reigns of Kings Hyŏnjong (1660-1674), Sukchong (1675-1720), and Kyŏngjong (1721-1724). Among the *sŏwŏn* established from 1609-1800, the greatest concentration was in Kyŏngsang Province (39%), followed by Chŏlla Province (19.6%) and Ch’ungch’ŏng Province (14%). See Ch’oe, “Private Academies,” 160.

<sup>198</sup> Palais, *Politics and Policy*, 116.

governor of Ch'ungch'ŏng Province, when he outlined four abuses perpetrated by *sŏwŏn*. First, he claimed that due to the growing influence of *sŏwŏn*, *hyanggyo* were being neglected, and there had developed a discrepancy between the statuses of students from each type of school. Second, he claimed that *sŏwŏn* deprived the state of precious resources because of the military tax exemptions they provided. Third, there were abuses in the selection of individuals for enshrinement in *sŏwŏn* shrines (*sau*); whereas earlier only persons of renowned morals and Neo-Confucian knowledge and scholarship had been enshrined, enshrinement had become politicized, and persons of questionable scholarly credentials were being increasingly honored for factional reasons. Finally, the resources to carry out sacrificial rites to such enshrined individuals exacted a heavy toll on local populations.<sup>199</sup> These were criticisms echoed by many subsequent government ministers and were invoked as justification for the imposition of later government restrictions.<sup>200</sup> These included the limiting of tax-free land and slaves to chartered *sŏwŏn* alone,<sup>201</sup> a moratorium on the construction of any non-chartered *sŏwŏn*, limitations on land gifts to *sŏwŏn*, and restrictions on who could be enshrined in *sŏwŏn* shrines.<sup>202</sup> These measures seem to have curtailed the expansion of *sŏwŏn*, although they remained influential power centers for locally-based literati and an important stumbling block to Chosŏn government reform in the

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<sup>199</sup> *Hyojong sillok* 18, June 21, 1657.

<sup>200</sup> Palais, *Politics and Policy*, 118-19.

<sup>201</sup> From the time when the first *sŏwŏn* received a royal charter (*saaek*) in 1550 in the form of a signboard in the calligraphy of the king, *sŏwŏn* were informally divided into chartered and non-chartered. However, the 1746 Law Code (Soktaejŏn) limited the amount of land that could be owned by *sŏwŏn* according to this dichotomy, mandating that chartered *sŏwŏn* would be limited to three *kyŏl* of tax-exempt land, while non-chartered *sŏwŏn* would have none. Palais claims that, by the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, of the estimated 620 *sŏwŏn*, approximately 250 were chartered. See Palais, *Politics and Policy*, 115.

<sup>202</sup> Palais, *Politics and Policy*, 115-16; Ch'oe, "Private Academies."

nineteenth century, as they represented a major untapped resource due to their tax-exempt status. Although the Taewŏn'gun (1820-1898) finally ordered the destruction of all but forty-seven *sŏwŏn* in 1871, a major victory of the monarchy over the aristocracy, as Palais argues, “[T]he strength of the aristocracy was based on diffuse considerations, rather than on discrete corporate institutions like academies and shrines.”<sup>203</sup> The other key to aristocratic power and prestige, as I have argued throughout this chapter, was the *kwagŏ* examination, and more specifically, the continual placement of central government ministers by examination confirmation. Therefore, despite the discontinuation of a major bastion of private education and local Neo-Confucian moral legitimacy, the Neo-Confucian epistemology of the Chosŏn Dynasty remained intact, undergirded by the legitimizing mechanism of the *kwagŏ* examination system. A more fundamental reworking of the education system therefore awaited the abolishment of this system a generation later amid the sweeping Kabo Reforms (1894-1896), along with the establishment of the first ‘modern schools.’

### 1.6 Women’s Education in the Chosŏn Dynasty

Absent from our discussion thus far has been an account of women’s education during the Chosŏn Dynasty. This is because, in one sense of the word, women’s education did not exist during this time. If we are to define education as learning in a formal setting outside of the home—education as a kind of “schooling”—then women’s education was first inaugurated in the late nineteenth century at the behest of Western missionaries.<sup>204</sup> The *Elementary Learning*, an

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<sup>203</sup> Palais, *Politics and Policy*, 130.

<sup>204</sup> Women’s education and missionary education more generally during the so-called Open Ports Period (1876-1910) will be discussed in more detail in Chapters Two and Four.

extremely influential text in the Neo-Confucian canon, stipulated that girls above the age of ten were not to venture out of the home, nor mix with the opposite sex, and so, from an institutional point of view, there would have been little practical reason for the construction of learning institutions outside of the home for girls' education.<sup>205</sup> Women and girls did, however, receive instruction in various skills, most often from their mothers or other family members. Furthermore, moral instruction for women was considered especially important, as they were expected to inculcate the next generation from an early age in Confucian virtues and propriety. Overall, the education that girls and women received during the Chosŏn Dynasty was designed to help them fulfill their socially mandated roles in the most effective way as defined in the Neo-Confucian moral universe, those roles being daughter, wife, and most importantly mother. Son Insu writes of the difference between girls' and boys' education in broad terms, stating that "while boys' education focused on the literary (*muncha kyoyuk*), girls' education emphasized conduct (*p'umhaeng* 品行) and proper roles (*yŏkhal* 役割)," in other words, the 'correct' way to conduct oneself in each of the prescribed roles listed above.<sup>206</sup>

Undoubtedly a gap existed between the education received by upper-class women and lower-class women, with the latter having to learn many more practical skills that aristocratic women could have entrusted to household servants. However, there is little reason to believe that

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<sup>205</sup> This restriction on female mobility outside of the home seems to have been more strictly observed among upper-class women than among lower classes. However, lower-class girls with marginally more freedom of mobility would have had much less leisure time to devote to study opportunities outside the home, had they existed. Furthermore, Kim Puja in her study of colonial-era education in Korea demonstrates a clear pattern of favoring education for sons over daughters when only one was economically feasible, a preference that we can surmise originated in pre-modern gendered attitudes towards education. See Kim Puja, *Hakkyo pakk ūi Chosŏn yŏsŏng tŭl: chendŏsa ro koch'yŏ ssŭn singminji kyoyuk*, translated by Cho Kyŏnghŭi and Kim Uja (Sŏul: Ilchogak, 2009).

<sup>206</sup> Son, *Han'guk kyoyuksa yŏn'gu*, 589.



fundamental moral expectations or ideals of behavior and comportment differed much between classes, though actual practice was divergent. There were a number of works on moral instruction published throughout the Chosŏn Dynasty, many of the earliest texts being reproductions of Chinese works.<sup>207</sup> However, in 1475 Queen Sohye (昭惠王后, 1437-1504) compiled *Instructions for the Inner Quarters* (Naehun 內訓), a compilation of excerpts from previous *hanmun* works such as *Yŏllyŏ chŏn* (Tales of Virtuous Women 烈女傳), *Sohak*, and *Yŏgyo* (Women's Instruction 女教). The first work of its kind for women, this book featured *hanmun* text with *t'o* vernacular particles affixed, along with vernacular translations in *ŏnmun* (*han'gŭl*) to increase readability among women. Son Insu summarizes the content of this and other educational works for Chosŏn women according to the following categorization: 1) virtue, purity, and chastity (often subsumed under the catchall ideal of womanhood, *yŏllyŏ* (virtuous woman 烈女), 2) being a filial daughter-in-law and a respectful, obedient, and restrained wife (*kyŏngsun injong* 敬順忍從), 3) performing ancestral rites with faithfulness and devotion and entertaining guests with proper etiquette, 4) fostering thrift and economy and learning household skills such as sewing, weaving, and cooking, and 5) raising and educating offspring.<sup>208</sup> Although all of this content was considered important for creating the ideal Confucian woman, the fundamental litmus test for acceptable womanhood was the ideal of the virtuous woman. As Michael Pettid has noted, "The single most important aspect of virtue was a woman's purity or

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<sup>207</sup> For a list of these works, see Michael J Pettid, "Confucian Educational Works for Upper Status Women in Choson Korea," in *Women and Confucianism in Chosŏn Korea: New Perspectives*, ed. Michael J. Pettid and Youngmin Kim (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2011); Son, *Han'guk kyoyuksa yŏn'gu*, 589-591.

<sup>208</sup> Son, *Han'guk kyoyuksa yŏn'gu*, 591-94.

fidelity, and marriage and childbearing were not prerequisite to this ideal. Conversely, a woman was completely rejected by society if she was not virtuous.”<sup>209</sup>

The virtuous woman ideal seems to have strengthened over the course of the Chosŏn Dynasty, and a number of scholars have noted the influence of the late 16<sup>th</sup>-century Japanese invasions (*Imjin waeran*) in affecting this change.<sup>210</sup> In his analysis of educational texts for women in the second half of the Chosŏn Dynasty, Pettid brings attention to the overwhelming focus on virtuous women in probably the most widely distributed text of its type, the *Tongguk sinsok samgang haengsilto* (東國新續三綱行實圖 New and Expanded Conduct of the Three Bonds in the Eastern Kingdom, Illustrated 1617). This work was a continuation of earlier compilations of a similar type, featuring depictions of individuals performing filial acts exemplifying the three bonds of Confucianism.<sup>211</sup> However, this work was unique in that it featured only subjects of the “Eastern Kingdom” (Korea) as well as a heavy preponderance of virtuous women; of a total of 1,500 accounts, 717 were of virtuous women, compared to only sixty-seven filial sons and eleven loyal retainers.<sup>212</sup> Furthermore, in order to reach the broadest readership, each account of the *Tongguk sinsok samgang haengsilto* featured a description in *hanmun* for literati readers and for ultimate textual authority, *ŏnmun* for those ignorant of *hanmun*, and illustrations for the illiterate. As Pettid notes, given the Chosŏn government’s determination in carrying out such a large-scale publishing project despite the great expense it

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<sup>209</sup> Pettid, “Confucian Women,” 59.

<sup>210</sup> Son, *Han’guk kyoyuksa yŏn’gu*; Pettid, “Confucian Women.”

<sup>211</sup> These three bonds are those between ruler and subject, father and son, and husband and wife. For a comprehensive treatment of this work and its sequels, see Young Kyun Oh, *Engraving Virtue: The Printing History of a Premodern Korean Moral Primer* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

<sup>212</sup> Pettid, “Confucian Women,” 55.

incurred, especially in the wake of the havoc and destruction wreaked by the Japanese invasions, the didactic importance of this project to the central government cannot be overlooked. Discourse on the virtuous (pure, chaste) ideal for Korean women remained hegemonic throughout the remainder of the Chosŏn period.

In a society in which women's schooling and Confucian education in the institutional sense of the word was not only neglected but actually considered undesirable, instruction for women was limited to the fostering of Confucian morality appropriate for women in their prescribed roles, most notably the maintenance of virtue, as well as life skills and rules of behavior and comportment that would facilitate the proper management of household affairs. Although extraordinary women scholars such as Hŏ Nansŏlhŏn<sup>213</sup> (許蘭雪軒 1563-1589), Sin Saimdang<sup>214</sup> (申師任堂 1504-1551), and Im Yunjidang (任允摯堂 1721-1793) were prolific writers who possessed a knowledge and command of *hanmun* that rivaled male literati, their privileged social positioning as *yangban* elite allowed for a level of education that would have been out of reach for even the most talented *yangban* women, let alone commoners, and their success is unfortunately the exception that proves the rule. Undoubtedly there were countless girls who received a sort of vicarious, informal education by eavesdropping on the home

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<sup>213</sup> Hŏ Nansŏlhŏn was a writer and painter of the mid-Chosŏn era, most renowned for her superior poetry skills. Over 200 of her written works are extant. She was born to a prominent political family which belonged to the Kangnŏng Kim clan. She is said to have studied under Yi Tal (李達), who also instructed Hŏ Kyun, younger brother of Hŏ and widely (but incorrectly) thought to be the author of *The Tale of Hong Kiltong* (Hong Kiltong chŏn).

<sup>214</sup> Sin Saimdang was a noted painter, poet, and writer of the mid-Chosŏn period. She is often held up as a model of Confucian virtue, but her upbringing was anything but conventional. Being brought up in a household without male siblings, her maternal grandfather raised her and her four younger sisters as he would a boy, teaching her the various literary and artistic skills of a male aristocrat. Sin later gave birth to Yulgok Yi I (栗谷 李珥 1537-1584), a prominent Neo-Confucian philosopher and government minister. Sin Saimdang is featured on the Republic of Korea ₩50,000 currency note.

instruction of their brothers, or who benefitted from direct instruction from older siblings, but given that elementary education in the Confucian Classics at *sōdang*<sup>215</sup> was conducted outside of the home, continued instruction for girls was inevitably limited throughout the Chosŏn Dynasty. The first generation of girls receiving formal schooling emerged only in the late nineteenth century, first at missionary schools and then village schools and finally state schools.

### 1.7 The Language of Instruction in Premodern Korea

One aspect of the *kwagŏ* examinations absent from our discussion thus far has been the technical examinations (*chapkwa* 雜科). During most of the Chosŏn Dynasty technical examinations were divided broadly into four categories: foreign languages (*yŏkhak* 譯學), medicine (*ūihak* 醫學), astrology and cosmology (*ūmyanghak* 陰陽學), and law (*yulhak* 律學). As a normalized part of the official state system, graduates of the technical examinations enjoyed a modicum of status and legitimacy, yet there was a clearly defined gap between these technicians, and *munkwa* and even *mukwa* (military exam) passers. Holders of a technical degree were almost invariably of the *chungin* (中人) class—their status as such largely defined by such technical occupations—and had little hope of rising above this position to the status of *yangban*. Confucian beliefs concerning the supremacy of principle reinforced a perception of the subservience of technical education and practical occupations in relation to philosophical and academic pursuits.

One significant technical field relevant to the broader theme of this research is foreign language study, or more accurately, translation and interpretation. The government agency in

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<sup>215</sup> *Sōdang* were the most numerous educational institution in Chosŏn society, and remained dominant throughout much of the colonial period. *Sōdang* will be considered in more detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

charge of educating foreign language specialists was termed the Sayōgwōn (司譯院), established in 1393 in the second year of the Chosŏn Dynasty and operating until its abolition in 1894.<sup>216</sup> Broadly defined, this institution provided education and training in select foreign languages deemed important to Korea's international relations and also oversaw official meetings and communiqués with foreign powers. The Sayōgwōn was divided into four sections: Chinese (*Hanhak* 漢學), Mongolian (*Monghak* 蒙學), Japanese (*Waehak* 倭學), and Jurchen (*Yōjinhak* 女眞學).<sup>217</sup> The Sayōgwōn was founded on the principle of *sadae kyorin* (事大交隣 serving the great and maintaining neighborly relations), and the languages above represent what the Chosŏn government considered the major players in its Sino-centric diplomatic universe. The Sayōgwōn was further divided into the *sūngmunwōn* (The Foreign Office 承文院), in charge of composing communiqués with China, and *yōkkwan* (The Office of Interpretation 驛官), which oversaw the training of interpreters.<sup>218</sup>

The curriculum utilized in Sayōgwōn education differed dramatically from that of other *kwagŏ* examination fields, which reflects the perception of foreign language in Chosŏn society as a technical subject not on par with true Confucian scholarship. Although the *Four Books* were included as part of the Chinese curriculum, presumably so that interpreters and translators would recognize and be able to employ classical allusions in their professional communications, the *Five Classics* were not included. The remaining works included but were not limited to *Nogŏltae*

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<sup>216</sup> The Sayōgwōn was in turn based on the Koryŏ-era T'ongmun'gwan (通文館), which was established in 1276 and handled only Chinese language (*Hanŏ* 漢語) education. See Yi Namhŭi, "Chosŏn hugi chapkwa kyoyuk ūi pyŏnhwa wa t'ŭksŏng: Chaphak saengdo wa kyojae rŭl chungsim ūro," *Han'guk tongyang chŏngch'i sasangsa yŏn'gu* 13, no. 1 (2014): 33-63, 42.

<sup>217</sup> Yōjinhak was renamed *Ch'ōnghak* (清學) in 1667.

<sup>218</sup> Chŏng Kwang, *Choson sidae ūi oegugŏ kyoyuk* (P'aju: Kimyŏngsa, 2014), 79.

(The Old Cathayan 老乞大), an account of the travels of a man from Koryŏ and a Chinese man in northern China used for instruction in colloquial Chinese conversation, and *Pak t'ongsa* (Interpreter Pak 朴通事), a book which provided needed information on life in Beijing, ritual expressions in Chinese, and honorific commands,<sup>219</sup> information that would have presumably been crucial for Korean diplomats in the Ming and Qing courts. Unlike the Chinese section, the Mongolian, Japanese, and Jurchen sections did not include the *Four Books* and instead focused almost entirely on language study through copying (*saja* 寫字).<sup>220</sup> The foreign language examination also displayed divergence between the Chinese and the other sections. Although the examination included three subsections—discussion of the *Four Books* (*kangsŏ* 講書), copying, and translation and interpretation (*yŏgŏ* 譯語)—the former was only included as part of the Chinese examination. This glaring omission of Confucian works of such monumental importance from the curriculum of Mongolian, Japanese and Jurchen studies clearly shows the Korean perception of each ethnicity in the Sino-centric cultural order, while the ‘incomplete’ Confucian canon constituting the Chinese side of the curriculum reveals the slightly more prestigious yet generally ‘technical’ character of this course of study as well.

Overall, the structure of Sayogwŏn education and the work carried out under its auspices reveal much about the nature of the Chosŏn Dynasty’s epistemological structure, and what foreign language study meant within that structure. In contrast to the characterization of LS (*hanmun*) in much research on premodern Korea, it was most certainly not considered a foreign

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<sup>219</sup> Yi, “Chosŏn hugi chapkwa kyoyuk,” 46.

<sup>220</sup> For a detailed breakdown of the curriculum for each foreign language section, see Chŏng, *Chosŏn sidae ūi oegugŏ kyoyuk*, 126-30. For a briefer overview, see Yi, “Chosŏn hugi chapkwa kyoyuk,” 44-46. The curriculum in each section also exhibited variation across different government legislative compilations: *Kyŏngguk taejŏn*, *Soktaejŏn*, and *Taejŏn hoet’ong*.

language in the modern sense of the word, or in the way that Chinese, Mongolian, Japanese or Jurchen were perceived within the Sayōgwōn curriculum, for that matter.<sup>221</sup> Interpretation and translation in the four languages of the Sayōgwōn were crucial yet extremely limited activities, more akin to the focused duties of a modern diplomatic corps rather than the expertise of the ruling political elite. Wang Sixiang, in his excellent article on Chosŏn-era interpreters and the politics of language, described the court-based interpreters as “indispensable as they were scarce, as pivotal as they were marginal, and as integral to the process of diplomacy as they were suppressed from its records.”<sup>222</sup> Interpreters provided a rare talent that was constantly in demand—the ability to facilitate formal negotiations with powerful neighbors when brush talk (*p’iltam* 筆談) would not suffice; however, to the literati of the *yangban* class, their indispensability seemed a nuisance, a kind of necessary evil which they were obliged to tolerate. To members of the central bureaucracy placed through the *kwagŏ* examination, and indeed to all scholars aspiring to this status, a standard education in the Confucian canon was the only legitimate educational attainment, an education that remained throughout much of the Chosŏn Dynasty in pure LS and unmediated by vernacular translation or diverse interpretations.<sup>223</sup>

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<sup>221</sup> See for example Ross King, “Ditching Diglossia: Describing Ecologies of the Spoken and Inscribed in Pre-modern Korea,” *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies* 15, no. 1 (2015), 7-9 for various scripto-nationalist takes on the diglossic tension/battle between *han’gŭl* and LS.

<sup>222</sup> Wang Sixiang, “The Sounds of Our country: Interpreters and the Politics of Language in Early Choson,” in *Rethinking East Asian Languages, Vernaculars, and Literacies, 1000-1919*, ed. Benjamin A. Elman (Leiden: Brill, 2011); 63. For a parallel between the colonial-era interpreter as both necessary yet despised, see Suh Serk-bae, *Treacherous Translation: Culture, Nationalism, and Colonialism in Korea and Japan from the 1910s to the 1950s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013).

<sup>223</sup> Peter Kornicki points out that, “Given the importance that the Four Books and the Five Classics had in education and intellectual life in Korea, it will come as something of a surprise to learn that these were *not* among the first texts to be produced in handy hybrid editions; quite to the contrary.” Peter Kornicki, “Bluffing Your Way in Chinese,” Lecture, Sandars Lectures in

Thus, despite the fact that spoken Chinese never functioned as a lingua franca on the Korean peninsula, and was rather relegated to narrowly defined, specialized study by *chungin* translators and interpreters of the Sayōgwōn, texts in LS formed the nucleus of Korean intellectual life into the first decades of the twentieth century, despite the gulf that persisted between the spoken varieties of the languages. When vernacularization in *han'gūl* did finally begin to occur in the seventeenth century, a parallel LS version always circulated, a practice that continued until the nineteenth century.<sup>224</sup> LS texts remained the only material officially sanctioned for *kwagō* examination study and hence remained the only proper curriculum for the state and private education system. This is not to suggest, however, that robust vernacular methods of approaching LS did not exist in Korea. It must be remembered that, despite the origin of sinographs (*hancha*, 漢字) in the geographical proximity of what today is referred to as China, there is no “authentic” or “correct” way of pronouncing LS texts, hence my employment in this

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Bibliography, Cambridge, UK, March 11, 2008. Although in 1588 official *ōnhae* editions of the *Four Books* were produced by the Chosōn government, all based on a Neo-Confucian (Zhu Xi) interpretation, the vernacular glosses were added only to guide the reader to the correct interpretation of the original LS text, and the *ōnhae* versions were never meant to stand on their own as independent documents. For an informative, succinct narrative of the life of LS texts outside of China, and the gradual shift to vernacularization, or literarization (employment of a language for literary composition) in the terminology of Sheldon Pollock, see Peter Kornicki, “The Latin of East Asia?” Lecture, Sandars Lectures in Bibliography, Cambridge, UK, March 10, 2008; “Bluffing Your Way in Chinese,” Lecture, Sandars Lectures in Bibliography, Cambridge, UK, March 11, 2008; “Little Chinese, Less Manchu,” Lecture, Sandars Lectures in Bibliography, Cambridge, UK, March 13, 2008.

<sup>224</sup> Kornicki, “Little Chinese, Less Manchu,” 10. Ross King draws an important distinction between vernacularization in Korea, South Asia and Europe when he states that, “nothing vaguely similar to vernacularization as defined by Pollock for South Asia and Europe ever happened in Korea, and especially not throughout most of the nineteenth century when it was in full swing virtually everywhere else in the world except East Asia.” See King, “Ditching Diglossia,” 6.



paper of the terms “sinograph” and “Literary Sinitic.” As Cho Tongil has noted, LS was not a spoken language but a *written* language, a “two-sided” writing technology that could simultaneously represent vernacular Korean as well as the “common literary language” (*kongdong munŏ* 共同文語) of the Sinographic Cosmopolis.<sup>225</sup> Therefore, many Korean texts that appear to be pure LS at first glance in fact conceal vernacular reading technologies through interlinear glossing techniques and methods of representing vernacular Korean, including *hyangch'al*, *kugyŏl*, and *idu*.<sup>226</sup> Following the invention of the native Korean script (Correct Sounds for the Instruction of the People 訓民正音, hereafter *ŏnmun*, *kungmun* or *han'gŭl*, depending on the period and context) in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, an additional vernacular reading technology was added to the methods above, creating another layer of complexity in LS textual engagement. Sim Kyŏnggho further demonstrates the diversity of LS itself in the Korean context, noting that there were actually four distinct LS styles, the prestige and domain of usage of each style determined by its conformity with orthodox, Classical LS writing (*komun* 古文).<sup>227</sup>

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<sup>225</sup> Cho Tongil uses the term ethno-national language (*minjogŏ* 民族語) to refer to the Korean vernacular. For an overview of his argument regarding literary and vernacular language in the Sinographic Cosmopolis, as well as various arguments for the plasticity of the sinograph as a read sign, see King, “Ditching Diglossia.”

<sup>226</sup> For a description of each of these techniques, see Yi and Ramsey, *A History of the Korean Language*. Ross King points out the tradition of vernacular writing in *idu* without the use of the Korean vernacular script, established long before the invention of *Hunmin chŏng'ŭm* in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. See King, Forthcoming-a, “Inscriptional Repertoires and the Problem of Intra- vs. Interlingual Translation in Pre-Modern Korea” (Leiden: Brill).

<sup>227</sup> The four styles of LS according to Sim are as follows: (a) Literary Sinitic (*hanmun* 漢文): Classical Writing (*komun* 古文, Orthodox LS), including the literary styles of pseudo-classical (*ŭigomun* 擬古文) and minor pieces/casual essays (*sop'um* 小品); (a)-1 LS with excessive use of Korean-style sinographic terms; (b) *imun* (吏文); (c) *idu*-style LS (*idu-sik hanmun* 吏讀式 漢文). See Sim Kyŏnggho, “Han'guk hanmun mit Han'guk munhak ŭi chungch'ŭngjŏk t'ŭkching: Chŏnggyŏk hanmun kwa pyŏnkyŏk hanmun ŭi pyŏngyong ŭl chungsim ŭro,” *Tong Asia munmyŏngkwŏn kwa hanmunhak ŭi tach'ŭngsŏng* (2014): 1-18; 10.

By this point it should be clear that the linguistic landscape in pre-modern Korea was much more diverse and complex than previous research has described, especially that which characterizes pre-modern Korea as a classic diglossic situation.<sup>228</sup> According to Charles Ferguson's original definition of diglossia, it is a situation in which, "in addition to the primary dialects of the language... there is a very divergent, highly codified... superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of literature... which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation."<sup>229</sup> This situation does bear many resemblances with pre-modern Korean, most notably the usage of LS (the "high" variety in this relationship) as "the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature," as well as its being "learned largely by formal education." However, important differences exist in the pre-modern Korean context which resist this blanket characterization, as an increasing number of scholars of pre-modern Korea have noted.<sup>230</sup> As I have suggested above, spoken Chinese was virtually limited to Sayŏgwŏn interpretation alone, and therefore even Ferguson's rather modest claim that the high variety is only used for most "formal spoken purposes" is too broad a characterization in the

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<sup>228</sup> Charles Ferguson described four classic diglossic relationships in his original work on the subject: 1) Standard German and Swiss German, 2) French and Haitian creole, 3) Katharévoussa (purified Greek) and Dhimotiki (Demotic Greek), and 4) Classical Arabic and regional varieties of colloquial Arabic. See Charles Ferguson, "Diglossia," *Word* 15 (1959): 325-340.

<sup>229</sup> Ferguson, "Diglossia," 336.

<sup>230</sup> For a brief overview of the diglossic critique in premodern Korea, see King, "Ditching Diglossia." King also provides a sampling of research which has reinforced the diglossic characterization of premodern Korea, as well as its contribution to script nationalism.

Korean context.<sup>231</sup> However, where pre-modern Korea's linguistic landscape fundamentally diverges from Ferguson's diglossic framework is in the ontology of the so-called "high" and "low" varieties: these were not two registers of the same language, but rather different languages accorded disparate prestige and compartmentalized functions. Thus, Sheldon Pollock's utilization of the terms "superposition" and "hyperglossia" in the South Asian context seem also applicable to pre-modern Korea. LS and vernacular Korean did not represent higher and lower poles of the same language, but rather existed in a relationship of "hyperglossia," "a maximal form of language dominance" where LS was "superposed" over vernacular Korean, each language having prescribed functions within that relationship.<sup>232</sup> While this also seems like simply another form of dichotomy, that between two languages instead of language varieties, a diverse spectrum of registers, reading and glossing technologies, and literary genres inhabited the space between the two extremes of this relationship, complicating any attempt at dichotomous characterization. Furthermore, as pointed out above, even the superposed LS had as many as four varieties, each playing subtly different roles, sharing more or less commonalities with the vernacular, and accorded variant shades of prestige.<sup>233</sup> What emerges in the Korean pre-modern linguistic landscape is a complex field of literary (reading and writing) technologies that should not be subjected to the limitations inherent in the concept of diglossia.

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<sup>231</sup> Even when an LS text was read aloud, there is every reason to believe that it was read with a Korean pronunciation. Even if the text was read in 'Chinese,' this should not be considered a form of spoken Chinese by any stretch of the imagination and, as I stated above, there was no such thing as an authentic reading of an LS text.

<sup>232</sup> See King, "Ditching Diglossia," 10-11.

<sup>233</sup> For a description of such 'shades of *hanmun*,' including so-called "variant *hanmun*," see Sim, "Chöngkyök *hanmun*."

On the other hand, it would be a mistake to overlook the overwhelming supremacy of pure LS (that is, the highest of the four varieties mentioned above) in the education system and the examination regime. For over a century after the invention of the *ŏnmun* alphabet the core curriculum throughout education remained raw, unmediated LS, and whatever reading and glossing techniques used were incidental study aids for individual students. Following the publication of official *ŏnhae* versions of the *Four Books* and *Five Classics* from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, sanctioned, Zhu Xi-inspired interpretations were available, but these too were merely study aids intended to guide the student to the desired interpretation, and the *ŏnhae* ‘translation’ could never stand on its own as an independent document. Pure literature in the vernacular as well was accompanied by LS versions well into the nineteenth century, and it is often impossible to tell which version is the original or “authentic” one. It seems, therefore, that while reading and glossing methods were certainly diverse and multivalent, though often disguised or “hidden” by their unobtrusive nature and visual conformity to orthodox LS, the main purpose of such technologies, as far as the education and examination systems were concerned, was with accessing the “truth” contained within the “true writing” (*chinmun* 眞文—the usual way of referring to LS in Chosŏn until the signing of the Japan-Korea treaty of Amity (Il-Cho suho chogyu 日朝修好条規) in 1876). Writing techniques were likewise complex and far from diglossic, but again pressure to conform to the standards established by the *kwagŏ* examination systematically and continuously molded Chosŏn education into the Neo-Confucian model in orthodox LS.<sup>234</sup> Like innumerable other changes in Chosŏn society, the shift to vernacular

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<sup>234</sup> *Idu*, though visually resembling LS, was used in a variety of manners, including the representation of vernacular Korean, and this alone demonstrates a transcendence of the textual binary which undergirds diglossia. Outside of the realm of official Neo-Confucian education was of course a rich tradition of composition in *ŏnmun*, including private correspondence and vernacular fiction, but these are unfortunately beyond the scope of this thesis.

education would have to wait until the late nineteenth century, when a 900-year legacy of pre-modern Korean knowledge and scholarship was swept away with the abolishment of the *kwagŏ* examinations as part of the far-reaching Kabo Reforms. This and other reforms would help to engender a sea change in education, the medium of schooling, and the entire Confucian episteme.

## **Chapter 2: Linguistic Modernity, Education, and Nationalizing the Vernacular in Pre-colonial Korea: Divergences between Western Missionary and Indigenous Discourses**

Focusing on early modern Korean history often runs the risk of privileging a Western impetus for modernization and an inevitably reactive Korean response. The terminology of the Korean historical periodization itself—the Open Ports Period (*kaehanggi* 開港期, 1876-1910), the Enlightenment Period (*kaehwagi* 開化期, 1895-1910)—privileges the Western/Japanese civilizing impact in the diplomatic and intellectual “opening” of Korea, while the positioning of this period within the overarching “modern” episteme historiographically threatens to subsume Korean history under the totalizing Western discourses on modernization. Nevertheless, the transformations and complexities characterizing this period were often engendered precisely because of this interaction with the West. However, this is only one side of the equation. What often gets sublimated in narratives of early encounters between the West and the Other is the indigenous appropriation, reformation, and deployment of discourse and practice, a contestation of pre-packaged hegemony. More than merely respond or react to a foreign impetus, reform-minded intellectuals in Korea and other countries through a process of cultural interaction during this time actively participated in, contributed to, and redirected the process of modernization, reflected not only in discourses on change and reform but in actual cultural, political, and religious praxis.

One of the most significant spheres of intellectual engagement with the discourse of Western-inspired modernization was the intersection of language, writing, and education. Politically, militarily, and intellectually isolated from the world outside of the Sinitic order, the

Chosŏn Dynasty in the late nineteenth century finally began to participate as an actor in the modern system of nation-states. Chosŏn's first foray into this system was coercive in nature, dictated by the unequal conditions of the Kanghwa Treaty with Japan (1876)<sup>235</sup> followed by similarly inimical treaties with Western powers.<sup>236</sup> The stipulations of these treaties which had particular implications for the development of education and the subsequent debate over language in education were the opening of ports to foreign merchants and the eventual concession to accept Christian missionaries from Western countries under a broader blanket agreement on freedom of religion.<sup>237</sup> The Kanghwa Treaty of 1876 stipulated that ports be

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<sup>235</sup> Unequal stipulations in the treaty included the concession to Japan to establish treaty ports at Inch'ŏn and Wŏnsan, as well as in the area surrounding Pusan, something Chosŏn was not allowed to do in Japan. Article 10 of the treaty assured the right of extraterritoriality for Japan, meaning that Japanese nationals in Korea would not be subject to Korean laws. Another interesting point of incommensurability can be found in the language of the treaty. While the 'official version' of the treaty for the Japan side was drafted in the "national language" of Japan, Chosŏn demanded that a *hanmun translation* be attached, meaning that Korean *kungmun* ("national script") was considered an inadequate or inappropriate vehicle for official communication. This also meant that new significations that had accrued to certain sinographs through Japan's negotiations with Western powers two decades earlier were redeployed through the process of translation into LS, generating a slippage between Japanese semantic practice and Korean understanding. The incommensurability in the language of the Kanghwa Treaty will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

<sup>236</sup> These treaties include the United States-Korea Treaty of 1882 (Cho-Mi suho t'ongsang choyak 朝美修好通商條約), which became the template for further treaties with Western powers, including the Germany-Korea Treaty of 1883 (Cho-Dok suho t'ongsang choyak 朝獨修好通商條約), the United Kingdom-Korea Treaty of 1883 (Cho-Yŏng suho t'ongsang choyak 朝英修好通商條約), the Russia-Korea Treaty of 1884 (Cho-Ro suho t'ongsang choyak 朝露修好通商條約), and the France-Korea Treaty of 1886 (Cho-Bul suho t'ongsang choyak 朝佛修好通商條約).

<sup>237</sup> The United States-Korea Treaty of 1882 did not specifically allow Western missionaries to openly proselytize on Korean soil, and so initial efforts by American Protestant missionaries were in the form of indirect proselytization through hospitals and schools. However, the France-Korea Treaty of 1886 specifically guaranteed religious freedom and open evangelization, which not only French priests enjoyed but Protestant missionaries as well. The portion of the treaty dealing with the issue of missionary work reads as follows: "Article 2: French citizens may travel to Chosŏn to study (*haksŭp* 學習) or teach (*kyohoe* 教誨) language and writing (*ŏnŏ*

opened to Japanese trade in Pusan, Inch'ŏn and Wŏnsan, and the burgeoning of international exchange and interaction in these areas seems to have stimulated the first indigenous attempts at establishing modern schools, that is, institutes of learning with a hybrid sort of curriculum that diverged from the Chosŏn-era curriculum discussed in the previous chapter, education concerned primarily with orthodox Confucian texts and *kwagŏ* examination preparation.<sup>238</sup> On the other hand, treaties with Western powers soon brought the first Western missionaries to Korea's shores, and in an atmosphere where outright proselytization was not yet permitted, missionaries turned their sights toward so-called philanthropic or indirect evangelization in the form of hospitals and importantly, schools with "modern," Western-inspired curriculums.<sup>239</sup> Moreover, among these missionaries were a number who took a special interest in Korean language and literature, translation, and the proselytizing potential of the Korean vernacular script, and contributed to the discourse on educational and linguistic modernization taking place in the emerging popular press.<sup>240</sup> Thus, the hybridization of the education system through the founding of schools by

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*muncha* 言語文字), and for those individuals in technical and legal research, they shall be aided and protected to ensure amicable friendship between our two nations. Chosŏn citizens shall receive uniform treatment when visiting the country of France.” 二, 凡有法國民人, 前往朝鮮國, 學習或教誨語言文字, 格致律例技藝者, 均得保護相助, 以照兩國敦篤友誼, 至朝鮮國人, 前往法國, 亦照此一律 優待. Section 9, Article 2, *Kojong sillok* 23, May 3, 1886. The term *kyohoe* (教誨) was broadly interpreted to include evangelical practice.

<sup>238</sup> For a detailed treatment of the role of treaty ports in stimulating indigenous reform in education, see Leighanne Yuh, "Education, the Struggle for Power, and Identity Formation in Korea, 1876-1910" (PhD diss. UCLA, 2008), ProQuest (UMI 3332582).

<sup>239</sup> See Theodore Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor and Health, 1910 – 1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 47.

<sup>240</sup> Principle among these "scholar-missionaries" was James Scarth Gale (1863-1937), whose research into the Korean language, translation and dictionary compilation projects, and general language ideology will be analyzed in more detail later in this chapter. However, missionary discourses on the Korean language were most often voiced in faith-based, English-language



indigenous actors spurred by exposure to foreign commerce and the diversification of the Korean economy, the opening of Christian schools by missionaries with Western-inspired curricula, and the contribution of diverse critiques and opinions on language and its proper role in modern education by Western missionaries and Korean intellectuals to the emerging public sphere of the popular press represented both physical and discursive interactive spaces for the exchange of ideas.

In order to theorize the broad themes of language and education within a single, coherent framework, and to categorize and explain the important transformations in writing practices and pedagogy which took place during late 19<sup>th</sup>- and early 20<sup>th</sup>-century Korea, I present the following tripartite conceptualization of language issues in connection with the education system: language status, language in pedagogy, and language in curriculum. Language status refers to the perceived standing or position of a language in relation to others in a society, and although previous research in language policy and planning has focused on the spoken language within the process of status planning, in this present study I am concerned primarily with orthographic practices, that is, the choice between *kungmun* (vernacular script, i.e. *han'gŭl*) and *hanmun* (LS), as well as the relative weight of sinograph utilization in the transition between these two poles. The second issue, language in pedagogy, is closely related to the first in that it concerns the mechanics of Korean writing, but whereas language status contained a strong ideological component vis-à-vis Chinese political and cultural influence, and the demotion thereof, language in pedagogy should be understood as centering on the nuts and bolts of the emergent written

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publications such as *The Korean Repository* (1895-1899) and *The Korea Review*, *The Korea Mission Field*, and *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society Korea Branch*.

vernacular as it was formulated for usage in various school textbooks.<sup>241</sup> Furthermore, the issue of language in pedagogy took on additional dimensions after 1910 when the language of instruction shifted to Japanese; thus, language in pedagogy is an issue that should be understood as containing both written and spoken dimensions. Finally, language in curriculum refers to the ‘curricularization’ of languages in the sense of the Western educational tradition. That is, this issue concerns the creation of school subjects termed “Hanmun” (LS 漢文), “Kugō” (National Language, i.e., Korean; post-annexation *Kokugo*, i.e., Japanese), “Kugō kŭp Hanmun” (National Language and Hanmun 國語及漢文) and “Chosŏnŏ kŭp Hanmun” (*Chosŏn* Language and *Hanmun* 朝鮮語及漢文) in late-Chosŏn government schools and later colonial schools, a process which radically reimagined the pre-modern Korean linguistic landscape by demoting the only previous vessel of legitimated knowledge, *chinmun* (true script 眞文), to the status of one of many school subjects, while promoting the Korean vernacular to the same status through a similar democratizing process.<sup>242</sup> All three of the above issues concern processes which radically departed from linguistic ideologies and practices upheld since the advent of writing on the Korean peninsula, and are key to an understanding of language and literacy education during Korea’s colonial period. The above theorization will also serve to contextualize the discourse on language into an analysis of modern education’s emergence.

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<sup>241</sup> This includes issues such as orthographic standardization, unification of spoken and written language (*ŏnmun ilch’i* 言文一致), the creation of translational equivalents with Western conceptual terminology related to industrialization and modernization, and the codification of Korean through the compilation of dictionaries and grammars.

<sup>242</sup> This is akin to what Scott Wells describes as the emergence of *hanmunkwa* (漢文科) which accompanied the opening of the first “modern” schools. See Scott Wells, “From Center to Periphery: The Demotion of Literary Sinitic and the Beginnings of *Hanmunkwa*—Korea, 1876-1910” (MA Thesis University of British Columbia, 2011).

I argue that discourses on the above three issues formed a language ideological matrix which promoted the ascendance of specific forms of literacy through the legitimizing function of the modern education system. In the late nineteenth century a number of Western scholar-missionaries as well as a coterie of Korean intellectuals began to call for the demotion or even expulsion of LS in favor of pure *kungmun* writing, an action that was revolutionary in the realm of expository prose. This discourse quickly gave way to discussions over the proper way to go about reforming and standardizing the Korean vernacular (language in pedagogy), as the attempt to utilize *kungmun*-only writing had brought many problems and ambiguities in vernacular writing to the fore.<sup>243</sup> However, the ideological entrenchment of the *yangban* establishment, the educational background and intellectual disposition of reform-minded Koreans, and the reform appeal of Japan mitigated the *kungmun*-only tendencies of the radical wing of reformers and opened up a discursive space for *kukhanmun* (Mixed [vernacular-cum-sinographic] Script) writing to gain currency.<sup>244</sup> Thus, while the language status of the Korean alphabet was promoted through the symbolic designation of *kungmun* (國文 “National Script”) as opposed to *ŏnmun* (諺文 “vernacular/local script”), it was a pyrrhic victory—‘Korean’ (*Chosŏnŏ*) itself, even the

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<sup>243</sup> In the case of Western missionaries, many of these issues were brought into relief through the process of translating the Bible. See Ross King, “Western Protestant Missionaries and the Origins of Korean Language Modernization,” *Journal of International and Area Studies* 11, no. 3 (2004): 7-38. Some of the earliest Korean scholars to become aware of these problems were Sŏ Chaep’il, Chu Sigyŏng, and Yu Kilchun.

<sup>244</sup> Andre Schmid and Ross King each highlight the virtual silence of the *hanmun* advocates in the orthography debate which unfolded in the press. The following are two notable exceptions: Chŏng Kyo, “Hanmun kwa kungmun ūi p’anbyŏl,” *Taedong hakhoe wŏlbo* 4 (May 1908); Yŏ Kyuhyŏng, “Non hanmun kungmun,” *Taedong hakhoe wŏlbo* 1 (Feb. 1908). For discussions of the orthography debate in pre-colonial Korea, see Ross King, “Nationalism and Language Reform in Korea: The *Questione della Lingua* in Precolonial Korea,” in *Nationalism and the Construction of Korean Identity*, ed. Timothy Tangherlini and Hyung-il Pai (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 33-72; Andre Schmid, *Korea between Empires, 1895-1919* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), especially Chapter 2.

vernacular, came to be defined as Mixed-Script *kukhanmun* writing, while LS and *kungmun*-only became outliers defining the outermost limits of acceptable inscription. The tacit acceptance of *kukhanmun* as the defining characteristic of expository prose solidified its position in the popular press, government publications, and most importantly government school textbooks, which meant that sinographs would make up an indispensable component of Korean literacy for the next generation. Furthermore, the curricularization of languages in pre-colonial Korean schools—*Hanmun* (LS), *Chosŏnŏ* (Korean), and *Ilbonŏ* (Japanese)—defined the shape of each language according to orthographic practice and institutionalized their diffusion, yet the parameters of Korean literacy diffusion were restricted by this same curricularization under the colonial education system, and the defining of ‘Korean’ as a language written in *kukhanmun* orthography facilitated attainment in the orthographically analogous Japanese language. Therefore, soon after the promotion of the Korean alphabet to the level of *kungmun*, the Korean language of new knowledge conveyance for all intents and purposes became signified as Korean-as-*kukhanmun*, and the visual mediation of the sinograph in such an orthographic system facilitated Japanese literacy when combined with the imposition of the restrictive colonial-era curriculum.<sup>245</sup> Although the discourse on language status emerged first, followed quickly by discussions on language in pedagogy and language in curriculum, the ‘late’ emergence of the language modernization and standardization movement in comparison to most other areas of the

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<sup>245</sup> The curriculum was restrictive in the sense that Korean language study was limited to Korean language class alone (*Chosŏnŏ kŭp hanmun* 1911-1922, *Chosŏno* 1922-1938) and the subject matter included in language textbooks, whereas Japanese (*kokugo*) language study was initiated throughout the curriculum, explicitly in *Kokugo* class but also through direct immersion in other classes where the language of textbooks and ostensibly instruction was Japanese. The restrictive nature of the colonial curriculum and the resultant atrophying of Korean literacy will be examined in more detail in Chapter 5.

world and its unfolding within a compressed time frame meant that overlap and continuity characterized the above language ideology matrix.

Above all, it is critical to keep in mind the manner in which discourses on language came to be manifested in the modern education and its curriculum: the discursive nationalizing of *ŏnmun* and the demotion of *hanmun* (language status) had everything to do with enlightening the people, and once a consensus of sorts emerged around the feasibility of the vernacular (in varying degrees of desinification) being used as this medium of enlightenment, the discussion quickly clustered around matters of language standardization to “prepare” the language for use in modern education (language in pedagogy), a phenomenon that will be explored through this chapter’s discourse analysis. Finally, under influences from Western linguistic and pedagogical theory and Japanese textbook and language policy, individual languages became curricularized for instruction in the modern school (language in curriculum), with the textbook for each language class representing a prescriptive literacy for the modern era. With the demotion of Korean and the ascension of Japanese in the colonial period, a specific postionality and form of vernacular literacy was prescribed, buttressed by hegemonic discourses on the necessity of *kokugo* for knowledge attainment and modern citizenship in the colony.

## **2.1 Language Status, Language in Pedagogy, and Language in Curriculum: An Overview**

The concept of language status has been discussed in conjunction with language planning in most research, and it was Heinz Kloss (1968) who first established a distinction in language planning by dividing this phenomenon into “corpus planning” and “status planning,” the former referring to “changes in structure, vocabulary, morphology, or spelling, or even to the adoption of a new script,” and the latter to a language’s “standing with respect to other languages or to the

language needs of a national government.”<sup>246</sup> Juan Cobarrubias summarizes this as a distinction between linguistic innovations that relate to “the *allocation of language functions* of a language or of a language variety” (status planning) and “linguistic innovations that relate to the *structure* of a language or of a language variety (corpus planning).”<sup>247</sup> Although language status is one of the critical determinants in the process of status planning discussed in research on language policy and planning,<sup>248</sup> unlike much of this research which has focused almost exclusively on the choice of spoken language when discussing status planning, leaving written language to the domain of corpus planning, I argue that in the Korean case the pronounced discrepancy in status and prestige between the vernacular script and LS/sinographs in the late nineteenth century, the extreme compartmentalization of scripts in terms of the content deemed appropriate for conveyance by each, and the convergence of gender, class, and national identity with script usage in popular discourse meant that the choice of which writing system to use involved many of the same issues that revolve around spoken language selection described in status planning literature. The issue of script selection in late Chosŏn thus resists strict categorization as either status planning or corpus planning, encompassing as it does elements of each. The debate over script selection concerned the origin of *kungmun*, the development status of the alphabet, the

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<sup>246</sup> Heinz Kloss, “Notes Concerning a Language-Nation Typology,” in *Language Problems in Developing Nations*, ed. Joshua A. Fishman Charles Ferguson and Jyotirindra Dasgupta (New York: Wiley, 1968).

<sup>247</sup> Juan Cobarrubias, “Ethical Issues in Status Planning,” in *Contributions to the Sociology of Language [CSL]: Progress in Language Planning: International Perspectives*, ed. Juan Cobarrubias and Joshua A. Fishman (Berlin: Mouton Publishers, 1983), 42.

<sup>248</sup> See *Contributions to the Sociology of Language [CSL]: Progress in Language Planning: International Perspectives*, ed. Juan Cobarrubias and Joshua A. Fishman (Berlin: Mouton Publishers, 1983); Joshua A. Fishman, *The Earliest Stage of Language Planning: The “First Congress” Phenomenon*, (Berlin: Mouton Publishers, 1993).

“juridical status” of the script—especially following the elevation of *kungmun* to co-official status with *hanmun* through the Kabo Reforms—as well as the ratio of users, all of which have been introduced by Kloss and developed by others as the four determining factors for selecting a spoken language.<sup>249</sup> On the other hand, the debate also centered around the nuts and bolts of corpus planning, namely changes in “structure, vocabulary, morphology [and] spelling,” and indeed one of the central arguments for corpus planning of the Korean vernacular script in the late nineteenth century was to “prepare” vernacular Korean for the task of modern education, to facilitate the elevation of the script to national language (status planning) through language reform and standardization (corpus planning). Therefore, “language status” in this present work should be understood as an attempt to conceptualize the interconnected nature of corpus and status planning in late Chosŏn, as an issue primarily concerned with the written language, encompassing aspects of corpus planning and status planning yet resisting strict categorization as either.

The issue of language status, especially in relation to the changing terrain of the Sino-centric order in late nineteenth century East Asia, has been described by Andre Schmid through his concept of the “decentering of China.”<sup>250</sup> Schmid characterizes this decentering in general terms as not merely a political readjustment, but an “impulse in nationalist thought to articulate a unique identity for the nation” which led to “a reappraisal of centuries of Sino-Korean cultural interaction in ways that reflected Korea’s growing participation in the modern ideologies of the

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<sup>249</sup> Heinz Kloss outlined four categories that combine to determine language status—language origin, degree of standardization, juridical status, and vitality—all of which were determining factors in the elevation of *kungmun* in late 19<sup>th</sup>-century Korea. See Kloss, “Notes Concerning a Language-Nation Typology”; Ronald Wardhaugh, *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2008).

<sup>250</sup> Schmid, *Korea between Empires*.

capitalist world system.”<sup>251</sup> In terms of language status, Schmid is correct to point out that the active promotion of “vernacular Korean” (*ŏnmun* 諺文) after 1895 as a *national* script (*kungmun*)<sup>252</sup> was a new development, part and parcel of the overall tendency to decenter the Middle Kingdom by deemphasizing shared cultural connections and promoting traditions perceived to be indigenous.<sup>253</sup> It is difficult to overstate the momentous significance of this promotion of *kungmun* over *hanmun* when considering the history of inscriptional practices on the Korean peninsula. Although a corpus of vernacular *han’gŭl*-only literature had been established prior to the nineteenth century, the venues of alphabet usage remained extremely limited in terms of imparting new knowledge. The alphabet remained restricted to fiction and vernacular poetry (*sijo*) and to functioning as a tool for accessing LS texts well into the late nineteenth century, and standardization and codification as an object of metalinguistic analysis through modern linguistic theory was neglected; the first grammars of the language did not appear until the 1880s, and then at the hands of foreign missionaries.<sup>254</sup>

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<sup>251</sup> Ibid, 55.

<sup>252</sup> The significance of this terminology should not be underestimated. One of the promulgations making up the sweeping Kabo Reforms of 1894-1896 was the edict on writing, which elevated *ŏnmun* to the level of co-national [written] language with *hanmun*, importantly referring to this previously disparaged script as *kungmun* (national writing).

<sup>253</sup> Schmid, *Korea Between Empires*, 65. This is opposed to authors who have argued the alleged nationalist underpinnings of *hunmin chŏng’ŭm*’s creation in premodern Korea. See King, “Ditching Diglossia.”

<sup>254</sup> The chronology of Korean grammars will be introduced later in the chapter. Suffice it to say that the earliest “grammars” of Korean by Western missionaries were not comprehensive and displayed a fragmentary understanding of the language, often published more as introductions to bilingual dictionaries rather than grammars in the true sense of the word. The first grammars pretending to comprehensive treatments of the language were written by indigenous authors.



As Schmid points out, one of the most significant platforms for the discussion of issues related to language and modernization was the popular press. As a written medium at a time of low but expanding literacy and as-yet-unsettled orthographic conventions, newspapers served not only as forums for the exchange of ideas, but also tools for the spread of literacy, as well as experimental testing grounds for working through the technical issues associated with expressing intellectual arguments through vernacular writing, a completely new concept at this time. Although a variety of newspapers with diverse readerships called for a shift toward *kungmun* usage, in the 1890s no periodical practiced what they preached other than the short-lived *The Independent* (*Tongnip sinmun*). Published by the Korean reformer and Enlightenment-era intellectual Sō Chaep'il (Phillip Jaisohn, 1864-1951),<sup>255</sup> the paper called for and was the first to demonstrate a *kungmun*-only writing style in its pages, a practice that was light years ahead of any natural progression in orthographic practices at this time, the emergent standard increasingly being different varieties of *kukhanmun* style. The following excerpt from *The Independent's* inaugural issue encapsulates some of the major themes which came to characterize language status in the closing years of the nineteenth century:

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<sup>255</sup> Sō Chaep'il (1864-1951) was a champion of Korean independence and reform, a journalist, and the first Korean to become a naturalized citizen of the United States. Born to a *yangban* family, he passed the *munkwa* examination at the age of 18, one of the youngest Koreans ever to do so, and was appointed to government service. Thereafter in 1884 he traveled to Japan where he briefly studied at the Keio Academy (慶應義塾 Keiō Gijuku) founded by Japanese enlightenment thinker Fukuzawa Yukichi, a school where many of Korea's young reformers and intellectuals studied. After his involvement in the failed Kapsin coup in December of 1884, unlike others involved who fled to Japan, Sō traveled to the United States where he went on to graduate from George Washington University Medical School, the first Korean to receive a higher degree abroad. Following his pardon by the reformist government installed during the Sino-Japanese War and the Kabo Reforms, he returned to Korea and, refusing government posts, devoted his energy to educating the people politically through publication of *The Independent* and other activities carried out by the Independence Club (*Tongnip hyōphoe*). Sō was eventually pressured to return to the United States in 1898 on suspicion of attempting to replace the monarchy with a republic, the Independence Club was disbanded, and Sō continued intermittent independence-related activities in the United States.

Our newspaper utilizes not *hanmun* but *kungmun* alone, and this is to facilitate reading by all—high and low, precious and mean (*sangha kwich'ŏn* 上下貴賤)... In every country, men and women alike first become proficient in their own language, and only then do they learn a foreign language, but in Chosŏn because we do not learn our national writing but only *hanmun*, those well versed in *kungmun* are few in number. When comparing *kungmun* with *hanmun*, *kungmun* is superior firstly because it is easy to learn. Secondly, because it is the writing of Chosŏn, by using it in every way in place of *hanmun*, all people of Chosŏn, high-born and low-born alike, may read and understand it with ease. How lamentable it is that the people of Chosŏn, having developed the habit of using only *hanmun* and neglecting *kungmun*, are knowledgeable of *hanmun* yet ignorant of their own national script!... He who does not know *hanmun* is not ignorant; if he but knows *kungmun* alone and is learned and possesses worldly wisdom, he is indeed wiser and loftier than he who knows only *hanmun* and is ignorant of the world and other knowledge. As for the women of Chosŏn, if they are well versed in *kungmun* and possess every kind of worldly knowledge and learning and their opinions be refined and their comportment sincere, regardless of their station in life, they are indeed loftier than the nobleman (*kwijok namja*) who knows only *hanmun* and nothing of secular learning. The goal of our publication is to convey news and knowledge, both foreign and domestic, regardless of status or station, so that men and women of all ages and backgrounds may keep abreast daily, and in months' time new knowledge and understanding may emerge.<sup>256</sup>

The above editorial includes several of the arguments which characterized the language status issue in the 1890s. Firstly, the terminology used to refer to the writing systems—*hanmun* and *kungmun*—is deliberately chosen by the author in an effort to cast the choice of script within a nationalistic framework; the “*han*” (漢) of *hanmun* stands diametrically opposed to the indigeneity conveyed by the “*kuk*” (國) in *kungmun*. This dichotomy would not have been lost on the readership of *The Independent*, as this is one of the earliest occurrences of the term *kungmun* being used in reference to the Korean alphabet, the most accepted terminology at the time being *ŏnmun*. The author’s consistent employment of these terms was a clear attempt to nationalize the debate over writing through a demotion of China’s discursive centrality, a motif employed by various authors in the popular press as they discussed the issue of language status. Another notable element in this editorial is the repeated reference to the democratizing potential of the

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<sup>256</sup> Sŏ Chaep'il, “Nonsyŏl,” *Tongnip sinmun*, April 7, 1896, 1.

alphabet, an argument closely linked to the pedagogical possibilities of the script. *Kungmun* is presented as the leveling agent between not only classes (commoners and literati), but gender, age, and wealth. Significantly, the democratizing potential of *kungmun* is most potent when the script functions as a vessel for conveying new knowledge and “worldly wisdom.” In an oblique challenge to the monopoly of *hanmun* over the representation of academic knowledge and learning, and a further affront to the centrality of China and Sinitic learning, the author turns the premodern East Asian episteme on its head, claiming that the gaining of worldly knowledge and learning, regardless of the writing system, trumped knowledge of “true writing.” Whereas in the pre-modern Sino-centric episteme the “medium” of the sinograph was very much the “message” as well, and the vernacular script in the academic realm was utilized exclusively as a tool to facilitate access to ‘true’ knowledge in LS, here was the elevation of learning itself to the level of urgent task of the nation. Perhaps most importantly, however, was the role of newspapers in general, but especially *The Independent*, in not only generating discussion on such topics but also serving as a template for editorial, expository-style writing in *kungmun*, which was uncharted territory. As the last lines of the editorial claim, the hope of *The Independent*’s editors was to reach the masses daily through this democratic script, so that in months’ time new knowledge and understanding (*sae chigak kwa sae hangmun*) would actually be created.<sup>257</sup> This was a form of citizen’s education carried out in the public sphere, and as the first modern schools began to

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<sup>257</sup> The author also mentions the innovative use of word spacing as a technology for facilitating a wide readership, an argument which again encompasses some of the mechanical issues pertaining to language in pedagogy, discussed below.

emerge around this time, textbook compilers extended both this language ideology and its orthographic experimentalism into the curriculum.<sup>258</sup>

The arguments put forth in the above editorial overlap in many ways with the discourse on language and pedagogy, that is, the issue of language of instruction in modern schools. The debate over language status quickly evolved into a discussion of the best way to reform and standardize the vernacular to perform its newly appointed task of imparting new knowledge. In fact, the ‘debate’ over the status of *kungmun* and *hanmun* was scarcely a debate at all,<sup>259</sup> once the nationalistic ideology accruing to *kungmun* promotion gained traction among intellectuals and a newly-devised technology for rendering “vernacular” Korean emerged.<sup>260</sup> This new writing technology came to be termed *kukhanmun* (國漢文, Sino-Korean Mixed Script), and quickly

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<sup>258</sup> The first official Chosŏn-government textbook, the *Citizen’s Elementary Reader* (*Kungmin sohak tokpon* 1895), did not employ *kungmun*-only orthography, which was, as mentioned above, an extremely progressive form of writing for the time, far ahead any organic progression of writing practices. The textbook did however employ *kukhanmun* orthography, which was itself a dramatic break from accepted writing for conveying new knowledge, reflecting the reformist atmosphere of the day and the ascendance of vernacular in expository prose. The first textbook to employ *kungmun*-only orthography was *Samin p’ilchi* (Necessary Knowledge for Scholars and Commoners, 1890), a geography textbook produced by the Western missionary Homer Hulbert. I would argue that Hulbert’s choice to compose the textbook in *kungmun* reflected his Western language ideology on the proper place of vernacular in modern education. These textbooks will be analyzed in Chapter 4.

<sup>259</sup> See King, “Nationalism and Language Reform.” Schmid has pointed out that the conservative literati, a group still very much entrenched in the use of LS, were nearly silent in the face of mounting calls for the elevation of the alphabet and the demotion of *hanmun*, a position which he attributes to a certain apathy toward the issue. See Schmid, *Korea Between Empires*, 69-72.

<sup>260</sup> For a discussion of *kukhanmun* writing as a technology for imparting enlightenment and knowledge, and as a mediating *écriture* between intellectuals and the masses, see Hwang Hodök, *Kūndae neisyŏn kwa kū p’yosangdūl: T’aja, kyot’ong, pŏnyŏk, ek’ūrit’wirū* (Sŏul: Somyŏng ch’ulp’an, 2005). For an analysis of *kukhanmunch’e*, utilized in Yu Kilchun’s *Reader for Night School Laborers* as a specific mediating technology between capital and labor, see Hwang Hodök, “Chebon kwa ōno, Yu Kilchun ūi *Nodong yahak tokpon* ūi nodong kaenyŏm kwa munch’e ūi t’ek’ūnolloji: T’ongch’i, kyemong, chihwi ūi kyŏlhap kwan’gye rŭl chungsim ūro” *Kaenyŏm kwa sot’ong* 14, no. 12 (2014): 95-135.

gained ascendancy in the first decade of the twentieth century, so much so that starting in 1895 Chosŏn government-produced textbooks for primary schools began to employ this writing style.<sup>261</sup> *Kukhanmun* was seen as an “academic” style acceptable to both the literati and reform-minded populists, an acceptable compromise between the increasingly antiquated LS and the still unsettled and iconoclastic *kungmun*-only option.<sup>262</sup> Therefore, while *The Independent* took the lead both discursively and mechanically in calling for the promotion of *kungmun* with its *han’gŭl*-only policy, expository Korean prose quickly became equated with *kukhanmun* writing style.<sup>263</sup> This is not to say that there were not those who advocated *kungmun*-only orthography, albeit expressing their arguments largely in *kukhanmun*. Yu Kilchun, credited as the pioneer of *kukhanmun* in expository prose, explained his reasoning behind using this novel writing style in his introduction to his influential *Sŏyu kyŏnmun* (Things Seen and Heard in the West 西遊見聞). In response to a hypothetical critic of his book inquiring why he chose to write in this “mixture

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<sup>261</sup> While Leighanne Yuh points out that the sinographs used in this textbook and the distribution of schools utilizing the text in areas heavily populated by *yangban* families suggests a writing style that targeted those already literate to some extent in LS, the utilization of this writing style in mass-produced, officially sanctioned textbooks less than a decade after its development by Yu Kilchun demonstrates the rapidity with which this new technology gained currency in pedagogical application. See Yuh, “Moral Education, Modernization Imperatives, and the *People’s Elementary Reader* (1895): Accommodation in the Early History of Modern Education in Korea,” *Acta Koreana* 18, no. 2 (2015): 327-55.

<sup>262</sup> See for example “Sasŏl,” *Hwangsŏng sinmun*, September 5, (1898), where the author claims that *kukhanmun* is an excellent way of combining the writing bestowed by Kija with that created by the venerated King Sejong to produce a form of writing that is both practical and elegant.

<sup>263</sup> This is not to suggest that *kukhanmun* itself was a homogenous form of writing. There was considerable variation within this style of writing alone, ranging from *hyŏnt’o*-style notation akin to premodern annotations of the Classics at the least vernacularized end of the spectrum to a much more vernacularized style that retained individual sinographs only in the form of nouns and verbal nouns. Unless further elaboration is needed, in this present discussion *kukhanmun* will refer to this entire spectrum of writing styles. In the following chapter I will differentiate between the different styles of *kukhanmun* in greater detail.

of our writing and sinographs that is beyond the purview of cultured men,”<sup>264</sup> a writing style that would “draw the ridicule and scorn of discerning individuals,” Yu replied:

There are reasons why I did this. Firstly, my principle aim was to convey the meaning plainly in spoken style so that even a semi-literate individual (*yakhae hǎnŭn cha* 畧解 亨者) would be able to understand it with ease. Secondly, I am not well read and therefore inexperienced in the ways of writing.<sup>265</sup> Therefore, I did this for ease in record-keeping. Third, this was to be a concise yet clear record, imitating approximately the annotations and explications of the *Seven Classics* (*Ch’ilsǒ ōnhae* 七書諺解).<sup>266</sup> In addition, looking at the countries of the world, each country’s language is different, and so each script is different. Generally speaking, speech is the vocal manifestation of one’s thoughts, and writing the shape of those thoughts. Therefore, looking at speech and writing separately they are two, but combine them and they become one.

Our country’s script was created by our King Sejong the Great, while Chinese characters we use along with China, but actually I find it dissatisfying that we cannot use surely our own writing exclusively. Having already established diplomatic relations with various foreign countries [people], it will not do if the real circumstances of all these people—old and young, rich and poor—remain unknown to us. So rather than getting our

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<sup>264</sup> “我文과漢字의混用함이文家の軌度を越亨야.”

<sup>265</sup> This is much more likely a perfunctory expression of Confucian modesty regarding one’s literary talents than an actual assessment of his literary prowess, given Yu’s first-class placement in the provincial civil service examination (*hyangsi kap kūpche* 鄉試 甲及第) and his years of study for the higher-level *kwagǒ* examination. Yu’s choice of writing style is more likely connected to his criticism of the examination system and his exposure to Japanese and Western writing practices in his time spent studying in Japan and the United States.

<sup>266</sup> Here Yu is referring to the tradition of *ōnhaebon* (諺解本), or vernacular exegeses of the Confucian canon, in this case the *Four Books* (*Sasǒ*) and *Three Classics* (*Samgyǒng*) published by the Kyojǒngch’ǒng (校正廳) in 1588, a government office set up by order of King Sǒnjo in 1585. Unlike modern “translations,” however, *ōnhae* editions employed a dual glossing technique, where alternating and corresponding chunks of text were presented, with one chunk offering the vernacular readings of sinographs after the characters, connected by minimal conjunctions and particles written in the alphabet, while the other contained explications of terms and concepts in a language approaching the vernacular register, but still retaining sinographic vocabulary and relying on the LS text as the source of meaning and knowledge. Yu’s method, however, was revolutionary in that the text was not a translation or even an explication of an LS text, but rather the conveyance of new knowledge. The *ōnhae* precedent, however divergent, may have nevertheless facilitated the rapid adoption of *kukhanmun*. Yu may simply have been attempting to obscure Japanese inspiration in adapting such a practice, but I have been unable to uncover any direct evidence to that effect.

signals crossed communicating our situation through awkward, coarse Chinese characters in complex Chinese writing, I think it more proper to express our true selves the way we are, through fluent writing and familiar speech.<sup>267</sup>

Thus, even from the earliest stages of *kukhanmun* usage there were those who acknowledged the logical conclusion of the shift away from *hanmun*—the eventual usage of *kungmun* only—while nevertheless acquiescing to the ‘next best thing’ in light of the underdeveloped state of *kungmun* as a vessel of new knowledge conveyance and the intransigence of the literati class. The debate over language in pedagogy, while delineated at one extreme by the ideological ideal of *kungmun*-only, was primarily concerned with the Korean language expressed through the new technology of *kukhanmun*, the writing system of the popular press and school textbooks. Reformation of *kungmun*, such as the unification of the spoken and written (*ŏnmun ilch’i*) and orthographical standardization, had as much to do with working out the kinks in a *kukhanmun* text as it did with a work of fiction in pure *kungmun*.<sup>268</sup> Importantly, the linkage between the emerging modern education system and the newly legitimized Korean writing system (*kukhanmun*) was one of the impetuses that propelled the debate over language in pedagogy. As a growing number of reform-minded Koreans threw their support behind modern education—especially following the discontinuance of the *kwagŏ* examinations—attention soon turned to the chaotic state of vernacular Korean and the need to “prepare” the language for the task of embodying “civilization and enlightenment” (*munmyŏng kaehwa* 文明開化) as the medium of instruction for the next generation. Korean intellectuals, however, were not the only

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<sup>267</sup> Yu Kilchun, “Sŏyu kyŏnmun Sŏ,” *Sŏyu kyŏnmun* (1895), 7-8.

<sup>268</sup> Indeed, many experimental forms of *kukhanmun* were floated in the first decade of the twentieth century, including in the novel “Hyŏl ūi nu” (Tears of Blood), serialized in the periodical *Mansebo*. This and other forms of *kukhanmun* will be explored in detail in the following chapter.

voices decrying the ‘backwardness’ and ‘ill-suited’ nature of the language to the task of modernity; Japanese and Western intellectuals likewise contributed to the discursive othering of Korean based on Western linguistic theories and the logic of translational equivalence, a process which influenced the direction of Korean language modernization.<sup>269</sup>

With the publication of Japanese-language textbooks during the colonial period<sup>270</sup> and the compartmentalization of Korean into Chosŏno/Chōsengo class through language curricularization, these language ideologies related to Korean came to be normalized and legitimized through mass inculcation. This process of language curricularization was revealing in that it demonstrated the Japanese imperial language ideology<sup>271</sup> in curricular form: the Japanese language became the language of instruction throughout the curriculum, as it was deemed the ‘national language’ and the ideal medium of modern knowledge conveyance, while Korean (*Chosŏnŏ*) was limited to ‘Korean’ language class along with *hanmun* (*Chosŏnŏ mit hanmun*), being associated with a premodern and ‘antiquated’ episteme. As James Blaut explains, “[t]extbooks are an important window into a culture; more than just books, they are semiofficial statements of exactly what the opinion-forming elite of the culture want the educated youth of that culture to believe to be true

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<sup>269</sup> For a discussion of these discourses, see Hwang and Yi, *Kaenyŏm kwa yŏksa*. The missionary discourses on the Korean language will be analyzed in depth throughout this chapter.

<sup>270</sup> Japanese language textbooks for usage by Korean students began publication even before annexation with the publication in 1907 of the *Elementary Japanese Reader* (*Pot’ong hakkyo Irŏ tokpon* 普通學校日語讀本) by the Korean Ministry of Education (*Hakpu*) under the influence of the Residency General (T’onggambu). See Andrew Hall, “First Steps Toward Assimilation: Japanese-Run Education in Korea, 1905-1910,” *Acta Koreana* 18, no. 2 (December 2015): 357-391.

<sup>271</sup> Yasuda Toshiaki refers to this phenomenon as the Japanese imperial language configuration (*teikoku Nihon no gengo hensei*), a concept that I take up in more detail in Chapter 5. See Yasuda Toshiaki (安田敏朗), *Teikoku Nihon no gengo hensei* (Tōkyō: Seori shōbō, 1997).



about the past and present world.”<sup>272</sup> Although assimilationist rhetoric did characterize colonial-era textbooks, a phenomenon that has been analyzed in much previous research,<sup>273</sup> in this case it was the form of the curriculum itself as well as the orthographic and grammatical principles found in the textbooks that revealed what the “opinion-forming elite” wanted the “educated youth of the culture to believe” about modern linguistic practice. The curricularization of languages in public schools represented an extremely significant development in language policy and planning inspired by colonial language ideologies. Whereas in the preceding generation *hanmun* had experienced a demotion and *kungmun* a promotion through a broader process of decentering China, through colonial language policy implementation both Korean and *hanmun* were demoted in favor of the Japanese language, a policy which would have far-reaching repercussions for literacy development in colonial Korea.<sup>274</sup>

In the following section I will discuss briefly the diversification of the education system in Enlightenment-era Korea, specifically the position of missionary education and so-called “Western learning.” Following that I will analyze the discourses by Western missionaries and

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<sup>272</sup> James Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History* (New York: Guilford University Press, 1993), 6.

<sup>273</sup> Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Korea*; Dong, “A Study in Assimilation”; Henry, *Assimilating Seoul*; Michael Robinson, *Cultural nationalism in colonial Korea, 1920 – 1925* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988); Ha Yong Chool, “Colonial Rule and Social Change in Korea: The Paradox of Colonial Control,” in *Colonial Rule and Social Change in Korea, 1910 – 1945*, Hong Yung Lee, Yung Chool Ha and Clark W. Sorenson ed, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013), 39-75; Suyō yōksa yōn'guhoe, *Singminji tonghwa chōngch'aek hyōmnyōk kūrigo insik: Ilche ūi singminji chibae chōngch'aek kwa Maeil sinbo 1920-30nyōndae* (Sōul: Turi midio, 2007); Kim Sunjōn and Cho Sōngjin, “Ilcheha Chosōn kyoyuk ūi hyōnsang k wa chanjae: Tonghwa wa ch'abyōl ūl chungsim ūro,” in *Cheguk ūi singminji susin: Chosōn Ch'ongdokpu p'yōnch'an “susinsō” yōn'gu* (Sōul: Chei aen Ssi, 2008), 251-82. Kuksa p'yōnch'an wiwōnhoe, *Paeum kwa karūch'im ūi kkūt ōmnūn yōlchōng* (Sōul: Tusan tonga, 2005).

<sup>274</sup> This is an issue that will be taken up in Chapter 5.

Korean intellectuals on language status and language in pedagogy and how this ideological matrix informed the direction of language reform and standardization in terms of orthographic practice, semantics, and unification of spoken and written language in textbook compilation. Moreover, I suggest that the direction of this reform, influenced unproblematically by the Japanese model in pre-colonial Korea, converged with Japanese writing practices and reinforced Japanese literacy uptake through the assimilating tendencies of the colonial education regime.

## 2.2 Previous Scholarship on Late-Chosŏn Education

Although a comprehensive treatment of the history of education in Korea has yet to appear in English, a number of Korean-language works on the subject have been published beginning in the 1980s, most of which deal not with the history of education in its entirety, but rather focus on the reform of the late-Chosŏn education system in the post-enlightenment era.<sup>275</sup>

Research on “modern” education<sup>276</sup> from roughly the opening of ports to Japan following the Kanghwa Treaty and the arrival of Western missionaries in the 1880s tends to divide the

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<sup>275</sup> Kim Yongjin, *Han’guk kyoyuksa* (Sŏul: Sungmyŏng yŏja taehakkyo ch’ulp’anbu, 1984); Kwŏn Nagwŏn and Son Insu, *Han’guk ūi kyoyukhak kwa kyoyuksa* (Sŏul: Han’guk kyoyukhak kyosu hyŏbŭihoe, 2011); Kim Sŏnyang, *Kyoyuksa* (P’aju: Han’guk haksul chŏngbo, 2011); Son, *Han’guk kyoyuksa yŏn’gu*; An Kwidŏk, *Han’guk kŭnhyŏndae kyoyuksa* (Sŏngnam: Han’guk chŏngsin munhwa yŏn’guwŏn, 1995); Chŏng Chaegŏl and Yi Hyeyŏng, *Han’guk kŭndae hakkyo kyoyuk 100nyŏnsa yŏn’gu* (Sŏul: Han’guk kyoyuk kaebarwŏn, 1994); Chŏng, *Han’guk kyoyuk 100nyŏnsa*.

<sup>276</sup> Kwŏn and Son provide a definition of “*sin kyoyuk*,” or new education that may serve as a helpful reference for “modern education” as it is described here: “‘*Sin kyoyuk*’ or modern education [*kŭndae kyoyuk*] is what we often refer to as enlightenment education [*kaehwa kyoyuk*]. Namely, it is education which attempted to sweep away old-style learning that centered around schools devoted to Sinitic knowledge and traditional Confucian education and instead worked toward adapting new Western culture. Kwŏn and Son, *Han’guk ūi kyoyukhak kwa kyoyuksa*, 823. I would add that a critical component of “modern education” as it should be understood here is a curriculum that included material beyond the purview of the *kwagŏ* examinations—subject matter that would have been completely unknown or else regarded as heterodox or extraneous in the pre-modern period.

education system into three parts for purposes of analysis: Chosŏn government education, missionary education, and private, indigenous education. For example, although Chŏng Chaegŏl and Yi Hyeyŏng begin their study of a century of “modern education” (*kŭndae kyoyuk*) in Korea with the Chosŏn government-initiated Kabo Reforms which, according to them, aimed to “establish a widespread system of modern elementary education among the people and to rapidly foster human resources for the modern reform of the state,” they insist that an analysis limited to government actions on reform education is insufficient.<sup>277</sup> Rather, in order to understand the purpose of modern schooling, the three forces which fundamentally shaped the modern education system—the government-initiated public schools (*kwan’gongnip hakkyo*), indigenous private schools (*minjokkye sarip hakkyo*), and Christian private schools (*kidokkyogyae sarip hakkyo*)—must be analyzed.<sup>278</sup> Chŏng and Yi conclude that government and indigenous private schools alike following the Kabo Reforms were united in their goal to “train personnel steeped in modern knowledge and to foster patriotism and national consciousness for the protection of sovereign rights,” but that following the Ŭlsa Protectorate Treaty of 1905 the encroachment of Japanese political authority began to erode the sovereignty of Chosŏn government schools, leaving the mantle of nationalistic education to indigenous, private schools.<sup>279</sup> On the other hand, missionary schools, although established in order to produce educated, “enlightened individuals” (*kyoyangin* 教養人), were fundamentally limited in providing enlightened education due to their primary dependence on religious instruction and material.<sup>280</sup>

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<sup>277</sup> Chŏng and Yi, *Han’guk kŭndae hakkyo kyoyuk 100nyŏnsa yŏn’gu*, i; 41.

<sup>278</sup> Chŏng and Yi, *Han’guk kŭndae kyoyuk 100nyŏnsa yŏn’gu*.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*, 52-53.

<sup>280</sup> *Ibid.*

In a thorough, comprehensive recent treatment of the history of education in Korea, Kwŏn Nagwŏn and Son Insu also divide the modern education system during enlightenment-period Korea into government, indigenous, and missionary schools. Much like Chŏng and Yi, Kwŏn and Son similarly note the erosion of autonomy in government schools following the protectorate. However, they point out a simultaneous shift in the character of indigenous private schools following this treaty, from simply providing enlightenment education to protecting the nation and promoting the independence movement.<sup>281</sup> Kwŏn and Son give a similarly positive appraisal of both government and private indigenous schools, crediting them with “establishing a new system of morals/ethics,” “dispelling superstitions,” “reforming the feudalistic class structure,” “strengthening the nation and enlightening the populace,” and “protecting the nation and fostering a sense of patriotism.”<sup>282</sup> Significantly, the contributions of missionary schools are included in the above list, and the legacy of Christian education more generally is quite positively and thoroughly evaluated. Although acknowledging the religious and evangelical nature of missionary education, Kwŏn and Son nonetheless credit such schools with introducing knowledge from the West, instilling a more democratic mentality, and stimulating a more autonomous spirit, among other contributions.<sup>283</sup> On the other hand, Kwŏn and Son emphasize, as many scholars do, the indigenous provenance of “modern” education, giving considerable treatment to the Wŏnsan School and arguing as Leighanne Yuh does that the reformed curriculum and indeed the school itself was the result not of government initiative or missionary

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<sup>281</sup> Kwŏn and Son, *Han’guk ũi kyoyukhak kwa kyoyuksa*, 878.

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid*, 880.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid*, 847.

stimulus but rather of a grass-roots response to a perceived need for alternative knowledge propagation.<sup>284</sup>

Other research on early modern education in Korea has been less generous in its appraisal of the missionary impact both qualitatively and quantitatively, tending instead to emphasize the indigenous contribution to establishing a new education system. For example, Chōng Wōnsik and Sin Sech'e highlight specific events in the history of Korean education from 1880-1999 from a largely nationalistic perspective through a series of isolated events; the in-depth treatment of events such as the opening of the first indigenous modern school tends to preclude a more comprehensive analysis of various forces at work in forming modern education, and the presentation of developments in education in a series of discrete 'episodes' (*sakōn*) prevents the establishment of larger historical connections. The missionary contribution is nevertheless acknowledged in this and almost all research on early modern education, although most scholars rightfully critique the disparate motivations at work in missionary education, which resulted in a form of schooling with important divergences from indigenous and pre-protectorate government schools.

However, dividing enlightenment-era education into three discrete streams may run the risk of overlooking critical sites of interaction, mutual contestation, and hybridization of discourse as well as cultural, social and linguistic practices. In order to approach Korean intellectuals' engagement with Western thinking, it is important to consider their perception of religion in the Western episteme, or knowledge system, because this view of religion permeated more broadly their approach to and adaptation of Western thought. Much recent scholarship has

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<sup>284</sup> Yuh, Kwōn and Son argue that this school sprang up in the port city of Wōnsan in response to the recent opening of Wōnsan to Japanese commercial activity. See Yuh, "The Struggle for Power."

examined this phenomenon, and one recurrent theme that emerges is the tendency for Korean intellectuals to merge Western religion and thought, modernization, and global supremacy.<sup>285</sup> Although the link between military might and Western religion becomes more explicitly articulated with the rise of Protestantism and the spread of colonialism into East Asia from the second half of the nineteenth century, Catholicism was from its initial penetration of Chosŏn intellectual circles associated with the overall Western episteme and certain technological advancements of the West. The term applied to Catholicism itself, *Sŏhak* or Western Learning, suggested the centrality of this new philosophy to Western thought in the minds of Korean intellectuals. Indeed, the *Tonghak* (Eastern Learning) Rebellion (1894-1895) was formed in direct response to and in consultation with *Sŏhak*, assimilating many of its discourses on equality and deity individualization while paradoxically extolling xenophobic views toward foreigners.<sup>286</sup> However, early engagement with Catholic doctrine did not necessarily entail wholesale adoption of all tenets of Catholicism, just as earlier challenges to Neo-Confucian orthodoxy did not entirely reject the philosophy they were criticizing. Scholars such as Chŏng Yagyong used elements of Catholicism to bolster their own Confucian beliefs, rather than undermine them, and he and others would at times consciously conceal or sublimate unorthodox ideas and forgo

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<sup>285</sup> Evidence for this can be found in the following works: Jang Sukman, "Protestantism in the Name of Modern Civilization," *Korea Journal* 39, no. 4 (Winter 1999): 187-204; Vipan Chandra, *Imperialism, Resistance, and Reform in Late Nineteenth-Century Korea: Enlightenment and the Independence Club* (Berkeley: University of California, Institute of East Asian Studies, and Center for Korean Studies, 1988); Kim Yunseong, "Protestant Mission as Cultural Imperialism in Early Modern Korea: Hegemony and its Discontents," *Korea Journal* 39, no. 4 (Winter 1999): 205-234; Franklin Rausch, "Saving Knowledge: Catholic Educational Policy in the Late Chosŏn Dynasty," *Acta Koreana* 11, no. 3 (Dec 2008): 47-85; Vladimir Tikhonov, *Social Darwinism and Nationalism in Korea: The Beginnings, 1883-1910: Survival as an Ideology of Korean Modernity* (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2010).

<sup>286</sup> Chandra, *Enlightenment and the Independence Club*.

“licentious practices” (*ũmsa* 淫事) that clearly contravened the legitimacy of Confucianism, namely the displacement of royal authority by divine (*ch’õnju* 天主) and the burning of spirit tablets.<sup>287</sup> Despite the early attempts by Korean ‘dabblers’ in Catholicism to adapt the religion to their Confucian worldview, papal restrictions on equating the Confucian god (*sangje* 上帝) with the Catholic God as well as strict prohibitions against ancestor memorial rites soon brought the divisions between Catholicism and Confucianism into relief and eventually erupted into a series of violent persecutions, driving the religion out of elite circles and into hiding within lower classes.<sup>288</sup>

Prior to this ‘vernacularization’ of Catholicism<sup>289</sup>, in the process of interaction with *Sõhak* texts, certain literati were able to perceive Western superiority in scientific matters such as mathematics and astronomy, even if they dismissed talk of “God and spirits.”<sup>290</sup> The association of the West with technological accomplishments resurfaced in the so-called “Eastern Way, Western Technology” (*Tongdo, sõgi* 東道西機) movement. Based on the somewhat vague

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<sup>287</sup> Donald Baker, “A Different Thread: Orthodoxy, Heterodoxy, and Catholicism in a Confucian World,” in *Culture and the State in Late Chosõn Korea*, ed. JaHyun Kim Haboush and Martina Deuchler (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999), 199-230; 217.

<sup>288</sup> The refusal of certain early Catholic converts to customize Catholic doctrine to the dictates of Confucianism can be seen through the trial of Yun Chich’ung (Paul Yun), detailed in Baker, “A Different Thread.”

<sup>289</sup> This is vernacularization both in the linguistic sense and in the sense of popularization, yet it was not truly a popularization, in that Catholicism remained confined to certain alienated villages and communities, checked by violent suppression that continued until the mid-nineteenth century. For accounts of this suppression, see Gari Ledyard, “Kollumba Kang Wansuk, an Early Catholic Activist and Martyr,” in *Christianity in Korea*, ed. Robert Buswell (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008); Pierre-Emmanuel Roux, “The Great Ming Code and the Repression of Catholics in Chosõn Korea,” *Acta Koreana* 15, no. 1 (June 2012): 73-106.

<sup>290</sup> For an examination of early Chosõn literati engagement with *Sõhak* texts, see Rausch, “Saving Knowledge,” *Acta Koreana* 11, no. 3 (Dec 2008): 47-85.

background knowledge of the West that had been diffused through earlier *Sōhak* texts, and inspired more concretely by China's recent self-strengthening campaign in the 1860's, this movement which began to take shape in the 1880's came to dominate the Chosŏn government with the rise of Qing influence on the peninsula in the wake of the failed 1884 coup d'état attempt, which discredited the Enlightenment Party and the Japanese reform model it represented.<sup>291</sup> Much as Chŏng Yagyong had sought to appropriate elements of *Sōhak* to buttress his own Confucian philosophy, this movement called for the adoption of Western technology in order to defend a Confucian order that was perceived as morally superior to the West. However, there is the perception that the "Eastern Way, Western Technology" approach was inherently limited because "it was unable to perceive that the real source of Western strength lay not just in the factories that produced great ships and powerful weapons, but in the social, economic, and philosophical institutions that made those factories possible."<sup>292</sup> This movement was dealt a serious blow with Qing's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and its subsequent decline in influence and prestige on the peninsula.<sup>293</sup>

It was during the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century when discourses on the convergence of Western religion, thought, and global

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<sup>291</sup> John Duncan, "The Confucian Context of Reform," in Kim Dongno, John B. Duncan and Kim Tohyŏng ed. *Reform and Modernity in the Taehan Empire* (Seoul: Jimoondang, 2006), 105-25; 114. For a detailed look at Qing ascendancy on the Korean peninsula in the 1880's as an example of semi-colonialism, see Kirk Larsen, *Tradition, Treaties, and Trade: Qing Imperialism and Chosŏn Korea, 1850-1910* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008).

<sup>292</sup> Duncan, "The Confucian Context of Reform," 115.

<sup>293</sup> Andre Schmid contends that Qing's defeat was a key factor precipitating the "decentering of China," a process of reexamining Korea's historical relationship with China and breaking with the "transnational culturalism of the East Asian past." Schmid, *Korea between Empires*. Kirk Larsen points out, however, the lasting presence of Qing influence in matters of trade even after its 1895 defeat. Larsen, *Tradition, Treaties, and Trade*.



supremacy began to solidify. The most decisive reasons for the implantation and spread of such discourses was the establishment of modern schools featuring expanded curricula—both missionary schools and indigenous schools with non-traditional subjects—and direct Korean experience with overseas life and education through study abroad. Vipin Chandra, in his examination of the Independence Club (Tongnip hyöphoe), a reform-oriented organization formed in the late 1890's composed of progressive government ministers and intellectuals, demonstrates the effect of Western education in the internalization of a discursive matrix of Christianity and Western cultural and political superiority.<sup>294</sup> The reformist government minister and Enlightenment Party (*Kaehwadang*) leader Kim Okkyun (金玉均, 1851-1894), in a memorial that he was to address to Kojong in 1886 and penned while in exile in Japan after the failed Kapsin coup, denounced the “essence of Korea’s Neo-Confucian heritage,” called for innovations in the political system, and urged religious tolerance.<sup>295</sup> Kim wrote:

Now that all the countries of the world are stressing commerce and competing with each other... it would be tantamount to waiting for the fall of the country not to make a strenuous effort to eliminate the *yangban* system and destroy the source of its evils. Your Majesty is asked to reconsider this point seriously... to abolish the practice of holding good lineage in esteem, to solidify the foundation of power centralization by appointing able persons, to win popular trust, to exploit human wisdom by establishing schools everywhere, and to enlighten the people by introducing a foreign religion.<sup>296</sup>

Chandra, following Andrew C. Nahm and Sin Yong-Ha, claims that Kim wanted the throne to officially patronize and encourage this “foreign religion” not for theological reasons—Kim was a devout Buddhist—but because “he believed, as did many Japanese, that the prosperity

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<sup>294</sup> Chandra, *Enlightenment and the Independence Club*.

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid*, 45-46.

<sup>296</sup> Quoted in *Ibid*, 45.

of the West was related to Christianity.”<sup>297</sup> Kim, who had studied at Tokyo’s Keio Academy under the guidance of the iconoclastic and multi-faceted Fukuzawa Yukichi, realized the importance of Western knowledge and education in combating the damaging legacy of Confucianism, which held “good lineage in esteem” and maintained the social hierarchy of the “*yangban* system.” For Kim, Christianity was part and parcel of the fabric of Western thought, a tool capable of “enlightening” the people. Pak Yŏnghyo (朴泳孝, 1861-1939), another member of the Enlightenment Party and the son-in-law of King Ch’ŏlchong (r. 1849-1864), took advantage of his exile in Tokyo due to his connection with the Kapsin coup to study Japan’s modernization efforts first-hand and travel briefly to America.<sup>298</sup> While studying English at Tokyo’s Meiji Gakuin, a Protestant School, Pak reportedly told an American acquaintance the following:

Our people need education and Christianity. Your missionaries and mission schools can educate and improve our people... As the foundation of the existing religions is weak, the door is now wide open for the conversion of our people to Christianity... It is necessary for our people to receive education and convert to Christianity before legislative reform. Through this process alone will our people be able to establish a constitutional government and create as free and enlightened a country as yours in the future.<sup>299</sup>

Pak’s statement reveals several aspects of his and other intellectuals’ perspective on Christianity, the West, and modernization. First, we see an ardent desire for the unbridled spread of Christianity in Korea. Second, Pak’s statement shows evidence of a disdain for “existing religions” in Korea, and a hint of religious competitiveness perhaps influenced by a Social Darwinist outlook. Third, Christianity is closely linked to modern education and the

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<sup>297</sup> Ibid, 46.

<sup>298</sup> Chandra, Enlightenment and the Independence Club, 63.

<sup>299</sup> Quoted in Ibid.

“improvement” of the people. Finally and most intriguingly, the matrix of modern education and Western religion is presented as the only path to *political* strength (legislative reform) and a “free and enlightened country.” Thus, Pak argues that conversion to Christianity and reception of a Christian, modern education are prerequisites for the establishment of a strong state politically and the displacing of weak indigenous religions in a Social Darwinian struggle for supremacy.

Other contemporaries of Kim and Pak expressed their belief in the intersection of Christianity, Western ascendance, and modernization more forcefully and zealously, which likewise entailed the denunciation of Korean religions. For example, the political activists and Independence Club leaders Yun Ch’iho (尹致昊, 1864-1945) and Sŏ Chaep’il, perhaps the best known reform-minded intellectuals of this period, wrote of the civilizational gap between East and West in stark terms. Both highly-educated with extensive experience in the West and cosmopolitan professional lives, their iconoclastic positions at the vanguard of philosophical and personal contact with the West deeply informed their own *weltanschauung*—they became estranged from indigenous religions and practices and came to contribute to the formation of a Christianity-modernity discursive matrix. In his 1895 polemic against Confucianism entitled “What has Confucianism Done for Korea,” Yun writes:

What Korea may have done without Confucian teaching, nobody can tell. But what Korea is with them we too well know. Behold Korea, with her oppressed masses, her general poverty, [her] treacherous and cruel offices, her dirt and filth, her degraded women, her blighted families—behold all this and judge for yourselves what Confucianism has done for Korea.<sup>300</sup>

In contrast to the degradation wrought by the Confucian legacy, Yun’s evaluation of Western religion and its role in the might of a nation is unflinchingly positive. Writing in his

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<sup>300</sup> Ibid, 95.

diary,<sup>301</sup> his worldview sounds triumphalist tones of Western moral and military superiority, highly influenced by Social Darwinist thought:

We cannot say ‘might is right’ in the overthrow of one nation by another *unless* the conquered is better in morals, religion, and intelligence, therefore more *right* than the conqueror... But we find the stronger has been almost always better or less corrupted in morals, religion and politics than the weaker... Thus what seems to be a triumph of might over right is but a triumph of comparative—I do not say absolute—right over comparative wrong.”<sup>302</sup>

When juxtaposed with Yun’s above view of the corrupted state of Confucianism and the political institutions it had engendered, the fate of “weaker” Korea at the hands of a “stronger” West “less corrupted in morals, religion and politics” was clear in Yun’s mind. The views expressed by Yun here are important not only because they provide a glimpse into an influential and charismatic early reformer, but also in that they signal the philosophical direction that an increasing number of Western-educated Korean intellectuals would take with the spread of modern education—government-initiated, missionary, private, and later Japanese public—and the solidifying of the Christianity-modernization matrix. Sō Chaep’il similarly expressed hope for the benefits that a Western, Christian education would provide his country, benefits that seemed all the more crucial after his lengthy stay in the ‘enlightened’ United States. Writing in 1895 after his return to Seoul following his pardon for involvement in the 1884 coup, Sō wrote, “When [the] young generation absorbs the new ideas and trains itself in Christian civilization,

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<sup>301</sup> Although the analysis of such sundry writings as diaries presents a number of limitations, it is useful in understanding Yun’s personal growth and philosophical negotiation with the modernist paradigm that he encountered during a crucial period in Korea’s history. Yun’s particular diary also offers an intriguing glimpse into his own personal evolution in language and *écriture*, writing in Literary Sinitic (January 1, 1883-November 24, 1887) before shifting to *kungmun* (November 25, 1887-December 7, 1889) and finally to English (December 7, 1889~).

<sup>302</sup> “The Diary of Yun Ch’iho,” October 20, 1892, quoted in Kenneth M. Wells, “Yun Chi-ho and the Quest for National Integrity: The Formation of a Christian Approach to Korean Nationalism at the End of the Chosŏn Dynasty,” *Korea Journal* 22, no. 1 (Jan 1982): 42-59; 47.

nobody knows what blessings are in store for Korea and what blossoms may bloom in the national life of this cheerless country.”<sup>303</sup>

For all of the virulent attacks on hackneyed traditions and hoary religions perceived to be ill-suited to the formation of the modern state, the Neo-Confucian episteme continued to hold sway over the general discourse of reform, if only as a foil for modernization as in Yun’s case. While the fact that certain Korean intellectuals in the late nineteenth century began to attack the very foundations of Neo-Confucian morality and claims to legitimacy whereas the preceding *Tongdo sŏgi* advocates had tried to salvage Neo-Confucian morality while championing Western military superiority represented a certain discursive shift, this was nonetheless a shift at the periphery. Most Korean literati at this time, even those explicitly opposed to Neo-Confucian thought and the ‘backward’ practices it generated, nevertheless received a classical Confucian education and remained grounded in a broadly Confucian intellectual paradigm. Korean reformers almost unanimously pointed to the transformative nature of education as one of the best means to modernize and improve the country, itself a fundamentally Confucian concept where the good of the state (and later nation-state) was placed ahead of cosmic moral norms in a sort of “politicization of ethics,” to borrow Vladimir Tikhonov’s words.<sup>304</sup> It is clear, however, that there was a gathering consensus among reform-minded Koreans during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that some intrinsic connection existed between Christianity, modernization, and the rise of the West, the most compelling example of which was the spread of colonialism into East Asia. The critical vector in the dissemination and concretization of this discourse was the propagation of modern education and direct contact with the West through

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<sup>303</sup> Quoted in Chandra, *Enlightenment and the Independence Club*, 105.

<sup>304</sup> Tikhonov, *Social Darwinism and Nationalism in Korea*, 198.

study abroad. This discourse was not implanted and disseminated by missionary schools alone, but was appropriated and indigenized through a more general exposure to a wider curriculum and deeper knowledge of the Western world.

How then did this way of thinking about the West emerge? Part of the explanation may be found in the nature and role of Neo-Confucianism in politics and the late-Chosŏn state. As Tikhonov explains, Neo-Confucian statecraft involved following certain universal ethics that naturally resulted in correct conduct and proper government—in other words, the “ethicizing of politics.”<sup>305</sup> As Western discourses on ‘religion’ began to permeate Korea and Protestantism emerged as the standard-bearer, mainly due to its higher visibility in ‘modern’ institutions like schools and hospitals, an “internalization of Protestantism as the standard for defining religion”<sup>306</sup> began to take shape informed by the logic of translational equivalence. However, while some authors have noted only this projection of Western religious discourse onto the Korean episteme, I argue that there was a concomitant and at times contestative projection of Neo-Confucian attributes onto Western religion once Confucianism came to be understood as a ‘religion’ according to this same logical equivalence. Thus, from a Neo-Confucian tradition where sacrosanct norms took precedence and ‘ethicized politics’ essentially defined government, the ethics and teachings of Christianity would have appeared inseparable from Western political institutions and hence current global supremacy. If Western religious discourse placed Confucianism in an inferior position within the pantheon of world religions (if at all), viewing it as more of a system of social ethics and governing philosophy than a ‘religion,’ then those steeped in the Confucian episteme would have similarly interpreted Christianity within the same

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<sup>305</sup> Tikhonov, *Social Darwinism and Nationalism in Korea*, 198.

<sup>306</sup> Jang, “Protestantism in the Name of Modern Civilization.” See also Kim, “Protestant Missions as Cultural Imperialism.”

philosophical framework—a system of social ethics which took center stage in Western political systems as well and helped to explain the global ascendancy of its adherents.

However, the projecting of aspects of Confucianism onto the West was not the only reason for the convergence of Western religion and modernization in the minds of Korean intellectuals. There was also a tendency to regard Christianity as being at the vanguard of modernism and progressivism, a notion that seems inimical to contemporary views in the West of religion as the antithesis of progress. Kim Yunseong maintains the dual nature of evangelical Protestantism in the Korean missionary field when he states, “Because pre-modernity or anti-modernity was firmly placed within the inclusive project of modernity, Protestantism was not a total rejection of modernity itself, but merely a specific way of accepting and responding to modernity... However, in missionary fields like Korea, the pre- and anti-modernity of Protestantism were completely concealed.”<sup>307</sup> In other words, Protestant missionaries in Korea played the role of mediators of modernity; they were in a unique position to emphasize the modern nature of Western religion through the media of prominent institutions such as schools and hospitals while deemphasizing or concealing its pre-modern and ‘uncivilized’ past of bloody civil war (the Protestant Reformation) and religious intolerance. Franklin Rausch argues that the decision by the head of the Catholic Church in Korea, Bishop Gustave Mutel, to deny An Chunggŭn’s request for a Catholic university in Korea without explanation similarly conceals the deep misgivings the Catholic Church had about modern education, specifically in light of recent philosophical challenges to the Church that were emerging in French universities.<sup>308</sup> Despite this opposition to ‘modern European thought,’ the Catholic Church in Korea continued to support

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<sup>307</sup> Kim, “Protestant Missions as Cultural Imperialism,” 210.

<sup>308</sup> Rausch, “Saving Knowledge,” 69-76.

some modicum of lower-level schooling in modern curriculum, (although always outpaced by the Protestant mission), demonstrating the Church's ambiguous position as both intrinsic and inimical to modernization in Korea.<sup>309</sup>

Catholic and Protestant missionary policies reflect different positions claimed by missionaries as mediators of modernity, and also help to explain the discrepant reception and accommodation of the denominations in Korea. The disparate approaches to conceptualizing the Christian deity of the Catholic and Protestant missions furthermore represent the European 'pre-modern' legacy of religious intolerance noted above, reinscribed onto Korean religious life. While the Catholic Church resisted the fixing of a translational equivalence between the Confucian *sangje* (上帝) or *ch'ŏn* (天), insisting on the singularity of its own *ch'ŏnju* (天主 Lord of Heaven), missionaries of other denominations were given more latitude to customize their message to accommodate the spiritual needs of their respective flocks.<sup>310</sup> The more liberal

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<sup>309</sup> Mutel, for example, reacted positively to the establishment of a French school in Korea to teach science, noting that it would "kill two birds with one stone." According to Rausch, science itself was not perceived as a threat to the Catholic faith by Mutel, but rather European modernist thought which posed fundamental philosophical challenges to Catholicism. Rausch, "Saving Knowledge," 71.

<sup>310</sup> For example, in the personal journal of James Scarth Gale, a Presbyterian missionary, Koreanist, and prodigious translator, countless pages are dedicated to translated passages from the Chinese Classics where *ch'ŏn* (天) and *sangje* (上帝) are rendered in English as "God," reflecting Gale's evangelistic approach in portraying Christianity as a completion of the Confucian message, not as a wholesale refutation. Gale reiterates this view in an essay appearing in *Pen Pictures of Old Korea*, an unpublished collection of his musings on Korean culture and the various changes he observed around the turn of the century. Gale writes: "It would seem as though Korea had fallen within the circle of prophetic vision when we consider the marked preparation she has shown for the coming of the Word of God. I shall mention five points specially noticeable, First: The Name for God, *Hananim*, meaning the One Great One, the Supreme and absolute Being, suggesting the mysterious appellation "I Am that I Am", *Hana* meaning One and *Nim* Great. Our Saxon word God used in the plural and applied to heathen deities had to be adjusted greatly before it could serve the desired end. The Greek 'theos' like the Japanese 'kami' was applicable to many so-called deities, also 'Sang-je' of China, it being the highest of many spiritual personalities. But *Hananim* strikes at once a note to which other names



adaptation of proselytizing methods to conditions on the ground in order to maximize the potential for conversion has been attributed to the so-called Nevius Method employed by the Protestant mission in Korea to much success. In this way, the various representations of Western thought and religion labored to present their own version of modernization, emphasizing their message through the demonstrative power of Western medicine and modern school curricula featuring science, world history, physiology, chemistry, astronomy, and of course scripture studies, while sublimating their own histories of religious intolerance and internecine strife, distrust of potential philosophical challenges to their own hegemony, and chauvinistic views to existing Korean religions, despite their rhetoric of spiritual democratization and inclusivity. Although the discrepant approaches by the Catholic and Protestant missions informed by their slightly different views toward modernity help to explain their differing receptions and current perceptions in Korea, as I have argued thus far, Western modernization was not unilaterally implanted wholesale by an omnipotent culture into a powerless one. Western missionary discourses were contested, rejected, or appropriated by a discerning and engaged Korean intellectual class, relatively limited in size and scope but highly informed by the first decade of the twentieth century and attuned to ongoing developments in Korea and the world. In terms of language reform, the Christianity-modernization matrix characterized to some extent the thinking of Korea's "language entrepreneurs"<sup>311</sup> and hence influenced early efforts in this regard, many

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labor to attain to and arrive at only after a long period of service." See James Scarth Gale, "Korea's Preparation for the Bible" in *Pen Pictures of Old Korea* (Sōul 1912), 60-62.

<sup>311</sup> This is a term employed by Ross King to refer to the three earliest and most influential Korean intellectuals involved in Korean language-related matters in precolonial Korea: Yu Kilchun, Sō Chaep'il, and Chu Sigyōng. Some of the linguistic innovations employed by these language entrepreneurs included word spacing, the use of *kungmun*-only inscription, and the development of *kukhanmun* writing for conveying new knowledge. See King, "Nationalism and Language Reform in Korea," 37.

enlightenment-era Korean intellectuals having personal connections with missionaries or else exposure to Western knowledge and religion. While such influence was evident, Korean discourses on language reform and the campaigns they inspired took on a different character, being reinscribed with nationalistic tendencies due to the encroachment of imperial Japan.

As Western missionaries settled in Korea, opened schools and hospitals, and began to spread the Word, many of them gained more than a passing interest in the Korean language. Although the most critical reason for this engagement with Korean was to facilitate proselytization, many missionaries such as James Scarth Gale and Horace Grant Underwood embarked on full-fledged projects of linguistic cataloguing and codification, employing countless Korean assistants and interfacing with volumes of texts. Missionaries such as these brought to these interactions their own preconceived language ideologies on the privileged role of the vernacular over the cosmopolitan in the formation of national consciousness, the necessity of intertranslatability between languages, the desirability of standard orthography, and the superiority of phonetic scripts. In late nineteenth-century Korea the tendency for many intellectuals to merge Western religion, thought, and global supremacy extended to the linguistic realm as well, as many appropriated the above language ideologies in calling for indigenous reform projects such as spelling standardization, vernacular promotion, and grammar codification. The most common models for reform were countries of the West, and the attraction of such a model was undoubtedly reinforced by the Christianity-modernization matrix and bolstered by the expanding network of Christian schools and the linguistic projects initiated by their administrators.

### 2.3 Western Discourse on Korean Language and Education

Following the signing of treaties between Western nations and Chosŏn Korea, Westerners began to live and work in Korea in various capacities, most notably as missionaries and teachers. Given the state of almost complete mutual ignorance of the other's culture and language, even more pronounced among early Western residents due to the isolated state of Korea for centuries, early interactions represented an important site of linguistic knowledge attainment and cultural interface. For foreign residents, especially missionaries, gaining proficiency in the Korean language became their *raison d'être*, which propelled a movement to not only master the language for communicative purposes, but to describe, index, and codify the language. Early Western students of the language must have fancied themselves pioneers in Korean linguistics, as so little had been written on the language in English. The earliest studies of the language aimed not only to assist the fellow missionary or foreign resident to gain speaking proficiency for communicative purposes in the conduct of his or her work, but also to serve as explanatory and codificatory attempts at cataloguing Korean in the compendium of world languages. Upon reading the descriptions of the Korean language and the linguistic landscape in late 19<sup>th</sup>-century Korea by Western observers, one is struck by a sense of excited discovery and wonder, but also a very conscious and deliberate comparison with a superimposed Western "standard." One of the earliest detailed accounts of the Korean language by a Western scholar was conducted by John Ross (1842-1915), a member of the Scottish United Presbyterian Mission in Manchuria and well known in the history of Korean Christianity as the first translator of the Bible into vernacular Korean.<sup>312</sup> Ross wrote of the language,

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<sup>312</sup> Ross' New Testament was completed in 1887, but as Ross King points out, there were attempts by James Scarth Gale to reform the orthography used in the Bible due to its perception as being 'non-standard,' a move which generated vehement protests from Christians in the

If the Korean language was, as probably all languages at one time were, monosyllabic, it lost the feature long ago, and it is now no more so than English, perhaps less so than pure Anglo-Saxon. And though the subject is to be treated superficially in this paper, as full an account will be given of this long-sealed language of a still-sealed people, as will suffice to place the Korean language in its proper pigeon hole in the philological library, and a comparison with its chief neighbours may not prove uninteresting to readers interested in language.<sup>313</sup>

The above description positions the scholar as an agent of discovery, responsible for placing the “long-sealed language of a still-sealed people” within the proper linguistic taxonomy for future posterity. The basis of this taxonomical organization, moreover, is Western, modern linguistic theory, in this case presenting English as the standard against which new ‘discoveries’ are to be judged. The language ideology voiced by Ross demonstrates a clear teleological preference, positioning monosyllabic languages (such as he believed Chinese to be) at one end of

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northwestern region of Korea, who viewed the revised spelling as papering over distinctions that were still made in the northwest dialect, such as palatalization. See Ross King, “Dialect, Orthography, and Regional Identity: P’yŏngan Christians, Korean Spelling Reform, and Orthographic Fundamentalism,” in *The Northern Region of Korea: History, Identity, and Culture*, ed. Sun Joo Kim (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010). The earliest account of Korea by a Westerner was that conveyed by the Dutch sailor Hendrick Hamel, who spent thirteen years in Chosŏn Korea after his ship wrecked on Cheju Island in 1655. Hamel noted the care with which noble families approached education in the following account: “The nobility, and all Free-men in general, take great care of the Education of their Children, and put them very young to learn to read and write, to which that nation is much addicted. They use no manner of rigour on their method of teaching, but manage all by fair means giving their Scholars an Idea of Learning, and of all the Worth of their Ancestors, and telling them how honourable those are who by this means have rais’d themselves to great Fortunes, which breeds emulation, and makes them students. It is wonderful to see how they improve by these means, and how they expound the Writings they give them to read, wherein all their learning consists.” The English translation of the original Dutch account appears in its entirety in *Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX, 1918. For other early accounts of Korean, especially those that reiterate this hierarchical linguistic landscape in Korea, see David J. Silva, “Western Attitudes Toward the Korean Language: An Overview of Late Nineteenth-and Early Twentieth-Century Mission Literature,” *Korean Studies* 26 (2): 270-286.

<sup>313</sup> John Ross, “The Korean Language,” *The China Review* VI (1877-1879), 395.

a developmental spectrum, a state which “all languages at one time” shared.<sup>314</sup> On the other hand, polysyllabic languages such as Korean are judged to be nearly on par with English, or even more advanced than “pure Anglo-Saxon,” an earlier and less developed iteration of the language. Ross elaborates on his language ideology, constructing his hierarchy of languages, this time comparing Korean to his main area of expertise, Chinese:

[F]or the Coreans, having an alphabet independent of the Chinese hieroglyphics, were able to stereotype that pronunciation [Cantonese] of those Chinese hieroglyphics, which they first learned. China on the other hand, destitute of any such stereotyping process, if we accept the uncertain and inadequate one of hymnal rhythmic terminology, seems to have changed its pronunciation with every succeeding dynasty, and to have changed it less in those regions of the Empire remote from the immediate influences of such dynastic changes.<sup>315</sup>

In this philological hierarchy, Ross’ use of the term “hieroglyph” to a greater extent even than “ideograph” equates LS with the most ‘primitive’ and ancient of writing systems known to Western linguistics, Egyptian hieroglyphics, the quintessential embodiment of the “pictographic” mode of writing technology in Western linguistic theory at the time.<sup>316</sup> Designating LS as a

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<sup>314</sup> However, Victor Mair demonstrates that even the oft-asserted truisms that Chinese is logographic, and that Sinitic languages are monosyllabic where each syllabic unit of the script is equal to a word is not entirely true, in that “most words in vernacular Sinitic languages consist of two or more syllables.” Even the more precise definition of Chinese as “morphosyllabic” where “each unit of the script is one syllable in length and conveys a basic meaning,” contains exceptions. Ross’ language ideology, however, is clearly positioned within the mainstream of Western linguistic theory at the time, which described Chinese as both pictographic and monosyllabic. See Victor Mair, “Language and Script,” in *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature*, ed. Victor Mair (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 39-42.

<sup>315</sup> Ross, “The Corean Language.” 395.

<sup>316</sup> As Unger points out, while the term *idéographique* dates back to Jean-François Champollion’s *Lettre à M. Dacier relative à l’alphabet des hiéroglyphes phonétiques* (1822), the concept of ideograms or ‘hieroglyphs’ went back much further, originating in connection with Egyptian writing. See Marshall Unger, “The Very Idea: The Notion of Ideogram in China and Japan,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 45, no. 4 (Winter 1990): 391-411. Although Champollion, credited with deciphering the Rosetta Stone, realized that hieroglyphs could represent the sounds

system of “hieroglyphs” reinforced the myth of the sinograph as ideogram on the primitive end of the developmental spectrum. On the other hand, Korean’s invention of a “stereotyping process” of which Chinese was “destitute”—save for an “uncertain and inadequate” substitute—broke the cycle of Korean’s entanglement with the primitive sinographic system and its shifting pronunciation, providing a metalinguistic analytic technology which allowed progress toward the Western standard of purely phonographic and alphabetic representation. Ross and other missionary’s positive appraisal of the Korean alphabet in comparison with English had important pedagogical implications, as missionaries (especially protestant) turned to the vernacular script in the conduct of education, Bible instruction and translation.

As Ross King points out, many of the earliest accounts of the Korean language by Westerners focused on the origin of the alphabet, and expressed “deep admiration for the ingenious design” of the Korean script.<sup>317</sup> The counterpart to this admiration, however, was an

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of the Egyptian language and emphasized their phonetic elements in his decipherment, his usage of the term *idéographique* to refer to Egyptian hieroglyphics, according to Ming Xie, “has proven to be a fertile soil of confusion and misunderstanding ever since he first invented it, since in [the above work] he also spoke of Chinese writing as ideographic.” Ming Xie, *Ezra Pound and the Appropriation of Chinese Poetry: Cathay, Translation, and Imagism*. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1999), 23. By Ross’s time, a firm association had been established in the field of linguistics between ‘ideographic hieroglyphs’ such as LS and Egyptian and ‘primitiveness.’

<sup>317</sup> See King, “Nationalism and Language Reform in Korea.” One early study of the origins of the Korean alphabet appeared in the missionary publication the *Korean Repository* and was penned by Homer Hulbert (1863-1949), the American Methodist missionary and political activist. Repeating what he called “an interesting tradition current among Koreans as to the invention of their alphabet,” Hulbert stated “Every vowel and consonant can be found exactly depicted in the squares and triangles of the Korean door.” Coupling this popular myth with an expression of praise for the alphabet’s simplicity, a common trope among Western missionaries at this time, Hulbert goes on to state that, “If it were possible to believe this pretty fiction we should have to concede that no alphabet was ever more simply invented or on a more really scientific plan, for the perfect alphabet is the one that unites the greatest degree of simplicity with the broadest range of phonetic power.” Homer Hulbert, “The Korean Alphabet,” *The Korean Repository*, March, 1892. The origin of the Korean script later became one of the ten research questions

almost perfunctory reminder to the reader of the “contempt” with which the alphabet was regarded by Koreans in comparison to “Chinese.” Descriptions of this sort typically conveyed a tone of accusation or incredulity, expressing exasperated disbelief as to how a people could disregard such a marvellous invention. Ross voiced such a sentiment when we wrote:

While yet strangers Coreans are unwilling to acknowledge the existence of a written national language, always declaring that they write only Chinese; and when it is known to exist they are unwilling to teach it, and more unwilling to write words in it.....Besides, they do not regard the ability to read and write their own language as sufficient to entitle to the rank of an educated man. This term is applied only to those familiarly acquainted with Chinese.....Their alphabet is so beautifully simple that half an hour’s study is sufficient to master it; and as, like Pitman’s Phonography, it is employed phonetically, it is universally known and by men, women and children. So much so that a Corean, who ‘did not know a single character,’—implying Chinese,—sat down to a M.S.S. copy of John’s Gospel, and left it off only when he had read it all, not a single word having escaped him. This proves the great superiority of Corean over Chinese for the purposes of translation.<sup>318</sup>

Ross’ observations are significant for several reasons. First, writing in 1877 before the arrival of missionaries in Korea and preceding the indigenous *kungmun* promotion movement which started to gain momentum only in the 1890s, Ross’ account seems to represent more of an outsider’s reaction to the Korean language, a language ideology influenced more by his background in Chinese and Western languages than his direct immersion in the language or his interaction with Korean informants and their language ideologies.<sup>319</sup> Ross nonetheless did have limited interaction with native informants, and one line from the above passage suggests the

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taken up by the National Script Research Institute (Kungmun yŏn’guso) spearheaded by the Korean language scholars Ŏ Yunjŏk, Yi Nŭnghwa, Chu Sigyŏng, Kwŏn Posang, Song Kiyong, Chi Sŏgyŏng, Yi Minŭng, and Yun Ton’gu. This suggests the influence of foreign missionary research on the direction of native Korean research.

<sup>318</sup> Ross, “The Corean Language,” 396.

<sup>319</sup> Ross only first met Korean informants in Manchuria in 1875, two years prior to this. On the other hand, later missionaries stationed in Korea would have been inundated for many years with the language ideologies of those around them—i.e., conservative ideologies that would have extolled the supremacy of LS and disparaged the vernacular script.

language ideologies of certain of these individuals: “it is universally known and by men, women and children.” This contrasts with later Western accounts of the Korean language that almost invariably assign the Korean alphabet to the realm of women and children. This also contradicts Sŏ Chaep’il’s *Independent* editorial cited above, which claimed a scarcity of Koreans knowledgeable in *kungmun*, while those versed in LS were supposedly more numerous. However, according to Ross the seeming ignorance of the native script reported by later missionaries and Korean “language entrepreneurs” was more a product of shame, of an unwillingness to teach it, to write words in it, or even to acknowledge its existence, though they were indeed able to use it.<sup>320</sup> A second notable aspect is the narrative quality of the first portion of the account. The description of Koreans unwilling to acknowledge the vernacular script or demonstrate proficiency in it clearly relates the interactions of the writer with his informants, limited though they may have been, and further reveals Ross’ language ideology on the relationship between superimposed transnational languages and a “written national language.” In Ross’ account we are presented with a Western scholar pressing the native informant for information on the ‘mysterious’ national writing, a system which he found “beautifully simple,” “superior to Chinese for purposes of translation,” and the desired object of study for a scholar of Chinese already privy to its secrets. However, the Korean, still thoroughly ensconced in the logic of the Sinographic Cosmopolis privileging LS for knowledge attainment and only grudgingly accepting the existence of the alphabet as a needed tool for access, resisted divulgence. The final part of the passage however reveals the essential allure of the Korean alphabet to most missionaries, and

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<sup>320</sup> It is unclear whether Ross’ description of Korean views of the vernacular script reflected his own misguided extrapolations from his limited contact with Korean informants, his own conjectures based on his background in Chinese, or the actual language ideologies of his native language informants, but his inclusion of men in the list of those knowledgeable of the script is nevertheless intriguing.



that is as the most effective tool for translation and relating the Word. For the missionary establishment, Bible translation, Bible instruction and modern education were inextricably linked, and so their discourses extolling *kungmun* and demoting of *hanmun* served to establish the parameters of acceptable pedagogy.

Ross' views on the Korean language were significant in that they would reappear in much the same form in the writings of foreign missionaries and other residents in the 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century. These language ideologies, expressed in various missionary publications as well as in the prefaces of language manuals and dictionaries compiled by foreigners, directed the course of missionary activities related to orthography reform, translation, and dictionary compilation, and seem to have influenced discourse on language in the Korean press.<sup>321</sup> One of the earliest resident foreigners and emergent experts on the Korean language was James Scott<sup>322</sup> of the British legation, who wrote the following in the opening lines of the Preface to his *English-Korean Dictionary: Being a Vocabulary of Corean Colloquial Words in Common Use* (1891):

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<sup>321</sup> King argues that not only did Protestantism engender the spread of modern education and literacy in vernacular Korean, as many Korean scholars have argued, but the Korean spelling debate (1902-1906) among the foreign community seems to have influenced the form and content of the indigenously established National Script Research Institute (Kungmun yŏn'guso), Korea's "first national research body, and Korea's first language planning institution." There also existed personal connections between early Korean 'language entrepreneurs' like Chu Sigyŏng and Christian missionaries such as James Scarth Gale. Other early Korean language reformers such as Yu Kilchun and Sŏ Chaep'il were thoroughly familiar with Western education and the trends in modern linguistics related to the privileging of indigenous, alphabetic writing systems, although as King points out, much more detailed research into the connections between missionaries and Korean language strategists is needed. See Ross King, "Western Protestant Missionaries and the Origins of the Korean Language."

<sup>322</sup> James Scott was stationed in Chemulp'o (Inch'ŏn) from 1881-1891, and was one of the earliest students of the Korean language, as well as one of the few non-missionaries to publish Korean language-related material.

Upon the history and origin of the Korean language and alphabet, native records are uniformly silent. Absorbed in the study of Chinese literature and philosophy from the earliest years, the Korean scholar has come to regard his native script with feelings of contempt and neglect. No attempt has ever been made to formulate the grammar of the language or to compile any dictionary of its vocabulary. The use of the Korean alphabet has been relegated to women, and children, and to the ignorant masses. Education is confined to the study of the Chinese classics; the door to official rank and honour is only opened after public examinations in Chinese composition. Officials and scholars, though speaking Korean, conduct their correspondence and business only in Chinese. Yet the native vernacular possesses a clearness and distinctness expressive of time and condition, of subordination and co-ordination, which can only be evolved from Chinese after considerable thought and labour. No doubt these very difficulties of Chinese idiom, with all its niceties of classical quotation and allusion, so fascinate the conservative mind of the Korean student that pride in their mastery after years of hard application compels his adherence to Chinese thought and culture with the result that Chinese influence has continued paramount both in Korean literature and politics.<sup>323</sup>

Scott would have formed such a language ideology during a decade-long residence in Korea beginning in 1881, long before the language movement promoting the indigenous nature of *ŏnmun* and the foreignness of LS began to emerge in the Korean-language press. Scott's sentiments instead echo the observations of early scholars such as Ross and contemporary Western linguistic theory, namely the privileging of "native script" and language over that perceived to be foreign. The fact that an account of Korea's linguistic hierarchy opens the author's rather lengthy introduction suggests that the situation was of primary concern to Scott, that the incongruity between native "Korean" and foreign "Chinese" in terms of "official rank and honour" and "literature and politics" was an inexplicable affront to his accepted language

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<sup>323</sup> James Scott, *English-Korean Dictionary: Being a Vocabulary of Korean Colloquial Words in Common Use* (Corea: Church of England Mission Press, 1891) Preface, I. Underwood made a similar observation of the state of Korean language study (that is, vernacular study in the Western sense of the word by foreign students) and its effect on the unsettled nature of the language, when he wrote the following: "The study of Korean is as yet in its infancy, ways and means are few, good books written in the native character are still fewer, Koreans who have any accurate knowledge of the rules of grammar and the methods of spelling are rare, and native teachers in the true sense of the word cannot be found." H. G. Underwood, *An Introduction to the Korean Spoken Language* [Han-Yŏng munpŏp], Yokohama: Kelly and Walsh, L'd, 1890).

ideologies. The choice of terminology itself reveals the projection of a Western linguistic construct on a still Sino-centric, Confucian episteme: whereas for Scott literature, philosophy, and writing systems were distinctly “Chinese” or “Corean,” Yu Kilchun had only just begun expounding his iconoclastic promotion of *kungmun* (embodied in *kukhanmun* writing) around this time, the Korean script had yet to be “nationalized” in the indigenous press as either Chinese or Korean, and “academic” writing par excellence was still solidly grounded in the realm of LS. Scott’s observations suggest a strong influence from Western notions of national languages and their role in unifying populations, necessitating standardization, and democratizing education.

Another common element in the writings of Scott and other Western students of Korean at this time was a plea for organization of the language through dictionaries and grammars and a standardization of spelling. For example, Scott’s statement that “No attempt has ever been made to formulate the grammar of the language or to compile any dictionary of its vocabulary” demonstrates the application of Western notions of linguistic standardization and lexical compilation to the Korean case, and reveals the motivations behind Scott’s own project. Scott’s dictionary seems to have been a welcome addition to the sparse field of literature on the subject, as the following review from the *Korean Repository* by the Methodist missionary Henry Appenzeller (1858-1902) suggests:

Mr. Scott is one of the oldest students of the Korean language and we welcome this second volume from his pen.....The Introduction consists of twenty pages, and shows evidence of careful study. It is concise, compact, complete and probably the best introduction on the language that has appeared in print. It bears careful reading and the beginner cannot do better than master it before taking up anything else.<sup>324</sup>

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<sup>324</sup> Henry Appenzeller, “REVIEW: English Korean Dictionary,” *The Korean Repository*, February, 1892, 63-64.

Published scholarship on Korean at the time was clearly at a premium, and Scott's offering seems to have filled a void in "reliable" information.<sup>325</sup> Appenzeller's further claim that "It has been stated there is no standard spelling in Korean, but we beg to state there is, and Mr. Scott's exactness in this respect will do much to remove such ignorant assertions" is also intriguing for the suggestion that foreign students of the language had already established a standard spelling in Korean, before the issue had even been broached in the Korean-language press. While subsequent spelling debates among missionaries would clearly show that a standard orthography was actually far from being settled, the early assumption that a standard orthography had already been established demonstrates a naïve, even arrogant sureness about language issues that were so poorly understood. In Underwood's publication the previous year of *A Concise Dictionary of the Korean Language* (Han-Yǒng chǎ tyǒn 1890), he shows a similar determination to codify Korean due to what his contemporaries had concurred was a "neglect" of the language:

The absence of a dictionary of the Korean language in English, makes the need of some such works apparent. It was with a full realization of this fact that the author after a few months residence in the country, began the collection and systematic arrangement of Korean words with their English equivalents, now nearly five years ago.....At this time the feasibility of preparing for immediate use, a small concise pocket dictionary, which should contain as far as possible all of the most useful words of the language was suggested to, and urged upon the author.<sup>326</sup>

Here, the centrality of categorization and standardization in the Western linguistic tradition is superimposed on the Korean case, clearly driven not by the needs of the population or even at the behest of early Korean "language entrepreneurs," but by the perceived necessity for

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<sup>325</sup> Ibid, 63.

<sup>326</sup> H. G. Underwood, *A Concise Dictionary of the Korean Language* [Han-Yǒng chǎdyǒn] (Yokohama: Kelly and Walsh, 1890), Preface, I-II.

missionary work. Those who “urged upon the author” were certainly fellow foreign residents and not Korean informants, the acute need for such a collection being felt due to the necessity of communicating with and, more importantly, proselytizing the local community. Furthermore, the rapidity with which the author set about his project of defining and compiling the language is breathtaking: Underwood, “after a few months residence in the country, began the collection and systematic arrangement of Korean words,” a task which had not been undertaken throughout the history of literacy on the peninsula. Although Underwood’s sentiments seem to express an entrepreneurial desire to catalogue a still ‘mysterious’ language for posterity much like Ross, the speed with which the work was undertaken conveys either an extreme arrogance as to the presumed qualifications of the compiler, or an urgent need for some sort of makeshift material to facilitate evangelical work hastily, regardless of the reliability. At any rate, beginning in the 1890s foreign actors began to pen the first calls for lexical compilation, grammatical organization, and orthographical standardization prior to the emergence of such discourse in the Korean press, influenced by Western linguistic theory. These represented important sites for establishing translational equivalence between Western languages and Korean, initiating the spread and legitimization of the language of modernity to be disseminated in modern schools.

Later in his Preface, in likely the earliest critique of Korean orthography by a Western scholar,<sup>327</sup> Underwood comments on the unsettled state of vernacular spelling, an observation that would be reiterated by multiple Western observers and later Korean language reformers.

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<sup>327</sup> King cites the following quote from the German linguist von der Gabelentz (1892) as the earliest Western critique of Korean orthography, but Underwood’s observations seem to predate those of Gabelentz by two years. King’s translation of the original German is as follows: “On top of this we find an anarchy in the orthography, and even in certain parts of the declension system which is well understandable if one recalls the contempt in which the Korean language is held in its own country.....The Japanese, at least, have an old indigenous literature which they hold in high regard and study with philological methods.....in Korea there is nothing of the sort. So far

One of the great difficulties encountered in this work is the chaotic condition of Korean orthography. Spelling in Korean is purely phonetic, and as each man is ‘a law unto himself’ in this matter... almost insurmountable difficulties surround those who attempt to find a standard; for although as has been said no two men spell alike, each claims that *his* is the right way.....All, however, acknowledge that the spelling as given in the “Chyen Oun Ok Hpyen”<sup>328</sup> (Chōnun okp’yōn 全韻玉篇) is allowable, most consider it a good method of spelling, while a larger number consider it the true and only method”<sup>329</sup>

Much like Ross’ observations in 1877, Underwood’s critique is a triangulation of vernacular Korean, LS, and the standard of Western linguistic theory. However, whereas Ross had highlighted the shortcomings of Chinese for representing constantly shifting pronunciation, Underwood points out the standardized element of the sinographic system embedded in vernacular Korean—Sino-Korean orthography—as the sole example of orthographic certainty according to Western standards. The spelling of purely Korean words, on the other hand, would have to be organized according to the superimposed model, as this category of the lexicon suffered from chaotic “An-orthography”<sup>330</sup> due to its regretful neglect. Underwood’s contention

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as I can tell there has never been an attempt to standardize the indigenous language.....it is precisely this apparently so undisciplined and arbitrary orthography, this An-orthography in Korean texts.....there is still no telling if and when science will be in a position to bring order to this situation. The only thing worse than a non-literary language is a language which, though used for literary purposes, is neither cultivated literarily nor stabilized.” Quoted in King, “Protestant Missionaries,” 14-15.

<sup>328</sup> Although standardization of at least Sino-Korean terms was being claimed by some missionaries, judging by this and other variant Romanizations, this system as well seems to have been subject to a high degree of chaos. A lively debate over Romanization standardization among Western missionaries appears in the pages of the *Korean Repository*, especially throughout 1892.

<sup>329</sup> Underwood, *A Concise Dictionary of the Korean Language*, Preface. Appenzeller concurs with this belief that the Sino-Korean spelling represents the only agreed-upon orthographic standard. Appenzeller, “Editor *Korean Repository*,” *Korean Repository*, May, 1892, 157. George Heber Jones, another scholar-missionary, further concurs, and then states explicitly that this is only for Sino-Korean words, but discusses what to do about pure Korean words. See George Heber Jones, “Editor of the *Korean Repository*,” *Korean Repository*, May, 1892, 159-60.

<sup>330</sup> Gabelentz, quoted in King, “Protestant Missionaries,” 14.

that Korean lacked a standard orthography, save for Sino-Korean vocabulary, seems to have penetrated the language ideologies of contemporary ‘students of the language,’ as evidenced by the protracted debate over vernacular words such as “Sŏul” that appeared in the pages of the *Korean Repository*. In the March issue of the periodical an anonymous submission from “A Student” inquired as to a statement made in the review of James Scott’s *English-Korean Dictionary* by “H. G. A.” (Henry Gerhard Appenzeller): “Will ‘H.G.A.’ be so kind as to tell us what is the standard for spelling in Korean? It seems to be the general consensus among students of Korean that ‘every Korean is a law unto himself.’”<sup>331</sup> Both the anonymous author and Appenzeller seem well-acquainted with Underwood’s view on vernacular orthography voiced in the preface of his dictionary, the former to the extent that he or she quotes it directly and cites it as a “general consensus among students of Korean.” However, in the May edition Appenzeller takes issue with the claim that there is no standard, at least in terms of Sino-Korean vocabulary:

EDITOR KOREAN REPOSITORY.

DEAR SIR:--In your March number ‘A Student’ asks for ‘the standard for spelling in Korea.’ A standard is defined as ‘that which is established as a rule or model by respectable authority, by custom or general consent.’ It must be confessed that the standard here is not all one could desire, but it certainly never occurred to me that ‘the general consensus among students of Korean’ is ‘that every man is a law unto himself.’ The tyro may be pardoned for getting that impression but any one claiming to be a ‘student’ should not be caught napping that way. He should see that *all questions relating to orthography are settled*, and settled finally at least as far as the Korean is concerned by an appeal to the Ok Pyen\* [玉篇]<sup>332</sup> and to the translations of the Classics (emphasis mine).<sup>333</sup>

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<sup>331</sup> A Student, “To the Editor of the Korean Repository,” *Korean Repository*, March, 1892, 96.

<sup>332</sup> This and other associated sinographs for romanizations, transliterations, and *han’gŭl* renderings in the main text of *Korean Repository* articles appeared in the bottom margins.

<sup>333</sup> Appenzeller, “Editor *Korean Repository*,” *Korean Repository*, May, 1892, 157.

Appenzeller goes on to explain that, “It is not claimed that these standards agree in their spelling any more than Webster and Wooster agree, but it is claimed that they are recognized standards among some scholars—Koreans I mean.” Clearly, then, according to Appenzeller’s definition of “standard” as recourse to “respectable authority” or “general consent,” there was divergence among Western scholars and Koreans. Although “all questions relating to orthography are settled” finally in terms of Sino-Korean vocabulary appearing in the *Okp’yŏn*, orthographic conventions in vernacular Korean do not seem to pass muster according to Western standards invoked by Appenzeller. Thus, his description seems to characterize “standardized” Korean writing and spelling conventions as squarely within the realm of the LS tradition, with vernacular ‘literature’ either non-existent or beyond the purview of established codes of standardization and canonization.<sup>334</sup> However, later in the same issue another Western scholar-missionary, George Heber Jones, explicitly invokes the issue of non-Sino-Korean vocabulary and its relative lack of standard orthographic principles:

‘Student’ is right to a certain extent in saying that ‘every Korean is a law to himself’ in spelling Korean; this will be apparent upon reference to either the native literature, in which it is impossible to find two works uniform in their orthography, or to the letter writing of the times. ‘Student’ however errs in concluding from this that there is no standard. An attempt has been made at the creation of a standard in the *Ok Pyŏn*... This is a native work, being a dictionary of Chinese characters, their pronunciation being written in Korean and is well adapted to serve as a standard.....Being limited, however, to the Chinese character, it is *absolutely useless* in that large field of grammatical endings and pure native words of which 셔울 is a good example (emphasis mine).<sup>335</sup>

Thus by the 1890s there was a growing awareness among Western missionaries and scholars of Korean that a form of standardized orthography existed within an overall system still

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<sup>334</sup> This is a discourse continued by other missionaries in the following decades and into the colonial period, especially by James Scarth Gale. This will be taken up below in more detail.

<sup>335</sup> George Heber Jones, “Editor of the *Korean Repository*,” *Korean Repository*, May, 1892, 159.



characterized by inconsistency and general disorder. Many Westerners drew a clear distinction between these two systems, or “forms of character” as Underwood termed them. While Underwood’s observations in *An Introduction to the Korean Spoken Language* (1890) clearly demonstrate on the one hand the apparent divergence or non-alignment between spoken and written (*ŏnmun ich’i* 諺文二致)<sup>336</sup> manifested in both Korean writing and speech, on the other hand they reveal Underwood’s own language ideologies inclined to expect greater convergence between the two. Underwood cautions that his work did not “enter into the study of the Korean written language, which differs from the spoken, largely in verbal terminations and a few expressions never used in the colloquial,” while claiming that careful study would soon “make one a proficient and exact writer of ‘the book language.’”<sup>337</sup> As for the dimensions of each “character form,” Underwood noted that “In all official correspondence, philosophical books, and in fact in nearly all books of real value, the Chinese character is used, the native Ernmun [sic] being relegated to a few trashy love stories and fairy tales.”<sup>338</sup> Although Underwood is quick to point out that *ŏnmun* is not a language but “simply a system of writing,” and that the idea of “speaking in the Ernmun” would be akin to “talk of ‘speaking in Munson’s system of shorthand,’” he was nevertheless responding to the apparent belief among the foreigner population that there existed two languages,<sup>339</sup> a belief he claims stemmed from the preponderance of “Sinico-Korean” terminology in the language of government ministers and other higher-class individuals, as

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<sup>336</sup> King suggests this, among several other terms, as an alternative to diglossia, and its inherent limitations. See King, “Ditching Diglossia.”

<sup>337</sup> Underwood, “Grammatical Notes,” *An Introduction to the Korean Spoken Language*, 4.

<sup>338</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid.*, 4-5.

opposed to the language of “the middle classes, and the coolies,” bereft of such expressions and vocabulary. Later in his introductory remarks Underwood expounds on the still clear delineation between the realms of LS and vernacular script usage:

Reference was made in the previous paragraph to the two forms of writing used. They are however for the most part, kept entirely distinct, and unlike the Japanese, the two are seldom mixed. Now and then in a letter written in the Chinese, Korean particles may be interspersed to assist the reader, or in a letter written in the “Ernmun” the names of persons, places, etc., may be written in the Chinese. A few books are to be found written in both the Chinese and the “Ernmun” but for the most part, the Chinese character is written on one page with its equivalent in Ernmun on the other.<sup>340</sup> The rule is however, as we have stated, not to mix the two characters, and the almost universal practice is to use either the Ernmun or Chinese alone.<sup>341</sup>

These observations provide a valuable account of the digraphic nature of Korean in the premodern episteme, a condition which would soon provide the impetus for an indigenous campaign to achieve unification of spoken and written (*ǒnmun ilch'i*), a movement that was just beginning to get underway in Meiji Japan.<sup>342</sup> However, the significance of Underwood’s

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<sup>340</sup> Here Underwood seems to be referring to the Korean tradition of *ch'ilsǒ ǒnhae*, or annotations of the Confucian Classics which, while being more numerous than “a few books” nonetheless did represent a relatively small percentage of the textual landscape in 1880s Chosǒn. Though Yu Kilchun had been compiling his influential *Sǒyu kyǒnmun* for some years, a work which would undermine this LS-vernacular textual dichotomy, the book did not appear until 1895.

<sup>341</sup> Underwood, “Grammatical Notes,” 6.

<sup>342</sup> Yi Yǒnsuk writes that the idea of unifying the spoken and written (J: *genbun itchi*) was first proposed by Miyake Yonekichi, a member of the Kana Society (Kana no kai) as early as 1884 in his “Kuniguni no namari kotoba ni tsukite” (On Local Dialects), in which he foresaw three possible methods for achieving linguistic unification: “by classical language, by modern language used in a certain city... or by selecting common elements in all dialects.” However, the two main thrusts in the *genbun itchi* movement seem to have been on the one hand the drawing of the written language closer to the spoken, and on the other hand, reconciling the written and the spoken. After a period of conservative backlash to early Meiji reforms, including a resurgence of *Kangaku* (漢学) and *Kanbun* in government schools, the *genbun itchi* movement once again gained momentum in the run-up to the Sino-Japanese War. However, the *genbun itchi* campaign did not become a fixture of government-directed language policy until 1900, when the

description lies in its revelation of the author's own Western language ideologies relating to Korean as a still 'divided' yet potentially (and ideally) unifiable language. Underwood and other Westerners who offered lengthy descriptions of the seeming dichotomous nature of written (and spoken) Korean, and who pondered the inexplicable veneration of "Chinese" and the denigration of "their own language" superposed a very Western linguistic view of the proper role of national languages in the formation of the modern state on a pre-modern Sino-centric episteme which still perceived the alphabet as primarily a tool of access to legitimized Confucian knowledge. Simply put, Koreans in the 1880s had yet to make such observations of the compartmentalized nature of writing on any large scale partly because the platform of the popular press had not yet emerged but primarily because it simply would not have occurred to most educated elites, particularly those thoroughly ensconced in Confucian education, meaning virtually all educated individuals. The fact that nearly all early descriptions of the Korean language by Western observers highlighted the linguistic hierarchy that existed between the vernacular script ("their own language") and LS ("Chinese") in contrast to virtual silence on the matter among Koreans demonstrates the imported nature of this language ideology. That the first indigenous "language entrepreneurs" who called for language reform and modernization received an education that straddled the Confucian textual tradition and Western education also suggests the influence of the latter in spreading Western ideologies related to linguistic modernity.

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Imperial Board of Education (*Teikoku kyōiku kai*) set up the Genbun Itchi Committee as a part of its language reform agenda. For a description of the *genbun itchi* movement in Japan, see Lee Yeounsuk, *The Ideology of Kokugo: Nationalizing Language in Modern Japan*, trans. Maki Hirano Hubbard (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010), 49-53; Nanette Twine, "The Genbun'itchi Movement: Its Origins, Development, and Conclusion," *Monumenta Nipponica* XXXIII, no. 3 (1978): 333-356; Elizabeth Kaske, *The Politics of Language in Chinese Education, 1895-1919* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), Chapter 1.

Western observations of the disorganized state of Korean orthography, the virtual non-existence of grammatical organization or lexical codification, and the divided nature of vernacular and LS continued unabated through the late 1880s and 1890s, usually coupled like earlier discourse with a critique of the vernacular's denigrated position in the linguistic hierarchy.<sup>343</sup> For example, a book-length account by William Richard Carles (1848-1929) entitled *Life in Corea* (1888, 1894), based on his 18-month experience in Korea first as an independent traveler from China (1883), then as British Vice-Consul (1884-1885), is one of the earliest accounts of Korea based on direct experience. Carles' account of the language situation in Korea echoes many contemporary accounts from other foreign observers, including his description of a language hierarchy and pervasive Sinitic influence. Carles writes the following on Korean language pedagogy and orthography:

A drawback, attending upon the little attention paid to the teaching of this language, is that the spelling has become very loose. Even in well-printed books, the faults of pronunciation committed by a careless speaker are perpetuated, and the final and initial letters of syllables are assigned to the wrong syllable. In a polysyllabic language, every syllable of which has its own signification, the meaning of the whole word is gathered

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<sup>343</sup> James Scott of the British legation who published *English-Korean Dictionary: Being a Vocabulary of Corean Colloquial Words in Common Use* in 1891 based on his experiences in Korea through the early 1880s, continued to contribute to discourse on the Korean language when he wrote in 1893, "The Corean language presents so many difficulties both of grammatical construction and of verbal inflection that the task of the student who attempts to acquire a mastery of its colloquial is well nigh hopeless. *There are no native grammars of the language;* and the only vocabulary used by Corean scholars is the *Ok P'yen* 玉篇, a Chinese Dictionary which gives the Corean transliteration of the sounds of the Chinese Characters with their meanings in Chinese. Although one of the most ancient tongues in Asia, the influence of Chinese literature and civilization early led Corean scholars to relegate the study of their vernacular to a subordinate place in public estimation." Scott echoes the language ideologies of his contemporaries in describing LS literature not as Korean or even as a native adaptation of a cosmopolitan literature, but as simply "Chinese." However, unlike many other Western observers, Scott does make the distinction between 'the language' in general and "vernacular," claiming that the focus on Sinitic scholarship did forestall study of the vernacular, which is accurate. See James Scott, *A Corean Manual or Phrase Book with Introductory Grammar* (Seoul: English Church Mission Press, 1893).

from the syllables of which it is compounded; but for foreigners, at any rate, the component parts are likely to be misleading rather than to form a clue, if there is any carelessness in the separation of syllables.....Owing to the great ease with which Coreans can learn to read and write their own language, as a written language, it is regarded with great contempt, and its use is in great measure confined to women and uneducated men. In official documents it is seldom employed except in proclamations to the people or on business relating purely to the court. The literature is exceedingly small, but it is worth noting that circulating libraries on an exceedingly petty scale do exist in the capital.<sup>344</sup>

Writing as he did in the 1880s, Carles' observations reflect not the language ideologies of Korean literati, very few of whom would have had any exposure to Western education or linguistic theory, but rather a modernist, Western language ideology informed by the necessity of coherence in speech and writing and universal literacy in a national language ("their own language"). Although describing the effect of orthographic ambiguity on the foreign learner, the problems he highlights nonetheless were the very issues that were taken up by Korean language reformers a decade later, most notably on the pages of *The Independent*. "Literature" for Carles is that composed in the vernacular, a literature which is "exceedingly small": LS "literature," which composed the bulk of the textual landscape, did not qualify as literature per se from such a national language ideological standpoint. For Carles, the vast majority of writing was in fact "Chinese," not Korean, which he describes thus:

The language which virtually has taken [Korean's] place in print and correspondence is Chinese, but the style of composition, *though correct*, is extremely antiquated, and Chinese words bear as a meaning, not that of the present day, but that attached to them a thousand years since (emphasis mine).<sup>345</sup>

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<sup>344</sup> W. R. Carles, *Life in Corea* (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1888), 311-12.

<sup>345</sup> Carles, *Life in Corea*, 312. Carles adds an interesting account of the recitation habits of literati Koreans: "When reading Chinese aloud, Coreans read it in Corean to a kind of chant, thus making a species of viva voce translation, which is worth bringing to the notice of those dons who are desirous of adding to the horrors of examinations." Carles, *Life in Corea*, 312.

The language here again betrays a strong current of Western language ideology superimposed on a pre-modern Confucian episteme, at a time which preceded the emergence of such discourse in the indigenous Korean-language press. Carles states that Chinese has virtually taken the place of Korean, insinuating that the rightful place for “print and correspondence” is naturally the national language, whereas a foreign language, “Chinese,” had supplanted the local idiom from its logical position. The idea that Chinese had “taken the place” of Korean further suggests that the national language had once served as the medium of print and correspondence but had been forced out, which of course was not the case. Finally, Carles’ description of Korean-style Chinese as a style of composition that was “correct” is intriguing: much like Appenzeller’s claim that the *Okp’yŏn* and Sino-Korean spellings more generally represented an oasis of standardization in a desert of orthographic chaos, Carles also defers to the ultimate authority of LS as the template for standard, “correct” writing in the Sinographic Cosmopolis, though an usurper of rightful national language prestige. This was again based on a language ideology that simultaneously idealized orthographic standardization, national language supremacy, and universal education.

In his Preface, Carles provides a list of his sources and consultants, including “Lieutenant G. C. Foulk, who was in charge of the United States Legation at Soul while I was there in the early part of 1885... M. Kondo, the Japanese Chargé d’ Affaires at Soul during the same period; Professor Terrien de la Coupiere; Professor H. M. Moseley of Oxford; Mr. W. G. Aston, formerly her Majesty’s Consul-General in Corea; and Mr. E. H. Parker, of Her Majesty’s Consular Service in China” (Preface vi-vii). Significantly, Korean scholars are not included anywhere in Carles’ list of acknowledgements, demonstrating that the above professed language

ideologies were the product not of indigenous intellectuals, but of Western theories of language and nation<sup>346</sup>

Another example of Western language ideologies superimposed on the Korean Confucian episteme—though at a time when discourses on linguistic modernity had begun to appear in the popular press and important government policy changes were taking place—is also an unabashed example of Orientalist literature, penned by the travel writer and amateur anthropologist Isabella Bird Bishop (1831-1904) in 1898:

The language of Korea is mixed. The educated classes introduce Chinese as much as possible into their conversation, and *all the literature of any account* is in that language, but it is of an archaic form, the Chinese of 1,000 years ago, and differs completely in pronunciation from Chinese as now spoken in China. *En-mun* [sic], the Korean script, is utterly despised by the educated, whose sole education is in the Chinese classics.<sup>347</sup> Korean has the distinction of being the only language of Eastern Asia which possesses an alphabet. Only women, children, and the uneducated used the *En-mun* till January, 1895, when a new departure was made by the official *Gazette*, which for several hundred years had been written in Chinese, appearing in a mixture of Chinese characters and *En-mun*, *a resemblance to the Japanese mode of writing*, in which the Chinese characters which play the chief part are connected by kana syllables (emphasis mine).<sup>348</sup>

Eight years after the publication of Underwood's *Grammar*, Bishop echoes many of the same language ideologies: Koreans disparage their own language while venerating Chinese, only writings in Chinese are considered "literature of any account," and the only individuals to use the vernacular are women, children, and the uneducated. However, certain of her observations are misleading or inaccurate, and betray a simplistic understanding of the linguistic landscape, or

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<sup>347</sup> The above lines closely resemble Carles' descriptions, and it is almost certain that Bird gleaned much of her information from *Life in Corea*. In the course of her book Bird specifically references "Consul Carles" three times.

<sup>348</sup> Isabella Bird Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbors: A Narrative of Travel, with an Account of the Recent Vicissitudes and Present Position of the Country* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1897), 20-21.

perhaps superficial exposure to popular language ideologies (both those of Western residents and increasingly Korean interlocutors) during her limited sojourn in the country. For example, her comparison between the “Chinese” introduced into the conversations of the educated classes and that spoken in China is misleading in that, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, the LS used in Korea was never a spoken language but rather an unspeakable written code, and in this sense would not have differed in terms of antiquity from contemporary “Chinese” texts in the Confucian textual tradition<sup>349</sup>. Moreover, as was also described in Chapter 2, a form of *ǒnmun* was indeed employed by the literati to varying extents from the time of its promulgation, and so here her limiting of the alphabet to women, children, and the uneducated seems like the result of either a reductionist view of *ǒnmun* as the medium of vernacular fiction alone, or the reproduction of a misguided or simplistic view of the “dichotomous” nature of written Korean. It is unclear from whence this recurring discourse on the vernacular script’s association with women and children sprang,<sup>350</sup> but it seems unlikely that it emerged solely from the first-hand observations of Western scholars and missionaries. Rather, it is more likely that it represented the interaction between Westerners’ previously held views on the desirability of universal literacy and education, the repetition and subsequent reinforcement of ‘truisms’ of Korean

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<sup>349</sup> However, the *hanmun* used in Korea would have differed from writing in China at the time in terms of register, with most LS in Korea clustering in the higher *komun* register, whereas in China a greater variety of registers had by this time developed, including more *baihua* or vernacularized styles.

<sup>350</sup> Lee Ji-Eun, writing on the origins of this narrative, explains that “The usual trajectory on scholarship of pre-twentieth-century book culture first associates women with indigenous script...then links them with the literary genre of the novel, and thus defines women as the main reader group for novels written in han’gŭl.” However, Lee challenges this assumption based on low literacy rates and socio-cultural factors surrounding Chosŏn women. See Lee Ji-Eun, “Literacy, Sosŏl, and Women in Book Culture in Late Chosŏn Korea,” *East Asian Publishing and Society* 4, no. 1 (2014): 36-64, 36.



textual and social dichotomy by multiple Western scholars and missionaries, and the later reproduction of such discourses in the Korean popular press—disapprovingly by enlightenment intellectuals and approvingly by more conservative literati—which in turn shaped the lens through which first-hand observations of the linguistic landscape were received. Moreover, like Underwood and other missionaries before her, Bishop draws the connection between the established Japanese Mixed-Script style and a similar style which had just emerged in the Korean public sphere.<sup>351</sup> While Underwood in *An Introduction to the Korean Spoken Language* (1890) noted the still solidly compartmentalized nature of the Korean linguistic landscape, where *ŏnmun* and LS had clearly defined roles which rarely coincided, Bishop's *Korea, and Her Neighbors* may have highlighted the shifting sands of this same landscape in the intervening years, again with reference to a familiar model of hybrid/Mixed Script writing, Japanese. The potentiality of Japanese as a template for Korean vernacularization was clearly realized by even the most casual observer of the languages, and for Enlightenment-period Korean intellectuals and “language entrepreneurs” more attuned to the nuts and bolts of Korean grammar and syntax, Japanese soon became a more concrete model for linguistic reform.<sup>352</sup> A final observation we may make about Bird's comments is that knowledge or ignorance of “Chinese” was clearly the litmus test for being educated or not, again demonstrating the primacy of modern knowledge dissemination in discourses on language.

One Western scholar-missionary who developed an extremely well-defined language ideology related to LS, Korean vernacular, and the connection between them, is the Canadian

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<sup>351</sup> Carles also noted the similarity between the languages when he wrote, “Of the agglutinative languages, that to which it is most nearly akin is Japanese, and especially is this the case in the use of honorific forms of verbs, in order to define the respective social positions of the persons speaking, spoken of, and addressed.” Carles, *Life in Corea*, 310.

<sup>352</sup> This phenomenon will be explained in detail in the following chapter.

Protestant missionary James Scarth Gale.<sup>353</sup> Gale was a highly prodigious writer, translator, and scholar of Korean language and culture, participating in countless translation projects including various works of fiction, the *Bible*, and other religious works, publishing multiple dictionaries, and leaving behind a voluminous collection of articles and books on various aspects of Korea, as well as a mini-archive of unpublished manuscripts and journal entries.<sup>354</sup> Gale's language ideologies convey a pronounced ambiguity about the unsettled state of the Korean linguistic and educational landscape, the discontinuities and ruptures between pre-modernity and the modern episteme. Unlike many Western missionaries, Gale acquired a profound expertise in Sino-Korean literature and gained an appreciation for the antiquarian, believing that the most effective method for connecting evangelically with the soul of the *yangban* was by connecting academically with the mind of the scholar through the LS tradition. Gale also had an appreciation, on the other hand, for the inevitable eclipsing of the old order, and his writing is often fraught with a regretful realization of this disconnect: the painful yet inevitable passing of the literary tradition he held so dear coupled with the unsettling vacuousness and sterility of a yet unfulfilled

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<sup>353</sup> The most comprehensive biography of James Scarth Gale remains that penned by Richard Rutt as an introduction to his reissue of Gale's *History of the Korean People* (1927), although Rutt's portrayal of the missionary is at times not very flattering, and his general translation philosophy does not jibe with the rather conservative technique of Gale. Despite the over four decades spent by Gale in Korea and the mountain of scholarship, translations, and lexical work he amassed, remarkably little research has been conducted on him. See Richard Rutt, *James Scarth Gale and His History of the Korean People: A New Edition of the HISTORY together with a Biography and Annotated Bibliographies* (Söul: RASKB, Taewon Publishing Company, 1972).

<sup>354</sup> For a two-year period I was personally involved with an ongoing project to transcribe and catalogue the personally penned manuscripts of James Scarth Gale, an archive which totals some twenty bound journal volumes of more than 200 manuscript pages each, as well as numerous typescripts. Although some of these materials were published in various missionary publications and scholastic journals, the bulk of them are unpublished and largely unknown.

literary modernity. Twenty-eight years after the symbolic abrogation of the Confucian episteme with the discontinuation of the *kwagŏ* examinations, Gale wrote:

In the year 1894 the proclamation of new legislation abrogated the past, and along with it a long tradition of ancient research was discontinued. Confucianism died overnight, and a ship called nation was set adrift, the anchor of its deep history being left behind. The winds of destiny which had been blowing for the past 28 years seemed to blow Korea far from its historic moorings. Therefore today we can say that Korea has been blown far out to sea and not returned. The old has disappeared, but the new has yet to arrive. Japanese concepts, Western ideas, ideologies of a new world—as yet not clearly defined, are crashing and colliding in midair like wireless telegraphs.”<sup>355</sup>

Gale’s sentiments vividly portray the dilemma of a generation or more of Korean intellectuals, those who straddled the divide between the Confucian education regime and the modern episteme. Education centered on success in the *kwagŏ* examination had been delegitimized by the elimination of this exam, but a suitable replacement—“ideologies of a new

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<sup>355</sup> James Scarth Gale, “Korean Literature,” *Christian Literature Society of Korea*, 1923. Gale had expressed this sentiment elsewhere in his writing at an earlier time. Gale wrote the following in 1915 to the Presbyterian Missionary Council on the issue of curriculum at the Theological Seminary: “The larger question however is the general state of the seminary. We might ask What is the aim of the seminary? It is to equip students mentally and spiritually to be leaders of men in all that pertain to the good of their people. We desire that they only know the Scripture, that they zzz to zzz of God, that they may be wise and up to date in their day and generation. As they go forth they will be tried by the general public that hears and knows the zzz will be given only that measure of regard which their character attains merit. It is therefore of real importance that we see that they are properly equipped for the duties that lie ahead of them. In the early days when the seminary was first founded it was able in a measure to meet the needs. Mental standards were gaged [sic] by the Chinese Classics, the scholar was the natural leader and people necessarily acknowledged him as such. We had scholars in the Church and they with the additional help given by the Seminary came forth equipped to meet the day in which they lived. In the rapid transformation of the past six years this has all changed. The Chinese scholar is no longer regarded as a leader, his education is out of date and relegated to the past. This cuts away from beneath our seminary course one of the most valuable assets in the way of influence with the public. However, it is gone and can never be restored.

The intellectual spirit that dominates today is modern education. Shallow though it be it already has right of way and the Chinese scholar is silenced and zzz-ed by it. Modern education as represented by Tokyo with the powerful aid of the newspaper...” (This is an excerpt from Gale’s handwritten journal, which is at times difficult to decipher. Indecipherable words have been represented with “zzz.” Gale Ledger 10, 130-31.

world” embodied in Japanese and Western thought—had yet to be established as of the early 1920s, although they were as inevitable a fixture of modernity as “wireless telegraphs.” In terms of inscriptional practices, the “new” which had not yet arrived for Gale was a standardized form of writing in *kukhanmun*, able to effectively bridge the divide between LS and vernacular literary modernity. Although this observation was voiced at the outset of the 1920s, in a period which scholars today point to as the beginning of a golden age of ‘modern Korean’ literary formation,<sup>356</sup> for Gale this hybrid inscriptional technology had yet to achieve competence in this task. Writing earlier in 1900, Gale alluded to the reason for Korea’s belated acceptance of and conformity to literary modernity—the pronounced compartmentalization and hierarchization of Korea’s literary landscape—a sentiment common among earlier missionary discourses. Despite Gale’s deep personal involvement with research into LS noted above, he nonetheless expressed ambivalence as to the nature of the sinograph or “the character” as he termed it, especially when compared to Western literature. In the following passage from *Pen Pictures of Old Corea* (Chosŏn P’ilgyŏng 朝鮮筆景), a series of short musings on various aspects of Korean culture, Gale writes of three languages in Korea, “an eye language, an ear language, and a hand language.” Of the former, Gale writes:

The eye-language comes from China in the form of ideographs or pictures. Its soul lies not in the sound but in the shape, for the sound changes according to the place in which it

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<sup>356</sup> The form of Korean fiction writing which emerged in the 1920s bears a relatively close resemblance to contemporary fiction. That is, the typical Korean native speaker today is able to understand the text relatively easily without specialized language training. Due to the crystallization of this style of writing in the 1920s which more closely resembled subsequent writing styles than previous forms, coupled with the relatively more relaxed press freedoms enacted by the GGK following the March First Movement, scholars point to this period as the birth of modern Korean fiction writing, although academic writing would take a slightly different trajectory with prolonged Sino-Korean and Sino-Japanese orthographic influence. Mun Hyeyun, *Munhagŏ ūi kŭndae: Chosŏnŏ ro kŭl ūl ssŭndanŭn kŏt* (Sŏul: Somyŏng Ch’ulp’an, 2008); Im, *20-segi Kuk-Hanmunch’e ūi hyŏngsŏng kwajŏng*.

exists, while the shape remains ever the same... Korean literature is nearly all written in the eye-language. It cannot be heard by any mortal ear. The eyes must see it, and the mind translate it, and the voice sing it out in colloquial before the ear can hear and understand. For that reason Orientals are great readers by the eye... This eye-language is a sign and wonder in the land of Sinim,<sup>357</sup> a marvel and a mystery among the sons of men. It is the oldest form of writing on the earth. It is the most widely distributed, being placarded on door-posts all the way from Tokyo to Tibet and from Harbin to Mandalay. It is the most sacred for its forms are worshipped by millions of the race, yet I suppose it is the most hidebound and indefinite of all written languages. It has been the lurking place of subterfuge, evasion, white-lie, guile and duplicity. Through it men hint at what they are after, while covering up the real thought and motive that lies underneath, by it you can write one thing and mean another. It possesses no definite article and no indefinite, so that when it comes to an exact translation satisfactory results are impossible.<sup>358</sup>

For Gale, the sinograph is at once exotic and duplicitous, mysterious and yet notorious, a source of wonder and marvel with widespread currency throughout the eastern world but equally “the lurking place of subterfuge, evasion” and “guile.”<sup>359</sup> What is clear from this passage is that

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<sup>357</sup> The land of Sinim is a reference to the following passage of the Old Testament: “Behold, these shall come from far: and, lo, these from the north and from the west; and these from the land of Sinim” (Isaiah 49: 12, KJV). Many Bible scholars believe Sinim (Hebrew: סִינִים) to be a reference to China, in this case the Qin state founded in 221 BCE, or less specifically distant lands far to the east of the Holy Land. The Latinization of Qin, Sinae, and the common occurrence of its root in various words such as sinology, sinograph, etc. suggest a Chinese connection. Gale seems to be using the term here as a stand-in for ‘the Orient.’ Many Western missionaries working in China in the nineteenth century believed this passage to be a prophetic vision of God’s plan to evangelize the East, among them the missionary and sinologist James Legge, who delivered a speech on the subject to the London Missionary Society in 1858 or 1859 titled “The Land of Sinim.” See Lauren Pfister, “Some New Dimensions in the Study of the Works of James Legge (1815-1897): Part II,” *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* 13, (1991): 33-46, 35-36.

<sup>358</sup> James Scarth Gale, “A Freak of Language,” in *Pen Pictures of Old Korea*, 1912, unpublished manuscript. *Pen Pictures* was never published, and approximately one quarter of the essays were included verbatim or with slight changes in Gale’s later work *Old Corea*, which seems to have been compiled during his retirement in Bath, England (On the title page appears “OLD COREA (KOREA) by JAMES SCARTH GALE, Original Articles, Translations etc. A MISSIONARY IN KOREA from 1888 till 1927”). *Old Corea*, too, was unfortunately never published. The essays appearing in *Pen Pictures* were written between 1899 and 1912, with the bulk being written between 1900 and 1905. This particular essay was dated 1901.

for Gale this “eye language” commanded a vast amount of authority and legitimacy throughout East Asia due to its wide distribution and antiquity; however, its inexact and nebulous nature compared to Western standards of writing made “the character” a dubious medium for modern literature and translation, which demanded directness and precision, and importantly, intertranslatability with Western languages. But what of the emerging inscriptional diversification in texts previously rendered in LS alone? The Korean alphabet had long since demonstrated the ability to render vernacular literature, and so what Gale was specifically referring to was the continued tendency to convey new academic knowledge in LS. The solution, therefore, was the further development and refinement of this new ‘technology’ of literary modernity, *kukhanmun*. In the above passage, Gale is clearly describing not the individual sinograph per se, but the holistic system of LS: “Korean literature is nearly all written” in it, “it cannot be heard by any mortal ear,” and it possesses “no definite article and no indefinite.” *Kukhanmun* writing, on the other hand, combined the intellectual authority and legitimacy imbedded in sinographic concepts and terminology with the definiteness, intertranslatability, and voicedness of vernacular Korean grammar. This combination of sino-semantic intellectual authority with vernacular grammatical and translational exactness was manifested in the

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<sup>359</sup> Homer Hulbert voiced a similar opinion on the nature of the sinograph in 1898 in a short article on *idu* that appeared in the *Korean Repository*, which ran “As we all know, the Chinese runs to two extremes. While each idea is indicated by a separate ideograph, the most complicated that the world can show, it is grammatically the most crude and primitive in the world. Inflection is entirely wanting. A Chinese document is a succession of simple ideas in isolated words and the connection between these words is indicated partly by the method of collocation and partly by blind tradition. The result is that the mere memorizing of the Chinese character is not half the labor involved in the mastery of written Chinese. What is the result of this? Simply that the great body of Korean literati are acquainted with a large number of isolated characters but can read only the very simplest Chinese text; in many cases none at all.” Thus, for Hulbert ‘Chinese’ boasted the most complex of written forms extremely difficult to master, yet by modern Western standards of “grammaticality” the language was found severely wanting, the cause for an endemic premodern condition of useless, semi-literacy. See Homer Hulbert, “The Itu,” *The Korean Repository*, February, 1898, 47-54; 47.

mediational technology of *kukhanmunch'e*, a form of writing increasingly gaining currency among not only Western scholars such as Gale but also Korean intellectuals in the first decade of the twentieth century. Whereas the Protestant mission in early modern Korea has a legacy of pure *han'gŭl* promotion and pedagogy, Gale sought to preserve the legitimacy of the sinograph while answering the call of linguistic modernity, combining each into a refined, hybrid technology. Korean 'language entrepreneurs' in the 1890s and 1900s continued a similar discursive thread elevating the vernacular to medium of modern knowledge conveyance, but the continuing authority commanded by the cosmopolitan along with their relatively conservative language ideologies directed their efforts to the refinement of *kukhanmun* for use in modern pedagogy, which will be explored in the following section.

Despite the rallying of support behind *kukhanmun* as the preferred medium of intellectual writing, Gale and others acknowledged the historical circumstances which had produced such a pronounced state of linguistic and cultural dependence. Gale seems to have accepted the coalescing around *kukhanmun* for academic purposes, but as for pure literary writing, with which he was primarily concerned, he claimed that "[t]o sit down and write a story in the native language, or Anglo-Saxon, so to speak, is, we may say, impossible." Writing on the influence of China upon Korea in *The Royal Asiatic Society Korea Branch* (1900), Gale states:

Such being the nature of these centuries of Chinese influence Korea has to-day no life, literature or thought that is not of Chinese origin. She has not even had a permanent Manchu occupation to break the hypnotic spell of Confucianism. Even her language, while possessing a basis of form entirely different from that of China, has had the latter language so grafted into it, and the thought of the same so fully made a part of its very essence, that we need the Chinese character to convey it. This will account for the native contempt of the native script. En-mun (諺文) has become the slave of Han-mun (漢文), and does all the coolie work of the sentence, namely, the ending, connecting and inflecting parts, while the Han-mun, in its lordly way, provides the nouns and verbs.<sup>360</sup>

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<sup>360</sup> James Scarth Gale, "The Influence of China Upon Korea," *The Royal Asiatic Society Korea Branch*, 1900.

For Gale, the influence of China is absolute, Korea having no life, literature, or thought that is not of Chinese origin. Interestingly, Gale writes about the respective roles of Sino-Korean and vernacular elements within a Korean sentence. Although he seems to describe the spoken language, this Hanmun-dominant/vernacular-passive relationship may be applied to patterns of inscriptional practice in *kukhanmun* writing as well. Therefore, while *kukhanmun* writing embodied a kind of compromise between ‘tradition’ and ‘modernity’ in an asymmetric linguistic configuration where, “out of a list of 32,789 [Korean] words, there proved to be 21,417 Chinese,” the preponderance of sinographic vocabulary in dominant syntactic roles represented the symbolic subjugation of Korea to a greater power and demonstrated the need to assert linguistic autonomy.<sup>361</sup> For Gale, other missionaries, and a growing number of Korean intellectuals, this meant the codification of the Korean language through dictionary compilation, the establishment of a standard orthography for purposes of modern education, either evangelical or secular, and the formation of a modern and preferably “Christian-inspired” vernacular literary tradition.<sup>362</sup>

Western discourses on Korean language and writing from the 1870s to annexation in 1910 contained several recurring language ideologies relating to the nature of alphabetic and logographic writing systems, literacy and the role of national languages, and vernacular

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<sup>361</sup> Ibid. Gale discusses at length the dominance of Sino-Korean vocabulary in the Korean lexicon: “Out of a list of 32,789 words, there proved to be 21,417 Chinese and 11,372 Korean, that is twice as many Chinese as native words. At the present time, too, the language is being flooded by many new terms to represent incoming Western thought, and these are all Chinese.

In the Han-mun dictionary, or *Ok-p’yŏn* (玉篇), there are 10,850 characters. In reading these, the native endeavours as far as possible to mark each character by some native word, which will approximately give the meaning, so he says *Soi-keum* or ‘metal’-*keum*. In this search for native words that will approximately designate the character he finds himself lacking in the case of more than 3,000 characters. For 7,700 of them native words are found, but for the remainder nothing even approaching the meaning exists in the native speech.” Gale, “Influence.”

<sup>362</sup> Ross King, “James Scarth Gale and the Christian Literature Society: Salvific Translation and Korean Literary Modernity.” In *Corea, una Aproximación Humanista a los Estudios Coreanos*, edited by Wonjung Min. Santiago: Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, 2014.



standardization and codification. Western observers of the East Asian linguistic landscape clearly positioned “Chinese,”<sup>363</sup> a “monosyllabic,” “hieroglyphic” language and writing system, at the primitive end of the developmental spectrum, though superior to vernacular Korean at least in that its method of written representation had been standardized. Korea’s possession of an alphabet, on the other hand, held out hope that vernacular Korean expressed in this alphabet could progress toward Western standards of linguistic modernity, and that modern education and evangelization could proceed apace. The obstacle to such progress, however, was the ‘backward’ and pre-modern privileging of a logographic system of writing, a perverse tradition which had retarded orthographic standardization and semantic organization while denying mass literacy in “their own language,” that is, vernacularized Korean as national language. These language ideologies emerged from Western popular and academic understandings of language—particularly the role of language and writing in the formation of the modern nation-state through education—and were applied to the East Asian case in order to explain and justify methods and goals of translation, Korean pedagogy, and dictionary compilation. Korean intellectuals in the 1890s and the 1900s also called for dictionary compilation, the publication of grammars, orthographic standardization, and the overall promotion of the vernacular script, but for reasons which soon diverged from Western discourse. Whereas Western descriptions of the Korean inscriptional hierarchy (*ǒnmun* and LS) were primarily generated from missionaries’ own understandings of the ‘proper’ role of the vernacular in the emergence of Western nation-states, and motivated mainly by a desire to facilitate proselytization, Korean discourses on language and writing came to demonstrate an intimate connection between the nation, vernacularization, and enlightenment, the main forum of which became the modern school. With the beginning of the

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<sup>363</sup> Here this refers to both LS and spoken, contemporary Chinese.

protectorate period in 1905 and the publishing of school textbooks by the T'onggambu (Residency General), discourses on the interconnectedness of script and nation converged with the already salient issue of language in pedagogy, and effective 'enlightenment' through modern schooling for the sake of the nation became the primary motivation for linguistic reform and standardization.

## **2.4 The Nation, *Ŏnmun*, and Education: Language in Pedagogy as the Motivating Force behind Linguistic Modernity**

The earliest Western exposure to and observations of linguistic practices on the Korean peninsula occurred at a time when linguistic standardization and modernization had yet to emerge as significant sites of intellectual discourse in the Korean-language press. Rather than reflecting the development of indigenous discourses on the connection between nationalized language and linguistic modernity,<sup>364</sup> descriptions by missionaries and other observers were the product of Western language ideologies related to teleologies of language development, the necessity of 'intertranslatability,' and the function of language standardization as both an index of and a method to achieve each. Korean-language discourses on vernacular language and

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<sup>364</sup> Inoue Miyako points to the *genbun'itchi* movement in Japan as the primary embodiment of linguistic modernity, specifically its introduction of "reported speech formally separating itself and other and the development of language as a tele-technology to cite, dislocate, and relocate the ephemeral voice of the other." According to Inoue, the aim of these language reformers was to create "a modern standard Japanese language for their own ends, to rationalize it as a medium for government, education, law, commerce, print capitalism, and the military, as well as to make it a unifying medium for the spiritual bond of the nation." In this thesis I consider the reception of *genbun'itchi/ŏnmun ilch'i* in Korea as a medium for education. See Inoue Miyako, *Vicarious Language: Gender and Linguistic Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 50.

writing in the popular press engaged with many of the same issues starting in the late 1880s<sup>365</sup> but more fundamentally from the 1890s, and focused notably on the elevation of *ŏnmun*, or simply ‘the vernacular,’ to the level of *kungmun*, or national script.<sup>366</sup> However, reform-minded Korean intellectuals writing in the popular press and in the introductions and prefaces of various vernacular grammars were also concerned with the issue of standardizing the vernacular, a campaign which was evidently more intimately influenced by earlier Western efforts in this regard than was the promotion of *kungmun* as national script. The following passage by an anonymous author appearing in *The Independent* in 1897 suggests the still underexplored field of Korean linguistics, at least from the indigenous perspective, and the enormous contribution of missionary scholars such as Gale:

The American missionary Mr. Gale,<sup>367</sup> over the course of several years, compiled a Korean-English dictionary which is hot off the presses in Japan and has just been sent to Seoul, a work of more than 1,300 pages. Below the *Chosŏnŏ* entries is *hanmun* and English, and at the back of the book are recorded all sorts of indispensable items.<sup>368</sup> This

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<sup>365</sup> For example, a lengthy, eloquent call for vernacular education and textbook publication appeared in the pages of the *Hansŏng chubo*, the first newspaper to feature *kukhanmun* writing for academic prose, by an unknown author in 1886. See “Non hakchŏng che 3,” *Hansŏng chubo*, February 15, 1886. The history of this periodical will be taken up in the following chapter.

<sup>366</sup> Indigenous discourses on the vernacular script and its relationship to the cosmopolitan did of course exist in pre-modern Korea, and so it is not my intention here to suggest that the emergence of discussions on such language issues were solely the result of foreign impetus. Rather, when comparing indigenous discourses on language issues prior to the 1890s with those appearing in the subsequent period, a very notable shift occurs toward the nationalizing of script, among other changes, transformations that seem most acutely influenced by Western discourses. Pre-modern language ideologies related to the vernacular script, although an intriguing area of research, are beyond the scope of this study.

<sup>367</sup> Gale was actually Canadian, not American. Because he was a Canadian working for the American Presbyterian mission, he is referred to variously in Korean sources of the period as “Canadian,” “English,” or “American.”

<sup>368</sup> These “indispensable items” included “all the characters of the Okp’yŏn with the meanings taken from Giles’ Chinese Dictionary, and the Okp’yŏn itself.” James Scarth Gale, “Preface,” in

dictionary represents the best such contribution to date for Chosŏn, and its compiler deserves great praise and appreciation not only from the people of our country but from all over the world. This book was made in a thoroughly academic manner, and will serve an essential function for the people of Chosŏn and foreigners alike, a work that is unprecedented in this regard. Featuring *Chosŏnmal*, English and *hanmun*, what a great service this is to Chosŏn, as our people, book in hand, *may properly learn their language and the method of writing the language as well*. For several thousands of years our people were not able to effectively learn their own language, so how can we not be grateful to this American missionary? Every one of the Chosŏn people has the desire to learn *Chosŏnmal* as well as *hanmun* and English, *and so we hope that they purchase this dictionary and learn, for the first time, how to write in their own language* (emphasis mine).<sup>369</sup>

Writing as he did in the pages of *The Independent*, the author of the above would have been engaged to some degree in the newspaper's self-appointed task of propagating 'enlightened' thought among the Korean populace, particularly that of a Christian, Western-inspired nature. Given the congratulatory tone of the review, the author may have been personally involved in the actual compilation of the dictionary, and thus invested in its advertisement.<sup>370</sup> At any rate the author's characterization of Gale's contribution and indeed of the entire project to standardize the Korean language reveals the perception of at least a segment of Korean intellectuals that detailed research on the Korean language as a *comprehensive entity* (encompassing both "*Chosŏnmal*" and "*hanmun*") was a necessity, and that missionaries such as Gale were pioneering the field. The most notable aspect of this passage is the author's emphasis on the universal nature of Gale's contribution: the dictionary would serve "an essential function for the

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*A Korean-English Dictionary* [Han-Yŏng chădyŏn] (Yokohama: Kelly and Walsh, Limited, 1897), 2.

<sup>369</sup> "Chappo," *Tongnip sinmun*, April 24, 1897.

<sup>370</sup> Gale acknowledges a number of his associates in the preface to this dictionary, those who presumably acted as his informants, and the author of the above may have been one among this list: Chŏng Tongmyŏng (鄭東鳴), Yang Siyŏng (梁時英), Yi Ch'angjik (李昌植), Yi Tŭksu (李得秀), Yi Kyŏmnae (李謙來), Yang Ŭijong (梁宜鍾), Cho Chonggap (趙鍾甲), and Sin Myŏnhyu (申冕休). This was in stark contrast to Carles and Bird, who mentioned not a single Korean interlocutor in their acknowledgements.

people of Chosŏn and foreigners alike,” and as such deserves praise from people “all over the world.” Unlike Underwood’s rather hurried efforts in 1890 at producing something “for immediate use” among the foreigner population at the urging of his colleagues, Gale’s offering is hailed as a lasting contribution to posterity, aligning Korean finally in the world linguistic tradition of lexicography. Furthermore, English functions as both a meta-linguistic analytic tool and object of study, allowing the Korean student to “properly learn their language” while connecting to global knowledge. Finally, the acknowledgement of the pedagogical and enlightenment value of the dictionary to Korean native speakers is striking. More than a mere linguistic contribution, the dictionary offers a reliable method to “properly learn [the Korean] language and the method of writing the language” “for the first time.” Despite the admittedly biased legacy of the dictionary compilation project in Korea, directed as it was by missionaries primarily concerned with facilitating proselytization and perhaps secondarily with documenting “the long-sealed language of a still-sealed people” for global linguistic posterity, in an atmosphere bereft of writings or research on the Korean language as a comprehensive object of study (vernacular and cosmopolitan), contributions such as Gale’s came to fill an evangelical, linguistic, and pedagogical void.

Observations such as the above signalled the direction that the indigenous language reform movement would increasingly take in the first decade of the twentieth century: the initiation of dictionary compilation, the first grammatical analyses of the vernacular according to standards of Western linguistic science, and orthographic standardization.<sup>371</sup> However, the

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<sup>371</sup> The first comprehensive grammars of the language were written by Yi Pong’un (*Kungmun chŏngni* 1897), Yu Kilchun (*Chosŏn munjŏn* 1904; 1906), and Chu Sigyŏng (*Taehan kugŏ munpŏp* 1906). The *Kungmun yŏn’guhoe* (National Language Research Society) was established in 1908 and made concrete recommendations (*Kungmun yŏn’gu ŭijŏngan*) in 1909 to the Ministry of Education as to orthographic standardization, but annexation the following year

earliest discourses on textuality in Korea which theorized writing practices as potentially holistic couched such concepts in increasingly nationalistic terms. For example, the Confucian scholar (*yuhakcha*) and enlightenment intellectual Hwang Hyŏn (黃玼, 1855-1910) wrote on the shift in writing practices at the Chosŏn court following King Kojong's November 21, 1894 "Edict on Public Writing" (*kongmunsik* 公文式).<sup>372</sup>

Today, the *Official Gazette* [*kyŏngjung kwanbo* 京中官報] as well as all official documents in the provinces combine *chin* [眞] and *ŏn* [諺] together, connecting words and phrases in much the same way as the Japanese form of writing. From long ago in our language we have called Chinese [*hwamun* 華文] *chinsŏ*, and *hunmin chŏng'ŭm*, *ŏnmun*, together referring to them as *chin-ŏn*. Keen individuals in step with the times have promoted *ŏnmun*, calling it *kungmun*, distinguishing it from *chinsŏ*, which they now term *hanmun* and claim to be foreign. Thereupon, the three characters *kukhanmun* [國漢文] have become a part of our language, and the designations 'chin' and 'ŏn' have been phased out. The foolish and imprudent [狂佻者] naturally talked of abolishing *hanmun* altogether, but this situation has subsided.<sup>373</sup>

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forestalled further progress under native initiative. For a detailed description of the debate preceding this proposal, and a list of the specific recommendations, see King, "Protestant Missionaries."

<sup>372</sup> This edict stated: "All laws and edicts shall have *kungmun* as their base; one may attach a translation in *hanmun* or mix *hanmun* and *kungmun* together." 法律勅令 總以國文爲本 漢文附譯 或混用國漢. Quoted in King, "Nationalism and Language Reform," 37.

<sup>373</sup> "是時京中官報及外道文移, 皆眞諺相錯, 以綴字句, 盖效日本文法也, 我國方言, 古稱華文曰眞書, 稱訓民正音曰諺文, 故統稱眞諺, 及甲午(高宗三十一年) 後趨時務者盛推諺文曰國文, 別眞書以外之曰漢文, 於是國漢文三字遂成方言, 而眞諺之稱泯焉, 其狂佻者倡漢文當廢然勢格而止." Hwang Hyŏn and Im Hyongt'aek, *Yŏkchu maech'ŏn yarok* (Sŏul: Munhak kwa chisongsa, 2005 (1894)). An account from two years later, however, suggests a more lenient attitude toward the choice of script in government documents. According to an interaction between late Chosŏn government minister Cho Pyŏngse (趙秉世, 1827-1905) and King Kojong, it is evident that at least some members of the bureaucracy resisted conforming to even *kukhanmun* in their preparation of documents, to say nothing of *kungmun* only: "[Cho] Pyŏngse informed the King: 'Your Majesty, your humble servant cannot understand this style of mixed *kukhanmun* writing, and requests that he prepare all documents under his purview according to traditional custom [舊規, *hanmun*].' To this the King replied, 'So be it.'" "秉世曰: '國漢文交書之式, 臣誠莫曉矣。 臣之所掌凡奏, 當以舊規舉行矣。' 上曰: '如是爲之也。'" *Kojong sillok* 34, October 31, 1896.

Clearly the 1894 “Edict on Public Writing” had had a decisive effect on inscriptional practices within both the central government and provincial administration. In particular, the employment of *kukhanmun* in the *Official Gazette*, an organ which publicized Chosŏn government policies and proclamations, was an extremely significant step in the mediation between the central government and the population as well as the creation of a public sphere.<sup>374</sup> The author also has a clear appreciation for the significance of the terminology employed in the 1894 edict, and its dramatic divergence from the accepted paradigm. This terminological shift encapsulates the broader transformation in *language status* mentioned earlier in this chapter, from the traditional *chin-ŏn* dichotomy embodying the premodern episteme rooted in legitimized Confucian knowledge conveyed through the ‘true script’—the medium as the message—to the modernist, nationalistic paradigm of *kungmun-hanmun*, premised on the language ideology privileging the promotion and utilization of a national script and language. The author seems to take a pragmatic approach to the issue, most likely in line with a growing majority of educated Koreans at the time. On the one hand, those recognizing the indigenous nature of ‘*kungmun*’ and

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<sup>374</sup> The increased accessibility of government edicts, pronouncements, etc. to the public, along with the inauguration of a popular press which discussed such issues (also written in this more accessible writing system) combined to create conditions more conducive to the emergence of what Jürgen Habermas has famously termed “the public sphere.” Much like in the coffee houses of London and the salons of Paris that Habermas describes, a small but significant public sphere in Korea was characterized by certain institutional criteria: “disregard of status,” “domain of common concern” (that is, the concern with issues that had previously been unquestioned, such as the choice of script), and “inclusivity.” See Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere—An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989. Although the *kukhanmun* system employed still represented a heavily sinicized form of writing, the shift was nonetheless significant in that *kukhanmun* much more closely approximated the vernacular, and those with even a more limited knowledge of sinographs would have been capable of understanding the gist of government proclamations, and perhaps of mediating the text for less literate members of their community. However, literacy in *hanmun*, the previous medium of the *Official Gazette*, was much more limited.

termining it as such while separating it from the foreign “*hanmun*” are “in step with the times” (趨時務者). However, the author also echoes a common refrain of many literati of the time open to the idea of reform yet cautioning against hasty action by “foolish and imprudent” individuals. *Hanmun* still possessed authority and intellectual legitimacy among educated Koreans, and *kungmun*-only writing, while entering popular discourse (the Edict on Public Writing) as a theoretical ideal and serving limited practical applications in the popular press (*The Independent*)<sup>375</sup> had yet to accrue this same epistemological authority. Although ‘language entrepreneurs’ such as Sŏ Chaep’il and Chu Sigyŏng pressed at the margins for *kungmun*-only orthography, the less iconoclastic intellectuals who represented the majority of the literati coalesced around *kukhanmun* as a suitable compromise.

In addition to the writing of government documents and public proclamations in *kukhanmun*, another factor which contributed to the creation of a public sphere in late-Chosŏn society was the emergence of a vernacular press. Of the newspapers published in the late nineteenth century, *The Independent* was the most stridently nationalistic, notably by discursively linking the choice of script with education and enlightenment and the strengthening of the nation, but also more significantly by practicing what it preached through the deployment of *kungmun*-only orthography. Discourses on the language question in early modern Korea may be found in articles appearing in *The Independent* (1896-1899) and newspapers utilizing *kukhanmun* such as the *Hwangsŏng sinmun* (*Capital Gazette* 1898-1910) and the *Taehan maeil sinbo* (*Korean Daily News* 1904-1910), as well as academic journals such as the *T’aegŭk hakpo* (*Journal of the Great Ultimate*, a publication organized by Korean exchange students in Japan,

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<sup>375</sup> *Kungmun*-only orthography was utilized in a number of late 19<sup>th</sup>-century periodicals, including *Hyŏpsŏnghoe hoebo*, *Maeil sinmun*, and *Kyŏngsŏng sinmun*, but all of these newspapers were short in duration.



1906-1908) and *Taehan hyŏphoe hoebo* (*The Taehan Society Journal*, 1907-1910),<sup>376</sup> and the pre-annexation discussion over the standardization of written Korean has been thoroughly explored in previous research.<sup>377</sup> However, what has not been clearly uncovered is the route by which *kukhanmun* achieved its meteoric rise to legitimized *écriture* in such a compressed period of time, influenced by pedagogical motivations and most notably the Japanese model of language reform. The *Hwangŏng sinmun*, a late nineteenth-century periodical which was arguably more instrumental than *The Independent* in facilitating the emergence of a public sphere in Korea, was also very influential in crystallizing *kukhanmun* writing as the standard inscriptional practice of the vernacular press. The inaugural issue of the newspaper justifies the use of *kukhanmun* by invoking Korea's two most important ancient rulers, Tan'gun and Kija, before drawing a connection between their achievements and those of the current dynasty. The author praises Kija as "the first sage of Korea" for his role in instituting the Eight Laws (*p'alcho* 八條), "educating the people," and contributing to a flowering of literary and intellectual culture through successive dynasties, then draws a parallel between the accomplishments of King Sejong and the current monarch:

King Sejong the Great created a type of writing that has been called *kungmun* through which he has enlightened ignorant men and women everywhere, a form of writing so simple and convenient that even little girls, after just a month's effort, may well achieve a

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<sup>376</sup> For a semi-exhaustive collection of pre-colonial articles on the issue of language and writing in the Korean press, see Kim Minsu, Ha Tongho and Ko Yŏnggŭn, eds. *Kungmun-non chipsŏng*, Part 3, vol. 3 in *Yŏktae Han'guk Munpŏp taegyŏ* (Sŏul: Tower Press, 1985).

<sup>377</sup> King, "Nationalism and Language Reform in Korea"; "Protestant Missionaries"; Schmid, *Korea Between Empires*, 64-72; Han'gŭl hakhoe, ed. *Han'gŭl hakhoe 50nyŏnsa* [A Fifty-Year History of the Korean Language Society]. Sŏul: Han'gŭl hakhoe, 1971; Kim Pyŏngmun, *Ŏnŏjŏk kŭndae ũi kihŏek*; Yi Kimun, "Kaehwagi ũi kungmun sayong e kwanhan yŏn'gu," *Han'guk munhwa* 5 (1984): 65-84; Sin Yongha, "Chu Sigyŏng ũi aeguk kyemong sasang," *Han'guk sahoehak yŏn'gu* 1 (January 1977): 13-58.

lifetime's worth of utility.....Emperor [Kojong]<sup>378</sup> convened the *Kabo* Restoration Assembly [甲午中興之會], established on a foundation of autonomy and independence, and initiated a complete reform agenda, promulgating these various ordinances widely. In particular, the Emperor issued a proclamation that all writings and documents public and private be written in a combination of *kungmun* and *hanmun* [*kukhanmun ūro honyong*], a parallel deployment of the writing bestowed by our sage leader Kija and the writing system developed by our former King Sejong.....Today the orders and directives in each city and county along with documents and reports in every locale are written in this script, and in this publication as well, our intention in using combined *kukhanmun* writing is to disseminate widely our newspaper but also to follow the model enacted by the sagely decision of His Majesty the Emperor. Thus, in combining old and new writing [*komun kwa kŭmmun*] we have decided upon ease and convenience in order to convey the contents of our publication widely to you, our dear readers.<sup>379</sup>

In an effort to appeal to the Confucian sensibilities of the intended readership, the author adroitly establishes a Confucian lineage that extends throughout the history of the Korean people, representing the accomplishments of sage rulers as steps in the progressive development of writing practices in Korea. More than mythological or semi-legendary figures, Tan'gun and Kija functioned as metonyms during the Chosŏn Dynasty for the ethno-national and Sino-cultural origins of the Korean nation, respectively.<sup>380</sup> In historiography of the early twentieth century by so-called patriotic enlightenment thinkers such as Sin Ch'aeho (申萊浩, 1880-1936), the role of Kija as progenitor of Sinitic culture and literature on the Korean peninsula was attenuated in favor of the homogenous and uninterrupted image of the homogeneous Korean people (*tanil minjok* 單一民族) represented by the resurrected symbol of Tan'gun, this time imbued with the

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<sup>378</sup> In 1897 at the urging of the Independence Society (*Tongnip hyŏphoe*) the Chosŏn Dynasty officially proclaimed itself the Great Korean Empire (*Taehan cheguk*), symbolically elevating its status to that equal with the Japanese and Qing Empires, and King Kojong assumed the title of Emperor Kojong.

<sup>379</sup> "Sasŏl," *Hwangsŏng sinmun*, September 5, 1898. Inaugural Issue.

<sup>380</sup> Han Young-woo discusses this phenomenon at length in Han Young-woo, "Kija Worship in the Koryŏ and Early Yi Dynasties: A Cultural Symbol in the Relationship Between Korea and China," in *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary and JaHyun Kim Haboush (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

modernist conceptual term for the object of history, the *minjok* (民族 ethno-nation/Volk).<sup>381</sup> However, the author of this editorial clearly emphasizes the role of Kija in bestowing upon Korea the vaunted and respected LS tradition. For the author as well as the bulk of his readership, the LS tradition in the form of sinographs still commanded intellectual authority, a type of legitimacy which *kungmun*-only writing had yet to garner. On the other hand, the image among the literati of *ŏnmun* as the untouchable leper, the purview of women and children, the script of the private sphere, was also beginning to transform, and thus King Sejong was accorded high praise for his sagely creation of *hunmin chŏng'ŭm*. The author continues the lineage of developments in Korean writing in true Confucian fashion by exalting the current monarch Emperor Kojong for wisely legislating the combination of the old and new writing systems in the 1894 Edict on Public Writing, thus bringing full circle the evolution of literary culture from pre-literacy to vernacular Korean as the legitimized language of the public sphere. Through a closer analysis of the edict, however, Yi Ŭngho points out that the intended basis for government and other documents was in fact *kungmun*, not *kukhanmun*.<sup>382</sup> Because the edict stated, “All laws and edicts shall have *kungmun* as their base; one may attach a translation in *hanmun* or mix *hanmun* and *kungmun* together,” *kungmun* was apparently considered the preferred inscriptional practice, and if we are to take the order of appearance as an indication of preference, *kukhanmun* is included as more of an afterthought, following the method of attaching a *hanmun* translation. However, the *Hwangšŏng sinmun* portrays *kukhanmun* writing as the primary thrust of the

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<sup>381</sup> Andre Schmid, “Rediscovering Manchuria: Sin Ch’aeho and the Politics of Territorial History in Korea,” *The Journal of East Asian Studies* 56, no. 1 (February 1997): 26-46; *Korea Between Empires*, especially Chapters 5, 6, and 7; Henry Em, *The Great Enterprise: Sovereignty and Historiography in Modern Korea* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).

<sup>382</sup> Yi Ŭngho, *Kaehwagi ūi Han'gŭl undongsa* (Sŏul: Sŏngch'ŏngsa, 1975); 218-220.

legislation, a reflection of the Emperor's sagely appreciation for 'tradition' and 'progress' in the formation of linguistic modernity. The decision to employ *kukhanmun* and to an even greater extent the justification for this usage may be viewed as clever appropriations of Confucian legitimacy and modern notions of mass literacy and the dissemination of information in the public sphere to appeal to an educated and generally more conservative readership who were nonetheless open to the idea of gradual reform at the margins. Furthermore, the consistent employment of nationalized terminology (*hanmun*, *kukhanmun*, *kungmun*) in referring to the various inscriptional practices demonstrates the settling of such discourse within the intellectual class by the outset of the twentieth century.

In another article appearing in the *Hwangšong sinmun* the following year, the LS tradition is portrayed in a negative light, reflecting a gradual shift in discourse away from support of *hanmun* and toward vernacularization in even more conservative publications. At the outset of the editorial the author presents a clear teleology of writing practices, positioning alphabets such as "*kungmun*" at the pinnacle of progress.

What is called writing [書契] was devised in ancient China by Cangjie [蒼頡], scribe of the Yellow Emperor [*Sahwang ssi* 史皇氏] by mimicking the tracks of beasts and birds, and later generations called this *hanmun*. India later copied this tadpole-shaped [*kwaduhyōng* 科斗形] writing and devised a system of writing called Sanskrit [梵書, 'Brahman writing'] while the West combined the sounds of words and devised a system of horizontal writing [*haehaengmun* 蟹行文 "crab-walk writing"]. In the case of our Great Korea [我大韓], despite the spirit of Tan'gun and the sagacity of Kija we remained without a national script [*kungmun*]. For four thousand years the particular sounds of our native land were forlorn and cloistered and the true nature of our language was obscure and distant, while the state of learning suffered from dim ignorance and our spirit and will were stifled. It was a time when our ears were deaf and our eyes blind, when we were ignorant of and gave no thought to matters of the past, and the proper conduct of social relations, compassion, and morality were unclear and imprecise. Those with knowledge of *hanmun* were few, and a portion of the peoples' minds and hearts—men and women, noble and mean throughout the country—remained incomplete and unfulfilled.<sup>383</sup>

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<sup>383</sup> "Nonsŏl," *Hwangšong sinmun*, November 9, 1899.

The author then praises King Sejong’s script for its role in gradually spreading Sino-cultural literacy and Confucian ideology among lower classes, despite the tacit resistance of the literati (*hanmun’ga* 漢文家) due to their ill treatment of *ŏnmun*. The editorial concludes with a call for the wide dissemination of vernacular books (*kungmun sŏjŏk*) in order to “foster the benefit of one hundred generations and receive the virtue of our former king.” Much like the author in the inaugural issue of the *Hwangsŏng sinmun*, this writer appeals to the Confucian sensibilities of his target readership, yet reaches a different conclusion: the hegemony of *hanmun* stifled the development and dissemination of ‘proper’ virtues and thought among the populace, and *kungmun* had the current potential to rectify this situation. Thus, while certain iconoclastic language reformers were advocating for *kungmun*-only (Chu Sigyŏng and Sŏ Chhaep’il) or *kukhanmun* writing (Yu Kilchun) in the popular press based on Western-inspired theories of democratic mass literacy, modern linguistic theory,<sup>384</sup> and enlightenment of the populace, other intellectuals were making similar arguments for vernacularization, usually through the *kukhanmun* method, but couched in Confucian terms of fealty to sage rulers and the propagation of acceptable Confucian thought to appeal to a more conservative readership. However, what these arguments had in common was an appreciation for the importance of wider dissemination

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<sup>384</sup> Yu Kilchun and Chu Sigyŏng were working on their grammars of the Korean language based on modern Western linguistic theory during the late 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century, grammars that were finally published in the years directly preceding annexation: Chu’s *Taehan kugŏ munpŏp* (大漢國語文法) and *Kugŏ munpŏp* (國語文法 1910) and Yu’s *Taehan munjyŏn* (大漢文典 1908), along with Yi Pong’un’s *Kungmun chyŏngni* (國文正理 1897) represented the earliest modern grammars of the Korean language according to Western linguistic science. Evidence of familiarity with and promotion of Western linguistic theory can be found in the writings of these authors, including those in the popular press and the prefaces of their respective grammars. Prefaces and other introductory remarks from these and other grammars have been collected in Sŏ Minjŏng et al, ed. *Kŭndae chisigin ūi ŏnŏ insik: ŏnŏ kwallyŏn chŏsŏ ūi mŏrimal yŏkchu rŭl t’onghae* (Sŏul: Pagijŏng, 2009).

of discourse related to the contemporary world—whether it was Christian, Confucian, or secular in tone—as well as a generally nationalistic framework. The desire among intellectuals to expand the public sphere as much as possible through mass literacy represented a dramatic break from the attitude of the literati in premodern Korea, marked by contentment with a virtual monopolization of literacy. Calls for mass literacy among the educated class in the late nineteenth century at first glance seem counterintuitive, potentially negating the distinction and social capital enjoyed by the literate class by virtue of their knowledge of a limited social good. However, there was an increasing realization among reform-minded Korean intellectuals that an educated and informed population was necessary for the formation of a modern nation. Though often justified in terms of populist benevolence, this extension of the public sphere through mass literacy was motivated by a desire among modernist-oriented intellectuals to create a sufficiently informed, malleable public consensus that would serve as the platform for their claims to leadership. In other words, those attempting to pave the way toward a modern nation-state could not portend to lead an ill-informed, illiterate, and otherwise apathetic populace, and thus the emergence of a public sphere facilitated by state-citizenry confluence (access to public notices and government legislation) and mass literacy in vernacularized Korean represented a mutually beneficial solution. Finally it must be noted that even *Hwangsŏng sinmun* arguments such as those noted above, though deeply imbued with Confucian elements of filial piety and ‘correct’ morality, were couched in a clearly nationalistic paradigm, showing evidence of the ongoing process of dismantling the Sino-centric order. The author of the inaugural editorial emphasizes the necessity of accessing government proclamations in the vernacular throughout the country, made possible by the actions of Chosŏn’s sage rulers, not those of China, while the second passage cited above laments the absence of a native script that would have aided the diffusion of

knowledge in ancient times, Confucian in character, but knowledge portrayed as beneficial to the entire population of Chosŏn, not the restricted literati class.<sup>385</sup>

Vernacularization of the popular press, government legislation, and the academic realm was perceived by modernist intellectuals as a method for expanding a public sphere which they could potentially lead, but the other side of the coin was pedagogical in nature.<sup>386</sup> That is, the proper usage of the vernacular—particularly native Korean *ŏnmun* orthography and grammar—would have to be taught to a largely illiterate or semi-literate population. Although the literati class had long been acquainted with LS and its attendant grammatical rules, and a consensus of sorts had long been established for Sino-Korean *kungmun* orthography, the majority of *yangban* and commoners alike were ignorant of the principles and methods of vernacular writing, the former even proudly so, and at any rate the lack of standardized orthography or codified grammar in vernacular writing highlighted the imperative of vernacular pedagogy. Yi Pong'un, author of the first grammar of vernacular Korean, *Kungmun chyŏngni* (1897),<sup>387</sup> describes the linguistic landscape in the late nineteenth century as follows:

Generally speaking, the people of every country respect and revere their own writing, establish schools which disseminate the script, and thus have no troubles in carrying out

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<sup>385</sup> The propagation of Neo-Confucian ethics primers like the *Samgang haengsilto* (三綱行實圖) was of course one means of disseminating Confucian knowledge and ideology in premodern Korea, a conveyance of information facilitated by the inclusion of the vernacular script. However, the purpose of such dissemination was to prop up the leadership and legitimacy of the literati, not to support the formation of a modern nation.

<sup>386</sup> Although a concerted campaign to standardize Korean orthography and grammar for pedagogical use did not emerge until the first decade of the twentieth century, one of the earliest calls for widespread vernacular education appeared in a February 15, 1886 edition of the weekly *Hansŏng chubo*, the first periodical to be written in *kukhanmun* and successor to Korea's first newspaper, *Hansŏng sunbo*.

<sup>387</sup> Yi's grammar was written completely in *ŏnmun*, demonstrating the author's language ideology related to inscriptional practices, an ideology which is expressed more explicitly elsewhere in the Preface.

government administration or civil matters. The people of Chosŏn, however, despite the wealth of the state and the strength of the population, only display respect for the writing of another country and have no appreciation for the principles [*ich'i* 理致] behind their own writing, a truly deplorable state of affairs. The Honorable Sejong created *ŏnmun*, but due to a lack of vernacular schools [*kungmun hakkyo*] or teachers, the principles and laws of the script were neither taught nor received, and so those who merely invoked the script as ‘ka, kya, kŏ, kyŏ’ claimed to know it, and yet they did not clearly understand the sounds it represented, a regrettable situation. These days there are those calling for ‘civilization and progress’ [*munmyŏng chinbo* 文明進步], and meanwhile foreigners from various Western countries as well as Japan and the Qing are coming to our shores and, deciding to learn *kungmun*, seek out a teacher and inquire as to the principles underlying the vernacular syllabary [*panjyŏl*], yet we are unable to answer them.....The fact that [we] do not know about our own language and writing is laughable to them.<sup>388</sup>

Yi’s description of Chosŏn’s linguistic landscape mirrors many of the writings in the popular press by ‘enlightenment’ thinkers during this period: the invocation of a global standard of enlightenment, Chosŏn’s unfavorable and lamentable faring against this standard, a shameful remonstrance of premodern and outmoded thinking for causing such a condition, and a blueprint for reform.<sup>389</sup> Yi specifically calls out the lack of knowledge of the principles (*ich'i*) underlying *kungmun* as an impediment to “carrying out government administration or civil matters,” hence his attempt at organizing and codifying the language through his grammar. Importantly, this lack of knowledge includes not only the lower classes, but those in charge of “government administration,” as well as the “teachers” that foreigners may seek out as authorities on the language. The outdated excuse that “*chinmun*” is the only true form of writing while ignorance of *kungmun* is not only acceptable but a source of pride does not hold up against the international standard, represented by the incredulous and inquiring foreigner. Yi’s sensitivity to the foreign gaze is palpable, a sort of invisible yet omnipresent standard-bearer providing the motivational

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<sup>388</sup> Yi Pong’un, “Preface,” *Kungmun chyŏngni*, 1897, 1-2.

<sup>389</sup> Schmid notes a similar pattern in his analysis of the popular press. See Schmid, *Korea Between Empires*.



force for linguistic modernization. That Yi includes China and Japan in the list of ostensibly enlightened countries that mock Korea's state of linguistic ignorance is significant: being countries with analogous linguistic hierarchies, especially in the case of Japan, Yi considers their differing perceptions of their respective vernacular languages as especially shameful in comparison to Korea's view, but also as potentially informative and instructive. Yi's blueprint for reform is of a pedagogical nature, namely the "establishment of schools which disseminate the script" in alignment with other enlightened nations, as well as the training of teachers who take pride in their knowledge of principles of the vernacular who may be equipped to both spread this knowledge to the population and satisfy the curiosity of the probing foreigner.

Much like other discourse on *kungmun* promotion around the turn of the century, Yi's comments had yet to delve into the details of orthographic standardization, reconciliation of speech and writing (*ŏnmun ilch'i*), or dictionary compilation.<sup>390</sup> In fact, there seems to have been a two-year break in Korean-language discussion of spelling reform and other linguistic issues from 1904-1906, which coincided incidentally with the missionary spelling debate in the English-language press.<sup>391</sup> Beginning in 1906, however, various articles on the Korean language issue, as well as grammars and privately produced textbooks began to appear, many espousing language ideologies continuing the earlier advocacy of *kungmun* as a national symbol but also featuring more concrete calls for standardization and codification of the language. In his *Taehan Kugŏ munpŏp* (大韓國語文法 1906) Chu Sigyŏng presents *kungmun* as a symbol of national sovereignty and respect before voicing a plea for action: "In our country we have no Korean

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<sup>390</sup> His grammar itself is a brief fourteen pages, more of an overview than a comprehensive treatment. King (2004) makes a similar point when he states that earlier discussion up until roughly 1903 "tended to focus on the more general issue of 'let's use our Korean script' as opposed to nitty-gritty 'let's reform it.'" King, "Protestant Missionaries."

<sup>391</sup> See King, "Protestant Missionaries," 26-27.

dictionary, nor are there any guidelines to writing in *kungmun*; if we do not reform this situation, we will not be able to develop our national script.”<sup>392</sup> In an essay entitled “The Need for a National Language and Script,” (1907), Chu further elaborates on the perceived need for progress toward linguistic modernity:

Henceforth, I hope that, instead of looking down on our national language and writing, we will strive to inquire into its rules and principles; that we will create good dictionaries, grammars, and readers, not only to improve and make more convenient speech and writing, but also so that all our countrymen will write in and love and respect our national language and script as *the* fundamental, main script.<sup>393</sup>

In late 1905, slightly before Chu’s above observations, a seminal event occurred which spurred a wave of nationalistic sentiments in the popular press and sparked a debate over issues of education, language policy, and school textbooks. On November 17, 1905 the Ŭlsa Protectorate Treaty (*Han-Il hyöpsang choyak*) was signed, ushering in what has been referred to in historiography as the Protectorate Period (1905-1910). In terms of education and *kungmun*, Hō Chaeyōng has characterized the protectorate period as an era of Japanese “encroachment on the [indigenous] education administration and contraction of the national script.”<sup>394</sup> The modest but growing Korean education system, including Chosŏn government schools, missionary schools, and private schools, was officially taken over by Japanese authority, and this included all administrative decisions and school textbook form and content. However, Andrew Hall reveals that the reins of Korean education had already been wrested from indigenous control in February

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<sup>392</sup> Chu Sigyōng, *Taehan Kugŏ munbŏp*, 1906, quoted in King, “Nationalism and Language Reform,” 45-46.

<sup>393</sup> Chu Sigyōng, “The Need for a National Language and Script,” quoted in King, “Nationalism and Language Reform,” 46.

<sup>394</sup> Hō Chaeyōng, *T’onggam sidae ōmun kyoyuk kwa kyokwasŏ ch’imt’al ūi yŏksa* (Kwangmyōng: Kyōngjin, 2010), 21-22.

of 1905, when Shidehara Taira (幣原坦, 1870-1953), as part of a larger policy to elevate the authority of Japanese “advisors” placed in various Chosŏn bureaucracies during the Russo-Japanese War, was hired as Education Affairs Councilor (学政参与官), advisor to the Chosŏn Government’s Ministry of Education (Hakpu).<sup>395</sup> Although nominally an employee of the Korean government, the details of Shidehara’s contract demonstrate his ultimate position as an agent of the Japanese government, representing its interest in the field of education and textbook policy.<sup>396</sup> In June of 1906 Itō Hirobumi (伊藤博文, 1841-1909), the first Resident-General of Korea, replaced Shidehara with Tawara Magoichi and Mitsuchi Chūzō, the latter of whom had written several Japanese language and Chinese classics textbooks in Japan, and on August 27, 1906 the Korean Ministry of Education announced revised regulations for each level of public schools, which set the curriculum for new Japanese-run ‘common schools’ (K: *pot’ong hakkyo*; J: *futsū gakkō*) which were converted from Chosŏn government-run ‘elementary schools’ (*sohakkyo*).<sup>397</sup> Along with the Ministry of Education’s February 26, 1905 Ordinances Nos. 10 and 22,<sup>398</sup> this represented the effective take-over of indigenous control over education, including

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<sup>395</sup> Hall, “First Steps Towards Assimilation,” 362.

<sup>396</sup> For an analysis of Shidehara’s language ideology vis-à-vis Japanese and Korean, as well as his views on colonial education, see Hall, “First Steps Toward Assimilation.”

<sup>397</sup> Hall, “First Steps Toward Assimilation,” 367-68.

<sup>398</sup> The following ordinances clearly define school administration and textbook publication, translation, and censorship as under the purview of the new Japanese Residency General: “Article 5: The following duties are entrusted to the Bureau of Education: 1. Elementary Education 2. Teachers’ Education 3. Middle School Education 4. Foreign Language Schools, Specialist Schools, and Technical School Education 5. Exchange Student Education. Article 5: The following duties are entrusted to the Bureau of Publications: 1. Translation of School Textbooks 2. Publication of School Textbooks 3. Censorship of School Textbooks 4. Administration of Book Purchasing and Preservation 5. Book Printing.” Hakpu punkwa kyujōng, *Kwanbo*, April 12, 1905.

specifically textbook content, language status, and orthographic practice, developments which sparked a lively discussion over these issues, most notably on the pages of the *Taehan maeil sinbo*. One common discursive theme in the popular press during the protectorate period is a concern that educating the population not in Korean but in Japanese would adversely affect the proper development of the “Korean spirit” (*aguk/Han’guk chōngsin* 我國/韓國 精神) and would in fact inculcate the “spirit of another country” (*t’aguk chōngsin* 他國精神). The following editorial immediately preceding annexation expresses concern over the proposed changes to the education system:

The proposal to publish early education textbooks in Japanese language and writing cannot be called an appropriate education policy for Korea. Today in every nation across six continents, it is a time of mutual interaction and negotiation, and it is only right that we learn the language and writing of each nation. In the case of Korea and Japan, where people of every class in each country are connected night and day, two lands that are closely in step and intimately intertwined, how can we not learn each other’s language and writing? However, for young children learning a language, for them to first learn the language and writing of another country (*t’aguk ōnmun* 他國言文), this will cause extreme difficulties for their comprehension and understanding and severely delay their cultural development. Furthermore, if young children enter school learning the language and writing of another country, this will completely change the mind and body of the population to the spirit [*chōngsin*] of another country. To completely eradicate the spirit of one’s own country for another, such a relationship would surely spell disaster. As a whole, another nation’s language and writing [Japanese] has not been consistently used in Korea’s elementary curriculum [*simsang sohakkwa*], but will now be employed consistently in the lower elementary [*pot’ongkwa*] and upper elementary [*kodŭng sohakkwa*] curriculum.<sup>399</sup> The strong foundational character of our current elementary

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<sup>399</sup> The Japanese Ministry of Education (*Gakubu*) began reorganizing existing Korean elementary schools (*simsang sohakkyo*) in September of 1906, renaming them “common schools” (*pot’ong hakkyo*), an appellation that would remain until the end of the colonial period. This reorganization resulted in the reduction of overall education, from six-year elementary schools to four-year common schools. According to Andrew Hall, “By the end of 1908 fifty-nine public common schools were operating, fifty-seven of them being reformed versions of previously existing [public] schools.” See Hall, “First Steps Towards Assimilation,” 371. The author of the above editorial seems well aware of the changes that were due to occur, specifically the shift in the language curriculum, where Japanese had initially been taught only at the higher elementary level but would eventually be taught six hours a week from grade one, the same number of hours devoted to Korean. The reform of the language curriculum in common schools, particularly

education is appropriate, based on a comparison with the favorable education models in other countries. Therefore, it is proper to use *kukhanmun* writing to produce a unified textbook that will convey knowledge conveniently and lucidly to young children throughout the country.<sup>400</sup>

This and other editorials on proposed education reforms surrounding the signing of the protectorate treaty display an acute awareness of ongoing policy changes by the Ministry of Education, suggesting that the authors of such articles were well-informed and highly invested in the political climate. The level of awareness also demonstrates the extent to which the public sphere had expanded through the medium of the popular press, spurred to an even greater degree by the perceived encroachment of Japan on Korean sovereignty. Significantly, the author does not preclude the study of foreign languages or even Japanese, and indeed acknowledges the necessity of this study, but within the curricular framework of *foreign* language study rather than as language of instruction. This became a common trope in the first decade of the twentieth century when an increasing number of Korean *yuhaksaeng* returning from Japan not only called for the embracing of foreign language study but also demonstrated the influence they had received from Japanese inscriptional practices in their ‘experimental’ Korean writing.<sup>401</sup>

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under the major reforms enacted in 1906, 1911, and 1922, will be analyzed in greater detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

<sup>400</sup> “Non monghak kyokwa,” *Taehan maeil sinbo*, October 5, 1905.

<sup>401</sup> Yu Kilchun demonstrated a completely new method of representing Korean in his *Nodong yahak tokpon* (Reader for Night School Laborers), an inscriptional practice which closely modeled the Japanese system of employing both *kundoku* (vernacular gloss readings) and *ondoku* (Sino-xenic readings). In modern Korean, only the latter method was used, the former having long since disappeared from the language. Yi Injik also demonstrated what can only be considered as strong Japanese influence in his *Hyŏl ūi nu* (Tears of Blood), a serialized work of fiction appearing in the *Mansebo* which employed a similarly experimental form of hybridized, *hundok/ondok* inscriptional practice modeled on Japanese. Each intellectual had extensive experience studying in Japan and deep exposure to Japanese writing practices. These ‘experimental’ mixed-script Korean writing forms will be analyzed in detail in the following chapter.

Although rhetoric promoting writing practices perceived to be Japanese became problematic following the 1910 annexation and the official extinguishing of Korean independence, during the Protectorate Period many intellectuals openly called for modeling Korean linguistic reform on the analogous Japanese model.<sup>402</sup> Following annexation, although intellectuals hoping to avoid the taint of collaboration with Japan refrained from explicit reference to a Japanese model, the Japanese language nonetheless did serve as a kind of blueprint for reform, especially in the field of literature, as Korean authors in the 1920s quietly laid the foundations of modern Korean literature under the unconscious (or conscious) influence of their Japanese-language education.<sup>403</sup> Moreover, this and other editorials published during the Protectorate Period reveal a growing awareness of the impending changes to the educational system and, coming as they did as part of a broader, palpable Japanese encroachment on Korean sovereignty, galvanized readers' sentiments, forging a thoroughly nationalized perspective on language, writing, and education. Finally, the author concludes with a blueprint for nationalized language policy, and that is the publishing of a standard textbook in vernacular Korean (using *kukhanmun* orthography). Thus, the imposition of potentially de-nationalizing Japanese education policy on its Korean protectorate provided an impetus for Korean reformers to standardize and reform their own writing practices for use in public school textbooks.

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<sup>402</sup> Of course, this open promotion of Japanese as a model for linguistic reform, as well as assimilation more generally, continued during the colonial period, but with the added weight of the collaboration-resistance political matrix.

<sup>403</sup> Many of the representative authors of Korean modern literature actually composed first in Japanese and translated into Korean, or wrote certain works in Japanese and others in Korean. See Chōng Kwang, "1920-30nyōndae munhak chakp'um e poinūn Ilbonō kumun ūi yōngnyang," *Han'gugōhak* 2 (1995): 379-398; Kim Kwanghae, "Chomang: Kugō e taehan Ilbonō ūi kansōp," in *Haebang 60nyōn, Han'guk ōmun kwa Ilbon* (Sōul: Pogosa, 2006). This issue will be explored in more detail in the following chapters.

In what became a recurrent theme in the *Taehan maeil sinbo*,<sup>404</sup> another author in 1906 directed his pointed critique of proposed textbook reforms at the Ministry of Education official Shidehara, claiming that his actions were unilateral and heavy-handed, for “not a single official in the Ministry of Education, minor or major” agreed with the publication of textbooks in Japanese for entering students. In an allusion to Chinese history that would not have been lost on more conservative classically educated elements of the readership, the author compares the educating of young Korean students in Japanese textbooks with the Han army on all four sides singing in their encampments the songs of Liu, an episode famously related in the *Record of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji* 史記).<sup>405</sup> A three-part editorial specifically on the issue of the proposed Japanese textbooks and curriculum written by an author under the pen name Hyōl Ru saeng (血淚生 “Mr. Tears of Blood”) appearing April 12-14, 1906 shows the growing significance of the issue to the informed elite, and reveals how education and language issues such as this were construed in symbolic terms as a battle over the national soul of the Korean people. In a poignant observation about the still technically foreign-language status of ‘Japanese’ in Korea, the author questions how, in an independent country like Korea, there should be such a foreign language

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<sup>404</sup> Another editorial dating from around the time of the protectorate treaty signing read: “We have already seen a number of debates erupt over the Ministry of Education official Shidehara Taira’s [幣原坦] proposal to use Japanese language and writing in elementary education for Korean children, and various inquiries and discussions have been published in the press. Viewing the conduct and implementation of this policy, it seems nothing more than keeping Koreans in a state of ignorance, which is pathetic and sad.....To first study the language and writing of another’s country and to neglect the study of one’s own language and writing means the negation of a nation’s way of thinking [*chaguk chi sasang*] and the complete disappearance of the national spirit [*chaguk chi chōngsin*].” “Sin ron kyokwasō,” *Taehan maeil sinbo*, March 29, 1906.

<sup>405</sup> “Kyoyuk hwat’ae,” *Taehan maeil sinbo*, June 6, 1906.

curriculum (*oegugŏ hakkwa*) when in Japan there is no foreign language curriculum.<sup>406</sup> Following the lead of Sin Ch'aeho and others in promoting Korean heroes, the author links Korea's proud ethno-historical heritage with its current geopolitical predicament, arguing that the Japanese co-opting of education is an attempt to conquer the mind and soul of the Korean nation where past military conquest had failed:

The passionate, sacrificial blood of General Ŭlchi Mundŏk and Admiral Yi Sunsin flows still in the veins of our 20 million countrymen, and yet we are held prostrate. These are the forbears of our Korean *minjok*, and yet now they say we have no patriotism [*aeguksŏng*]. Our powerful neighbors, knowing full well the spirit of our country, have forever been unable to exploit this as a physical tool for conquering our country, and so today, they reform our textbooks, abolish our national language [*kugŏ*], the essence of our national spirit, and wish to use only Japanese. This is, in other words, a means of ravaging the free thought and independent spirit of the Great Korean Empire.<sup>407</sup>

Discourse on the changes in the education system extended beyond a critique of public school textbooks and Japanese as a language of instruction. One editorial echoes the concern over general changes in Korean education appearing in previous editions, but then pinpoints even more complex issues such as teacher identity and translation: "A majority of the schools being established in the capital and even outlying areas are staffed by mostly Japanese instructors, while all of the textbooks used are those licensed by the Japanese Ministry of Education. The areas of reform [textbooks] that do exist are merely direct translations [of Japanese textbooks], which is nothing more than a half measure."<sup>408</sup> Finally, in one of the earliest Korean-language

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<sup>406</sup> Hyŏl Ru Saeng, "Non Irŏ kyokwasŏ," *Taehan maeil sinbo*, April 12, 1906.

<sup>407</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>408</sup> The original passage which I have rendered "half measure" reads "百步五十步之着에 止도 다" which literally translates into "stopping only after arriving at 50 steps [instead of] 100 steps." This seems to refer to the LS expression "those who retreated 50 steps laughing at those who retreated 100 steps (五十步笑百步), although the context is different. The original phrase originates from a famous conversation between Mencius and the King of Wei during the Warring States Period (475-221 BC). The King of Wei, who is fond of warfare, asks Mencius why he



critiques of which I am aware employing such terminology, the author sounds the alarm on “Japanese colonial policy toward Korea” (*Ilbon chi tae Han singmin chǒngch’aek*) embodied in such education policy, measures which threatened to make the Korean people “forget the spirit of their ancestors and foster a mentality of dependence on and assimilation [*tonghwa*] to Japan.”<sup>409</sup>

With the changes in the curriculum enacted in 1906, Japanese was indeed introduced from the first year of common school, whereas previously it had been introduced only from grade four. Although the textbooks for subjects such as Morals (*susin*), *Hanmun*, and of course Korean (*Kugō*) were published in *kukhanmun*, the content of the textbooks were carefully controlled under a strictly observed censorship regime which consisted of authorized textbooks (*kǒmjǒng kyokwasō*), recognized textbooks (*injǒng kyokwasō*), and unrecognized textbooks (*purinjǒng kyokwasō*), virtually all of which were published in Japan.<sup>410</sup> Hō Chaeyōng notes the transitional character of textbooks during this period, as units on Korean history, geography, and culture were included as in the earlier *Kungmin sohak tokpon*, but gradually encroaching

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cannot increase his population despite the fact that he feeds his people better than other states. Mencius uses the metaphor to demonstrate that the King of Wei is the same as other leaders, for just as those who run away 50 paces and 100 paces from battle are both cowardly, so does the King’s people suffer heavy losses due to his love of warfare, though he feeds them better than others. The proverb is meant to be an admonition against hypocrisy, much like the Western expression “the pot calls the kettle black.” “Kigo kyōnggo Taehan kyoyukka,” *Taehan maeil sinbo*, June 27, 1906.

<sup>409</sup> “Kigo kyōnggo Taehan kyoyukka,” *Taehan maeil sinbo*, June 27, 1906.

<sup>410</sup> On August 26, 1908 the Ministry of Education established the Private School Regulations (*Sarip hakkyoryōng*) which applied a similar censorship regime to textbooks for private schools, requiring that textbooks be either published or approved by the Ministry of Education. Although a ten-year grace period was stipulated, the government applied various means of pressure so that, according to their own estimates, the number of private schools dramatically decreased from 5000 in 1908 to 1973 by 1910 with a total student enrollment of 80,760. See Hall, “First Steps Towards Assimilation,” 385-86.

Japanese influence was also notable.<sup>411</sup> The first textbooks supporting the new curriculum established in 1906 were published the following year, presenting incoming elementary students for the first time with parallel writing practices in Japanese and Korean mixed script, as well as *Hanmun*. The parallel exposure to all three languages and writing systems for incoming students would have brought into relief the stark contrast between the more settled nature of Japanese and *Hanmun* grammar and that of vernacular Korean in *kukhanmun* form, still perceived to be in a chaotic state. One newspaper article appearing in 1908 titled “Grammar Ought to be Unified” urged the standardization of grammar for textbook use, claiming that an established grammar existed for *hanmun* as well as for “English, Russian, French German, Italian,” seemingly every language, but as for the “Mixed Script writing of today’s Korea” (*kǔm Han’guk ūi kukhancha kyoyongmun*), a standard did not exist.<sup>412</sup> The author then echoes the common lament that the lack of grammatical standardization in the vernacular was due to the historic disdain for ‘*ōnmun*’ and worship for *hanmun*, and proceeds to point out that, despite the more than ten years since the advent of vernacular newspapers and other periodicals, an agreed-upon standard of grammatical usage had yet to emerge.<sup>413</sup> The author then insightfully highlights one of the fundamental linguistic issues in the shift from *hanmun* to *kukhanmun* writing, and that is the transition from LS to vernacular grammar. The author complains that while certain writing merely attached *t’o* vernacular grammatical particles in *kungmun* to *hanmun*-dominant sentences that primarily followed LS grammatical principles, elsewhere vernacular grammar was dominant.<sup>414</sup> Finally,

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<sup>411</sup> See Hō Chaeyōng, *T’onggamsidae ōmun kyoyuk*.

<sup>412</sup> “Munpōp ūl ūit’ongil” (文法을 宜統一), *Taehan maeil sinbo*, November 7, 1908.

<sup>413</sup> *Ibid.*

the author concludes with a familiar call for textbook compilation in this standardized form of writing, reminding the readership of the central motivating factor for linguistic reform.

Unification of grammar is indeed an urgent matter of the utmost importance, a way of unifying the spirit of [Korean] students and enlightening the populace through the spread of knowledge. Is it acceptable to develop school curriculum, instruct the sons and daughters of our country, compile various books, and present to our community leaders a form of writing which is irregular and illogical? This writer invokes the phrase ‘*munpöpt’ongil*’ [grammar unification] and sincerely requests that leaders at each school establish a literature program [*munhakkwa*]. However, how can this solely be requested of the school? I call upon our government officials and various writers to unite in this endeavor as well.<sup>415</sup>

In another *Taehan maeil sinbo* article appearing the year before annexation, one author claimed that “a majority of [Korean language] textbooks in circulation in the field of education are irregular and improper, and create a kind of “soulless education [*mujöngsin kyoyuk*] which is a disgrace to our country,” reminding his readers that it was not only the newly-produced Japanese-language textbooks that threatened nationalized education, but also the co-opting of Korean-language textbook production and the resulting forfeiture of language standardization in those textbooks. The author then sounds the alarm on the encroachment of Japanese authority into the private sector as well, claiming that, “today there are reports that there are certain private

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<sup>414</sup> As an example the author points out that the *Hanmun* phrase “學而時習之不亦悅乎” may be translated into the vernacular according to two principles. In a grammatically LS sentence, the passage is rendered “學而時習之면不亦悅乎아,” whereas in a vernacular grammar-dominant sentence, it is translated as “學하야此를時習하면不亦悅乎아.” Im Sangsök provides a lucid analysis of this shift from *hanmun* grammar to vernacular grammar, a transition that will be analyzed in greater detail in the following chapter. Positioning the above change within Im’s tripartite continuum from *hanmun* to completely vernacular literature of the 1920s, the author of this particular article is referring to the shift from Type 1 (*Hanmun munjang ch’e*) where LS grammar is dominant to Type 2 (*Hanmun kujöl ch’e*) where vernacular grammar becomes dominant, but certain LS holophrases still remain and have not been dismantled into their constituent lexical components (individual words). See Im, *20-segi Kuk-Hanmunch’e üi hyöngsöng kwajöng*.

<sup>415</sup> “Munpöpt’ongil” (文法을宜統一), *Taehan maeil sinbo*, November 7, 1908.

schools (in the capital of Hansŏng) that are using Japanese textbooks (natural sciences and other subjects composed in Japanese)—can this be so?” The repercussions of using such textbooks for young students in terms of national identity, according to the author, will be severe: “the national consciousness of our sons and daughters will be exterminated, they will consider a foreign language as their own, they will believe a foreign writing system to be their own, and as this thinking deepens, a mentality will be fostered in which they consider a foreign nation as their own—an unacceptable situation.” The author then puts his finger on one of the most fundamental issues in the textbook debate, one that encompassed practical pedagogical concerns over language of instruction but also the growing trend of Japanese neologism production and translation/adaption into Korean.

Another reason why [foreign language textbooks] are unacceptable is because they create a hindrance for academic progress. For example, if the word *mulli* [物理 natural laws] is taught in Korean as 물리, then the student will immediately grasp the meaning; however, if the word is taught and written in Japanese and then must be translated, only after the realization that *butsuri* [物理] means *mulli* can the student begin to understand, meaning a reduction in mental capacity. Something that would have taken one day to learn now takes two days, and something that would have been learned in two days now takes four.<sup>416</sup>

In sum, the author makes a familiar concession to the need for knowledge of Japanese for effective importation and adaption of “civilization and enlightenment,” but questions the logic of utilizing textbooks in the language. Therefore, it is clear from the above discourses on language and education that Korean observers distinguished between the practical applications of Japanese and other foreign languages in the natural process of modernization and internationalization, and the forceful imposition of the language into the education system in a semi-colonial context. Korean observers also increasingly came to grasp the potential repercussions of early childhood education in another language—or in multiple languages—especially when one writing system

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<sup>416</sup> *Taehan maeil sinbo*, March 12, 1909.

was by consensus unstandardized and in a state of “anorthography.” Moreover, although the author was probably not aware of and had not anticipated the flood of neologisms from Japan taking place at the time, his concern about the lag in assimilating new concepts when diffused in a foreign language was nevertheless an expression of this angst at ‘filtered modernization,’ in many ways an intangible yet palpable condition of experiencing civilization and enlightenment once or even twice removed from the ‘source’ through translated terminology and interpreted significance, with all the attendant lag and disadvantage such a process engendered. However, the education of early learners in a foreign language imposed a direct pedagogical dissonance between the first language of the student and the language of instruction, a disconnect not as pronounced in Meiji neologism production, importation and adaptation. Whereas the sinographic mediation of newly coined Japanese words facilitated their assimilation into the Korean lexicon, and their Sino-Korean pronunciation disguised their Japanese origins within a syntactically vernacular Korean text, the exposure of Korean students to such vocabulary within a Japanese text at a young age precluded any mediation by previous *hancha* knowledge and instead directly imposed foreign terminology and concepts in a linguistic context doubly obscured by unfamiliar pronunciation and usage.

An increasingly complex relationship between Korean intellectuals and the Japanese language is evident on the pages of the *Taehan maeil sinbo* as the protectorate deepens. Managed as it was by the British national Ernest Thomas Bethell, the paper was not subject to Japanese press controls like other periodicals at the time, and so a consistent stream of editorials strongly critical of Japanese education and textbook policy like those cited above continued unabated

until annexation.<sup>417</sup> In most cases, however, there was a recognition of the growing need for Japanese language study, teaching methods, and access to Western knowledge through translation—if not through the medium of elementary school education, then through private initiative. Editorials attacking the scourge of Japanese elementary textbooks appeared alongside approving accounts of returning Korean exchange students from Japan opening up summer schools in the capital to “extend their knowledge to the populace.”<sup>418</sup> Articles cautioning against the overemphasis on Japanese translations and fretting over the absence of *kungmun* versions accompanied advertisements for Japanese private language schools.<sup>419</sup> One poignant article published in April of 1910 goes into considerable detail on the necessity of foreign language study for modern diplomacy and accessing foreign knowledge but nevertheless deplors the servile mentality that has accompanied the study of foreign languages throughout Korea’s history. Echoing a common discursive thread in Enlightenment-era Korea, the author decried the toadyistic nature of Korea’s approach to languages, claiming that “when Qing influence was felt on all sides, we devoted ourselves to the language of Qing, when Russian might pushed in upon us people clamored to learn Russian, and now that Japanese power threatens to sink us, we devote our efforts to Japanese.”<sup>420</sup> The article emphasizes the necessity of foreign language study,

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<sup>417</sup> Following annexation, however, the periodical was rebranded the *Maeil sinbo* and transformed into a collaborationist mouthpiece of Japanese colonial authority.

<sup>418</sup> “Ŏnmun” [言文], *Taehan maeil sinbo*, July 20, 1909.

<sup>419</sup> “T’üksöl Irö hagi kangsüpsö” [特設日語夏期講習所], *Taehan maeil sinbo*, June 30, 1909.

<sup>420</sup> “Ŏhakkye üi ch’use” [語學界의趨勢], *Taehan maeil sinbo*, April 10, 1910. A similar sentiment was expressed in a June 30, 1909 article when one author similarly conceptualized Korea’s experience with foreign languages as a history of servitude and subjugation: whereas in the past the worship of *hanmun* had prevented the development of vernacular Korean, the usage of “hiragana and katakana” now threatened to “ruin the national spirit” of the country. “Kūmil kyoyukkye üi chöngsin’gye” [今日教育界의精神界], *Taehan maeil sinbo*, June 30, 1909.

but questions the motives and methods of Japanese language study; whereas foreign language study should be pursued and was indeed inevitable for “importing civilization and developing the nation,” the majority of “Japanese language schools” (*Irō hakkyo*) were an “enterprise of servility” teaching a “slave’s education” and staffed by “servile lackeys” (*noye injae* 奴隸人材). Finally, reflecting the growing influence of Japan, the still marginal position of direct Western influence, and perhaps more practically the relative ease with which Koreans could gain proficiency in Japanese as opposed to Western languages, the author expresses dismay at the overwhelming attention devoted to the study of Japanese and the virtual ignorance of other foreign languages such as English, German, French, and Chinese, calling finally for increased attention to these other languages. In defense of this argument the author expresses an increasingly common view as to the global civilizational hierarchy and Japan’s position in it:

There are many in today’s Korea that believe that Japan is the only route by which our country may introduce civilization, but this Japan is nothing more than an imitator (*mobangja*). If we want to find the wellspring of this civilization, it is only proper to import it from Europe and America. Japan is still in a state of immature, childish mimicry, and so for a ripe, mature model, we must set our sights on importing the civilization of Europe and America.<sup>421</sup>

Therefore, despite cautioning against the over-exuberant, unilateral study of Japanese and warning his readers about Japanese-language schools and textbooks that create a “slave’s education,” this and other intellectuals nonetheless recognized the necessity of foreign language study for purposes of international diplomacy and access to global knowledge. Although authors such as the above were aware of the growing influence of Japanese, the language was still positioned squarely in the realm of ‘foreign language’ along with European languages and the

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<sup>421</sup> “Ōhakkye ūi ch’use” [語學界의趨勢] *Taehan maeil sinbo* April 10, 1910 For more discourse on Japanese as a “pale make” of the genuine article of civilization and enlightenment, that is, the West, see Tikhonov, *Social Darwinism and Nationalism in Korea*.

“language of Qing,” representing a modernist language ideology of practicality but also revealing the perception of Japanese at the time among Koreans and the sudden and arbitrary nature of Japanese’s elevation to *kokugo* (national language) just months later.

Certain intellectuals during the opening years of the twentieth century turned to the Japanese language as not merely a potential conduit of enlightenment thought but as a concrete model of linguistic reform. Scholar and cultural historian Yi Nūnghwa (李能和, 1869-1943), who was one of the first Koreans to study multiple foreign languages in the modern period, including *hanmun*, Chinese, French, English and Japanese, submitted a plan to the Ministry of Education in 1906 for unifying vernacular Korean entitled “A Plan for Standardizing *Kungmun*” (*Kungmun ilchōngpōp ūigyōnsō* 國文一定法意見書) in which he outlines a detailed blueprint for Korean vernacular, most notably in the realm of education. Yi repeatedly highlights the parallels between Korean and Japanese vernacular writing due to their analogous adaptation of LS to indigenous needs. However, Yi contrasts the language ideologies of the respective countries, pointing out that while in Korea those who know only *kungmun* and are ignorant of *hanmun* are considered to be of “insufficient intellect,” in the case of Japan even “the rickshaw driver and the rice cake peddler” can understand the meaning of textbooks in Japan’s new schools and other texts because of the convenient usage of “affixed *kana*” (附書假名). Yi claims that this system is at least in theory analogous to Korea’s method of mixed-script writing (*kukhanmun honyong chi pōp*), but that unfortunately its current limitation to sentence endings (止於語尾) precluded such widespread application.<sup>422</sup> As a preface to his proposal on reform of

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<sup>422</sup> Yi seems to be referring to more sparing use of the vernacular script in *t’o*-style *kukhanmun* texts where *kungmun* was used not only for sentence endings but also nominal particles and conjunctions, or otherwise exaggerating for effect the limitations of the vernacular script and the extent of *hancha* usage in *kukhanmun* writing. Although a *kukhanmun* writing style roughly



vernacular Korean, Yi ponders how Korea cannot but learn from this Japanese method of inscription, and calls for efforts toward the unification of spoken and written language (*ŏnmun ilch'i*) in order to similarly combine “the lofty and profane” (*yasok* 雅俗).<sup>423</sup> Yi then proposes the following simple, straightforward plan for unifying the vernacular:

- 1) We need to invite and inquire of knowledgeable people and compile a *kungmun* dictionary (the Japanese dictionary [*Ilmun chajŏn*] would be the best model) based on the spoken language.
- 2) We must include the vernacular in the margins next to sinographs [*pusŏ ŏnmun*] in elementary school textbooks.
- 3) We must compile a textbook for national standardized instruction and supplement all elementary schools with a national language [*kugŏ*] course.<sup>424</sup>

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analogous to premodern *t'o*-glossed texts with their extremely limited use of *kungmun* was still in circulation during the first decade of the twentieth century, a trend away from this type of writing toward a style not only employing a greater percentage of *kungmun* syllables but also featuring vernacular-dominant grammar was well under way at the time of Yi's proposal in 1906.

<sup>423</sup> By way of introduction to his proposals, Yi delineates the three major inscriptional methods that constituted the Korean linguistic landscape: *Hanmun*: “天地之間萬物之中唯人最貴,” *kungmun* or *ŏnmun*: “툐디스이 만물가운데오직스람이가장귀헝니,” and *kukhanmun*: “天地之間萬物之中에唯人이最貴헝니,” which he terms “*sun hanmun* (pure *hanmun*),” “*sun kungmun* (pure *kungmun*),” and “*kukhanmun kyoyongpŏp* (alternating *kungmun* and *hanmun* usage),” respectively. Yi concludes by presenting an experimental form of vernacular Korean highly influenced by the Japanese method of representing vernacular texts for more popular consumption which combined vernacular Japanese (*kundoku*) readings and Sino-Japanese (*ondoku*) readings of sinographs: “天地(툐지)之間 (사이)萬物(만물)之中(가운데디 )에唯人(오직사람)이最(가장)귀(貴헝니). This method, which Yi calls “漢字側附書諺 (sinographs with appended *ŏnmun*,” was experimented with by a number of Korean writers in the first decade of the twentieth century, most notably by Yu Kilchun in his *Nodong yahak tokpon* (1908) and Yi Injik in his serialized novel, *Hyŏl ũi nu* (1906). Although this Japanese-influenced method of writing vernacular Korean soon fell out of favor, the practice of providing Sino-Korean *ondoku* (*ŭmdok*) readings of sinographs for greater clarity and wider accessibility remained alive in certain documents and in some Enlightenment-era textbooks such as the *Yŏja Tokpon* (Women's Reader 1908) and the *Nodong yahak tokpon* (Reader for Night School Laborers 1908), and a variation of it is accepted practice in most texts for wide consumption in contemporary South Korea.

All three of these proposals were directly modeled on Japanese language policies in education. In the first instance the Japanese model is explicitly mentioned, but in the second proposal as well, based on Yi's earlier comments on the favorability of such a method and the specific terminology used to describe it, this could only refer to the Japanese model. The last proposal was partly in response to the larger global practice of vernacular education, but in conjunction with the overall tone of the article emphasizing the common characteristics between Korean and Japanese adaptation of LS, a standardized *kungmun* textbook for use in an elementary *kugŏ* course meant none other than the *kokugo* model in elementary schools (*jinjŏ shŏ gakkŏ*) of the metropole. Thus, even after the growing political influence of Japan following the protectorate treaty signing and the takeover of the public school system by the Ministry of Education, the Japanese language remained an attractive model for concrete linguistic reform of the Korean vernacular in terms of inscriptional practice in school textbooks and dictionary compilation, as well as a more subtle and deeper source of linguistic influence through continued neologism production, circulation, and adaptation and as a medium for the translation of Western thought, a topic that will be taken up in the following chapter.

## 2.5 Conclusions

Three of the most significant transformations relating to language and writing during the Korean Enlightenment Period concern what I have defined as language status, language in pedagogy, and language in curriculum.<sup>425</sup> The issue of language status refers to the promotion of

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<sup>424</sup> Yi Nŭnghwa, "Kungmun ilchŏngpŏp ŭigyŏnsŏ," *Taehan chaganghoe wŏlbo* 6, December 25, 1906.

<sup>425</sup> Although this current chapter has dealt primarily with the first two issues, in a later chapter I consider in more detail the process of language in curriculum, or alternatively, the

the Korean alphabet as national script (*kungmun*) and as the primary tool for the representation of new academic knowledge in vernacular Korean, along with the concomitant demotion of LS for achieving this task. Language in pedagogy, on the other hand, refers to the reform and standardization of vernacular Korean—the mechanics of language policy and planning such as dictionary compilation, grammar codification, and orthographic standardization—specifically for use in school textbooks and instruction. Whereas the earliest discourses on vernacular Korean, vernacular and cosmopolitan writing practices, and the Korean linguistic hierarchy more generally (language status) in the 1880s and 1890s constituted a nationalistic linguistic paradigm of LS (*hanmun*) vs. indigenous (*kungmun*), with the increasing influence of Western perceptions of linguistic modernity and the direct encroachment of the Japanese model on the education system, the development of a written code appropriate for school textbooks (language in pedagogy) became the principal driving force for standardization and reform. With the direct imposition of colonial authority and the promulgation of legitimized pedagogical linguistic models in the form of standardized textbooks for use in curricularized language classrooms (language in curriculum), specific blueprints for modern literacy formation were institutionalized, setting the stage for vernacular Korean as an atrophied, truncated expediency to facilitate the transition to Japanese literacy.

During the Korean Enlightenment Period, while Western and Korean-language discourses<sup>426</sup> on language, writing, and education did share certain commonalities, divergences

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curricularization of language, specifically the establishment of various language classes (*Kugŏ*, *Chosŏnŏ*, *Chosŏnŏ kŭp hanmun*, *kokugo*, etc) in public schools and the significance of such classes to literacy development in the colonial context through an analysis of language textbooks and discourse on language education.

<sup>426</sup> Because virtually all of the discourses by Western missionaries and other observers that I examine here were written in English (not Korean) while those by Koreans were for the most part written in Korean, this linguistic division may also represent in this instance an ethnic divide.

were also evident due to disparate language ideologies, national consciousnesses and predispositions, and motivations. The earliest Western observations of Korean language and writing emerged out of an environment of mutual ignorance coupled with a desire for discovery, and the drive to taxonomically catalogue the “long-sealed language of a still-sealed people” for linguistic posterity. Approaching Korean as they did with preconceived language ideologies which exalted the vernacular as the proper mode of educating the modern citizen, Western critics advanced views on the Korean linguistic hierarchy permeated with disdain for the misplaced reverence of LS, admiration for the elegantly simple vernacular script, and incredulity at the contempt which the latter received from the ‘native.’ This language ideology was reinforced by modern linguistic theory in the West which privileged phonographic, alphabetic writing as the pinnacle of textual culture and denigrated the Chinese ‘hieroglyph’ as the most primitive form of writing in a teleological continuum of civilizational development. The national and religious dispositions of Western scholars and critics further shaped their discourses on Korean language and writing and directed their language-related standardization projects. The primary motivation for missionaries which made up the vast majority of Western scholars of Korean was evangelical in nature and not nationalistic, a fact that colored missionary dictionary compilation, grammar codification, and orthographical standardization. Western missionaries perceived the lack of the accoutrements of modern linguistic science—standardized spelling, dictionaries, grammars—not only to be a reflection of the *yangban*’s historical disregard for *kungmun*, but also an impediment to proselytization, and so the early Western-driven project of linguistic modernization represented an attempt by missionaries to take matters into their own hands. Although Korean ‘language entrepreneurs’ and other intellectuals interested in issues of language and education

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While certain Korean intellectuals did compose in English (e.g., Yun Ch’iho) and increasingly in Japanese, these discourses have not been considered here.

were initially influenced theoretically by Western ideologies of ‘modern linguistic hierarchies,’ national language promotion, and the idea of language policy and planning, the disparate motivations of each group soon resulted in divergent agendas, at least discursively speaking. Whereas Western missionaries were primarily interested in modernizing Korean vernacular for ease in proselytization and perhaps secondarily in order to align the Korean language hierarchy with their own preconceived language ideologies privileging the vernacular language for instruction, for Korean intellectuals the main motivation for linguistic modernity was pedagogical in nature, to prepare the vernacular for the task of conveying ‘modern’ knowledge and inculcating the population in modern citizenry.<sup>427</sup> As direct Japanese influence extended into the education system, vernacular Korean’s project of linguistic modernization was additionally imbued with the sacred task of preserving Korea’s national spirit and fostering its distinct indigenous identity.

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<sup>427</sup> Although missionaries were also interested in vernacular standardization for pedagogical purposes, this was motivated by the need for a standardized tool of education in missionary schools, the primary goal of which was the inculcation of Christian values and the conversion of natives. For example, Louise Christina Rothweiler, a university-educated American missionary, taught Bible Studies, geography and algebra at Ewha Hakdang, forerunner of Ewha Woman’s University. In an article entitled “What Shall We Teach in Our Girls’ Schools?” in which she expounded upon her educational philosophy, Rothweiler echoed the refrain of many missionaries when she wrote of the vernacular, “The spelling will be found one of the most difficult parts in Korean, since no two teachers nor any two books will agree, still we should strive to do the best we can under the circumstances.” The chaotic state of Korean orthography prompted Rothweiler to defer to the authority of English, its standardized nature making it a more reliable conduit for knowledge dissemination. Rothweiler wrote, “If the study of the dead languages is considered a good thing for the minds of students in Europe and America why should the study of the living ones not be good for Korean minds and even for girls? A knowledge of English, the reading of English books, pursuing studies that would and could not be taught in Enmoun as yet, will give just that broadening of mind, thought and aspiration which we want our girls to have and which they need if they are to be successful helpers and which the Enmoun alone stills fails to provide.” L. C. Rothweiler, “What Shall We Teach in Our Girls’ Schools?” *The Korean Repository*, March, 1892, 91-92. For a discussion of pedagogical motivations in early missionary schools, refer to Choi Hyaewool, “Women’s Literacy and New Womanhood in Late Chosŏn Korea,” *Asian Journal of Women’s Studies* 6, no. 1 (2000): 88-115.

The first decade of the twentieth century witnessed the first flowering of attempts at language reform and standardization by Korean intellectuals, complete with textbook compilation, orthographical standardization, the publication of grammars, and the initiation of dictionary compilation projects. ‘Language entrepreneurs’ such as Yu Kilchun and Chu Sigyŏng led the way, influenced by strong ideologies of patriotic enlightenment and linguistic nationalism. In 1905 Yu published one of the first vernacular grammars, and in 1908 followed up with a *Reader for Night School Laborers* targeted not only at workers, but also “members of the general public who were unable to attend elementary school, in order that they may be enlightened.”<sup>428</sup> Chu Sigyŏng published his *Tae Hanguŏ munpŏp* (Grammar of Korean) in 1906 and continued to research the language and contribute writings to the debate over script reform which unfolded in the vernacular press after 1906. While missionary-scholars continued to revise and refine previous dictionary editions, Korean scholars began the work of compiling the first Korean-Korean dictionary, a project which extended many more decades before completion. On July 8, 1907, thanks to the tireless efforts of Chu and other scholars, the National Script Research Institute (Kungmun yŏn’guso) was established under the Ministry of Education, Korea’s first language planning institution and indeed first national research body, and on December 27, 1909

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<sup>428</sup> “Nodong yahak” (勞動夜學), *Hwangsŏng sinmun*, January 26, 1909. Also in 1908, Chang Chiyŏn (張志淵, 1864-1921), who wrote various articles in the popular press on the issue of language, produced his *Reader for Girls* (*Yŏja tokpon*), which was presumably directed at instruction for girls in private settings. Although a separate preface does not accompany the main text, the first chapter begins with the following sentiment related to women’s role in the nation: “Women are the mothers of our country’s people. When a woman’s education is developed, her sons and daughters may be made into good-natured people. Therefore, instruction will soon advance domestic education and become a model to guide the knowledge of our nation’s people.” Thus, the purpose of women’s education for the author was clearly to create a domestic model for the development of the modern nation. See Chang Chiyŏn (1908), *Nyŏja tokpon sanggwŏn*, ed. Mun Hyeyun (Kwangmyŏng: Kyŏngjin, 2012), 12.

the research of this group culminated in a final report and recommendations (Kungmun yŏn'gu ũijŏng'an) related to orthographical standardization.<sup>429</sup> Despite the momentum building around linguistic modernization, the political authority of Japan resisted indigenous influence on official language policy, and the final recommendations of the National Script Research Institute in 1909 were ignored by the pro-Japanese Minister of Education Yi Yongjik (李容植, 1852-1932).<sup>430</sup> Official textbook compilation and authorization and orthographic enactment were taken over by the GGK, and the task of dictionary compilation was divided between the missionary endeavor and the official GGK project. The direct imposition of Japanese authority over the education system and language policy and planning meant that the form of officially sanctioned vernacular writing in public schools came to be defined by an unequal, truncated, and colonially imposed curriculum, while the forum of subaltern-led language development and modernization in the first decade of colonial rule shifted to an extremely limited, severely censored private sector.

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<sup>429</sup> Other language scholars who worked with Chu Sigyŏng on this research included Ŏ Yunjŏk, Yi Nŭnghwa, Chu Sigyŏng, Kwŏn Posang, Song Kiyŏng, Chi Sŏgyŏng, Yi Minŭng, and Yun Ton'gu. For a list of these recommendations, and their similarity to missionary-proposed recommendations, see King, "Protestant Missionaries."

<sup>430</sup> King, "Protestant Missionaries," 32.

## Chapter 3: Lexical Modernization and a Revolutionary Technology:

### *Kukhanmun* Writing and Translation as a Positive Feedback Mechanism

In Chapter Two I discussed the emergence of language ideologies at the turn of the last century among Western scholars of Korean and native Korean ‘language entrepreneurs’ and other reform-minded intellectuals relating to the form and function of language and writing in the modern nation. These language ideologies provide clues as to the justification for language policy and planning during the Enlightenment Period in terms of grammar and orthographic standardization, textbook policy and pedagogy, and lexical compilation by demonstrating the discursive parameters of the language debate—what were considered acceptable and perhaps practical methods of reform. What has been absent from the discussion thus far is an examination of mechanical transformations in the linguistic landscape in the decades preceding annexation, that is, the process by which the cosmopolitan and the vernacular became differentiated and the latter emerged as a discrete, “modern” writing system. Through this analysis I pay special attention to the role of transnational interaction and influence, specifically the impetus created by Korean intellectuals’ exposure to and engagement with the Japanese writing system.

This chapter examines the dual processes of vernacularization<sup>431</sup> and translation<sup>432</sup> and their contribution to the formation of modern written Korean through a relationship of

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<sup>431</sup> Two aspects of vernacularization are germane to the current discussion. On the one hand, this term refers to the actual mechanical shift in written Korean, from LS along a continuum of increasingly vernacular inscriptional practices, the main forms being *kukhanmun hyōnt’o ch’e*, *kukhanmun*, and *kungmun*. Im Sangsōk (2008) provides a more helpful paradigm which better captures the complex nature of *kukhanmun* writing itself, further separating this mixed-script system into four additional types of *écriture*, a schema that will be taken up in more detail later in this chapter. See Im, *20-segi Kuk-Hanmunch’e ūi hyōngsōng kwajōng*. The other aspect of vernacularization that deserves attention is the expansion of acceptable spheres of ‘vernacular’



interconnectedness and mutual reinforcement. Korea's entrance onto the world stage through a series of treaties, first with Japan in 1876 and then with other Western nations in the 1880s, demanded that it conform to international conventions of diplomacy and comportment, among them transparent representation through a 'national language.' The inadequacy or inability of LS to represent the Korean nation in the international arena or reliably reproduce the speech of other nation-states demanded a hybrid *écriture*, a radical 'translation through creation' embodied in *kukhanmun* writing.<sup>433</sup> The revolutionary potential of *kukhanmun* was further reinforced by the textual intervention of language entrepreneurs such as Yu Kilchun and his *Sōyu kyōnmun* (Things Seen and Heard in the West), as well as the media potentiality of Korea's first mixed-script periodical, the *Hansōng sunbo*.<sup>434</sup> The emergence of *kukhanmun* as a viable orthography

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usage, including most notably the revolutionary employment of *kukhanmun* for conveying new knowledge of an academic nature in periodicals.

<sup>432</sup> There were several types of translation which occurred during the Enlightenment Period, their proliferation reflecting the unsettled nature of the linguistic landscape and the still nebulous notion of 'translation' in the modern sense. These 'translation' types included more or less faithful 'meaning translations' of the original, but also adaptations or abridged translations, intratranslations within a single 'language' (i.e., from *kukhanmun* to pure *kungmun*) and relay translations through an intermediary language(s). Because I am interested in the influence exerted by Japanese writing on Korean, this chapter focuses primarily on relay translations of a Western language through Japanese. For a discussion of relay translations, particularly those appearing in the periodical *Sonyōn* (少年), see Chōng Sōnt'ae, "Pōnyōk kwa kūndae sosōl munch'e ūi palgyōn: Chapchi *Sonyōn* ūl chungsim ūro," in *Kūndaeō, kūndae maech'e, kūndae munhak: Kūndae maech'e wa kūndae ōnōjilsō ūi sangp'ansōng*, ed. Han Kihyōng et al. (Sōul: Sōnggyun'gwan Taehakkyo ch'ulp'an, 2006).

<sup>433</sup> Hwang Hodōk, "Kugō wa ōnō, kūndae neishōn kwa kū chaehyōn yangsiktūl: *Sahoe kiryak* ūi kuō sanghwang e taehayō," in *Kūndaeō, kūndae maech'e, kūndae munhak: Kūndae maech'e wa kūndae ōnōjilsō ūi sangp'ansōng*, ed. Han Kihyōng et al. (Sōul: Sōnggyun'gwan Taehakkyo ch'ulp'an, 2006). For a broader discussion of this episode, see Hwang Hodōk, *Kūndae neishōn kwa kū p'yosangdūl*.

<sup>434</sup> Hō Chaeyōng provides an in-depth analysis of the origins of Korea's first newspapers, the *Hansōng sunbo* and *Hansōng chubo*, in Hō Chaeyōng, "Kūndae kyemonggi ūi ōmun chōngch'aek 1: Kaehwagi *Hansōng sunbo* (*chubo*) rūl chungsim ūro," *Hanminjok munhwa*

for academic writing was thus intimately connected with Korea's exposure to Japanese textual and linguistic practices, and was the result of contact with the radical difference yet potential consanguinity of Japanese writing. Once the possibility of *kukhanmun* writing as a potential challenge to the hegemony of LS had been established among a coterie of Korean intellectuals, the gates were opened to a flood of translations from a suddenly far more analogous and easily translatable Japanese *futsūbun* style, and this became the preferred method as knowledge of the Japanese language spread among a Korean intellectual elite much less familiar with Western languages. In this way, vernacularization and translation functioned within a positive feedback loop: *kukhanmun* structure facilitated greater translation through Japanese, while the ongoing process of translation drew the translator into closer contact with and employment of Japanese writing conventions, which in turn became assimilated into vernacular Korean as readers acclimated to increased vernacularization and accompanying Japanese-made neologisms. Meanwhile, over many decades the dictionary compilation project—spearheaded initially by Western missionaries and joined later by the GGK—codified the fruits of this vernacularization/translation process in the absence of officially sanctioned indigenous input.<sup>435</sup> Although annexation politicized the discussion over accommodating Japanese cultural forms, the mechanism of Japanese-inspired linguistic reform had already been set in motion, and an

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*yŏn'gu* 14 (2004): 55-81. For a more general history of print media in Korea, refer to Kang Chunman, *Han'guk taejung maech'esa* (Sŏul: Inmul kwa sasangsa, 2007).

<sup>435</sup> This was the case until the early 1930s, when cooperation between the GGK and the indigenous *Chosŏnŏ hakhoe* (Korean Language Society) resulted in a Korean official orthography that would be acceptable to both groups. See Mitsui, *Chōsen shokuminchi shihai to gengo*.

alternative method of accommodating the terminology of modernity became difficult to articulate.<sup>436</sup>

### 3.1 The Sinograph as Spatio-Temporal Mediating Agent

Recent theorizations of modernity and how it relates to language and literature may shed some light on Korea's colonial period and its linguistic landscape. For example, a number of researchers have focused on the logic of temporality, which lies at the heart of the colonial encounter, and how it structures difference and inequality, including that of a linguistic nature. Dipesh Chakrabarty reminds us that this projection of notions of coexisting "discrepant temporalities" is modernity in a nutshell,<sup>437</sup> while Johannes Fabian has noted that "the denial of coevalness that structures colonial schemes of Otherness is foundational to the project of modernity."<sup>438</sup> Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs similarly focus on the discrepant character of modernity's discursive construction through a discussion of purifying and hybridizing language practices.<sup>439</sup> For them, modernization has been a continual process of mediation between perceived 'pure' (i.e. traditional) and hybrid forms, where mediation "is a structural

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<sup>436</sup> On the other hand, in contrast to more unpalatable forms of Japanese influence and control such as the takeover of the Korean government, military and public education system, linguistic influence was not an area of impact which engendered the same level of active resistance among cultural nationalists, being perceived as a more innocuous process, if mentioned at all.

<sup>437</sup> Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983); Richard Bauman and Charles L. Briggs, *Voices of Modernity: Language Ideologies and the Politics of Inequality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

<sup>438</sup> Bauman and Briggs, *Voices of Modernity*, 307.

<sup>439</sup> *Ibid*, 306.

relationship, the synthetic bringing together of two elements... in such a way as to create a symbolic or conventional relationship between them that is irreducible to two independent dyads.”<sup>440</sup> The hybrid form, on the other hand, is an antiquity, “mediating between past and present. It is rooted in the old time, but persists in appropriately distressed form into the new.”<sup>441</sup>

These concepts of “discrepant temporalities,” “the denial of coevalness,” and the notions of purifying/hybridizing practices and mediation do much to elucidate the linguistic landscape in colonial Korea, especially the interaction between the cosmopolitan and the vernacular in the early modern period. The catalyst for reforms and transformations in the Korean language—in terms of orthography, syntax, writing style, the relative status and weight of inscriptional practices<sup>442</sup>—was the real and perceived discrepant temporality or ‘gap’ between Korean and the putative models of ‘modern’ language and literature, namely Western languages and increasingly Japanese. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the circulation of teleological discourses on the backwardness and stagnation of Korean worship of Sinitic culture and writing and its failure to standardize its own language according to modern criteria in opposition to the West and Japan helped to naturalize the modernist trajectory of Korea and legitimize the language reform agenda among not only Korean intellectuals but GGK officials as well, creating a convergence of interest to some extent, and even cooperation in some instances.<sup>443</sup> Within this

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<sup>440</sup> Ibid, 305.

<sup>441</sup> Ibid, 76.

<sup>442</sup> Inscriptional practices (*p’yogich’e*) refers to the choice of script, in this case the relative weight of sinograph or *han’gŭl* utilization.

<sup>443</sup> Uchiyama Akiko, “Translation as Representation: Fukuzawa Yukichi’s Representation of the “Others,”” in *Agents of Translation*, ed. John Bandia Milton, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2009); Stefan Tanaka, *Japan’s Orient: Rendering Pasts into History*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Mitsui, *Chōsen shokuminchi shihai to gengo*.

construct, the sinograph existed as an “antiquity,” a hybrid form which mediated between the past and present, rooted in the old, but “persisting in distressed form into the new.” The sinograph, forming the root of the traditional Sinosphere or ‘Sinographic Cosmopolis,’<sup>444</sup> persisted into the modern in hybridized form by taking on reconfigured syntactical and semantic roles in *kukhanmun* writing<sup>445</sup> and by subsuming new semantic dimensions through the processes of translation through Japanese from Western languages, the production of neologisms that attended it, and the subsequent inundation of the Korean lexicon with such vocabulary through translation into Korean.<sup>446</sup> The overall language reform agenda was legitimized through naturalizing discourses on linguistic modernization and progress. This discourse, combined with the mediational force of the sinograph, directed the course of Korean language development within the contours of the linguistic landscape. Furthermore, the GGK public school language

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<sup>444</sup> Although the term Sinosphere has been used to refer to “the traditional region in East Asia that was bound by its commitment to Literary Sinitic (Classical Chinese) and sinographs (Chinese characters),” in this present work I refer to this region as the ‘Sinographic Cosmopolis,’ highlighting the “supraregional (the *cosmos*) and the political (*polis*) of Sheldon Pollock’s Sanscrit Cosmopolis in the East Asian context while sensitive to the fact that, as Ross King points out, terms such as the ‘Sinosphere’ “are too China-centric in their implications while eliding the all-important role of the writing system.” Ross King, “Introduction: Koh Jongsok’s *Infected Language*,” in Koh Jongsok, *Infected Korean Language: Purity versus Hybridity*, trans. Ross King (Amherst: Cambria Press, 2014), 2; Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); For a wide range of works on the Sinographic Cosmopolis, see Ross King, editor, *The Language of the Sages in the Realm of Vernacular Inscription: Reading Sheldon Pollock from the Sinographic Cosmopolis*, edited volume based on the conference, “Thinking about ‘Cosmopolitan’ and ‘Vernacular’ in the Sinographic Cosmopolis: What can We Learn from Sheldon Pollock?” University of British Columbia, July 2-4, 2012 (forthcoming).

<sup>445</sup> For a detailed explanation of this process, see Im, *20segi kukhanmunch’e ūi hyŏngsŏng kwajŏng*.

<sup>446</sup> Hwang and Yi, *Kaenyŏm kwa yŏksa*; Lydia Liu, “Translingual Practice: The Discourse of Individualism between China and the West,” *positions* 1, no. 1 (1993): 160-193.

policies facilitated the diffusion of literacy in this constantly reconfigured language, a language that, due to the functioning of the above discursive and linguistic processes, shared progressively ever more commonalities with the Japanese language and served as a transitional literacy when reinforced by an educational regime aimed at the atrophy of Korean over time.<sup>447</sup>

Hwang Hodök, following Immanuel Wallerstein's World Systems Theory, provides an intriguing analysis of "time-space homogenization," particularly in terms of colonial capitalism, which is relevant to this current discussion of the sinograph as a spatio-temporal mediating agent. Hwang describes time-space homogenization as a process by which the global system of nation-states comes to be governed by simultaneous time.<sup>448</sup> However, within the concrete realm of experience is encountered so-called "simultaneity of the non-simultaneous"<sup>449</sup> and "temporal duality," where a lag persists between the subject of the modernization process and what is considered the model of '*kaehwa*.'<sup>450</sup> In the global capitalist system, this temporal duality produces and reproduces in the colonized countries of the periphery an acute sense of temporal delay and anxiety as to the country's particular stage of historical development, a compelling sentiment which continually propels the spread and deepening of the capitalist system, as well as

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<sup>447</sup> The policies which precipitated this atrophy include the increasing concentration of Japanese teachers in higher education, the inverse proportion of curriculum hours devoted to Korean and Japanese in primary schooling, the increasing mediational weight of *kokugo kanji* in proportion to Korean *hancha*, and the removal of vernacular Korean writing and composition from secondary schooling onward. This process will be analyzed in greater detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

<sup>448</sup> Hwang, "Kukka wa ōnō," 27.

<sup>449</sup> This is a concept first developed in the writings of Ernest Bloch to explain the rise of national socialist movements in the wake of a perceived crisis of capitalism during the Great Depression. It has been posited in wider Marxist literature as a result of uneven economic development in global capitalism.

<sup>450</sup> Hwang, "Kukka wa ōnō," 27.

imperial mimicry.<sup>451</sup> The drive to ‘catch up’ to more advanced nations extended beyond capitalist development to cultural and linguistic practices, and in the Korean context concerned the place of the sinograph in Korean linguistic life. LS represented for indigenous reformers and Western scholars alike the epitome of the antiquated, pre-modern episteme—the non-simultaneous in a modern, international system of simultaneous time which Korea strove to enter. The perceived gap between Korean linguistic practices and those of the West and Japan spurred reformers to articulate a standardized vernacular writing system. This anxiety over temporal lag furthermore may be used to theoretically elucidate the debate over vernacularization between the *kukhanmun* advocates and the *kungmun*-only supporters. If LS represented for reform-minded intellectuals the most primitive state of pre-modernity and non-synchronicity with the West, *kungmun*-only held out the possibility of linguistic simultaneity with other more advanced alphabetic systems. On the other hand, *kukhanmun* represented the potential for temporal homogenization with the Japanese model of reform, with the route being left open to even further *han’gŭl*-ization in the future. The disagreement between the two sides of the debate over the appropriate role of *hancha* in vernacular writing—as an acceptable medium of knowledge conveyance in a hybrid writing system or an impediment to complete vernacularization—reflected the contested nature of the sinograph more generally as an object of antiquity and stagnation or a potential tool for mediating between the premodern and modern epistemes.

Im Sangsŏk offers an interesting take on the ambiguous role of the LS tradition in Japanese literacy formation through the process of early colonial vernacularization in Korea. In his comparison of two composition textbooks, *Jitsuyō sakubunhō* (實用作文法 1907) published in Japan by a Japanese author and a text by the same title (*Siryong changmunpŏp*) published in

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<sup>451</sup> Ibid.

Korea in 1912 by a Korean author, Im demonstrates that the latter was much more influential (being reprinted several times) because it more closely reflected actual Korean writing practices during the time, while the former enjoyed limited circulation due to its more closely resembling Japanese writing styles, featuring a greater degree of *hanmun* dismantling and vernacular interpenetration.<sup>452</sup> The Korean author of the text, Yi Kakchong, though an active Japanese collaborator devoted to the cause of linguistic assimilation through the education system, produced a work in which the relatively low degree of vernacularization and high proportion of intact *hanmun* phrases and grammar more closely resembled Enlightenment-era Korean writing and impeded synchronicity with Japanese textbook and education policy.<sup>453</sup> Thus, according to Im, “[O]n the one hand *hanmun* was a powerful ideological medium [*maegech’e*] which was appealed to in colonial education policy to promote assimilation, [but] in actual writing practices it rather had the effect of preventing linguistic and cultural assimilation to Japan.”<sup>454</sup> The *ŏnmun ilch’i* movement was therefore a contested process with diverse significations: while moving away from *hanmun* toward greater vernacularization was in the interest of Japanese colonial policy, it was also pursued by Korean intellectuals as part of a nationalist trend. “*Ŏnmunilch’i*,” according to Im, “which was once touted as the cause célèbre of the *minjok* in the end was transitioned to a preparatory stage for assimilation.”<sup>455</sup>

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<sup>452</sup> Im Sangsŏk, “1910 nyŏndae ch’o, Han-Il “Siryong changmun” ŭi kyŏnggye,” *Ŏmun nonjip* 61 (2010): 57-80.

<sup>453</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

<sup>454</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.

<sup>455</sup> *Ibid.* Although the GGK did include *hanmun* education as part of the compulsory language curriculum throughout the first education policy regime (1910-1922), such literacy was limited to instilling Confucian morality, and did not figure prominently in elementary education, despite Japan’s extracurricular promotion of “retro” *hanmun*-related activities in Korea. According to



This brings into relief the enormous significance of *kukhanmun*'s emergence as an expository writing system<sup>456</sup> in Enlightenment-era and colonial Korea. The dismantling of pure LS in favor of *kukhanmun* provided the linguistic template within which a whole spectrum of further reform could take place. While unmediated *hanmun* holophrases in “*hanmun munjangch'e*” (*hanmun* clause style) and ‘undermediated’ phrases in “*hanmun kujölch'e*” (*hanmun* phrase style) existed as impediments to fuller linguistic assimilation as envisioned by Japanese educators and policy-makers, the *kukhanmun* system broadly conceived offered the possibility of closer affiliation with Japanese writing through further vernacularization and the intermediation of the individual sinograph within “*hanmun tanöch'e*” (*hanmun* word style) and beyond.<sup>457</sup> *Kukhanmun* writing represented the fluid, malleable technology through which “simultaneity of the non-simultaneous” ideology was actuated: the promise of consanguinity with the colonizer coupled with the denial of ultimate transcendence.

### 3.2 Writing Style (*Munch'e*) and Linguistic Interaction

Since the late 1990s some researchers in the field of Korean language and literature have turned their attention to the development of writing styles and literary practices during the first decade of the twentieth century and into the colonial period. However, the conceptualization of

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official education policy, the GGK was much more interested in promoting *hancha* literacy, reinforced throughout the curriculum in Mixed-Script textbooks, and from 1922 with the removal of *hanmun* as a required subject in common schools, this policy was intensified. This role of *hanmun* in the common school curriculum will be explored more thoroughly in Chapter 5.

<sup>456</sup> “Expository writing system” refers to the usage of *kukhanmun* to convey new knowledge and information not tied to a cosmopolitan “original.” This form of writing would later evolve into “academic” writing with the emergence of “academia” in the modern sense.

<sup>457</sup> See Im, *20 segi kukhanmunch'e üi hyöngsöng kwajöng* for a further explanation of these terms.

Japan and the colonial encounter in this research varies widely, and certain approaches are more illuminating than others. For example, Chŏng Kwang, Yun Hosŏk, and Kim Kwanghae<sup>458</sup> make welcome attempts at shedding light on an underexplored area of Korean linguistics—the influence of modern Japanese on the historical development of modern Korean and its legacy in contemporary language—but the ideology-driven premises upon which their theses rest distort their arguments and reveal a strong current of linguistic nationalism. In “The Interference of Japanese in the National Language” Kim claims that “the issue of sinographic terms (*hanchaŏ*) introduced during the colonial period will be a protracted problem due to their wide distribution, and the method for sweeping them away is still unclear. Even though there have been attempts to replace technical language with native terms in our own language, a movement which has continued for quite some time, it has met with disappointing results.”<sup>459</sup> In a similar fashion, Yun quite unilaterally designates certain colonial translation conventions from Japanese to Korean as “mistranslations” (*oyŏk*), suggesting that a single ‘correct’ or authoritative translation could actually exist.<sup>460</sup> These positions are based on a school of thought in Korean history that views culture as originally pure and Japanese (or any other) influence as “interference,” contamination that is uniformly undesirable and inherently damaging, necessitating the role of the scholar in tracking down these impure contaminants and eradicating them. However, I argue that all

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<sup>458</sup> Chŏng Kwang, “1920-30 nyŏndae munhak chakp’um e poinŭn Ilbonŏ kangmun ũi yŏnghyang,” *Han’gugŏhak* 2 (1996): 381-398; Yun Hosŏk, “Han’gugŏ pŏnyŏk munch’e e mich’in Ilbonŏ pŏnyŏk ũi yŏnghyang,” *Irŏ-Ilmunhak yŏn’gu* 40 (2001): 77-101; Kim, “Kugŏ e taehan Ilbonŏ ũi kansŏp.”

<sup>459</sup> Kim, “Kugŏ e taehan Ilbonŏ ũi kansŏp,” 183-84.

<sup>460</sup> Yun, “Han’gugŏ pŏnyŏk munch’e e mich’in Ilbonŏ pŏnyŏk ũi yŏnghyang.”

languages develop through processes of interaction, and the influence of any one language should not be described as “interference,” no matter the historical context.

A growing body of Korean language research has focused on the transformations in Korean literature and writing style from a more macrolinguistic perspective, considering the interaction of multiple languages within the Korean linguistic landscape. For example, Hō Chaeyōng provides an informative diachronic overview of the changes in Korean writing style, especially the intimate constructive relationship between Japanese and Korean inscriptional practices that developed during the decade before annexation.<sup>461</sup> Mun Hyeyun details the functioning of this relationship into the colonial period, emphasizing the multiple, overlapping layers of textual literacy that distinguished colonial-era literature and the “quantitative literary proliferation and qualitative deepening of expressive style” that characterized the transition from LS to *kukhanmun*-style notation, eventually laying the foundation for further vernacularization.<sup>462</sup> Sim Chaegi similarly examines the transformation of Korean writing style while considering the collision of LS writing conventions, indigenous tendencies, and Japanese influences.<sup>463</sup> Sim, like Mun and Im, accurately claims that *kukhanmunch’e* was not a unified, stable writing style, but rather “a fluid, intermediary writing style [*chunggan munch’e*] that was

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<sup>461</sup> Hō Chaeyōng, “Muncha sayong pangsik e ttarūn kugō munch’e pyōnch’ōnsa,” in *Saeroun kugōsa yōn’gu-ron*, ed. Chōn Chōng’ye et al. (Sōul: Tosō ch’ulp’an, 2010): 515-48. Hō has written extensively on various language-related issues during the Enlightenment and colonial period. The following are some relevant book-length works: *T’onggamsidae ōmun kyoyuk*; *Che 2 ōnō rosōūi Han’gugō kyoyuk ūi ihae wa t’amsaek* (Sōul: Pogosa, 2007); *Ilche kangjōngi kyokwasō chōngch’aek kwa Chosōnōkwa kyokwasō* (Sōul: Kyōngjin, 2009); *Kugōkwa kyojae ihae wa kyokwasō ūi yōksa* (Kwangmyōng: Kyōngjin, 2013); *Kugō kyoyuk kwa malgūl undong* (Sōul: Sōgwang haksul charyosa, 1994).

<sup>462</sup> Mun, *Munhagō ūi kūndae*; “Munye Tokpon-ryu wa Han’gūl munch’e ūi hyōngsōng,” *Ōmun Nonjip* 54 (2006): 199-223.

<sup>463</sup> Sim, *Kugō munch’e pyōnch’ōnsa*.

positioned en route from one language to another.” This is not to suggest teleologically that *kukhanmunch’e* was necessarily viewed by writers at the time as a stop-gap inscriptional practice or literary stage that had to be passed through in order to achieve literary modernity. Rather, as I will demonstrate in more detail below, the multiple stages of transformation from LS to relatively more vernacularized styles, coupled with the compressed time frame in which this transformation took place, resulted in the superficial development of certain initial stages of the transition and an eventual crystallization of a literary and academic style in the 1920’s more akin grammatically, semantically, and rhetorically to contemporary Korean language, though still quite removed from it. This transition had more to do with the stabilization of linguistic forms through trial and error—in consultation with Japanese and Western languages, of course—than the conscious drive toward what today seems like the logical conclusion to Korea’s path to literary and linguistic modernity.<sup>464</sup> It is crucial to keep in mind the timing of this literary transition in order to understand the nature of the Japanese penetration of and influence over the language: the direct imposition of Japanese into the colonial linguistic configuration after 1910 occurred in the midst of a transitional, experimental phase in Korean literary and linguistic practice, a process that had been indirectly precipitated by Japanese/Western languages in the 1900’s but accelerated with the concomitant force of political authority in colonial public schools and the press. To grasp the functioning of this linguistic landscape more comprehensively, it is crucial to examine theories of translation and transnational semantic circulation, especially from non-Western perspectives.

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<sup>464</sup> Indeed, at that time it was easier for certain authors to write in *hanmun* because of their training in it, though this seems counter-intuitive today. For an excellent discussion of this phenomenon, see Im, *20segi kukhanmunch’e ūi hyōngsōng kwajōng*; Mun, *Munhagō ūi kŭndae*.

### 3.3 Translation and Colonialism

Post-colonial studies has contributed a range of theorizations on the functioning and significance of translation, suggesting conceptualizations that vary dramatically from the contemporary professionalized concept of translation in the West. For example, Niranjana Tejaswini describes translation as a process that produces “strategies of containment,” which create authorized versions of the Other and participate in the “fixing of colonized cultures, making them seem static and unchanging rather than historically constructed.”<sup>465</sup> In this way, translation functions “as a transparent presentation of something that already exists, although the ‘original’ is actually brought into being through translation.”<sup>466</sup> This naturalizing of colonial discourse on the Other through translation commits a linguistic violence which conceals linguistic difference based on the logic of translational equivalence.<sup>467</sup> As a number of authors have shown, the impetus for this ‘fixing of colonized cultures’ through the establishment of translational equivalence is the perceived lack that existed in the colonized culture vis-à-vis the West in terms of literary and grammatical forms, and the overall terminology of modernity. For

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<sup>465</sup> Tejaswini Niranjana, “Introduction: History in Translation,” In *Siting Translation: History, Post-structuralism, and the Colonial Context* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 3.

<sup>466</sup> Ibid.

<sup>467</sup> More than a mere corresponding word or expression in another language, the “logic of translational equivalence” refers to the notion that emerged in Western linguistic theory that there existed (or ought to exist) in each language an equivalent word or expression for every imaginable concept. When applied to the colonial or semi-colonial context, the absence of a word in the subaltern language connoted a ‘lack’ or ‘backwardness’ which the logic of translational equivalence compelled the colonizer to ‘correct.’ The specific concept of “translational equivalence” has been attributed to the Swiss linguist Charles Bally through his work in comparative stylistics, but the grammar translation method has a long history of pedagogical use in the Latin Cosmopolis and is premised on much the same logic. See Anthony Pym, “Charles Bally and the Origins of Translational Equivalence,” *International Journal of Interpretation and Translation* 12, no. 2 (2014): 45-63.

example, Saliha Paker illustrates the position of perceived European literary modernity in the discourse among Ottoman writers on the direction of Ottoman translation of Western literature, where the ultimate purpose was rooted in the discrepant temporality of Ottoman “lack and belatedness.”<sup>468</sup> Michael Dodson, in his work on translation in colonial India, shows how this logic of translational equivalence pertained not only to the relationship between European languages and indigenous languages but also between the prestige, literary language of the colony (Sanskrit) and the vernaculars.<sup>469</sup> In a situation that paralleled closely the established relationship between LS and the vernaculars in Korea and indeed all of East Asia, Dodson notes that the comparison between Sanskrit and other languages of lesser prestige “led many orientalists to claim that the vernaculars possessed very little in either expressive capability or refinement which could not be traced directly to Sanskrit.”<sup>470</sup> One orientalist claimed that “the several dialects confounded under the common term *Hindi*... deprived of Sanskrit, would not only lose all their beauty and energy, but, with respect to the power of expressing abstract ideas, or terms in science, would be absolutely reduced to a state of barbarism.”<sup>471</sup> The apparent ‘lack’ in Korean vernacular writing in comparison to LS, Western languages and Japanese was similarly founded on this notion of translational equivalence, and through the process of translation which accelerated in the early twentieth century fueled by the need to ‘catch up’ with

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<sup>468</sup> Saliha Paker, “Ottoman Conceptions of Translation and Its Practice: The 1897 ‘Classics Debate’ as a Focus for Examining Change,” in *Translating Others, Volume 1*, ed. Theo Hermans (Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 2006).

<sup>469</sup> Persian was also considered a prestige language in some ways, especially in the fields of science, law, and literature.

<sup>470</sup> Michael Dodson, “Translating Science, Translating Empire: The Power of Language in Colonial North India,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 47, no. 4 (2005), 817.

<sup>471</sup> *Ibid.*

the superiority of the West, lexical expansion<sup>472</sup> and reconfiguration took place through a complex system of transnational linguistic circulation, akin to what Lydia Liu has termed “translingual practice.”<sup>473</sup> Hwang Hodök and Yi Sanghyön’s intriguing examination of bilingual dictionary production in Korea may shed much light on this phenomenon.

Due to the overwhelming prestige accorded to LS noted above, historically the attention paid to vernacular Korean in terms of organization and systematization had been negligible all the way to the late nineteenth century.<sup>474</sup> In the course of Korea’s exposure to modern conceptions of language and Western languages through Japanese translation, another sort of ‘lack’ came into relief: the absence of a Korean language dictionary compiled by Koreans. Hwang Hodök notes that, within this vacuum, bilingual/multilingual dictionaries compiled by foreigners acted as monolingual dictionaries, and the motives of foreigners became the default motives for Koreans.<sup>475</sup> Hwang describes the functioning of this linguistic hegemony as a kind of flow model: neologisms circulated “from foreigners who knew Korean, to Koreans who knew a

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<sup>472</sup> For a discussion of lexical expansion as a result of the perceived lack of equivalency between languages and cultures that occurs in the process of translation, see Maria Tymoczko, “Post-colonial Writing and Literary Translation,” in *Post-colonial Translation: Theory and Practice*, ed. Susan Bassnet and Harish Trivedi (London: Routledge, 1999).

<sup>473</sup> Lydia Liu, “Translingual Practice.”

<sup>474</sup> Ch’oe Kyöngbong points out that several “word collections” (*öhwijip*) that included vernacular Korean terms were compiled during the late Chosön period by so-called ‘*silhak*’ or ‘Practical Learning’ scholars, including *Chaemulbo* (才物譜 1798, Yi Manyöng), *Mulmyönggo* (物名考 1820, Yu Hüi), *Aön kakpi* (雅言覺非 1819, Chöng Yagyong), and *Chasan öbo* (茲山漁譜 1814, Chöng Yakchön). However, because these word collections consisted of sinographic headwords and vernacular terms functioned only in a glossing capacity, they were not truly ‘dictionaries’ in the modern sense of the word. See Ch’oe Kyöngbong, *Uri mal üi t’ansaeng: Ch’oech’o üi kugö sajön mandülgi 50nyön üi yöksa* (Söul: Ch’aek kwa hamkke, 2005), 15.

<sup>475</sup> Hwang and Yi, *Kaenyöm kwa yöksa*, 76.

foreign language, back to Koreans who did not know a foreign language, to be utilized as a foreign loan word (*oeraeō*).” During Korea’s early modern period these foreign loans were most often manifested as sinographs summoned in the service of translating Western concepts, combined into semantic reconfigurations in the form of neologisms usually created in Meiji Japan, and vernacularized within the existing language hierarchy. The sinographic mediation of these neologisms helped to disguise their foreign origin while the mediation of *hanmun*-literate Korean intellectuals actualized their utilization, a dual mediation which facilitated the widespread importation of such terms and broadened the semantic and conceptual range of the Korean language.

But on whose terms did this occur? Since the late 1990s a considerable amount of research by Korean scholars on translation during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has appeared.<sup>476</sup> Many scholars have pointed out the crucial role of Japanese as an intermediary language in the process of translating Western modernity.<sup>477</sup> Kim Uktong, in his work on translation and Korean modernity, points out that Korea’s reception of Western texts and knowledge was largely dictated by the timing of its engagement with the world outside of the Sino-centric order, which meant that the vast majority of materials translated into Korean

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<sup>476</sup> For example, see Pak Hyōngik, *Han’guk ūi sajon kwa sajōnhak* (Sōul: Wōrin, 2004); Song Ch’ōrūi et al, *Han’guk kūndae ch’ogi ūi ōhwi* (Sōul: Sōul taehakkyo ch’ulp’anbu, 2008); Yi Kimun, “Kugō sajōn ūi ōwōn p’yosi e taehayō,” *Sae kugō saenghwal* 2 (1992): 2-13; Yi Pyōnggūn, *Han’gugō sajōn ūi yōksa wa panghyang* (Sōul: T’aehaksa, 2000).

<sup>477</sup> For example, Pak Yōngsōp argues that literary magazines spearheaded by Ch’oe Namsōn, including *Sonyōn* (Boys) and *Ch’ōngch’un* (Youth), were major vectors for spreading Japanese neologisms as many of the translations featured in their pages were relay translations from Japanese. Chōng Sōnt’ae, quoting Kim Pyōngch’ōl (1989), claims that over 70% of Enlightenment-era translations were relay translations from Japanese. See Pak Yōngsōp, “Kaehwagi kugō ōhwi yōn’gu,” *Han’gugō ūimihak* 11 (2002): 161-76; Chōng, “Pōnyōk kwa kūndae sosōl munch’e ūi palgyōn.”



were relay translations from Japanese or Chinese.<sup>478</sup> When combined with the discrepant temporality of the Korean vernacular—its perceived immaturity and unpreparedness for “prestige literature (*kogŭp munŏ*) and lofty abstraction”—relay translation did not simply necessitate the ‘rediscovery’ of conceptual words in the Korean vernacular, but the creation of these words where none existed.<sup>479</sup> Therefore, the convergence of such a transnational linguistic circulation with the political will engendered in colonial education policy at a point of pronounced instability and even vulnerability in the developmental trajectory of Korean from that encoded in LS to *kukhanmun* combined to lay the foundation for a subsequent shift from illiteracy/semi-literacy in Korean to literacy in Japanese,<sup>480</sup> with Korean acting as a form of transitional literacy, and the sinograph functioning as a mediating agent.

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<sup>478</sup> One translator appearing in *Kŭmsŏng*, a short-lived literary magazine launched by Korean exchange students in Japan during the 1920’s, recognized the pitfalls of relay translations, and described the practice in the following colorful way: “These days there seem to be quite a few ‘dog shit translations’ (*kaettong pŏnyŏk*) and ‘pig shit translations’ (*toyaji ttong pŏnyŏk*) in Chosŏn. ‘Dog shit’ comes from eating another’s feces—recycled shit—while ‘pig shit’ comes from eating dog feces, a twice recycled shit. What are relay translations but dog and pig shit? Of course, with our language ability being what it is (*pujokhan*) this sort of translation is inevitable, but if we are going to carry out such dog shit translations we have to at least get it right. Even in the case of ‘pig shit translations,’ it is unforgivable that they end up resembling in no way the original work.” Quoted in Kim Uktong, *Pŏnyŏk kwa Han’guk ūi kŭndae* (Sŏul: Somyŏng ch’ulp’an, 2010), 333-34.

<sup>479</sup> Hwang and Yi, *Kaenyŏm kwa yŏksa*, 28. Hŏ Chaeyŏng makes a similar argument when he states that the bilingual dictionaries represented a mechanism of lexical transformation due to their emergence at a time before monolingual dictionaries compiled by Korean existed. See Hŏ Chaeyŏng, “Kugŏsa esŏ kŭndae kyemonggi ūi sŏlchŏng kwa sajŏn p’yŏnch’an ūi p’iryosŏng,” *Han’guk sajŏnhak* 17, no. 4 (2011): 267-88.

<sup>480</sup> This is not to suggest that this convergence caused spoken Korean to atrophy, or that textual Korean illiteracy increased in the first decade of the colonial period. Rather, these tendencies converged after 1910, intensified more or less continually throughout the colonial period and were punctuated by more draconian language policies in the late 1930’s and 1940’s to the point that many Korean writers during this period, though native *speakers* of Korean, were either bilingual writers who preferred Japanese or were unable to write in Korean at all, and had to retrain themselves after liberation or give up their profession altogether. For a discussion of this

### 3.4 Transnational Linguistic Interface and the Emergence of Modern Vernacular Korean

In mainstream research on modern Korean language and literature the publication of *The Independent* in 1896 is touted as a major milestone in the history of the modern Korean language and nation.<sup>481</sup> The inaugural editorial by Sŏ Chaep'il calling for mass literacy, enlightenment, and education is often quoted to highlight the democratic aspirations of the newspaper and to suggest a broader nationalistic tendency throughout society.<sup>482</sup> The inauguration of the first *kungmun*-only newspaper was indeed an historic development, but from a contemporary scholarly standpoint its appearance speaks much more to the language ideologies of a handful of iconoclastic, Western-educated Korean intellectuals than to the organic tendencies of late 19<sup>th</sup>-century Korean writing practices. Although the usage of *kungmun*-only for the conveyance of new knowledge in the public realm does reflect the interface with radical difference (a major theme of this chapter)—in this case Sŏ's unparalleled experience with living in the West—this style of writing would not constitute the mainstream of Korea's linguistic life for many decades to come. A much more revolutionary transformation in the linguistic landscape can be found in the shift from pure LS to *kukhanmun* as a medium for conveying new information and

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phenomenon, see Suh Serk bae, *Treacherous Translation*; Kwŏn Nayŏng and Chŏng Chaewŏn, "Cheguk, minjok, kŭrigo sosuja chakka: Singminji sasosŏl kwa singminji chaehyŏn nanje," in *Chŏnjaenghanŭn sinmin, singminji ũi kungmin munhwa: Singminji-mal Chosŏn ũi tamnon kwa p'yosang*, ed. Naoki Watanabe, Hwang Hodŏk and Kim Ŭnggyo (Sŏul: Somyŏng Ch'ulp'an, 2010).

<sup>481</sup> See for example Sin Ch'angsun, *Kugŏ kŭndae p'yogipŏb ũi chŏn 'gae* (Sŏul: T'aehaksa, 2007). Ryu Chunp'il characterizes the appearance of *The Independent* as "symbolic." Ryu Chunp'il, "Kŭndae kyemonggi maech'e wa ŏnŏ ũi chaehyŏn," in *Kŭndaeŏ, kŭndae maech'e, kŭndae munhak: Kŭndae maech'e wa kŭndae ŏnŏjilsŏ ũi sangp'ansŏng*, ed. Han Kiyŏng et al (Sŏul: Sŏnggyungwan Taehakkyo ch'ulp'an, 2006). Also see Yi, *Kaehwagi ũi Han'gŭl undongsa; Han'gŭl hakhoe 50-tol kinyŏm saŏphoe, Han'gŭl hakhoe 50nyŏnsa* (Sŏul: Han'gŭl hakhoe, 1971).

<sup>482</sup> See Chapter 2 of this work for a translated excerpt of this editorial.

knowledge of an academic nature. Conceived broadly, *kukhanmun* as a written code dominated Enlightenment and colonial-era linguistic life, and dictated the parameters of linguistic reform and modernization. *The Independent* and other *kungmun*-only publications were important proclamations of what Korean vernacular writing *could* be, but *kukhanmun* defined in fact what the written language *would* be for the foreseeable future.<sup>483</sup>

There is a long history of linguistic innovation and invention on the Korean peninsula, and each one of these developments may be linked to indigenous Korean exposure to disparate cultural and linguistic practices within the Sinographic Cosmopolis. Beginning with the introduction of LS which most likely attended China's establishment of the Han commanderies in the northwest of the peninsula in 108 BC, the radically different phonetic and morphological nature of the language eventually precipitated the development of various methods for adapting or "nativizing" the LS text read as a closer approximation of vernacular Korean, known broadly as *idu* (吏讀) or clerk writing.<sup>484</sup> Gari Ledyard has further demonstrated the international

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<sup>483</sup> This is true both in retrospect, and based on the discourse of the time. Aside from certain die-hard *kungmun*-only proponents such as Chu Sigyŏng, many intellectuals considered some form of *kukhanmun* as the ultimate goal of vernacularization, or at least a long-term written code within which to work toward that goal. Im Sangsŏk reaffirms the conservative nature of the linguistic landscape when he reminds us that, despite outlier publications such as *The Independent* publishing in *kungmun*-only, *hanmun* actually continued to dominate in the remaining years of the nineteenth and into the first decade of the twentieth century, and it was not until 1907-1909 that there was a shift from Hanmun Clause Style, to Hanmun Phrase Style, to Hanmun Word Style, and not until well into the colonial period that a vernacular style somewhat akin to 'contemporary Korean' began to take hold. See Im, *20segi kukhanmunch'e ūi hyŏngsŏng kwajŏng*, 213. Im also points out that as late as the early 1920s even more vernacularized Hanmun Word Style still stood as an impediment to even more vernacularized and standardized Japanese textbook writing due to the prominence of unassimilated *hancha*. See Im, "Siryong changmun."

<sup>484</sup> There are two meanings of *idu*, one referring to a particular method among several others for modifying an LS text to be read in "Korean," and the other to encompass all of these methods of modification. Here I employ *idu* in its generalized meaning encompassing the various methods of representing "Korean" with sinographs. The technology used to read an LS text as an

atmosphere within which the Korean alphabet was invented as the crucial element for understanding its emergence. According to Ledyard, “[S]tudents of Korean linguistic activity in Sejong’s court have often been so concerned with the dramatic development of the Korean alphabet that they have either not noticed or have forgotten the broad international dimension in which this work took place. In the initial period of development, almost as much effort went into understanding *Chinese* phonology as Korean. Indeed, an investigator who looks at the whole picture gets the strong impression that success in solving Korean, particularly Sino-Korean, problems was seen to require understanding of the Chinese situation first.”<sup>485</sup> It was thus prolonged literati exposure to and engagement with disparate linguistic forms and theories that again provided the impetus for inscriptional innovation, the ‘technological invention’ of a phonetic script. However, the close consultation with Chinese phonological theory and the principles of the ‘Phags-pa alphabet in the process of creating the Korean alphabet in no way compromised the brilliance of Sejong’s invention. In fact, the scope and breadth of the research project initiated by King Sejong demonstrated a high degree of academic awareness,

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approximation of Korean was termed *kugyŏl*, subsumed under the blanket category of *idu*. Texts employing *kugyŏl* will be explored in some depth later in this chapter. Lee and Ramsey describe the *idu* method of writing in the following way: “In translating a Chinese-language text into Korean using *idu*, the scribe first changed the words of the text around into Korean syntactic order. Then he added Korean particles and verb endings and other function words using Chinese characters either phonetically or semantically to represent those function words.” Although the earliest attempts at manipulating LS texts to ‘Koreanize’ them are attested from the Three Kingdoms Period, “it was in Silla that *idu* seems to have been developed into a functional transcription method.” Unlike other vernacularization methods, *idu* continued to be utilized for centuries after the invention of the Korean alphabet up until the late nineteenth century. For a description of *idu* and other methods of adapting LS, including *kugyŏl* and *hyangch’al*, see Lee and Ramsey, *A History of the Korean Language*, 53-62.

<sup>485</sup> Gari Ledyard, “The International Linguistic Background of the Invention of the Correct Sounds for the Instruction of the People,” in Young-Key Kim-Renaud, ed., *The Korean Alphabet: History and Structure* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), 52.

cosmopolitanism, and syncretism which contributed to the scholarly brilliance of the invention.<sup>486</sup>

The birth of *kukhanmun* in the late nineteenth century represented another technological breakthrough in writing which was generated through an interface between drastically different yet in this case potentially analogous writing systems. Just as the Chosŏn literati's exposure to Chinese linguistic theories and practices compelled the articulation of alternative meta-linguistic tools, the exposure of late-Chosŏn intellectuals for the first time to disparate approaches to language and writing provided the stimulus for an additional wave of innovation and reform. However, whereas a wide gulf in the bedrock principles of linguistics such as syntax, morphology, and phonology separated the Chinese and Korean languages and resulted in the formulation of a drastically different writing technology in *hunmin chŏn'gŭm* (*ŏnmun*), the differences encountered in the Japanese writing system were largely limited to the level of orthography (the relative weight of sinographic vs. vernacular inscription) and written grammar,<sup>487</sup> differences that were even more attenuated following the shift to *kukhanmun*. Rather, where the writing practices in Korea and Japan most dramatically diverged was in terms of language ideology, that is, what forums and what content were considered "proper" for

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<sup>486</sup> Ledyard, "The Invention of the Correct Sounds."

<sup>487</sup> Even after the shift to initial phases of *kukhanmun*, vernacular grammar was still sublated to LS grammar in the written text, precluding the expression of greater potential similarities that existed between the languages. In the observable pure LS texts circulated in Korea, similar differences separating a *kanbun* text from vernacular Japanese would have been present, insofar as pure LS texts were virtually identical across the Sinographic Cosmopolis. However, as suggested in Chapter 1, pure LS texts were most likely *read* in a *T'o*-Style mixed script (*kukhanmun hyŏnt'o ch'e*) which somewhat more closely approximated spoken Korean and therefore also spoken Japanese in terms of grammar and orthography. Spoken Korean and vernacular fiction would have shared even greater affinities with vernacular written Japanese than with stilted *T'o*-style readings of LS texts, although to what extent premodern colloquial Korean resembled Japanese of the same era is an area that deserves further attention.

conveyance by the “national script.” Japan had a long and vibrant tradition of literary works in the vernacular, as well as a native tradition of philology centered on vernacular works, and through the *genbun itchi* movement begun in the Meiji era had begun to break down the hegemony of *kanbun* to express academic thought and knowledge in the more colloquial style of the Edo dialect;<sup>488</sup> this was a route to reform ripe with suggestive possibilities for Korean reformers.<sup>489</sup> Simply put, at the outset of the Korean Enlightenment Period, Korea and China differed linguistically yet aligned ideologically, whereas Korea and Japan contrasted ideologically yet shared many similarities linguistically, similarities that were greatly amplified following the shift to *kukhanmun*. Moreover, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many of the same global forces that had shaped Japan’s initial engagement with the international system began to exert influence on Korea as well, such as the rise of nationalism and the nation-state, the ascendance of national languages, and the spread of print capitalism.<sup>490</sup> Under such influences, the language ideological gulf which divided the two countries was quickly overcome, making their linguistic consanguinity a sudden ‘asset’ which could be exploited by language reformers seeking ready-made ideas and methods for modernizing the language.

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<sup>488</sup> Nanette Twine, *Language and the Modern State: The Reform of Written Japanese* (London: Routledge, 1991); “Standardizing Written Japanese: A Factor in Modernization,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 4 (1988): 429-454.

<sup>489</sup> Although Korean, due to its relative dialectal homogeneity and mutual intelligibility, did not face the same dilemma as Japan in selecting a dialect that would serve as a standard (the two most viable candidates being the formerly prestigious Kyōtō dialect and the emergent Edo dialect), the relationship between *genbun itchi*-style Japanese and *kanbun* was analogous in many ways to Korea’s *kugyōl*-style (*t’o*-style) reading of LS and *kukhanmun*.

<sup>490</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

Several key moments occurred in the late nineteenth century which combined to affect the elevation of *kukhanmun* to the public sphere and solidify its role as newly-legitimized *écriture* of academic writing. Each of these developments is intimately connected to the ideologies of national language promotion and print capitalism noted above. I will demonstrate how each of these key moments occurred as a result of Korean elite exposure to and engagement with Japanese linguistic and cultural practices, either directly or indirectly. This Japanese influence should not be considered the result of thoughtless adaptation and appropriation of Japanese linguistic reforms, nor should it be viewed in the precolonial era as the result of forceful imposition by Japan. Rather, these moments of convergence should be perceived as the result of academic research and exchange within a newly cosmopolitanized atmosphere—the collision, contestation, and combination of linguistic landscapes characterized by disparate language ideologies yet potentially analogous vernacular grammar and syntax.

The first episode which eventually led to the emergence of *kukhanmun* as legitimized writing was the Kanhwa Treaty (*Pyŏngja suho chogyu* 1876) between Chosŏn and Japan, specifically the different terminology employed by each country in the preliminary drafts of the treaty. The disparate wording used by each side represents the divergent language ideologies that governed each nation at the outset of Korea's modern period. The first quotation below is Japan's proposed wording for Articles 1 and 3, and the second quotation is the amended wording proposed by the Korean side, which would eventually be accepted as the official version of the treaty.

Article 1: The country of Chosŏn is a sovereign nation [*chaju ũi pang*] and possesses authority equal to that of Japan.....Article 3: Henceforth in official communications

between the aforementioned states, Japan shall use its national writing [*kungmun*] and Chosŏn shall use *hanmun*.<sup>491</sup>

Article 1: The country of Chosŏn is a sovereign nation and possesses authority equal to that of Japan.....Article 3: Henceforth in official communications between the aforementioned states Japan shall use its national writing and for a period of ten years shall include a *hanmun* translation; Chosŏn shall use true writing [*chinmun* 眞文].<sup>492</sup>

Hwang argues in his analysis of this treaty that these lines are significant for a number of reasons. Firstly, Japan is allowed to conduct diplomatic correspondence in its ‘national language’ with the support of a *hanmun* translation, and secondly, the Korean side refers to the term “*hanmun*” as “*chinmun*” (true script).<sup>493</sup> These passages also reveal the language ideologies which dominated each respective country. Not only does Japan confidently employ the term *kungmun* to refer to its own communication method, reflecting the recent elevation of such an *écriture* to the status of official writing and confirming its linguistic modernity, but it also denies Korea’s own association with such a modern language ideology and rather fixes its status firmly in the premodern sino-centric episteme. The employment of the term *hanmun* [*kanbun*] furthermore creates a spatio-temporal gap between both Japan and Korea—despite the previous article stipulating the equality of the two states—as well as Japan and the larger Sinographic Cosmopolis. The proposed amendments by the Korean side, on the other hand, are revealing for several reasons. First, the appearance of the term “*chinmun*” unmistakably reaffirms Korea’s position in the sino-centric order as champion of the ‘true script,’ reflecting the dominant language ideology of Chosŏn elite circles and highlighting the rift that was already forming

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<sup>491</sup> Nihon gaikō bunsho dai 9 kan, Meiji 9, February 13 (1876), Bunsho bangō dai 18gō, dai 92 men, quoted in Hwang, “Kukka wa ōnō,” 14.

<sup>492</sup> 第一款 朝鮮國自主之邦, 保有與日本國平等之權.....第三款 嗣後兩國往來公文, 日本用其國文, 自今十年間, 別具譯漢文一本, 朝鮮用眞文。 *Kojong sillok* 13, February 3, 1876.

<sup>493</sup> Hwang, “Kukka wa ōnō,” 15.



between Japan and Korea in this regard. Secondly, the ‘grace period’ provision for *hanmun* translation suggests a tension between these disparate language ideologies, an incommensurability that threatened established notions of diplomatic relations in the Sinographic Cosmopolis. Whereas the Japanese proposal considers *kungmun* alone as an adequate medium for conducting correspondence, the Korean revision seems to demand the presence of *hanmun* for perhaps legal purposes, judging Japanese *kungmun* alone to be inappropriate, inadequate, or even incongruous with official diplomacy. However, the limitation of *hanmun* translation to a ten-year ‘grace period’ suggests that the Korean side as well was aware of the changing contours of the Sinographic Cosmopolis, and that further transformations were on the horizon.

The stipulations of the Kanghwa Treaty had no immediate effect on the official writing practices of the Chosŏn government. Diplomatic communication with Japan, as per the treaty, continued in LS,<sup>494</sup> as did public proclamations in the *Official Gazette (Kwanbo)*, while the stronghold of LS perpetuation, the *Kwagŏ* Examination, continued for another two decades. However, the negotiation of this treaty for the first time accentuated the language ideological gap that had emerged between Japan and Korea and institutionalized this difference in the realm of international diplomacy. Chosŏn government leaders were for the first time compelled to grapple with this discrepancy in the unity of the Sinographic Cosmopolis, and the episode must have provided Chosŏn leaders with a glimpse into the linguistic landscape of modern Japan and possible future directions for reform.

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<sup>494</sup> In 1882 Chosŏn concluded its second treaty with an international power, the Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce and Navigation, United States–Korea Treaty of 1882 (*Cho-Mi suho t’ongsang choyak* 朝美修好通商條約), which stipulated that *Hwamun* (華文 “Efflorescent Writing”) or Chinese writing would be used to translate English communications, a term which for Chosŏn leaders seems to have represented the international equivalent of *chinmun*, a word which would not have had the same significance outside of the Sinographic Cosmopolis. Hwang, “Kugŏ wa ōnŏ,” 29.

The second event that was instrumental in forming *kukhanmun* and elevating it to the level of official script was the Fourth Korean Diplomatic Mission to Japan (*Cho-Il susinsa* 朝日修信使, 1882). The Kanhwa Treaty of 1876 reorganized the long-standing periodic Korean diplomatic missions to Japan—traditionally termed *t'ongsinsa* (通信使) and primarily concerned with the transmission of cultural goods to Japan—into a modern diplomatic corps designated as *susinsa*, reflecting the changing balance of power in East Asia. Four such missions were launched from 1876 to 1882, the final mission organized directly after the Imo Mutiny in 1882 to smooth over damaged relations between the countries.<sup>495</sup> In that sense, the mission was a crucial venue for reaffirming dedication to military and other reforms that Japan had begun to initiate in Korea, while rebuffing the growing influence of Qing China in internal Chosŏn affairs.<sup>496</sup> This mission was furthermore a significant forum for international interaction between Chosŏn elites and the leaders of Japan and other Western nations, and an important site of exposure to modern technological and cultural advancements. The mission is perhaps best known for being the site where the Korean *t'aegŭkki* (a forerunner of the national flag of the Republic of Korea) was first unfurled, designed by the Korean Ambassador to Japan and mission leader Pak Yŏnghyo (朴泳孝 1861-1931). However, it is Pak's record of the mission, or rather, the radical heterogeneity of his text, which is relevant to the current discussion. Reflecting the multilingual atmosphere of the mission, Pak's record *Sahwa kiryak* (使和記略) employs a range

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<sup>495</sup> As for the size of the mission, Han Ch'ŏlho reports that there were thirteen core personnel, including the mission leaders Pak Yŏnghyo, Kim Mansik and Sŏ Kwangbŏm. Including Korean exchange students and other ancillary personnel of various capacities, the mission was as large as thirty individuals, a significant reduction over previous missions totaling 76 (1876) and 58 (1880). See Han Ch'ŏlho, "Kaehwagi Pak Yŏnghyo ūi *Sahwa kiryak* e nat'an'an Ilbon insik," *Han'gukhak nonjip* 44 (2014): 95-124.

<sup>496</sup> Han, "Pak Yŏnghyo ūi *Sahwa kiryak*."

of written languages and orthographies, including *hanmun*, Japanese, translations of various foreign languages into Japanese, and importantly *kukhanmun* in various stages of vernacularization. This was the first time that *kukhanmun* had been used in an official capacity at the government level, and according to Hwang Hodōk, “[T]hrough a hybrid, multilingual arrangement, Pak Yōnghyo’s *Sahwa kiryak* showed the non-existence of *kugō*, and for the first time *kugō* itself began to emerge.”<sup>497</sup> That is to say, in a forum where each nation was represented by its national flag and its own national language in both speech and writing, *hanmun*’s inability to adequately represent Korean thought and action was brought into stark relief, necessitating an alternative *écriture*. This inadequacy was especially pronounced in the representation of official speeches by various foreign legations, where the gap between the spoken and written was particularly obvious. Therefore, “through the process of recording speeches that demanded recording...a mixed-script *écriture* [*kukhanmun honyong*] unprecedentedly employing the spoken language was used for composing documents of the highest level of officiality.”<sup>498</sup>

Although a kind of precedent for *ōnmun-hanmun* combination did exist in the *ōnhae* annotations of the Classics, the impetus for employing such a writing system in this particular context clearly came from exposure to and interaction with Japanese practices. As suggested above, the degree of vernacularization (*han’gŭl/hancha* proportions and vernacular grammar) varies within *Sahwa kiryak*’s *kukhanmun* portions, with more heavily vernacularized portions diverging drastically from the limited de-sinification evident in *T’o*-style annotations.<sup>499</sup> Based

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<sup>497</sup> Hwang, “Kukka wa ōnō,” 40.

<sup>498</sup> *Ibid*, 31.

<sup>499</sup> *Ibid*, 30.

on the author's later efforts in national language and writing education and his overall affinity for Japanese modernization reform efforts, it is safe to assume that the Japanese writing system provided the primary template for Pak's formulation of *kukhanmun* writing in an official capacity.<sup>500</sup> This is further supported by the lack of a possible alternative source of inspiration. Given the deviation of *Sahwa kiryak's* *kukhanmun* styles from established *ŏnhae* conventions, the radical difference of *hanmun* from any other international languages that may have been encountered, and the predominance of Japanese speech and writing in this particular forum, Japanese would have represented an irresistible prototype for making the leap to mixed-script writing in an official capacity. Although it is difficult to prove, the macaronic process of composition itself—switching back and forth between mixed-script Japanese and *hanmun* while thinking and speaking in a Korean language more synonymous with Japanese—may have resulted rather organically or spontaneously in the birth of this hybrid writing style. Whatever the specific circumstances, the emergence of *kukhanmun* writing in the official realm was an extremely significant event which was the result of exposure to a radically different international context, and it represented an important shift in the Korean language ideology from the premodern sino-centric order to the Japanese- and Western-inspired national language and writing ideology.

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<sup>500</sup> Hwang, “Ŏnŏ wa kukka,” 33; Han, “Pak Yŏnghyo ũi *Sahwa kiryak*.” On February 24, 1884, after his time in Japan and the completion of his *Sahwa kiryak*, Pak wrote a public appeal for vernacular translation (*ŏnmun yŏk*) and universal education for all boys and girls over age six. Although Pak initially employs the *hanmun-ŏnmun* dichotomy when discussing the need for translation into the latter, at a later point in the text he uses the terms ‘national language and national writing’ (*kugŏ kungmun*), terminology which had not yet gained any sort of currency in Korean society. This clearly demonstrates a strong current of influence from Japanese language ideology, as the vocabulary could not have originated from anywhere else. Pak Yŏnghyo, “Kaehwa sangsomun,” February 24, 1884.

The contrasting terminology evident in the Japanese and Korean versions of the Kanghwa Treaty represents the first official acknowledgement of a rift in the sino-centric order, while Pak Yŏnghyo's *Sahwa kiryak* signifies the first breach of the barrier between the vernacular and cosmopolitan in Korea's official textual practice. However revolutionary these events were, they were nonetheless limited to the level of official government administration, and there remained a strict complementarity of domains<sup>501</sup> in terms of *hanmun* and *kungmun* usage in the public and private realms. The event which represented the first transgression of the vernacular/cosmopolitan divide in official writing of the public sphere was the publication of the *Hansŏng chubo* (漢城周報). Beginning publication on January 25, 1886, *Hansŏng chubo* was the first periodical to use *kukhanmun* for the conveyance of new knowledge and information, although articles using this orthography remained in the distinct minority throughout the newspaper's run compared to articles in *hanmun*.<sup>502</sup> This periodical was the result of extensive collaboration between Japanese and Korean individuals, although to uncover the origins of this

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<sup>501</sup> I borrow this term 'complementarity of domains' from Francis Britto, who uses it to describe the diglossic condition which existed (and exists) between written Tamil (*centamil*) and colloquial forms (*koduntamil*, "broken Tamil"). In the Korean context the 'complementarity of domains' between vernacular and cosmopolitan refers to the strict employment of *hanmun* for academic and official texts paralleled by the usage of *kungmun* for vernacular fiction. This is not to suggest, however, that well-defined diglossia characterized the entire pre-modern Korean linguistic landscape, as so-called *ŏnmun* was utilized in *ŏnhae* annotations and as a broader pedagogical tool for accessing education in Sinitic knowledge, while *idu* texts, though composed entirely with sinographs, reflected more closely vernacular Korean, albeit a stilted, archaic, and formulaic version. In this paper the term 'complementarity of domains' is used to describe the custom of restricting the vernacular script from the highest levels of textual practice, and the reader should bear in mind the important differences between the Korean case and "archetypical diglossia." See Francis Britto, *Diglossia: A Study of the Theory with Application to Tamil* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1986); Elizabeth Kaske, *The Politics of Language in Chinese Education, 1896-1919* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

<sup>502</sup> Hŏ, "Kŭndae kyemonggi ūi ŏmun chŏngch'aek," 63-64.

collaboration we must consider briefly the inauguration of Korea's first periodical and predecessor to the *Hansŏng chubo*, the *Hansŏng sunbo* (漢城旬報).

The two main Korean actors behind the publication of the *Hansŏng sunbo*, inaugurated on October 31, 1883, were Pak Yŏnghyo and Yu Kilchun, two of the earliest Koreans to have extensive, direct contact with Meiji Japan. As noted above, Pak was the author of the multilingual *Sahwa kiryak*, an experience that would have awakened him to the feasibility of 'vernacular' writing in the official capacity, and he was strongly in favor of Japanese modernization efforts. Like many early reformers, Pak was influenced by the teachings of Meiji Enlightenment thinker Fukuzawa Yukichi (福沢諭吉, 1835-1901) with whom he had had contact during the Korean diplomatic mission to Japan in 1882.<sup>503</sup> During this mission Pak recruited seven Japanese experts in the printing industry who returned with him to Korea, including Fukuzawa's student Inoue Kakugorō (井上角五郎, 1860-1938), who was instrumental in publishing the *Hansŏng chubo* a few years later. On the other hand, Yu Kilchun's experience in Japan began with his involvement in the Gentlemen's Sightseeing Tour (*Sinsa yuramdan*) in May of 1881, after which Yu remained in Tōkyō and enrolled in the Fukuzawa-founded Keiō Academy (慶應義塾) on June 8<sup>th</sup> of 1881, becoming the first Korean foreign exchange student to study in Japan.<sup>504</sup> Yu's relationship with Fukuzawa seems to have been particularly close as he stayed as a guest at the home of Fukuzawa for a period of five months during his enrollment at Keiō Academy. It was during this time that Fukuzawa started publication of the influential *Jiji shinpō* (時事新報 March 1882), and so Yu would have enjoyed a front-row seat from which to

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<sup>503</sup> Kang, *Han 'guk taejung maech'esa*, 25.

<sup>504</sup> Kang, *Han 'guk taejung maech'esa*, 25-26.

observe the process and methods of modern newspaper publishing. Yu returned to Korea in late 1882 and together with Pak began the preliminary work for the launching of *Hansŏng sunbo*, which did not get up and running until October of that year.<sup>505</sup> According to Kang Chunman, not only had Yu's experience in Japan and the influence of Fukuzawa instilled in him the ultimate necessity of publishing a newspaper in Korea, but three of the seven publishing specialists whom Pak had brought from Japan were well-known acquaintances of Yu during his Keiō Academy days, including Inoue Kakugorō, and so Pak entrusted all of the day-to-day tasks of publishing to his assistant Yu.<sup>506</sup> *Hansŏng sunbo* was published under the auspices of the Ministry of Academic Publication (Pangmun'guk 博文局, an office affiliated with the *t'ongni amun* 統理衙門)<sup>507</sup> with a readership consisting mostly of government officials, and so it did not quite fit the definition of a newspaper in the modern sense of the word, but its inclusion of reports on topical affairs and introduction of Western culture to its readers did distinguish it from the

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<sup>505</sup> Ibid, 26. Pak's demotion to a position outside of the capital after running afoul of conservative elements in government along with Yu's appointment to the first Korean diplomatic mission to the United States and subsequent study there delayed the publication of the *Chubo* until October of 1883.

<sup>506</sup> Kang, *Han'guk taejung maech'esa*, 26.

<sup>507</sup> *Korea: A Historical and Cultural Dictionary* gives the following description of the *T'ongni* (*kimu*) *amun* (統理(機務)衙門): "Office for General Management' Government office first established in January 1881 with twelve departments, covering not only diplomatic dealings with China and other foreign countries but also such things as military affairs, foreign trade, shipbuilding, and schools for foreign languages. It represented one of Korea's first moves toward modernisation and self-strengthening... In the year of its formation a request to resolve Korea's traditional obligation to send tribute missions to China and to exchange resident diplomatic embassies in Beijing and Seoul was rejected by Li Hongzhang. In December 1882 its name was changed to *T'ongni amun* in imitation of the Chinese Zongli yamen. With the advice of Paul-Georg von Möllendorf it was reorganized the following month and the name changed again, this time to *T'ongno Kyobo T'ongsang Samu Amun*." Keith Pratt, Richard Rutt, and James Hoare, eds., *Korea: A Historical and Cultural Dictionary* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1999), 492.

previous *Official Gazette*.<sup>508</sup> Its usage of strictly *hanmun* orthography further limited its circulation and influence. However, this inauguration of modern newspaper publishing in Korea is significant specifically because of the network of cross-cultural interaction and influence that it engendered.

Following the Kapsin Coup of December 4, 1884 and the backlash against pro-Japanese forces within Korea, the *Hansǒng sunbo* ceased publication. However, fourteen months later in January of 1886 the *Hansǒng chubo* was founded by many of the same actors involved in the previous newspaper, and undergirded by similar principles of ‘civilization and enlightenment’ of the populace. The inaugural editorial of the newspaper makes clear the lineage of the *Hansǒng chubo*, as well as the desired role of the modern newspaper more broadly:

We respectfully observe that His Majesty, through upright heavenly wisdom and broad-minded expertise in all matters, has established diplomacy (*kukkyo*) with many nations and has created the *T’ongni amun* (統理衙門), established the Ministry of Academic Publishing (*Pangmun’guk*), posted various ministers, recorded internal affairs and translated external affairs, promulgating these matters throughout the land and proclaiming them to the world, which has enlightened the citizenry at home, saved our nation from insults abroad, and staved off war.

According to one old saying, ‘knowing thyself is knowing thine enemy,’ and this was the very goal of the *Hansǒng sunbo*, a newspaper so named due to its being published once every ten days. Earlier the relationship between the government and people, high and low, was a convenient one, but following the Kapsin Coup (甲申政變) the Ministry of Academic Publishing was abolished, publication of the *Sunbo* was discontinued, and government ministers and people of all ranks remarked, ‘A person’s sentiments (*chǒng* 情) are so profoundly affected by shifts in perception. In the past before the *Sunbo* began publication people spent their days in blissful ignorance, but to disrupt an already functioning newspaper is to close the eyes and ears of a populace that had just begun to open.’ All people desired the continued publication of the newspaper and opposed its discontinuation.

His Majesty, with wise awareness of this situation, decreed to the *T’ongni amun* that the reestablishment of the Ministry of Academic Publishing be brought up for discussion, and all agreed that it should be reinstated... The cycle of one issue every ten

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<sup>508</sup> Kang, *Han’guk taejung maech’esa*, 34.



days was shortened to once every week and the name *Sunbo* was changed to *Chubo* (週報), and by that time the arrangements for the new endeavor were in place.<sup>509</sup>

In this brief background account, the publishing of the *Hansǒng chubo* is clearly positioned as an event with cultural implications for civilization and enlightenment, paralleling developments such as the opening of diplomatic relations. Indeed, newspaper publication was the necessary counterpart to the establishment of such relations, serving as the informational conduit for connecting the populace with the outside world. Recognizing the powerful potential of print media, the author of the above text claims that public interest in national and international affairs had already been piqued with the appearance of the *Sunbo*, and that the successor *Chubo* would fill the void left by its demise. Unlike the *Sunbo*, the *Chubo* broke with the traditional writing style for expository prose and featured articles in *kukhanmun* and even pure *kungmun*, which furthered the stated objectives of ‘opening the eyes and ears of the populace’. Despite these divergences, the *Chubo* was explicitly proclaimed as the successor publication to the *Sunbo*, most clearly demonstrated by the behind-the-scenes influence of Inoue Kakugorō.

As mentioned above, Inoue was one of seven printing specialists recruited by Pak Yǒnghyo to accompany him on his return to Korea following the 1882 diplomatic mission. Not only was he an instrumental figure in the publishing of the *Hansǒng sunbo*, but he also played a key role in facilitating the Kapsin Coup, maintaining clandestine communication with the coup leader Kim Okkyun and secretly funneling guns and ammunition from Japan to carry out the coup, and so after its failure Inoue was forced to return to Japan.<sup>510</sup> He returned to Korea in 1886 as a foreign correspondent for the Japanese newspaper *Jiji shinpō*, and with the help of new

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<sup>509</sup> “Hansǒng chubo sǒ,” *Hansong chubo*, January 25, 1886.

<sup>510</sup> Kang, *Han’guk taejung maech’esa*, 34.

machinery and typeface imported from Japan and the official consent of King Kojong, Inoue along with former members of the Ministry of Academic Publishing began publication of the *Hansŏng chubo*.<sup>511</sup> According to Hŏ Chaeyŏng, Inoue’s influence on the *Chubo* was not limited to technological innovations or ideological belief in the necessary role of mass publication in the formation of the modern nation, but extended to the choice of script, namely the employment of *kukhanmun* writing to convey new knowledge. There is compelling evidence to suggest that Inoue was in fact personally responsible for the decision to utilize this script in the pages of the *Chubo*. The following recollection by Inoue in 1936 attests to his personal involvement in the choice of script:

I acutely felt the need to mix the *ŏnmun* [*han’gŭl*] with *hanmun*. *Ōnmun* was the script of Chosŏn from long ago, but due to the mentality of worshipping China [Shina 支那] the upper class ended up using *hanmun* while *ŏnmun* was reserved for the lower classes... Because China was worshipped as an advanced country, Koreans considered their own country a vassal state [*sokkuk*] and disparaged *ŏnmun*, and everywhere you looked there were writings insisting that China must be respected... Therefore, I utilized Chosŏn’s *ŏnmun* to create a writing style which corresponded with our own country’s use of *kana*, and disseminated this widely so that both Japan and Korea would be governed by the same writing system, and that both countries would achieve knowledge and enlightenment together... Following the example of my predecessor Fukuzawa in his efforts to transform the antiquated ideals of Old Japan, I published a newspaper which employed a writing style in which *hanmun* incorporated *ŏnmun*.<sup>512</sup>

Penned as it was in 1936, Inoue’s recollections could easily be dismissed as a thinly-veiled attempt to promote Japanese and Korean unity through linguistic affinity and thus support

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<sup>511</sup> Ibid, 36.

<sup>512</sup> Inoue Kakugorō, “Hyŏmnyŏk, yunghap, pokchi ũi chŭngjin ũl kkoeham,” *Chosŏn t’ongch’i ũi hoego wa pip’an* (Chosŏn sinmunsa, 1936), quoted in Hŏ, “Kŭndae kyemonggi ũi ŏmun chŏngch’aek,” 66. In the post-liberation period Fujita Ryōsaku confirmed this claim with the following statement: “Inoue was the first to utilize *kukhanmunch’e* writing in Chosŏn, and in addition to him there were six other great [Japanese] contributors to Korean language studies: Kanazawa, Shidehara, Ogura, Maema, Takahashi, and Ayukai.” Fujita Ryōsaku 藤田亮策, “Chosŏn ũi ko munhwajae poho,” *Chōsen gakuhō* 1 Chōsengakkai, 1951, quoted in Hŏ, “Kŭndae kyemonggi ũi ŏmun chŏngch’aek,” 66.

the colonial agenda. Inoue's claims do rather single-handedly ascribe credit for such a significant development to one individual, and at the same time overlook the precedent of *ōnhae* annotations and the experimentation with mixed-script writing being carried out by Yu Kilchun and Pak Yŏnghyo at this time. The recollection furthermore echoes the same language ideology that had been legitimized through Japanese, missionary, and Korean elite discourses over many decades—pre-modern Korea's worship of things Chinese and disparaging of things native—and therefore such a claim would have been a welcome addition to late-1930's official Japanese discourse on Japan as the model for Korean modernization and enlightenment. However, what is intriguing about Inoue's account is the specific site of linguistic affinity between Japanese and Korean which served as the impetus for Inoue's 'creation.' Whereas official discourses on *tongmun tongjok* (same writing, same race 同文同族) espoused the linguistic and cultural consanguinity of Korea and Japan through reference to shared usage of *hanmun/kanbun*, providing a powerful ideological tool for enlisting the cooperation or at least the tacit approval of the literati,<sup>513</sup> here Inoue specifically indicates the (potentially) equivalent approaches to LS in Korean and Japanese vernacular as a source of linguistic and cultural affinity and a possible conduit for achieving civilization and enlightenment. Although '*tongmun tongjok*' ideology did represent a compelling discourse in Enlightenment-era and early-colonial Korea when *hanmun* still commanded ultimate intellectual authority, with the gradual dismantling of the Sinographic Cosmopolis' exclusive hold on academic thought and prose, the *vernacular* affinity between the languages rather than the shared use of LS proved to be a much more compelling and productive catalyst for linguistic convergence, productive in the sense that, following the shift to *kukhanmun*

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<sup>513</sup> For a discussion of '*tongmun tongjok*' ideology and its relation to translation in early colonial Korea, see Im Sangsŏk, "A Study of the Common Literary Language and Translation in Colonial Korea: Focusing on Textbooks Published by the Government-General of Korea," *Acta Koreana* 18, no. 2 (December 2015): 423-443.

writing for academic purposes, the style (in various degrees of vernacularization) came to be employed in newspapers through the 1890s and eventually school textbooks.

As Hō Chaeyōng points out, although articles in *kukhanmun* and even *kungmun* appeared in the pages of the *Chubo*, the proportion of such articles did not achieve any sort of parity with those in *hanmun*. According to the following table, the number of articles in *hanmun* nearly always outnumbered those in *kukhanmun* and *kungmun*, and there was a reversion after Issue 33 to exclusive *hanmun* usage, which meant that *hanmun* was the exclusive script in a plurality of the issues and an overwhelming majority of the articles.

**Table 1: *Hansōng chubo* Article Count According to Orthography**

Issue Number	<i>Hanmun</i>	<i>Kukhanmun</i>	<i>Han'gŭl</i>	Total
1-2	50	22	9	
3-18	152	None	22	
22-24	97	10	7	
25-28	145	12	None	
29-30	64	None	None	
31-32	57	57	2	
33-99	611			
Total:	1176	44	40	1260

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What is interesting about the timeline for script usage and what lends credence to Inoue's claims of instigating *kukhanmun* usage is that the periods of relatively high *kukhanmun* employment coincided with Inoue's time in Korea, which suggests that he may have exerted

<sup>514</sup> Table adapted from Hō, "Kūndae kyemonggi ūi ōmun chōngch'aek," 63.

influence over the decision of which script to employ.<sup>515</sup> At the very least, Inoue and other Japanese figures were some of the key actors in the publication of Korea's first multi-script periodical, which demonstrates an atmosphere of transnational interaction and influence.

The three events described above document key moments in the penetration of LS by the vernacular, the gradual expansion of *kukhanmun* writing from official acknowledgment in the Kangwha Treaty, to expedient tool of official record-keeping in Pak's *Sahwa kiryak*, and finally to medium of new knowledge conveyance in the pages of the *Hansōng chubo*. Another significant point in this process of vernacularization was the publishing of Yu Kilchun's *Sōyu kyōnmun* (西遊見聞) in *kukhanmun*, an event which similarly demonstrates strong Japanese influence. Although the work failed to achieve widespread circulation partly due to the political exigencies of its author, *Sōyu kyōnmun* nevertheless represented a milestone in modern Korean intellectual and linguistic history because of the unprecedented nature of the work.

A significant amount of research has been conducted since the 1970s on Yu Kilchun and *Sōyu kyōnmun* in particular, much of it dealing with the general content of the book and background information on Yu's travels in Japan, the United States, and Europe which provided the inspiration for the book.<sup>516</sup> Many authors have focused specifically on similarities between *Sōyu kyōnmun* and *Seiyō jijō* (Things Western 西洋事情, 1866), a work by Yu's Japanese

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<sup>515</sup> Hō, "Kūndae kyemonggi ūi ōmun chōngch'aek," 66; Ryō Chūngdong, "Han'gŭl-hancha sōkkō ssūgi e taehayō," In *Kugō kungmunhak yōn'gam* (Sōul: Iu ch'ulp'an, 1977).

<sup>516</sup> See for example Yi Kwangnin, ed., *Han'guk kaehwa sasang yōn'gu* (Sōul: Ilchogak, 1979); Yu Yōngik, "Sōyu kyōnmun ron," *Han'guksa simin kangjwa* 7 (1990): 127-156. Kim T'aejun, "Seiyū kenbun to Seiyō jijō: Hikaku bunkateki kenkyū no tameni mondai teiki," *Kan* 6, no. 5 (1977). Many scholars have also highlighted the significance of Yu's work in the history of Korean literary and linguistic development due to its position as the first scholarly work composed in *kukhanmun* and its appropriation of numerous foreign loan words. See Kim Yunsik and Kim Hyōn, *Han'guk munhaksa* (Sōul: Minūmsa, 1973); Yi Pyōnggūn, "Yu Kilchun ūi ōmun sayong kwa Sōyu kyōnmun," *Chindan hakpo* 89 (2000): 309-326.

mentor and Enlightenment thinker Fukuzawa Yukichi.<sup>517</sup> The general consensus among scholars acknowledges a great amount of overlap between the two works, and there is significant variation only in the way that large portions of *Sōyu kyōnmun* are characterized: as chapters highly influenced by the writings of Fukuzawa, adaptations of his writings, or direct translations from corresponding chapters in *Seiyō jijō*. For example, in a comparative analysis of both works, Im Chōnhye concludes that 26 of 71, or more than one third, of the entries (*hangmok*) appearing in *Sōyu kyōnmun* were “based on” portions of *Seiyō jijō*, although it is unclear whether these were exact translations, ‘adaptive translations,’ or rather inspired by the latter.<sup>518</sup> Yi Hansöp writes that, of the twenty total chapters in *Sōyu kyōnmun*, nine chapters contain portions that were directly translated from *Seiyō jijō*, and in other areas only certain paragraphs or passages were translated.<sup>519</sup> Chōn Ŭn’gyōng acknowledges that significant portions of *Sōyu kyōnmun* were indeed translations of chapters from *Seiyō jijō*, but that overall *Sōyu kyōnmun* represented “a combination of Yu’s influence from Fukuzawa, translations of *Seiyō jijō*, as well as his own thoughts, records of his direct experiences [abroad], and the influence he received from the

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<sup>517</sup> U Tongson, “*Sōyu kyōnmun* (1895) e nat’anan Yu Kilchun ũi kōnch’ukkwan kwa toshigwan: Huk’ujawa Yuk’ich’i ũi *Sōyang sajōng* (1870) kwa ũi pigyo rŭl t’onghaesō,” *Taehan kōnch’uk hakhoe nonmunjip* 28, no. 7 (2012): 215-224; Kim, “*Seiyū kenbun* to *Seiyō jijō*; Chōn Ŭn’gyōng, “Kukch’ijyōn’ kwa Huk’ujawa Yuk’ich’i ũi sanggwan kwan’gye yōn’gu,” *Han’guk hyōndae munhak yōn’gu* 23, 12 (2007): 7-41; Pak Kŭn’gap, “Yōksa, munmyōng, chinbo: Huk’ujawa Yuk’ich’i wa Yu Kilchun ũi sigan insik,” *Saōp* 83, no. 9 (2014): 169-201.

<sup>518</sup> Im simply writes that “of the 71 total *hangmok* appearing in *Sōyu kyōnmun*, 26 were clearly based on Fukuzawa’s *Seiyō jijō*.” As for the structure of the book, Im states that, other than the fact that the two works start with different content, almost all of the remaining chapter titles “are very similar” (*hobo nika yotte iru*). See Im Chōnhye (任展慧), *Nihon ni okeru Chōsenjin no bungaku no rekishi* (Tōkyō: Hōsei daigaku shuppankyoku, 1994); 45-46.

<sup>519</sup> Yi, “*Sōyu kyōnmun* e padadŭryōjin Ilbon ũi hanchaō e taehayō,” 1987.

various Western books he consumed.”<sup>520</sup> Kim T’aejun reiterates the hybrid nature of Yu’s work, claiming that, rather than a true travelogue of things ‘seen and heard in the West,’ this type of content was rather minimal, and that portions of the book translating Fukuzawa and other Western sources for the purpose of introducing Western manners, customs and civilization were much more prevalent.<sup>521</sup> What is clear from nearly all analyses of Yu’s work is that it borrowed very heavily from Fukuzawa’s *Seiyō jijō*, with a significant portion of the book including some form of translation of Fukuzawa’s writing, as well as adaptations or translations of Western works that he encountered, including an economics textbook written by the British authors William and Robert Chambers.<sup>522</sup>

Fukuzawa’s influence on *Sōyu kyōnmun* and its author was the logical outcome of a close intellectual and personal relationship, as well as the extraordinary scope and impact of the best-selling *Seiyō jijō*. As mentioned above, Yu studied under Fukuzawa at Keio Academy, and for a six month period in 1882 stayed as a guest in his home. According to Yu Yōngik, Fukuzawa also gave his official stamp of approval prior to the publishing of *Sōyu kyōnmun*. In 1894 when Yu was appointed Senior Attendant (*susōk suhaengwōn*, 首席隨行員) of the Korean Diplomatic Mission to Japan, he personally presented his manuscript to Fukuzawa, who recommended it for publication by Kōjunsha (交詢社), the publishing house he established fourteen years prior.<sup>523</sup>

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<sup>520</sup> Chōn, “*Kukch’ijyōn kwa Huk’ujawa Yuk’ich’i*,” 32.

<sup>521</sup> Kim T’aejun, “Yu Kilchun ūi *Sōyu kyōnmun* e taehayō,” *Hanhinsaem Chu Sigyōng ūi yōn’gu* 17 (2004): 65-80; 71.

<sup>522</sup> This textbook was entitled *Educational Course: Political Economy, for Use in Schools, and for Private Instruction* (Edinburgh: 1852). See Kim Hyōnju, “*Sōyu kyōnmun* ūi ‘munmyōng kaehwa’ ron kwa pōnyōk ūi chōngch’ihak,” *Kukche ōmun* 24 (2001): 223-247; 225.

<sup>523</sup> Yu Yōngik, “*Sōyu kyōnmun* ron,” *Han’guksa simin kangjwa* 7 (1990), 127-156; 140.

Aside from the symbolic import of Fukuzawa approving Yu's work for publication at a company he had personally created, Yu Yŏngik suggests that there was another reason that *Sŏyu kyŏnmun* came to be published in Japan and not Korea, and this reason relates to the choice of script and technological printing capabilities. Yu's choice of script was of course *kukhanmun*, a mixture of the vernacular alphabet and sinographs, which was an orthography that was unprecedented in the printing of Korean books and which had only begun to be utilized in publishing Korean newspapers such as the *Hansŏng chubo*, which itself was highly indebted to an infusion of Japanese printing technology. Much like the Han-Yŏng and Yŏng-Han bilingual dictionaries being produced by Western missionaries throughout the 1880s and early 1890s, all of which utilized both *kungmun* and *hancha* and were published in Japan, *Sŏyu kyŏnmun* made use of printing capabilities in Japan which surpassed anything available in Seoul, even in terms of vernacular Korean in mixed script.<sup>524</sup> It is helpful here to revisit Yu's own stated reasons for choosing to write in *kukhanmun*, a style which he was sure would encounter resistance from the literati class. Yu wrote,

The writing was of mixed Chinese and indigenous Korean characters, and the structure was unembellished. I strove to write in colloquial language, giving priority to conveying meaning. As these are my prevarications in trying to flesh out the meanings of the reality seen and heard and things learned with much difficulty over many years, it was difficult to break away from inaccurate criticisms, and mistakes are not only possible but likely...There are reasons why I [chose this style]. Firstly, my principle aim was to convey the meaning plainly in spoken style so that even a semi-literate individual (yakhae hanŭn cha 畧解 亨 訥 者) would be able to understand it with ease. Secondly, I am not well read and therefore inexperienced in the ways of writing. Therefore, I did this for ease in record-keeping. Third, this was to be a concise yet clear record, imitating approximately the annotations and explications of the Seven Classics (Ch'ilsŏ ōnhae). In addition, looking at the countries of the world, each country's language is different, and so each script is different. Generally speaking, speech is the vocal manifestation of one's

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<sup>524</sup> All of the bilingual dictionaries compiled by Protestant missionaries in the 1880s discussed in Chapter 2 were published in Japan, specifically at Kelly and Walsh Publishing in Yokohama. Yu, "Sŏyu kyŏnmun ron," 140-41.



thoughts, and writing the shape of those thoughts. Therefore, looking at speech and writing separately they are two, but combine them and they become one.<sup>525</sup>

Despite the direct influence of Fukuzawa on *Sōyu kyōnmun*, his name does not appear in the above passage or anywhere throughout the book, although the reader can infer his intellectual presence from the gratitude Yu pays to certain “well-informed, erudite scholars” (多聞博學의 士).<sup>526</sup> Instead, Yu cites Korea’s indigenous tradition of annotating the Confucian Classics as the inspiration for his mixed script. Unlike traditional *ōnhae* exegeses and their vernacular annotations which followed a very prescriptive, stilted style which aimed at imparting the official, ‘authorized’ version of Confucian literature, Yu’s work was in some ways completely unique in its combination of LS and vernacular in the synthesis and conveyance of new knowledge, regardless of whether it was partially translated. This is not to say, however, that *Sōyu kyōnmun* was of a colloquial style more readable than the annotations; due to its idiosyncratic orthography and novel content, approaching the text would have been even more difficult than classical annotations, the style of which was especially designed to facilitate access to esoteric Confucian texts for more inexperienced readers and students. Although Yu repeatedly states in the preface his wish to broaden the readership of his work, to approach the “colloquial” language with “unembellished” prose, and to “convey the meaning plainly in spoken style so that even a semi-literate individual would be able to understand it with ease,” the syntax of his writing is nonetheless extremely difficult to parse, and would have been beyond the ability of the non-literati class and, just as he feared in the preface, may have been “beyond the purview of men of letters.”

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<sup>525</sup> Yu Kilchun, “Sōyu kyōnmun sō,” in *Sōyu kyōnmun*, 1894.

<sup>526</sup> Kim, “Yu Kilchun ūi *Sōyu kyōnmun* e taehayō,” 71-72.

In other words, the style of writing used in *Sōyu kyōnmun*, much like the *kungmun*-only orthography employed a few years later in *The Independent*, was iconoclastic and unprecedented, and it was partly because of this that it failed to make the sort of impact in Korea that Fukuzawa's *Seiyō jijō* did in Japan. Whereas an established tradition of expository prose in Mixed Script thrived in pre and early-modern Japan, Yu's work did not find a comparative readership on Korean soil, its style being too esoteric and demanding too much *hancha/hanmun* literacy for popular consumption, but not yet commanding legitimacy or authority as a scholarly *écriture*. The vicissitudes of Yu's political career also forestalled the widespread distribution of his book, but I argue that the primary reason for its limited readership and impact was due to linguistic and not political concerns. Although the book appeared in 1894, when the first inklings of a modern language ideology were starting to be voiced by certain Korean language entrepreneurs, *Sōyu kyōnmun* was nevertheless a pioneering effort in the realm of *kukhanmun*. Its composition moreover was the result of a process which began in the early 1880s, long before any wider indigenous trends had taken hold, and the preface itself which expresses such a strong national language ideological tendency was penned in early 1889, just three years after the *Hansōng chubo* had begun running *kukhanmun* articles, and then only in the extreme minority. As demonstrated in Chapter 2, the first expressions of Western, modernist language ideology extolling the necessity of national language propagation and championing the rejection of the pre-modern cosmopolitan language within Korea came from Western missionaries and other observers in the early 1880s, spreading later to Korean intellectuals through direct contact with Western ideas and education, after which they were nationalized for indigenous ends. In the case of Yu, who had direct exposure to both Western education and language practices as well as Japanese appropriation and adaptation of this modernity, one could argue that his choice of script

was a language-ideological amalgamation of Japanese and Western practices, although when considering *Sōyu kyōnmun*'s high percentage of direct translation from *Seiyō jijō*, the impulse to employ a writing style analogous with that used by Fukuzawa—in a work Yu encountered well before works in English—must have been irresistible. Although invoking the Korean tradition of vernacular *ōnhae* exegeses of the Chinese Classics would have imbued *Sōyu kyōnmun* with a degree of legitimacy, judging from Yu's personal travel and study history, the books he encountered, the nature of influence from Fukuzawa exhibited in *Sōyu kyōnmun*, and his overall language ideology and attitude toward the Japanese modern reform agenda, it is clear that Korea's *ch'ilsō ōnhae* were not the only or even primary inspiration for his employment of *kukhanmun* writing.

*Sōyu kyōnmun*, though enjoying a limited readership when compared with the best-selling *Seiyō jijō*, represented a watershed moment in the linguistic and literary history of Korea. The 'vernacular' readership in Korea was itself quite small even in the late nineteenth century, surely much smaller than that of Japan. Furthermore, the subset of the literati open to Western thought and concepts (written in a novel, even questionable style) combined even with the non-literati population capable of reading Yu's stilted prose would have been smaller still. Despite a limited run of 1000 copies with no reissues, *Sōyu kyōnmun* was circulated widely enough that it was able to implant new concepts and spread hitherto unknown knowledge about far-flung areas of the world, and in an era when the country was only gradually opening up after centuries of isolation, even a limited distribution would have had considerable impact.<sup>527</sup> The real legacy of *Sōyu kyōnmun* was the revolutionary potential it opened up for orthographic innovation, vernacular grammar development and standardization, and translation. These were aspects of the linguistic

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<sup>527</sup> Chōn Ŭn'gyōng, however, claims that much of the material from *Sōyu kyōnmun* was later reissued piecemeal in the *Taehan maeil shinbo*. Chōn, "Kukch'ijyōn kwa Huk'ujawa Yuk'ich'i."

landscape that did not necessarily require a wide-spread, grassroots mobilization of authors (predicated on a wide readership) to develop, but could potentially be driven by a limited number of influential intellectuals and writers choosing to employ Mixed Script and to translate terms directly from the suddenly more analogous Japanese language into Korean using the medium of the sinograph. *Sōyu kyōnmun* laid a strong foundation of translated terms from Japanese describing some of the key terminology of Western modernity, and its vernacularized structure provided the template, or rather opened the door to one end of a spectrum through which further vernacularization could be explored. As more and more Korean intellectuals read scholarly writing in this new style and digested, appropriated, and mobilized new Sino-Japanese vocabulary, previously ‘alien’ or ‘foreign’ terminology was indigenized, and *kukhanmun* gained intellectual legitimacy.

### 3.5 The Mechanics of the *Hanmun-Kukhanmun* Shift

*Sōyu kyōnmun* represented a milestone in the linguistic and literary history of Korea, an extremely important development in the process of vernacularization and mass education. However, if the ‘vernacular’ is to be viewed comprehensively, then the extent to which *Sōyu kyōnmun* achieved a ‘unification of the spoken and written’ must not be overstated. As Hō Chaeyōng points out, *Sōyu kyōnmun*’s writing style was little more than the *t’o*-style of ‘vernacular’ writing, and removing these interclausal *kungmun* particles and conjunctions would basically render an LS text.<sup>528</sup> Compared to the diversified vernacular field which would develop in the late Enlightenment and early colonial period, *Sōyu kyōnmun*’s degree of vernacularization

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<sup>528</sup> Hō Chaeyōng, “Kūndae kyemonggi ōnmun ilch’i ūi ponjil kwa kukhanmunch’e ūi yuhyōng,” *Ōmunhak* 114 (2011): 441-67; 454.

may be judged as quite conservative. However, we must caution against establishing an absolute standard of ideal vernacularization within a process that was inherently relative and necessarily incomplete. Hō claims that, due to the distance that remained between *hyōnt'o*-style *kukhanmun* like that of *Sōyu kyōnmun* and the spoken Korean language, “it is difficult to view [*Sōyu kyōnmun*] as *ōnmun ilch'i* style.”<sup>529</sup> What makes this contention problematic is that it rests on the premise that some idealized form of vernacular-written unification is possible or even comprehensible across the irreducible discontinuity that exists between sound and writing.<sup>530</sup> Ryu Chunp'il expresses this idea when he writes that, “there is no direct relationship between the object expressed by *ōnmun ilch'i* writing and the fact of congruence between written and spoken language.”<sup>531</sup> Besides this unbridgeable discontinuity, however, Ryu points out another characteristic of Korean language and writing during the early modern period—particularly when the *ōnmun ilch'i* movement was building momentum—which made the notion of a ‘unified written and spoken’ particularly dubious. Ryu writes, “For the written language (*munjang ūi ōnō*) to become common, spoken language (*ilsang ūi ōnō*), written language has to have the ability to directly reproduce the spoken,” which is complicated by the fact that “*hancha/hanmun* cannot reproduce the auditory aspects of vernacular [Korean].”<sup>532</sup> Therefore, although the general fact of incongruence between the spoken and written makes the concept of *uniting* the two impossible,

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<sup>529</sup> Ibid.

<sup>530</sup> The initial and most fundamental discussion of this irreconcilable disconnect that exists between the spoken and written—the signified and the signifier—was of course initiated by Ferdinand Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959).

<sup>531</sup> Ryu Chunp'il, “Kuō ūi chaehyōn kwa ōnmun ilch'i,” *Munhwa kwahak* (March 2003): 161-77; 162.

<sup>532</sup> Ryu, “Kuō ūi chaehyōn kwa ōnmun ilch'i,” 162.

there were nevertheless relative degrees of vernacularization, and ‘*ŏnmun ilch’i*,’ much like the notion of ‘communism,’ offered a convenient limit of expectation, if not an achievable goal.

What this meant in the context of Korea’s vernacularization process was that there was a differential amount of slippage experienced between spoken Korean—which was itself not a uniform entity—and various manifestations of ‘written Korean,’ be they orthodox LS, variant LS, *hyŏnt’o*-style *kukhanmun*, *kukhanmun*, or pure *kungmun*. To borrow again Ryu’s words, “[T]he written text will always fall short of representing reality, but when a text is left mimicking the standard of another text—*intertextuality*—the lack is even more pronounced.”<sup>533</sup> The *ŏnmun ilch’i* movement, therefore, may be viewed as an ongoing attempt to reduce this intertextual reproduction through the vernacularization of orthography, lexicon, and grammar, although a practical model of what truly ‘unified’ language would look like never actually materialized, nor could it have. In this sense, I concur with Hō that the choice of script was not the only consideration in the process of Korean vernacularization, and that *t’o*-style *kukhanmun* such as that appearing in *Sōyu kyŏnmun* represented only a rather modest shift toward the ‘ideal’ of *ŏnmun ilch’i*.<sup>534</sup> At the same time we must be careful not to underestimate the significance of *kukhanmun*’s emergence as a written language of expository prose and the possibilities such a writing-*cum*-orthographic practice opened up for further experimentation and reform. The various types of *kukhanmun* writing that emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth

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<sup>533</sup> Although Ryu here is writing of the relative inability of *hancha/hanmun* to represent spoken Korean, this may also be applied to the mimicking of Japanese textual standards. Japanese may have been perceived as a better grammatical and syntactic fit for adopting more ‘vernacular’ standards for writing, but such mimicry redirected the course of Korean linguistic modernity toward an alternate reality, most notably through the adoption of thousands of Japanese-coined neologisms.

<sup>534</sup> Hō emphasizes the importance of the shift to vernacular grammar rather than script choice as the catalyst for achieving *ŏnmun ilch’i*. See Hō, “Kūndae kyemonggi ŏnmun ilch’i ūi ponjil.”

centuries—even those at the less vernacularized end of the spectrum—proved to be critical tools for enlightenment and education, especially when combined with so-called “affixed vernacular notation” (*pusok kungmunch’e* 附屬國文體) for use in certain textbooks and periodicals.<sup>535</sup> At the same time, these instances of *kukhanmun* experimentation served to diffuse a constant influx of Meiji neologisms, extracting the component sinographs from their prescribed pre-modern LS context and conveying their reconfigured meanings through vernacular mediation, something that became more necessary as the readership (and student body) grew to include more non-*yangban* individuals less familiar with LS grammar and abstruse classical allusions. Meanwhile, translation through primarily Japanese was the vector which continued to produce neologisms and solidify their adaptation, as well as strengthen the foundations of *kukhanmun* diffusion and legitimization.

In order to demonstrate the role of vernacularization and translation in the formation process of modern written Korean, there is a need to examine the various forms of *kukhanmun* that emerged during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, roughly coinciding with Korea’s Enlightenment Period. In *Siryong changmunpŏp* (1911), a beginner-level composition textbook, Yi Kakchong describes the state of Korean writing at the time and demonstrates that by the first decade of the twentieth century Korean writers were becoming aware of the diversification that had only recently occurred in the written language. The author begins by outlining each style of writing before briefly describing each one, using the opening lines of the *Analects* as an example.

1. 學而時習之不亦悅乎.
2. 學而時習之면 不亦悅乎아.

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<sup>535</sup> This style of orthography will be explored in greater detail in a later section of this chapter.

3. 學<sub>ㅎ</sub>야 此를 時로 翫<sub>ㅎ</sub>면 또<sub>ㅎ</sub> 悅치 아니<sub>ㅎ</sub>가.
4. 學<sub>[빅]</sub>와셔 此<sub>[이]</sub>를 時<sub>[새]</sub>로 翫<sub>[익]</sub>키면 亦<sub>[또]</sub> 悅<sub>[깃브]</sub>지 不<sub>[아]</sub>니<sub>ㅎ</sub>가.
5. 비와셔 이것을 씨마다 익키면 또<sub>ㅎ</sub> 깃브지 아니<sub>ㅎ</sub>가.

[Is it not pleasant to learn with a constant perseverance and application?]<sup>536</sup>

If we analyze the above examples, the first is *hanmun*, and the third is a new form of writing [*sinch'emun*]. Example five is *ŏnmun*, while two is a mixture of *hancha* and *ŏnmun*, where “*myŏn*” and “*a*” are auxiliary elements to aid reading. These elements are irrelevant to the text’s original meaning, and may be removed without affecting the meaning of the sentence, leaving an independent *hanmun* passage, and so example two may itself be considered *hanmun*. As for example four, it combines the use of *hancha* and *ŏnmun*, but the usage of *hancha* is incomplete. In other words, because *ŏnmun* writing is substituted for *hancha*, this may be termed a vernacular [*ŏnmun*] sentence. However, for the purposes of determining the mass currency of such writing, we may refer to example two as *hanmun hyŏnt’o* style and example four as annotated vernacular style (*ŏnmun pangjumun* 諺文傍註文), or perhaps *ŏnmun ilch’i* style.<sup>537</sup>

Prefacing as he was an instructional text on modern vernacular composition, Yi naturally feels the need to introduce his readers to current writing practices, to give ‘the lay of the linguistic landscape.’ Interestingly, the first three examples appear verbatim in a November 7, 1908 article in the *Taehan maeil sinbo* entitled “Grammar Ought to Be Unified” (*munpŏp ūl ūit’ongil* 文法을 宜統一), and although the first line of the *Analects* would have been a familiar example to begin with, this does suggest that this anonymous essay was in fact penned by Yi Kakchong himself, or at least someone who had read his newspaper article. Yi’s expanded and diversified description of Korean writing practices suggests that he and other writers were well aware of changes taking place and considered them legitimate additions to ‘Korean’ writing. Example four represented an experimental and now acceptable form of mixed script, while

<sup>536</sup> For this and other excerpts from the *Analects* I use James Legge’s English translation appearing on the Chinese Text Project website: <http://ctext.org/analects>.

<sup>537</sup> Yi Kakchong, *Siryong changmunpŏp* (Sŏul: Kyŏngjin, 2015 (1911)).



*ŏnmun*, previously not considered in Yi's 1908 outline of ostensibly legitimate forms of expository writing, now stood beside other forms as an equal partner. Significantly, despite its systematic *hancha* employment, Yi refers to the "new form of writing" (*sinch'emun*) in example four as *ŏnmun*, a claim that would have been quite a radical departure from the fixed notion that *ŏnmun* necessarily referenced the vernacular script, while the interspersions of *han'gŭl* in examples two and three, increasingly the accepted standards of expository prose, continued. Here was a clear delineation of the vernacular-cosmopolitan interpenetration that was in full swing in the decade leading up to colonization. *Sŏyu kyŏnmun* was the breakthrough that opened the door to further vernacularization, the penetration of the cosmopolitan (universal LS) by vernacular mediation (*hyŏnt'o kukhanmun* and *kukhanmun*); on the other hand, the employment of *hancha* in a style designated as *ŏnmun* and utilized in 'vernacular' fiction such as *Hyŏl ūi nu* and Yu Kilchun's textbooks for mass consumption represented the penetration of the vernacular by the cosmopolitan. This was a complimentary process that had important repercussions for translation, neologism formation and adaptation, and literacy. As Yi claimed, example four was an "annotated vernacular style" or *ŏnmun ilch'i* style, suggesting that the aim of such writing was not merely stylistic but pedagogical and informative in nature, an attempt to increase literacy by enhancing the transparency of the previously unmediated and constantly shifting terminology of modernity.

It would behoove us here to examine Im Sangsŏk's characterization of the *kukhanmun* development process in the first decade of the twentieth century, as it offers an extremely helpful framework for conceptualizing both grammatical and orthographic changes in Korean. Im explains the evolution of *kukhanmun* style in the following tripartite process: Form 1: *Hanmun* Clause Style (*Hanmun munjangch'e* 漢文文章體), Form 2: *Hanmun* Phrase Style (*Hanmun*

*kujölch'e* 漢文句節體) and Form 3: *Hanmun* Word Style (*Hanmun tanöch'e* 漢文單語體). The earliest phase of *kukhanmun* experimentation was characterized by the first form, a style of writing that was basically *hanmun* with *kungmun* conjunctions and particles, akin to Yi's example two given above. In the second form, *hanmun* syntax was dismantled and Korean word order was observed, leaving *hanmun* phrases within a grammatically and syntactically Korean sentence, though retaining considerable *hanmun* rhetorical devices and notation.<sup>538</sup> In the final form, *hanmun* remains almost completely in the form of *hancha* alone, resembling usage in contemporary Korean. In terms of the thought process involved in composition, Im characterizes the first form as 'Hanmun-dominant' (*Hanju kukchong* 漢主國從) and the second and third forms as 'vernacular-dominant' (*Kukchu hanjong* 國主漢從). What is important to note here is that LS grammar still dominates in form one, but a crucial shift to vernacular grammar and syntax in the overall sentence occurs in form two. In form three, the remaining pockets of LS grammar in *hanmun* phrases are dismantled, and the writing syntax and style becomes more or less 'vernacularized.' Below I present examples of each style which appeared in the *Taehan chaganghoe wölbo*:

Type 1: 嗚呼라 皆日教育教育者가 但知教育之意而未知教育之針故로 竊以我教育

界의 現狀으로 其方針을 畧論호노니 何者오 卽通俗教育이 是也라.<sup>539</sup>

<sup>538</sup> Yi's example three above seems to encompass Im's forms two and three. Yi did not distinguish between the separate stages of sentence-level and phrase-level vernacular grammaticalization, a distinction that makes Im's schematization especially informative and helpful. Im's final form, also called *Sonyön*-style writing (see below), may be considered close to Yi's example four, though without the systematic parallel deployment of *hancha* and *kungmun*.

<sup>539</sup> Sim Ŭisöng, "Non A kyoyukgye ũi sigŭp pangch'im," [論我教育界의 時急方針], *Taehan chaganghoe wölbo* 5, November 25, 1906, 6.

Type 2: 此는 學校階級에 順序라 謂할지로다. 夫 教育이라 하면 文字만 教授할 뿐 아니라 體育德育 智育 三大綱이 有하니 初等教育은 國民의 分子를 充함이고 中等教育은 國民의 機關을 通함이고 大學教育은 國民의 衣食을 助함이니 故로 學業이 成就하면 爵祿을 享有할 뿐 아니라 生活上에 利用이 菽粟布帛과 如한지라 德國大儒에 黑魯培學說에 曰 品性を 陶冶하고...<sup>540</sup>

Type 3: 本會는 國權의 恢復을 企圖하고 獨立의 基礎를 確定함으로 目的을 教育 殖産精神의 三綱을 舉하야 富强의 資格을 具備함을 務하고 國法의 範圍를 不脫하고 文明의 軌道를 蹈하야 着着進行하는 者인 則 誰가 我的 進路를 遮하는 者 | 有 하리오.<sup>541</sup>

A cursory glance at the texts immediately reveals a much higher preponderance of sinographs in example one compared to examples two and three. Example one resembles in many ways the style of writing employed by Yu Kilchun in *Söyu kyönmun*, and as a number of writers at the time pointed out, the *kungmun* elements can be removed to render a *hanmun* text. *Kungmun* serves an ancilliary role in example one, as a reading aid to parse the message

<sup>540</sup> Kim Sönghui, “Kyoyuksöl,” [教育說], *Taehan chaganghoe wölbo* 5, November 25, 1906, 11-12.

<sup>541</sup> Ōgaki Takeo, “Ponhoe ūi changnae,” *Taehan chaganghoe wölbo*, May 25, 1907, 11. Ōgaki was a Japanese advisor to the Korean Self-Strengthening Society (*Taehan chaganghoe*) who contributed frequent articles on the issue of modernization. This was almost certainly a translation from Japanese, and the fact that it is rendered into Im’s *Hanmun* Word-Style demonstrates both the perceived location of Japanese writing along the Korean vernacularization continuum and the impetus exerted by Japanese translation on Korean vernacularization.

embedded in the cosmopolitan code, which still commands ultimate authority. The LS possessive/connective “之” is used instead of the Korean possessive particle “의,” LS conjunctions such as “而” and “以” appear instead of their Korean equivalents,<sup>542</sup> and one-syllable sinographs such as “針” (*ch'im*) function as independent words, whereas in vernacular Sino-Korean a two-character combination would usually be required to produce a viable word, or else a vernacular equivalent.<sup>543</sup>

In example two, the overall syntax has switched to Korean, although residual LS influence remains in the appearance of four-character set phrases (*saja songŏ* 四字成語) such as “菽粟布帛” and “德國大儒.” LS grammar may still be observed as well in “有<sub>ᄃᆞ</sub>니” (vs. <sub>ᄃᆞ</sub>으니 “be; have”), an LS element that proved to be a persistent holdout resisting complete vernacularization, and “~과 如<sub>ᄃᆞ</sub>지라” (vs. ~과 같다 “be like ...”), but these occurrences are limited, and the overall word order of the text is decidedly vernacular, while the sinographs would not form a coherent LS text bereft of the *kungmun* elements. In the final example, sinographic orthography aside from a few outliers is limited to the semantic level alone, and replacing the sinographs with their Sino-Korean readings in *kungmun* would render a text close to contemporary Korean. This form more closely approximates the style that would come to characterize most literary production during the remainder of the colonial period, and

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<sup>542</sup> Im claims, however, that certain elements such as the interjection “嗚呼” (Oh!), the sentence final “~是也” (it is~) and the conjunction “然則” (therefore), though originating from *hanmun*, were employed more as idiomatic expressions (*kwanyongŏ*), and so at that time were virtually *kungmun*. Im, *20segi kukhanmunch'e ūi hyŏngsŏng kwajŏng*, 126.

<sup>543</sup> This is an extremely important point which had major ramifications for lexical expansion and reconfiguration through the process of translation, an issue that will be elaborated upon below.

importantly was also the style utilized in the *Pot'ong hakkyo Chosŏnŏ tokpon* (Elementary Korean Language Reader).

As Im Sangsŏk points out, this transition occurred quite rapidly, at least in the materials examined in his study. Im focuses on four types of periodicals during the period from 1906-1911, all of which featured articles in *kukhanmun*: 1) official publications of political organizations, the representative examples being *Taehan chaganghoe hoebo* (大韓自彊會會報 1906-1907) and *Taehan hyŏphoe hoebo* (大韓協會會報 1908-1909), 2) academic society papers for specific regions, such as *Sŏu* (西友 *P'yŏng'ando*, *Hwanghaedo*, 1906-1908), *Sŏbuk hakhoe wŏlbo* (西北學會月報 1908-1910), and *Honam hakhoe* (湖南學報 *Chŏllado*, 1908-1909), 3) magazines published by Korean exchange students in Japan, including *T'aegŭk hakpo* (太極學報 1906-1908) and *Taehan hakhoe wŏlbo* (大韓學會月報 January-November 1908), and 4) commercial magazines such as *Sonyŏn* (少年 1908-1911).<sup>544</sup> Among articles appearing in these periodicals, Im claims that until 1907 the first style was the most prevalent, while in 1908 form one was eclipsed by form two, and finally in 1909 form three became the most prevalent. By 1911 virtually all of the so-called Enlightenment-era magazines (*kyemong chapchi*) had disappeared, leaving only *Sonyŏn*, the style of which for Im represented an even further degree of vernacularization than the three previous styles, a form which came to characterize later colonial academic prose.<sup>545</sup>

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<sup>544</sup> Im, *20segi kukhanmunch'e ūi hyŏngsŏng kwajŏng*, 47-49.

<sup>545</sup> Ibid, 213. One of the most notable differences between Form 3 and the '*Sonyŏn* style' of prose in terms of inscriptional practice was that in *Sonyŏn* texts even certain Sino-Korean words began to be expressed in *kungmun*, whereas former styles unquestioningly favored *hancha* representation wherever possible. *Sonyŏn* texts also began to select an increasing number of vernacular alternatives when *hancha* selection was possible (e.g., *hanŭl ttang* vs. *ch'ŏnji* "heaven

Because this transition occurred within such an extremely compressed time frame, much overlap between the forms was evident. Styles varied depending on the author, content, and philosophy of the particular periodical, but significantly different styles also appeared within the same issue or even within a single text. In fact, despite the drastic divergences in orthography, syntax, and grammar, a mere six months separated the examples above, all of which appeared in the same magazine and during a period that Im describes as still dominated by the first style. The first two examples alone appear back-to-back in the same issue, both dealing with the subject of education, and yet display considerable differences as noted above. Shortly after these examples, a changing philosophy regarding writing style in mass media is signaled by a 1908 essay appearing in *Taehan hakhoe wolbo* entitled “Posöl” (報說 “editorial”), which offered a kind of artistic and ideological vision for the magazine. On the issue of writing style, the anonymous author writes, “This magazine, for the sake of mass distribution and the advancement of our country’s education, rejects the use of *hanmunch’*e, and adopts only *hancha*, dispatching with difficult characters and obscure phrases, and applying a format that utilizes only easily accessible *kukhanmun* vocabulary.”<sup>546</sup> According to Im, after this article appeared the magazine did indeed shift to a higher degree of vernacularization, featuring a larger proportion of articles employing styles two and three.<sup>547</sup> As noted above, the same trend is evident in various other periodicals, and at a time when the Korean print market and academic readership was still relatively

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and earth”), whereas previous forms again seemed to favor as many sinographic elements as possible whenever a vernacular alternative existed.

<sup>546</sup> 一. 本報는 普及多衆하기 爲하야 我教育界 先進의 主唱하는 論을 倣하야 漢文體를 捨하고 漢字만 取하되 아뭇조록 難字僻句를 鏤去하고 國漢文近易字義로 全般을 體裁함.  
“Posöl,” *Taehan hakhoe wölbo* 6, July 15, 1908, 2.

<sup>547</sup> Im, *20segi kukhanmunch’e ūi hyöngsöng kwajöng*, 116.

modest,<sup>548</sup> such a trend in even the limited number of magazines that Im examines is suggestive of a nationwide shift in the linguistic and literary landscape. It is crucial to keep in mind the timing of this stylistic transition in order to understand the nature of the Japanese penetration of and influence over the language: the direct imposition of Japanese into the colonial linguistic configuration after 1910 occurred in the midst of a transitional, experimental phase in Korean literary and linguistic practice, a process that had been indirectly precipitated by Japanese/Western languages in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries but accelerated with the concomitant force of political authority in colonial public schools.

The proliferation of inscriptional practices described by Yi and Im above had significant repercussions for the process of translation and neologism production and adoption. Each of the above writing styles represented a potential textual strategy for reproducing knowledge from another language or mode of writing. To borrow the terminology first proposed by Roman Jakobson, in terms of “interlingual translation” in the Enlightenment era this primarily meant translation from English or Japanese into *kukhanmun* or *kungmun*, but a significant amount of “intralingual translation” between the various forms described by Im and Yi also occurred.<sup>549</sup>

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<sup>548</sup> Ch’ŏn Chŏnghwan claims that even as late as the mid-1920s the illiteracy rate in Korea was as high as 90%. See Ch’ŏn, *Kŭndae ūi ch’aek ilkki*, 93.

<sup>549</sup> For example, Sin Ch’aeho translated Liang Qiichao’s *Yidaili jianguo sanjie zhuan* (意大利建國三傑傳, *The Three Great Founders of Italy*), a work that was itself written in a new style of modern Chinese, into *kukhanmun*, while Chu Sigyŏng ‘translated’ the same work into pure *kungmun*. For a detailed analysis of the who, why, and how of translation practices in Enlightenment-era Korea, see Kim Uktong, *Pŏnyŏk kwa Han’guk ūi kŭndae*, 193-198. For a discussion of Liang Qichao and the place of his writing style in the development of modern Chinese writing, see Kaske, *The Politics of Language in Chinese Education*, especially Chapter 2. Jakobson describes the three types of translation as follows: “Intralingual translation or rewording is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language. Interlingual translation or translation proper is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language. Intersemiotic translation or transmutation is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign system.” See Roman Jakobson, “On Linguistic Aspects of

Hwang Hodök and Yi Sanghyön, in their excellent and exhaustive study of bilingual dictionaries in Enlightenment and colonial-era Korea, offer a similar yet slightly more complex conceptualization of translation in the Korean context which is relevant to this current study. They divide translation into three types: 1) “intracultural translation” (*munhwa nae pönyökh*), 2) “adaptive translation between heterogeneous languages” (*ijil öñö kan suyong pönyökh*), and 3) disseminal translation (*chönp’a pönyökh*), the final type representing the focus of their work. While Hwang and Yi describe the first two types of translation in much the same way as Jakobson’s theoretical framework and argue that these processes were instrumental in the formation of Korean linguistic modernity, what constituted the crucial missing piece that completed the matrix of Korean lexical development and establishment and what has been largely ignored in Korean-language research on this subject is the translation and dictionary compilation conducted by Western missionaries and Japanese colonial agents which functioned to ‘disseminate’ the terminology and “conceptual language” (*kaenyömmö*) of modernity.<sup>550</sup>

In the previous chapter I demonstrated the crucial position of Western discourses and projects related to Korean linguistics, and here I concur with the contention that the missionary contribution needs to be reevaluated, and hopefully the previous chapter will have contributed to that end. I would also like to add to Hwang and Yi’s discussion a word on the mutual interaction between all three of their translation types, that is “intracultural translation” between *hanmun*, *kukhanmun*, and *kungmun*, “interlingual translation” between Western languages, Japanese, and various incarnations of Korean listed above, and “disseminal” translation carried out through texts for propagational purposes such as *The Bible*, bilingual dictionaries, and school textbooks.

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Translation,” in *On Translation*, ed. Reuben Arthur Brower (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959).

<sup>550</sup> Hwang and Yi, “Ijungö sajön.”



Specifically, I would like to highlight the transepistemic nature of translation in the first category, in particular the role of the *ǒnhae* tradition as a precedent for vernacular mediation of the Sinographic Cosmopolis. As Yu Kilchun claimed in his Preface to *Sōyu kyōnmun*, though perhaps disingenuously, the *ǒnhae* annotations of the Confucian Classics supposedly represented a model for his choice of *écriture*. Although I have suggested that the Japanese language probably functioned as a much more productive model, the *ǒnhae* method did nevertheless provide a concrete conduit for vernacularizing LS texts, and created the potentiality for actualizing a reconfigured lexical landscape when informed by the simultaneous and ongoing diffusion of neologisms generated by translation type two in the early modern period. The following excerpt from the *Nonǒ ǒnhae* (論語諺解, *Annotated Analects*) dating from 1810 will help to position this premodern textual tradition in the modern translational milieu:

有友朋從이 自 遠方來 不亦樂乎亦  
 역樂락乎호아  
 버디遠方으로브터오면또흔즐겁  
 디아니후라

人인不知디而이不慍온이면不亦역  
 君군子子乎호아  
 사람이아디물 후야도慍온티아니 후면  
 또흔君군子子 | 아나가<sup>551</sup>

This and other standard annotations of The Chinese Classics (*Ch'ilsǒ ǒnhae* 七書諺解; *Kyōngsǒ ǒnhae* 經書諺解) contained two elements. The first was a *hyōnt'o* reading of the

<sup>551</sup> “有朋自遠方來，不亦樂乎？人不知而不慍，不亦君子乎？” “Is it not delightful to have friends coming from distant quarters? Is he not a man of complete virtue, who feels no discomposure though men may take no note of him?” *Nonǒ ǒnhae* (Chōnju hakyōngnyong p'an) Volume 1, 1810, 1-2. Available at <http://archives.hangeul.go.kr/scholarship/religion/view/393>.

original LS text with minimal *kungmun* mediation; the result would then be *verbally* rendered into a readable Korean sentence through the mediation of an instructor, although the *written* word order of the original LS text remained unaltered.<sup>552</sup> The second portion or *õnhae* (annotation) was created by adding *t'o* particles and endings for Korean nominal and verbal morphology, replacing some Sino-Korean vocabulary with vernacular equivalents, and occasionally changing the word order to approximate spoken Korean. This second method was closer to a translation in the modern sense of the word, but with important differences that will be explored below. According to standard procedure for annotating the Confucian Classics, the first ‘translation’ or rather gloss gives a vernacular reading of each sinograph and provides minimal conjunctions and sentence-final endings in *kungmun*, more as an aid for parsing the text than anything approaching a translation, and the remaining *hancha* deprived of *kungmun*

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<sup>552</sup> This method of affixing *kungmun* readings (*hyõnt'o*) may be broadly conceived of as part of a larger tradition of *kugyõl* (口訣) or “oral embellishing.” Ross King gives a concise summary of the evolution of *kugyõl* in the following description: “It is by now a well-established fact in Korean *kugyõl* glossing studies that the Korean practice of glossing canonical *hanmun* 漢文 texts underwent a major change between the late Koryõ and early Chosõn periods. In essence, an earlier system of ‘interpretive *kugyõl*’ (*sõktok kugyõl* 釋讀口訣) that used both sides of the *hanmun* line in conjunction with ‘back marks’ (*yõktokchõm* 逆讀点) in such a way as to convert (in effect, translate) the *hanmun* text into a Korean text with Korean nominal particles, Korean verbal endings and Korean word order while also rendering~reading some of the sinographs in vernacular Korean...gave way by the end of Koryõ to a system of ‘sequential *kugyõl*’ (*sundok kugyõl* 順讀口訣; also referred to as *õmdok kugyõl* 音讀口訣) that used only the right-hand side of the *hanmun* line, read the sinographs exclusively in their Sino-Korean pronunciations, and placed vernacular Korean morphological markers at natural clause breaks in such a way as to punctuate the text while leaving the Chinese word order intact.” A final textual tradition related to *õnhae* which will not be considered here was the practice of commentaries (*sõkõi* 釋義) in which various scholars and compilers over many years would add vernacular explanations and explications of the text. See Ross King, “The *Kugyõl* Glosses in the Asami Collection Copy of the *Ch'ollo kũmgang kyõng* 川老金剛經,” *Acta Koreana* 16, no. 1 (June 2013): 199-229; 200. For a specific overview of the *Annotated Analects* (*Nonõ õnhae*) throughout the Chosõn Dynasty, see An Hyõnju, “Chosõn sidae e kanhaengdoen õnhaebon *Nonõ* õi p'anbon e kwanhan koch'al,” *Sõjihak yõn'gu* 26, no. 12 (2003): 219-47.

intermediation would match up with the original LS text.<sup>553</sup> The second method of glossing substitutes grammatical equivalents for certain of the ‘unassimilated’ sinographic elements, such as the LS grammar 亦 → 쏘흔 and 乎호아 → 흐랴, but also single-syllable sinographic words that may have been familiar in compounds are rendered in their vernacular equivalents, such as 락 (樂) → 즐겁- and 래 (來) → 오-(면). However, it is notable that another single-syllable sinograph “慍” functions as a complete word even in the more vernacularized second method, though even at this time it would have sounded stilted and unnatural in the vernacular gloss. At first glance, these methods of glossing seem to share many similarities with *kukhanmun* forms one and even two as described by Im, but important distinctions must be noted. First, no sinographs appear in the vernacular gloss that were not first utilized in the *t’o* reading or the original LS text, demonstrating the ultimate authority of the cosmopolitan in this textual interface. The vernacular gloss furthermore reflects the standards of annotational equivalency in the premodern Sino-Korean Cosmopolis: 人 = *saram* IN 사람 인; 樂 = *chŭlgil* RAK 즐길 락, whereas in a more contemporary setting neologistic variations for 人 IN may have been offered (*inmul*, *in’gan*, etc.). Another remarkable aspect of these glosses is that the sinograph always appears first, and that no vernacular elaboration is allowed—only what is absolutely needed to convey the ‘truth’ of the LS text appears.

An additional passage from the *Annotated Analects* demonstrates more clearly the position of annotations as an intermediary between the vernacular and cosmopolitan and a transitional textual practice between premodern sinographic terms and modern neologisms:

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<sup>553</sup> In that the word order of the LS was left unaltered and exclusively Sino-Korean readings were employed, this method is similar to the sequential *kugyŏl* glossing or sound glossing (*sundok/ŭmdok*) technique that developed during the late Koryŏ Dynasty.

○子<sup>즈</sup> | 曰<sup>왈</sup>道<sup>도</sup>도千<sup>천</sup>乘<sup>승</sup>之<sup>지</sup>디國<sup>국</sup>國<sup>호</sup>호<sup>디</sup>

敬<sup>경</sup>事<sup>사</sup>而<sup>而</sup>이信<sup>신</sup>신<sup>후</sup>후며節<sup>절</sup>절<sup>용</sup>용而<sup>而</sup>이愛<sup>애</sup>애<sup>이</sup>

人<sup>인</sup>인<sup>후</sup>후여使<sup>사</sup>사<sup>민</sup>민以<sup>이</sup>이時<sup>시</sup>시니라

子<sup>자</sup>자 | 曰<sup>왈</sup>샤<sup>디</sup>千<sup>천</sup>乘<sup>승</sup>人<sup>인</sup>인나라<sup>도</sup>도

道<sup>호</sup>호<sup>디</sup>일을敬<sup>경</sup>고信<sup>신</sup>후며쓰기를

節<sup>절</sup>고사<sup>롬</sup>롬을愛<sup>애</sup>후며<sup>민</sup>민을<sup>료</sup>료

디時<sup>시</sup>로<sup>홀</sup>홀<sup>따</sup>따니라<sup>554</sup>

As always the initial *t'o* reading parses the LS text but changes nothing in terms of syntax and grammar. However, the vernacular gloss exhibits a hybrid method of ‘translation’ that approaches sinographic terms differentially and even tinkers slightly with word order. The sinographs “敬” (reverence) and “信” (sincerity) are treated as verbal nouns, affixed with verbal endings and utilized as full-fledged words, despite the awkward and stilted feel of **일을** 敬<sup>경</sup>고 信<sup>신</sup>후며 *il ūl KYŎNGhăgo SINhămyŏ* in the supposedly ‘vernacular’ context. In the case of “敬” the two-syllable Sino-Korean word “恭敬” (*konggyŏng*) could have been used through a process of lexical expansion, but as I indicated above, sinographs that did not appear in the original text could not be used to embellish the annotation, something that would have

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<sup>554</sup> “子曰：’道千乘之國：敬事而信，節用而愛人，使民以時.’” The Master said, “To rule a country of a thousand chariots, there must be reverent attention to business, and sincerity; economy in expenditure, and love for men; and the employment of the people at the proper seasons.” *Nonŏ ŏnhae* (Chŏnju hăgyŏngnyong p’an) Volume 1, 1810, 5.

threatened the ultimate authority of the LS text. Likewise, the appropriate vernacular equivalent “*midŭmyŏ* 믿으며” could have been substituted for “信” but was not, perhaps reflecting the perception that the bedrock Confucian ideal conveyed by this particular sinograph was so important that it could only faithfully be revealed through such authoritative mediation. On the other hand, the character “用” (utilization; employment) is rendered in the vernacular “쓰기 *psŭgi*,” showing that variation in glossing methodology existed, perhaps due to the perceived function or importance of the word, or indicating that workable vernacular equivalents did not exist. Finally, a word order change can be observed at two different points in the vernacular gloss: 道도千천乘승之디國國호호디 *TOCH’YŎNSŬNG TI KUKhodæ* becomes 千천乘승人인나라를 道도호호디 *CH’YŎNSŬNGIN narah ūl TOhodæ* and 節절用용而이 *CHYŎLYONG I* is rendered as 쓰기기를節절후고 *psŭgi rŭl CHYŎLhăgo*. Thus we can observe aspects of Im’s form two already in premodern glossing techniques, although such syntactic alteration was not as widespread or as systematic as Im describes.

Although annotations of the Chinese Classics often included what would have been considered stilted language in the vernacular due to their primary function of conveying the ‘truth’ of the cosmopolitan text to the student, vocal interpretation and elaboration of the text by the instructor or *hunjang* would have served to clarify opaque passages, and in this way vernacular equivalents or sinographic variations might have been offered.<sup>555</sup> Vocal mediation may have elaborated on the written text in the case of codified, authorized forms of knowledge

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<sup>555</sup> As indicated above, the *t’o* reading in the first method was intended to allow the student (through assistance from the instructor) to arrive at a ‘readable’ Korean sentence, and so although the *written* order of sinographs remained unchanged, syntactic adjustment would have been an integral part of the parsing process, much as with Japanese *kanbun*. In the second method, however, even the written order of sinographs was sometimes altered.

dissemination such as annotations of the Chinese Classics, but when Yu Kilchun and others effected a historic shift in the linguistic landscape by representing new knowledge of an academic nature in a similar *écriture*, awkward vernacular appropriations of sinographic concepts and well-worn precedents of Sinitic knowledge conveyance were no longer adequate. In order to convey the reality of myriad unfamiliar institutions, mysterious peoples and customs, and radically different ideologies and religions, a much more transparent and self-explanatory (at least for those with knowledge of *hancha*) schema of conceptual representation was needed, especially in terms of neologism dissemination through lexical expansion. For a country sealed off from the extra-Sinitic world throughout its history, a neighboring country with an analogous linguistic structure and until recently a similar history of isolation provided an irresistible shortcut to adapting and digesting new concepts in a compressed time frame. The first passage below is taken from Fukuzawa Yukichi's *Seiyō jijō* (西洋事情 1866), while the second passage is a translation of Fukuzawa's excerpt appearing in Chapter 6 of *Sōyu kyōnmun*.

政府の職分は、国民を穩に治め、国法を固く守り、外国の交際を保つの三箇条を以て  
*SEIFU no SHOKUBUN wa, KOKUMIN wo OTAYAKA ni OSame, KOKUHŌ wo KATAku*  
*MAMOri, GAIGOKU no KŌSAI wo TAMOtsu no SAN KAJŌ wo motte*

其大統領とす。此の統領を越て、他に行ふ可き事件と行ふ可らざる事件とに付き、  
*SONO DAIKŌRYŌ tosu. KOno KŌRYŌ wo KOSHItE, HOKA ni OKONAFu BEki*  
*JIKEN to OKONAFu KARazara JIKEN toni TSUki,*

学者の議論一定せず。成人の説に政府たるものは宜しく役夫職人の賃銀を極め、  
*GAKUSHA no GIRON ITTEIsezu. SEIJIN no SETSU ni SEIFU taru mono wa*  
*YORoshiku EKIFU SHOKUNIN no CHINKIN wo KIWAme,*

遊民の為に職業を求め、物価を定め、貧人を救ひ、其他総て平人の私事に  
*YŪMIN no TAME ni SHOKUGYŌ wo MOTOME, BUKKA wo SADAME, BINJIN*  
*wo SUKUhi, SONO TA SUBEte HEIJIN no SHIJI ni*

關係して、其通義と職分とを傍より是非す可しと云へり。

KANKEIshite, SONO TSŪGI to SHOKUBUN to wo KATAWARA yori ZEHIsu  
BEshi to UNheri.<sup>556</sup>

政府의職分은本國의政治를安靜히<sup>ㅎ</sup>야人民으로泰平한樂이有<sup>ㅎ</sup>게힘과法律을守<sup>ㅎ</sup>야  
CHŌNGBU ūi CHIKPUN ūn PONGUK ūi CHŌNGCH'I rŭl ANJŌNGhi hăya INMIN ūro  
T'AEP'YŌNGhan RAK i YUHăge hămkwa PŌMNYUL ūl SUHăya

人民으로冤抑<sup>ㅎ</sup>事가無<sup>ㅎ</sup>게힘과外國의交際를信實히<sup>ㅎ</sup>야民國으로<sup>ㅎ</sup>야금紛亂의憂慮를  
INMIN ūro WŌNŌKhăn SA ga MU hăge hămkwa OEGUK ūi KYOJE rŭl SINSILhi hăya  
MINGUK ūro hăyagok PULLAN ūi URYŌ rŭl

冕케함에在<sup>ㅎ</sup>야此三条로其大綱領을作<sup>ㅎ</sup>나此綱領外에도政府의當行<sup>ㅎ</sup>事와不當行<sup>ㅎ</sup>事  
MYŌNk'e ham e CHAEhaya CH'A SAM CHOrO KŪ TAEKANGNYŌNG ūl CHAKhăna CH'A  
KANGNYŌNG OE edo CHŌNGBU ūi TANGHAENGhăl SA wa PUDANGHAENGhăl

事를因<sup>ㅎ</sup>야世間諸學者의議論이不<sup>ㅎ</sup>니成人이云호<sup>ㅎ</sup>政府가民間의微細事라도顧察<sup>ㅎ</sup>야  
SA rŭl INhaya SEGAN CHE HAKCHA ūi ŪIRON i PULILhăni SŌNGIN i UNhodăe CHŌNGBU  
ka MINGAN ūi MISE Sarado KOCH'ALhăya

役夫의雇錢과匠人の工價를酌定<sup>ㅎ</sup>하며遊民의業을<sup>ㅎ</sup>고物價를限定<sup>ㅎ</sup>며貧人을救助<sup>ㅎ</sup>고又  
YŌKPU ūi KOJŌN kwa CHANGIN ūi KONGGA rŭl CHAKCHŌNGhamyŏ YUMIN ūi ŌP ūl  
hăgo MULKA rŭl HANJŌNGhămyŏ PININ ūl KUJOhăgo U

其外平人의一切私事를關係<sup>ㅎ</sup>야毛의細<sup>ㅎ</sup>힘과埃의輕<sup>ㅎ</sup>힘이라도其通義와職業을押理<sup>ㅎ</sup>힘이  
KŪ OE P'YŌNGIN ūi ILJŌL SASA rŭl KWANGYEhăya MO ūi SEhăm kwa AE ūi  
KYŌNGhămirado KŪ T'ONGŪI wa CHIGŌP ūl AMNIhăm i

可<sup>ㅎ</sup>다하니  
KAhăda hani.<sup>557</sup>

<sup>556</sup> Fukuzawa Yukichi, “Kōfu no shokubun” [交付の職分] in *Seiyō jijō* [Things Western], 54-55.  
[http://project.lib.keio.ac.jp/dg\\_kul/fukuzawa\\_search.php](http://project.lib.keio.ac.jp/dg_kul/fukuzawa_search.php).

<sup>557</sup> Yu Kilchun, “Chōngbu ūi chikpun” in *Sōyu kyōnmun* [Things Seen and Heard in the West],  
quoted in Yi, “Sōyu kyōnmun e padadūryōjin Ilbon ūi hanchaŏ e taehayŏ.”

According to Yi Hansŏp’s study of the appropriation of Sino-Japanese terms in *Sōyu kyōnmun*, the underlined portions in the Korean excerpt correspond exactly to word forms in *Seiyō jijō*, and among these vocabulary words are many which were in fact first introduced into Korean through this translation, and remain in use today.<sup>558</sup> One of the most striking things to observe in the Korean text is the predominance of two-syllable Sino-Korean compounds such as “外國” (*oeguk*, foreign country), “學者” (*hakcha*, scholar), and “議論” (*ūinon*, debate), whereas very few such words can be found in the *Analects Annotation* excerpts we analyzed. It would have been difficult if not untenable to render these various Japanese neologisms in a *hanmun* text—as was standard practice at the time—without elaborate explanatory notes, not only due to the opaqueness of the vocabulary’s provenance and import, but also because translating a Japanese text such as this into *hanmun* would have demanded an expertise in Japanese which much surpassed that needed to simply render the meaning in the much more analogous *kukhanmun* form. Although Yu likely possessed the ability to translate vernacular Japanese text into *hanmun*, for him and other Korean intellectuals *kukhanmun* notation offered a vastly more transparent and expedient method of not just wrapping their own heads around such foreign concepts and institutions—ideas that were vaguely familiar because of their knowledge of sinographs but yet still somehow foreign—but also disseminating such concepts for a wider readership. Though the traditional *ŏnhae* style of ‘translating’ offered a general model of parsing the meaning of a foreign text, time-honored precedents for explicating received truths through stilted, hackneyed ‘vernacular’ glosses could no longer produce the sort of transparent knowledge conveyance when faced with radically different thought worlds. Therefore, the direct appropriation of Japanese-made neologisms—primarily two-syllable sinographic compounds—

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<sup>558</sup> Yi, “Sōyu kyōnmun e padadŭryōjin Ilbon ūi hanchaŏ,” 90.



through a *kukhanmun* translation soon became the favored method of interface with translated modernity, while the transparency offered by the shift to Korean grammar allowed further clarification of the meanings of new terminology and concepts in ways that LS conventions, grammar, and premodern methods of glossing could not offer. *Sōyu kyōnmun* represented a bellwether in the process of semantic appropriation and adaptation in early modern Korea, establishing a precedent of *kukhanmun* utilization for academic writing that effectively and efficiently bridged the gap between vernacular mediation of received knowledge and transparent representation of novel conceptual language to a larger readership. There were a total of 284 Japanese-created neologisms that appeared in *Sōyu kyōnmun*, and of those 269 are still in use today, attesting to its lasting impact.<sup>559</sup>

Even prior to the appearance of *Sōyu kyōnmun* and its appropriation of terminology of Western modernity filtered through Japan, there were calls at the highest level of the Chosŏn government to initiate ambitious translation projects for the purpose of enlightening the populace. In probably the earliest public petition for government-led translation and vernacular education, the following editorial in the *Hansŏng chubo* provides a window into what issues were perceived to be of paramount importance to reform-minded intellectuals at the cusp of the modern period:

In the universities, middle schools, and elementary schools throughout Europe students are taught in the language and writing of their respective countries. Their writing consists of 26 letters, vowels and consonants are connected together to form words, and different sounds are produced depending on the combination, no different than our own country's *ōnmun*. Novices are educated in this writing and after a period of just a few months they are able to read and write. Because all books are composed in this writing, students from the very beginning may recite the book without effort and understand clearly its true meaning.

Even in the case of a poor person who could afford but one month's tuition and then ceased his studies, the phrases and words used in that short time could be used freely in daily life. To compare this with the academic system of the East, the difference in ease and utility is more divergent than heaven and earth. Therefore, in our country as well we

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<sup>559</sup> Ibid., 105.

must establish schools and naturally educate our students using *ŏnmun*. We must translate everything into *ŏnmun*, from the books of the sages Confucius and Mencius to the commercial and technical works (*sihkwasul* 殖貨術) of Europeans. As for those who can afford to dedicate decades to study without financial hardship, they should be trained in secondary *hanmun* studies to become Confucian scholars (*hongyu* 鴻儒). In this way schooling shall become universal and edification will be spread amply. Our country does not traditionally have a system of categorizing different fields of knowledge, and so for the academic developments of a new era to be compiled and taught in the form of an *ŏnmun* book is regarded disgracefully by most of the intellectual class.

We humbly request that key ministers and officials begin a discussion at the government level, particularly regarding the establishment of a translation institute (*pŏnyŏkhanŭn kigwan*) and the translation of material from each and every academic discipline into *ŏnmun*. Furthermore, the translated material must be published in book form and distributed throughout the country to instill in scholars and commoners alike the convenience of such writing. Moreover, if tuition be provided by the government and academic study encouraged, before long knowledge will spread far and wide from generation to generation. In the West they say of our country, ‘The country of Chosŏn has a form of writing, and it is the most simplistic and convenient of any country in the East. If scholars and commoners were to use that country’s writing, all would realize its utility and surely the country would surpass all in political power and intellect.’<sup>560</sup>

The two most important reforms emphasized by the author are vernacular education and translation of foreign texts, two projects that went hand in hand. Significantly the author does not propose to translate anything into *hanmun* or even *kukhanmun*, but demands that *all* materials should be translated into *ŏnmun*, including the Confucian Classics and “commercial and technical works” of Europe, a policy that would convince scholars enamored with LS of the utility of such writing while educating and enlightening the populace in new forms of knowledge.<sup>561</sup> The author also echoes the tone of self-reflection that constantly appeared in later

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<sup>560</sup> “Non hakkyo che 3 (saŭi)” [論學政第三 (私義)] *Hansŏng chubo*, February 15, 1886, 7.

<sup>561</sup> This call to translate all written material, both of an academic and popular nature, would have represented an extremely progressive language ideology at the time. For example, the following proposal appearing in the *Taehan maeil sinbo* nearly two decades later suggests a division of labor for Korean orthography depending on the genre: “In order to harness the passionate patriotism of the people of this great nation and enlighten their intellect, books are an absolute necessity. Today in our country various sectors of society have begun to take shape, and those figures at the forefront of this development possess diverse opinions. If we are to unite the disparate components of society in creating a fervent patriotism, then we must first gather all

Korean-language media introduced in the previous chapter. Modern practices in the West—specifically mass enlightenment and edification through vernacular education—are invoked as a model, while the Korean status quo is judged poorly against this standard. Moreover, the passage ends with a very self-conscious appraisal of Korea’s language ideology well before such a sentiment had begun to gain much traction, showing a strong influence from Western discourses on language and the modern nation. This along with the proposal to translate all works into *kungmun* instead of *hanmun* or even *kukhanmun* suggests the iconoclastic and radically progressive nature of the proposal, but also that drastically different foreign language ideologies were beginning to permeate certain quarters of Chosŏn intellectual life and create an impact.

Another *Hansŏng chubo* article appearing later the same year displayed a slightly less radical language ideology but nonetheless expressed the urgent need for translation to modernize the nation. The author writes,

Today our country’s *T’ongni amun* is sending young people great distances overseas for study, and though this is the right method, the idea behind it is all wrong. What do young children honestly know? At a time when their youthful vigor is still unchecked and their nature and temperament may be so easily corrupted, we fear that they will lose the foundation of what they have learned at home and instead learn only the ways of the foreigner, turning them into barbarians. We must gather together all useful sources from the West and make a detailed cataloguing of them, translate them clearly into *hanmun*, and establish an academic department in each and every government office and *sŏwŏn* in which visiting foreign scholars will teach Western arithmetic, geography, navigation,

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books on modern history, works by famous authors, and material from each and every academic discipline from all countries East to West and translate them into *kukhanmun*, while fiction (*sosŏl*) and popular songs (*kayo*) should be translated using pure *kungmun*. In this way, comprehension shall be made expedient for all members of society regardless of station, and their sentiments may be profoundly influenced through this wide diffusion of reading ability. They may read aloud during gaps in their work, engage in debate, and be inspired in countless ways. Their knowledge may be developed, they will make a strenuous effort toward fostering patriotic passion, and enter into the highest ranks of enlightened citizenry. This is an endeavor that every corner of society must devote themselves to fervently and completely.” “Nonsŏl,” *Taehan maeil sinbo*, October 12, 1905.

chemistry, medicine, languages, writing, and law. Those returning from study abroad may be employed as professors as well.<sup>562</sup>

The above proposal displays a much more conservative approach to reform and reflects much more accurately the broader thinking among Chosŏn government ministers and intellectuals during the 1880s, excluding the ultra-conservative ‘Reject the False, Protect the True’ faction.<sup>563</sup> The author clearly wishes to work within the existing government apparatus, but desires a certain change of tactics. His thinking is furthermore couched in a firmly Confucian episteme: the foundation of ‘correct’ learning at home had the potential to be corrupted by Western learning at a young age, and the student transformed into the “barbarian,” the epitome of intellectual degradation in the Sinographic Cosmopolis. Most importantly, the author urges the translation of a compendium of Western knowledge into *hanmun* alone, neglecting *kungmun* and *kukhanmun*, a stance perhaps at odds with most Western discourse on Korean at the time but again reflecting the broader sweep of late-Chosŏn language ideology through the 1880s and well into the 1890s. On the issue of education, the author calls for the supplementation of Confucian education with ‘modern’ subjects inspired by Western curriculum, but significantly invokes the premodern *sŏwŏn* as the forum for educational reform, a stance also popular among reformist *yangban* in the 1880s.

The issue of translation and the idea that a centrally-directed translation project was fundamental to the enlightenment and education of the wider public was most strongly

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<sup>562</sup> “Kwang hakkyo (saŭi),” *Hansŏng chubo* 32, October 11, 1886.

<sup>563</sup> John Duncan provides a helpful tri-partite conceptualization of Korea’s response to modernity during the so-called Taehan Empire Period (1897-1910): the Enlightenment Group, which has received the bulk of attention in scholarly literature, the conservative faction, which sought to articulate a response to Western modernity through Confucian philosophy, and the ‘Eastern Way, Western Technology’ (*tongdo sŏgi*) faction, influenced primarily by the Chinese example. See Duncan, “The Confucian Context of Reform.”

championed by *The Independent* in the following decade. By the time the following editorial appeared in 1897, Western discourses on the paramount position of vernacular education in popular enlightenment and Korea's regretful neglect of such education had permeated to some extent Korean intellectual circles and were reproduced, this time reflecting indigenous considerations:

This thing called a country is not something created for just a select few, but something for all people across the land. Only after all the people of a country come to possess learning and knowledge are they able to properly interact with other countries, protect autonomy and independence, and improve business, agriculture, industry and commerce. The most pressing matter in Chosŏn today is education, but if we are to educate the population only after learning the language and writing of another country, the number of educated individuals will be very limited. Therefore, books in every field of learning must be translated into *kungmun* and taught so that men and women of every station may receive at least a basic education. First learning *hanmun* and then attempting to learn other subjects through *hanmun* will only result in a handful of people in the country studying for over two decades. In order to translate books into *kungmun*, we must first take care of two things. First, we should produce a *kungmun* version of the *Okp'yŏn*, devise a method for writing [the vernacular], and teach it... Second, when writing in *kungmun*, if we write in the style of *The Independent* using word spacing there is no danger of mixing up the words when reading, and the reader can easily understand the meaning of whatever word he comes across. If there happens to be an unfamiliar word, the reader may simply consult the *Okp'yŏn* for a ready definition, and hence understand the meaning. If a method for writing is settled upon, there is no reason that one word should be mixed up with another... It is our hope that the Ministry of Education publish a *kungmun* version of the *Okp'yŏn* and establish rules and grammar for the language, and that the whole country write and read so that writing and language converge in accordance with the *Okp'yŏn*. We are aware that when translating works from each academic field it is the foundation of education in Chosŏn that this translation should be done according to standardized rules and regulations as set forth in the *Okp'yŏn*, and moreover we believe that the independence of Chosŏn and the thinking of its people are closely connected.<sup>564</sup>

Beyond merely urging translation for mass enlightenment, the author broaches the issues of vernacular standardization and pedagogy, suggesting a growing sensitivity to concerns related

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<sup>564</sup> “Narai tongnip i toeryamyŏn nam kwa tälla tongnip i anira,” *Tongnip sinmun*, August 5, 1897, 1-2.

to the project of translating modernity. In order to establish “rules and grammar” for the language, the model of premodern language standardization in the Sinographic Cosmopolis—the *Okp’yŏn*—is invoked,<sup>565</sup> suggesting the continued authority of the sinograph in the ongoing process of vernacularization but also demonstrating the function of translation as a propelling mechanism for language reform, standardization, and the codification of a growing inventory of terminology and conceptual language that would have accrued through the translation of “books in every field of learning.” Although no such compendium of global knowledge was ever translated into Korean, a substantial amount of translation did proceed apace through the first decade of the twentieth century and into the colonial period, the vast majority of it relay translation through Japanese. In the midst of this scramble to digest through translation as much new knowledge and information from the West as possible, there were certain observers who cautioned against a too hasty, wholesale appropriation of everything Western, such as the following editorial in the *Taehan maeil sinbo*:

We refer to translated books as imported civilization and the literature of wealth and power, but this indicates only translations that are good and beautiful (*sŏnmi* 善美). Translators who fail to follow this correct path squelch our national spirit and degrade national glory, and are in fact great offenders against the nation. Presently more and more translated books are gradually appearing, but often those translating are intoxicated with foreign ways and make illogical decisions. Every foreign book they believe to be a *munmyŏng* text, and every utterance from the mouth of a foreigner they consider to be civilized words. Whether their own country becomes a barbarian one and their own people become but mere cattle matters nothing: they worship and follow faithfully only other countries, which can only spell misfortune for the future of our education. At a certain bookstore I observed a portion of a translated book describing the geography of our country, and it described the beloved people of our great nation as degraded and claimed that our Kaya [Confederacy] was a colonial outpost of Japan. It also argued that

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<sup>565</sup> It may also be the case that the author is using the term “okp’yŏn” as a stand-in for the modern concept of “dictionary” (*sajŏn*), though the author’s understanding of what a modern ‘dictionary’ would be is clearly colored by the *okp’yŏn* tradition.

the Puyō race [扶餘族] were descended from refugees of Sanyōdō [山陽道] [a Japanese place name] who resettled elsewhere. What nonsense!<sup>566</sup>

After an initial scramble to make available as much material as possible, primarily through relay translation due to the greater familiarity of Korean scholars with Japanese, by the late 1900s at least some individuals were voicing concerns over the content of the items being translated, although I have encountered considerably less discourse on the issue of relay translation, filtered modernity, and the effect of massive neologism adaptation from Japanese. Nonetheless, the above author seems to have encountered such distorted discourse on Korea through a rather cursory sampling of bookstore offerings, suggesting that such descriptions were becoming more prominent in the years immediately preceding annexation. Such content had yet to be forcefully imposed through public school curriculum, but the potential damage that could be wrought through unscrupulous dissemination of translations was palpable, especially in the rush towards ‘patriotic enlightenment’ through mass dissemination of information that characterized the Protectorate Period.

Although certain proposals urged translation into *kungmun*, some of them even insisting on *kungmun*-only, broader support soon coalesced around *kukhanmun* as the preferred method of representing new knowledge of an academic nature, mainly because of the balance of ‘transparency and legitimacy’ that such a system of writing could embody. In a very aptly titled 1908 article “*Kungmun* and *Hanmun* in an Age of Transition” (*Kungmun kwa hanmun ūi kwado sidae*) appearing in the academic journal *T’aegŭk hakpo*, Yi Pogyōng encapsulates some key concerns in such a period of transitional literacy.

Taking a brief look at the situation in our country—industry, politics, and every other kind of matter—there are few who would say that we are not currently in an age of

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<sup>566</sup> Han Chwasaeng, “Yōksōga ūige ilgohām” [譯書家の告 一告] *Taehan maeil sinbo*, January 9, 1909, 1.

transition... Our national writing is of course a part of this age, and the options for *kungmun* moving forward may be summarized in the following way: First, abolish *kungmun* and adopt a *hanmun*-only policy; second, utilize *kungmun* and *hanmun* together; and third, abolish *hanmun* and adopt *kungmun* as the sole method of writing. After careful deliberation and consideration of the positive and negative aspects of each option, we must conclude that the first is simply out of the question... This policy has been brought up for discussion before, and a certain Japanese scholar has also broached the subject, but because the source of patriotic spirit lies within national history and language, such a thing would never be acceptable. The second option is to combine usage of *hanmun* and *kungmun*, and this is what has largely been adopted in current textbooks and newspapers of our country, with *hanmun* forming the warp and *kungmun* the woof. Rather than using *hanmun* exclusively, *hanmun* has been demoted to second class (優), *but because the undeniable academic authority of hanmun has been done away with, this method as well has been found unacceptable*. As two of the three above options have already been rejected, then inevitably the third option must be chosen. To speak of the exclusive use of *kungmun* and the abolition of *hanmun* is to speak of *kungmun*'s independence.

This is not to say, however, that *hanmun* should not be studied at all. Rather, in this age of diplomacy between all countries on earth, there is no question that foreign language study shall become a part of the academic, industrial, and political worlds, but also a matter of great urgency, and therefore *hanmun* ought to be established as one subject in foreign language study. Although it seems that a problem of such gravity may be impossible to figure out overnight, if we spend our days obstinately, *allow our citizens' thinking to harden, and publish even more books, this will become even more difficult to carry out* (emphasis mine).<sup>567</sup>

Yi reiterates what many of his contemporaries were also highlighting, and that is the diversification of Korean orthography and writing styles, and in particular the unsettled state of the linguistic landscape where several options vied for supremacy. Although Yi seems to be throwing unconditional support behind *kungmun*-only writing while deeming *kukhanmun* to be unacceptable, his statements on *kukhanmun* actually serve to interrogate the intransigence of certain literati who would argue for the holistic integrity and infallibility of *hanmun* and dismiss the employment of *hancha* in a piecemeal fashion. Since the author acknowledges the evolving consensus around *kukhanmun* in textbooks and periodicals, his dismissal of this writing practice seems less like his own conviction and more like an effort to highlight the obstinacy of more

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<sup>567</sup> Yi Pogyōng, “Kungmun kwa hanmun ūi kwado sidae,” *T'aegŭk hakpo* 21, May 24, 1908, 17.



conservative literati, as if to demonstrate how such logic actually reinforces a shift to *kungmun*-only orthography rather than bolstering the argument for an authentic and unsullied *hanmun*. Ultimately, Yi's argument tacitly accepts the emerging status quo of *kukhanmun* usage in textbooks and periodicals, but views this as a temporary *écriture* in a transition to full *kungmun* usage. It is significant that in the final paragraph of the excerpt Yi proposes not *hancha* as a target of curricularization—as “one subject in foreign language study—but *hanmun*/Literary Sinitic, showing that he would accept sinographs and mixed-script writing as an integral aspect of Korean academic writing, but only that intransigent literati who argue for the unassailable integrity of *hanmun* by their own logic affect a shift to *kungmun*-only writing. Yi's final comments moreover reveal one of the crucial considerations related to literacy and orthography during Enlightenment-era Korea. Yi and other intellectuals were well aware of the profound illiteracy that characterized Korean society and the pivotal formative role that the educated class could play in the formation of ‘modern literacy.’ There was a reason why *kukhanmun* became the favored method of writing for educated Koreans who realized the futility of continued *hanmun* usage and that was due to both the intellectual legitimacy and the visual transparency of such a written code. For those educated in the LS tradition, or with even just a strong foundation in *hancha* knowledge, the meaning of a *kukhanmun* text would have been more immediately apparent than a *kungmun* text, but for the potentially expanding circle of literate Koreans without a traditional education, the nature of their literacy was a blank slate, a malleable canvas that could be molded to accommodate whatever curriculum the intellectual class desired. In this way, *kukhanmun* writing represented a kind of linguistic scaffolding between *hanmun* and *kungmun*, a framework technology through which the transitional process of vernacularization could be carried out. It furthermore served as a link between the premodern Confucian and modern

epistemes and functioned as mediational technology between Confucian-educated intellectuals and the next generation of students, dictating the parameters of their literacy development and embodying a gradual bridge to greater *kungmun* orthography and vernacularization.

Earlier in 1908 Yu Kilchun wrote in more nuanced terms on the transitional state of current Korean writing practices, particularly the new-fangled form of “affixed vernacular notation” and how it related to education.

The usage of *kungmun* not only makes learning convenient for young children, but at the same time fosters a sense of national independence in them. Therefore, it is only proper that Korean children’s school textbooks also utilize *kungmun*, but looking at today’s elementary school textbooks, a certain method has been adapted which employs a mixture of *kungmun* and *hancha*: pronunciations of *hancha* are added in *kukcha* [*han’gŭl*] as affixed notation. As a method for elementary school usage, this style is neither *kungmun* nor *hanmun*, but rather a style of book with interlinear writing resembling hanging bats... The greatest, most vexing problem for elementary education today is the issue of *kungmun* exclusive use or *hanmun* abolition... The exclusive use of *kungmun* in elementary textbook publication has been called proper, but what of the abandoning of *hancha*? This cannot be. How could we possibly abolish it? *Hanmun*, yes, may be done away with, but *hancha* may not be abandoned. Using *hancha* is also using *hanmun*, but to completely abolish *hanmun* is an argument that shows a lack of understanding. Only after forming *hancha* into sentences may we begin to call this ‘writing’ (*mun*)—the individual characters are merely *hancha* and not *hanmun*. Our scholars have been using *hancha* for many years, and such a practice has become an assimilated part of our *kungmun*, and so the method of vernacular glossing (*hundok*) may in form be called *hancha*, but it is a necessary fixture of *kungmun* and an auxiliary tool. This is the same method as British people use when they employ the Roman alphabet to write their own national language, but who would dare point to the usage of *hancha* as grounds for calling our great country’s national language *hanmun*? There are words of Greek origin imported and assimilated into the English language, but the writer has never witnessed anyone who refers to English as Greek... Therefore, it is proper that elementary school textbooks combine the use of *kungmun* and *hancha* and adopt the method of *hundok* vernacular glossing.....<sup>568</sup>

Yu makes several extremely important observations that reveal an overall shift in the linguistic landscape and the emergence of modernist language ideologies. In contrast to Yi’s statements above, Yu draws a direct and distinct contrast between individual sinographs and the

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<sup>568</sup> Yu Kilchun, “Sohak kyoyuk e taehanŭn kyŏnhae,” *Hwangsŏng sinmun*, February 29, 1908.

larger LS tradition, and denies to the latter the inviolable and unified status which certain literati still wished to accord it. What is striking about the overall tone of the passage is Yu's very conscious and deliberate engagement with the epistemic shift that is rapidly occurring all around him. In the phrase "Only after forming *hancha* into sentences may we begin to call this 'writing' (*mun*)," Yu delineates a discreet separation between premodern writing practices in the Sinographic Cosmopolis (文) and modern Korean writing. Moreover, not only does Yu argue that sinographs are an integral part of Korea's *kungmun*, *hancha* used in a glossing capacity as well should be considered important vernacular "auxiliary tools," demonstrating another instance of cosmopolitan-vernacular interpenetration—the method of *ŏnmun* glossing of LS texts in the premodern period joined in the modern period by the new writing technology of *hancha* glossing in a 'vernacular' text. Finally, Yu's comparison with the Latin Cosmopolis is informative. The ludicrousness of referring to English as Latin or Greek when juxtaposed with contemporary Korean literati insisting on the consanguinity of *hancha* and *hanmun* brings into sharp relief the chasm in language ideology that separated the Latin and Sinographic Cosmopoli. The vernacularization process in Europe was a gradual process taking place over many centuries, Latin and Greek terminology being assimilated into English at a rate that rarely engendered self-reflection by the individual observer on the 'integrity' of the vernacular or cosmopolitan. However, the extremely compressed nature of Korea's linguistic modernization created a level of epistemic overlap that made what was centuries of gradual change in the European context visible within a single generation.

Although some of Yu's observations regarded the general position of *hancha* in the process of Korean vernacularization, here he specifically mentions a hybrid writing practice called affixed vernacular notation (*pusok kungmun*) which had only recently emerged from

around 1905, a form similar to Yi Kakchong's example number 4 introduced above. As Yu suggests, this style of notation was perceived as a deliberate pedagogical intercession, an editorial choice aimed at broadening the readership as much as possible and spreading literacy in the process. Later in 1908 Yu's own *Nodong yahak tokpon* (Reader for Night School Laborers) appeared, a book that employed this same style of affixed vernacular notation, showing his own commitment to this method for spreading literacy and enlightenment among a target audience, in this case adult laborers ignorant or only marginally knowledgeable of *hancha*.<sup>569</sup> Another forum that employed a similar style of writing was the *Mansebo* (萬歲報), a magazine published by the Ch'öndogyo denomination, successor to the Tonghak Movement, and which featured extensive writings by Yi Injik (李人植, 1862-1916). Shortly after its inaugural issue on June 17, 1906 the following informational piece appeared explaining the mission of the periodical.

The *Mansebo* is presented to those readers who, though ignorant of *hanmun* and considered inferior individuals, wish only to live a comfortable life by progressing in the world and having enough food on their plates, so that they may now gain superior skills through learning *kungmun*, and daily improve their abilities. Low though their abilities may be, in a matter of days they can most definitely improve, and after doing so may utilize our newspaper to become knowledgeable of foreign affairs and matters of our country as well. When meeting a politician they may contribute skillfully to a conversation on politics, and when speaking with an educator they may join the discussion on education.

Men engaged in such pure knowledge and scholarship would win out a hundred times over the rigid thinking of Classical scholars (*Hanmunhakcha*). What does this mean? It means that this rigid, antiquated thinking is antithetical to civilization and enlightenment (*munmyöng kaehwa*), like fire and ice [lit. ice and coal], and it degrades this land to an inferior level. In order to further the progress of global civilization, we must reduce the number of ignorant human beings.

The typeface (*hwalcha*) utilized in this periodical is affixed *kungmun* notation (*pusok kungmun* 附屬國文) and the grammar used is *önmun ilch'i* style, the purpose

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<sup>569</sup> Yu's textbook systematically places *hancha* in the main text and provides either vernacular *hundok* or Sino-Korean *ümdok* glosses to the right of each sinograph, the glossing method depending on which reading was more 'assimilated' into the vernacular and would render a more comprehensible reading. In the above passage, however, Yu seems to be referring to so-called affixed vernacular notation more generally, whether glossed in *hancha* or in *kungmun*. *Nodong yahak tokpon* will be analyzed in detail in the following chapter.

being to advance the principle of social advancement, to daily sound the alarm and give notice to our countrymen of good news and glad tidings.<sup>570</sup>

The following passage appeared in the same periodical three days later and reiterated the goal of the publication:

Beginning from this generation and continuing on for ten thousand generations this newspaper shall disseminate widely and eternally. Hence, we have called this publication the *Mansebo* (萬歲報 “Bulletin for Ten Thousand Years”), and it shall serve as a form of higher education (*taehakkyo*) for our citizens. The principle of our endeavor is to print documents and graphic material supportive of the cause of enlightenment, and because our intention is to help our peoples’ intellectual advancement and our domestic culture, the grammar we employ is that of *kukhanmun*, so that all readers may easily understand. The publication will combine both new and old writings and continue based on the support and demand of our readers, and so should be considered a forum for wide learning, and a conduit of higher-level citizens’ education.<sup>571</sup>

According to the above mission statements, the reason for employing such a hybrid writing system was to carry out the task of enlightening the population through expanding readership in the vernacular, disregarding Classical scholarship. The author of the first passage

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<sup>570</sup> “Glad Tidings” (kilsōng 吉聲) *Mansebo* July 25, 1906.

<sup>571</sup> *Mansebo*, June 28, 1906. The choice of such a hybrid script must have been a novel policy worthy of mention because aside from the choice of script being specifically mentioned several times in the weeks following its inauguration, an advertisement also appeared in the *Cheguk sinmun* announcing the pending publication of the *Mansebo* and describing its unique writing style as a conscious effort to spread literacy and enlightenment: “*Mansebo* Facilities: A few days ago it was reported by the Ch’ōndogyo member Mr. Son Pyōnghŭi that the Ch’ōndogyo denomination would publish an official newspaper. The newspaper, titled the *Mansebo*, will be housed at the South Seoul administrative district in Hoedong, the machinery and print type has been prepared by volunteers, and the columns are to be written in *hanmun* with our country’s national language annotations appearing to the side so that, even if the reader does not know *hanmun*, they may look at the *kungmun* in the margins and understand. The distribution will be on par with big foreign publications and the price will be inexpensive, and just days prior Mr. Yi Injik filed a petition for authorization from the internal ministry, and before long the endeavor will be up and running.” “Mansebo sinmun palhaeng kwanggo” [萬歲報新聞發行廣告] *Cheguk sinmun*, May 16, 1906. Similar advertisements with identical copy ran multiple times throughout May of 1906 in the *Taehan maeil sinmun*.

indicates that not only would such a writing style more effectively convey knowledge and information, but also that the reader could learn *kungmun* in the process. Interestingly, the ‘grammar’ employed is described differently in each of the excerpts: the first claims that the paper uses *ŏnmun ilch’i*, and the second “that of *kukhanmun*.” Although these two terms did not correspond exactly, as I mentioned earlier in this chapter, *kukhanmun* and *ŏnmun ilch’i* grammar seem to have been used interchangeably at times to refer to vernacular as opposed to LS grammar, and this is what the *Mansebo* utilized. Also significant is the specific form of affixed vernacular-style notation employed: sinographs appeared within the main text, and were glossed interlinearly in either Sino-Korean *ŭmdok* or vernacular *hundok* fashion. Whereas *kungmun* could have potentially appeared in the main text accompanied by interlinear *hancha* glosses, or exclusively *ŭmdok* glosses of *hancha*, the employment of this particular method suggests two things about the language ideologies of the editors and compilers. First, that Sino-Korean words written with sinographs were an integral part of vernacular Korean, at least for the editors of this and other newspapers that followed this method, and that reading them as such with Sino-Korean pronunciation glosses in *kungmun* would help the reader “learn *kungmun*.” Second, the glossing of certain words in vernacular *hundok* style rather than *ŭmdok* alone as in the tradition of *ŏnhae* as both an attempt to expand readership beyond those with knowledge of *hancha* and an indexical device displaying the editors’ perception of what kind of language qualified as assimilated ‘vernacular’ Korean. The following two excerpts are representative examples of vernacular affixed notation used in *Mansebo*, the first featuring Sino-Korean *ŭmdok*-only glosses and the second using a mixture of *hundok* and *ŭmdok* glossing.

萬<sup>만</sup>世<sup>세</sup>報<sup>보</sup>라名<sup>명</sup>稱<sup>칭</sup>新<sup>신</sup>聞<sup>문</sup>은何<sup>하</sup>를爲<sup>위</sup>야作<sup>작</sup>이노我<sup>아</sup>韓<sup>한</sup>人<sup>인</sup>民<sup>민</sup>의智<sup>지</sup>識<sup>식</sup>啓<sup>개</sup>發<sup>발</sup>키爲<sup>위</sup>야作<sup>작</sup>이라噫<sup>히</sup>라社<sup>사</sup>會<sup>회</sup>組<sup>조</sup>織<sup>직</sup>이國<sup>국</sup>家<sup>가</sup>形<sup>형</sup>成<sup>성</sup>이時<sup>시</sup>代<sup>대</sup>의變<sup>변</sup>遷<sup>권</sup>을

隨<sup>수</sup>야人<sup>인</sup>民<sup>민</sup>智<sup>지</sup>識<sup>식</sup>을<sup>을</sup>啓<sup>계</sup>發<sup>발</sup>야野<sup>야</sup>昧<sup>昧</sup>見<sup>견</sup>聞<sup>문</sup>으로文<sup>문</sup>明<sup>명</sup>에進<sup>진</sup>케며幼<sup>유</sup>穉<sup>치</sup>  
知<sup>지</sup>覺<sup>각</sup>으로老<sup>로</sup>成<sup>성</sup>에達<sup>달</sup>케은新<sup>신</sup>聞<sup>문</sup>教<sup>교</sup>育<sup>육</sup>의神<sup>신</sup>聖<sup>성</sup>에無<sup>무</sup>過<sup>과</sup>다謂<sup>위</sup>할지라.<sup>572</sup>

汗<sup>한</sup>을<sup>을</sup>려雨<sup>비</sup>가되氣<sup>기</sup>운을<sup>을</sup>吐<sup>토</sup>야雲<sup>구름</sup>이되도록人<sup>람</sup>만<sup>만</sup>흔<sup>흔</sup>곳은長<sup>장</sup>安<sup>안</sup>路<sup>로</sup>서울<sup>서울</sup>길이라廟<sup>묘</sup>洞<sup>동</sup>  
도都<sup>도</sup>城<sup>성</sup>서울<sup>서울</sup>이언마何<sup>엇</sup>지其<sup>그</sup>리<sup>리</sup>쓸<sup>쓸</sup>던지.<sup>573</sup>

Although each of the above styles utilized interlinear *kungmun* glossing to render a ‘vernacular’ text in the broadest sense of the word and may be considered affixed vernacular notational styles, we can infer that the target readership was quite different for each piece. This is not so much the result of the editor’s conscious decision to exclude a segment of the readership in the case of the first excerpt, but rather a matter of content and genre. In the first example, the content of the text without the inclusion of both sinographs and vernacular script would be quite opaque to both those with knowledge of *hancha* and those without, albeit for slightly different reasons. The parallel deployment here of the cosmopolitan and the vernacular creates a mediational bridge between the educational products of overlapping epistemes through transparency and legitimacy. In terms of transparency, sinographs are included to provide visual clues to meaning where *kungmun* alone had not yet accrued definitive significance, whereas *kungmun* conveyed a different sort of transparency allowing the *hancha*-deficient readership to access the text. Closely related to transparency in reading was the academic legitimacy assured by the presence of the cosmopolitan sinograph where *kungmun* alone could not yet stand on its own. For another segment of the readership, however, the parallel inclusion of *kungmun* supported a nationalistic language ideological trend that ran counter to overly sinicized texts and

<sup>572</sup> “Sasöl,” *Mansebo*, June 17, 1906, quoted in Kim Pyŏngmun, “Kūndae kyemonggi hancha hundoksik p’yogi e taehan yŏn’gu,” *Tongbang hakchi* 165 (March 2014): 101-128; 111.

<sup>573</sup> “Tanp’yŏn,” *Mansebo*, July 3, 1906, quoted in Kim, “Kūndae kyemonggi hancha hundoksik,” 112.

elevated the position of the vernacular in spreading civilization and enlightenment, the stated goal of the newspaper. The genre of the text furthermore is of an editorial nature, loaded with neologisms and conceptual language most effectively conveyed at this time through Sino-Korean vocabulary. All of the above considerations help to explain the particular orthography used, but what of the second example? Unlike the previous example which uses exclusively Sino-Korean *ũmdok*-style glossing, the second example features a mixture of *ũmdok* and *hundok* glosses, although the latter predominate. Another important divergence is that the second example seems to have been composed first in *kungmun* and subsequently supplemented with *hancha* for a certain segment of the readership because, unlike the first example, reading the *hancha* only where both scripts are included does not produce a viable text. As suggested above, one of the most important reasons for this difference in style is probably due to genre. Example two is an excerpt from Yi Injik's *Hyŏl ũi nu*, considered Korea's first so-called 'new novel' (*sin sosŏl*) and, as Korean vernacular fiction had had a long history of composition in pure *kungmun*, a much more vernacularized style of writing would have seemed much more appropriate for such a work. Another notable aspect of the second style of orthography is that certain words such as 吐<sup>ト</sup>吐<sup>ト</sup>야 (*t'ohāya*) and 廟<sup>묘</sup>洞<sup>동</sup> (*Myodong*) are rendered with *ũmdok* glosses, a sort of yardstick for gauging what sinographic words had been deemed sufficiently 'vernacularized' for the target readership. This was a shifting indexical device that diverged not only according to intended readership but also specific author, and most importantly, over time, as previously unassimilated terminology settled into the lexicon and became indigenized.

Other than the *ŏnhae*-esque glossing style in the first example, Saegusa Toshikatsu describes four different styles of affixed vernacular notation utilized by Yi Injik in the pages of *Mansebo*: 1) Affixing a vernacular meaning to a sinograph as in 年<sup>나이</sup> *nai* "age" and 物<sup>것</sup> *kŏt*



“thing,” 2) expressing only one part of the Sino-Korean term with a sinograph while affixing the complete Sino-Korean term in *kungmun* as in 氣<sup>기운</sup> *kiun* “atmosphere; aura” and 疑<sup>의심</sup> *üsim* “doubt,” 3) affixing a *hun/ũm* hybrid reading in *kungmun* as in 房內<sup>방안</sup> *PANGNAE/pang’an* “interior, inne quarters” and 夜中<sup>밤중</sup>, *YAJUNG/pamchung* “middle of the night” and 4) affixing the reading for a different Sino-Korean word in *kungmun* as in 假名<sup>연문</sup> *KAMYÖNG* [J. *kana*] /*õnmun* and 間戶<sup>창</sup> *KANHO/ch’ang* “window.”<sup>574</sup> Despite superficial (and at times deeper) resemblance between affixed vernacular notation and Japanese writing, Saegusa claims that forms two and four above are methods that do not even exist in Japanese, and so it cannot be concluded that Yi and other Korean writers such as Yu Kilchun and Yi Nünghwa blindly mimicked the writing styles of Japan.<sup>575</sup> This point is well taken, but we cannot deny the close resemblance of the remaining styles to Japanese writing practices, the consanguinity of affixed vernacular notation in theory and appearance to Japanese, as well as the deep familiarity such Korean authors had with the Japanese language, and in some cases their ideological and political affiliation with the country as well.<sup>576</sup> It is equally unhelpful to dismiss at the first sign of

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<sup>574</sup> Saegusa finds that straight *ũmdok* glosses of *hancha* make up the bulk of affixed vernacular notation in *Hyõl ũi Nu* (1,600), followed by type 1 (about 100), type 4 (25), type 3 (10), and type 2 (6). See Saegusa Toshikatsu, “Ijung p’yogi wa kũndaejök munch’e yangsang: Yi Injik sinmun yõnjae “Hyõl ũi Nu” ũi kyõng’u,” *Hyõndae munhak ũi yõn’gu* 15 (2000): 49-50.

<sup>575</sup> Saegusa, “Ijung p’yogi wa kũndaejök munch’e yangsang,” 49-50.

<sup>576</sup> Yi Injik (1862-1916) is perhaps best known today for his pro-Japanese stance rather than his status as author of Korea’s first work of “new fiction.” Yi studied for three years at the Tõkyõ School of Political Science (Tõkyõ Seiji Gakkõ 東京政治學校), becoming fluent in Japanese and well-acquainted with Japanese written culture. After his return from Japan he contributed to the *Kungmin sinbo* and *Mansebo*, the latter of which serialized his *Hyõl ũi nu* from July to October, 1906. He facilitated Japan’s annexation of Korea by translating the terms of the treaty for the Korean pro-Japanese Prime Minister of Korea, Yi Wanyong (李完用, 1858-1926), who could not speak Japanese. Yi continued to work in the pro-Japanese puppet government under Yi Wanyong until the latter’s death in 1906. *Hyõl ũi nu* strongly emphasizes the necessity of

‘Japanese influence’ any discussion of mutual interaction or cross-penetration. In this sense I concur with Kim Pyŏngmun’s attempt in his analysis of affixed vernacular notation to “break away from past research that has negatively appraised *hundok* glossing as simply mimicking Japanese writing and acknowledge its positive contributions from a new perspective.”<sup>577</sup> As I have argued elsewhere in this study, although issues of power and hegemony inevitably color relationships between nations, especially in the semi-colonial context which we are currently discussing, evidence of Japanese influence need not preclude productive debate or analysis, nor should it necessarily suggest the weakness or derivative nature of the subaltern culture, but may rather indicate a robustness of transnational research and inquiry and a growing vibrancy and diversification in the Korean intellectual world.<sup>578</sup> Writers such as Yi Nūnghwa were candid about the inspiration they drew from Japan in calling for linguistic modernization in Korea, but such cases ought to serve as the beginning of a scholarly discussion on the origins of modern Korean rather than the closing chapter of a book on ‘independent Korea’ cut short by annexation.

For students in our country today who know only *kungmun* and have no knowledge of *hanmun*, there is no way to avoid the anxiety that comes with such inadequacy. However, if we look at Japan, even among the rickshaw drivers and the rice cake peddlers, there are

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modern “civilization and enlightenment” for the betterment of the nation, specifically through the story line of Ongnyŏn, a young girl who is separated from her family and “makes an unintended voyage to the ‘civilized’ world and becomes an emblematic figure of enlightenment.” Yoon Sun Yang, “Enlightened Daughter, Benighted Mother: Yi Injik’s *Tears of Blood* and Early Twentieth-Century Korean Domestic Fiction,” *positions* 22, no. 1 (2014): 102-130; 103.

<sup>577</sup> Kim, “Kūndae kyemonggi hancha hundoksik p’yogi,” 103.

<sup>578</sup> The nature of Japanese influence undoubtedly changed following annexation, and this is a point that I will also pursue in the following chapters. Even following annexation, however, we must be careful not to characterize Japanese hegemony and influence as monolithic or uniform, as much variation in Japanese colonial language and education policy was evident. My argument here pertaining to the pre- and semi-colonial period up to 1910 is that it is unproductive and in fact a form of historical distortion to view this era through the lens of post-coloniality, dismissing intercultural research, interaction, and yes—influence as an unfortunate aberration in an otherwise pure nationalistic historical trajectory.

few who are ignorant of writing. Reading new writing from Japan, we see that the composition is clear and exact, and that in the margins to the right of the *kanji* are written *kana* [pronunciations], so that even women and children can understand the text with ease. Luckily, the structure and composition (*chosŏng* 組成) of Korean language and writing is very similar to that of Japan, but unfortunately the method of attaching *kungmun* to *hanmun* is limited to word endings, and in the end ordinary people are still unable to read books. Therefore, why not take the example of affixing *kana* to *kanji* [*hancha*] and work toward our own unification of spoken and written (*ŏnmun ilch'i*), combining the elegant and profane [*asok* 雅俗]?<sup>579</sup>

As I have demonstrated in this section, there was a robust debate over the choice of script to employ in ‘modern writing’ of an academic nature, most notably for use in translations of foreign texts, textbooks for modern schooling, and periodicals. Through an analysis of these discourses and by briefly observing some translation conventions, several reasons for the emergence of *kukhanmun* as the most widely accepted style for academic prose are brought into relief. First, *kukhanmun* represented the most effective way of conveying the meanings of opaque, unfamiliar neologisms—the vast majority of them two-syllable Sino-Japanese conceptual words—through the mediation of vernacular grammar. Through the mediation of *kukhanmun* writing technology, a wider readership was able to parse the meanings of sinographic terms through context, a process that would have been extremely difficult through unadulterated LS. The second reason, closely related to the first, is that *kukhanmun* offered an ideal combination of transparency and legitimacy for a wider readership that spanned the Confucian-Modern epistemic divide. Even in

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<sup>579</sup> 今設身爲一學生但知國文不識漢文則未免有惘然不足之想也試看日本國人雖引車之夫賣餅之婦鮮有不識字者今取讀日本新學書籍則其譯述字義最屬明確且於漢字右側附書假名雖婦如兒童易於曉解唯我國文國語之組成幸與日文日語大體相似而但國漢文混用之法止於語尾遂使俗者仍然不能讀書何不効附書假名之例務使言文一致雅俗共讀乎今舉其例開列于左 [未完] Yi Nūnghwa, “Kungmun ilchŏng ũgyŏn,” *Hwangsŏng sinmun*, June 1, 1906.

the case of reform-minded literati who were at least ideologically open to the dismantling of LS and its redeployment as *hancha* in ‘vernacular’ writing, the representation of these sinographic terms (*hanjchaō*) in *kungmun* would have been pushing the envelope too far by not only increasing the opaqueness of the text but also depriving it of the intellectual legitimacy embedded in the sinograph. In the case of the next generation schooled in modern education where the cosmopolitan (*hanmun*) was increasingly curricularized as one among many subjects, the shift to vernacular grammar in *kukhanmun* opened a door through which to access knowledge and eventually adapt to the redeployment of the cosmopolitan in piecemeal form. As for the affixed vernacular notation style of writing, although it was short lived, this method of composition represented a further attempt to widen the Korean readership and ease their adaptation to new terminology and concepts introduced through translation. While likely not having a deep impact on the spread of literacy due to its short duration, affixed vernacular notation is more relevant to this current study in terms of the discourse it generated on the importance of mass literacy, as an example of experimental forms that emerged in response to this perceived need, and as the most representative example of Japanese as a potential linguistic role model. Finally, as I have argued throughout this chapter, Japanese writing represented a crucial model for Korean language vernacularization not only in the form of affixed vernacular notation but in the entire shift to mixed-script writing, a phenomenon that demonstrated not the acquiescence or derivativeness of Korean intellectuals, but their thoughtful engagement with modernization through research and inquiry.

Translation and vernacularization formed an inseparable relationship which determined the form that modern Korean would take into the colonial period. That is, vernacularization and translation functioned within a positive feedback loop: *kukhanmun* structure facilitated greater

translation through Japanese, while the ongoing process of translation drew the translator into closer contact with and employment of Japanese writing conventions, which in turn became assimilated into vernacular Korean as readers acclimated to increased vernacularization and accompanying made-in-Japan sinographic neologisms. The range of this new modern Korean lexicon was then dictated by the parameters set forth in precolonial and colonial bilingual dictionaries, sources that crucially were determined by foreign actors working within a monolingual dictionary vacuum.

### **3.6 Dictionary Compilation and the Codification of Lexical Modernity**

Hwang Hodök and Yi Sanghyön's concept of disseminal translation introduced earlier in this chapter is a welcome addition to the theorization of translation in early modern Korea, especially considering the timing of the country's exposure to and engagement with modernizing processes such as linguistic modernization and lexical cataloguing. Bible translation, the first descriptions of Korean grammar, and dictionary compilation were carried out by Western missionaries before such projects had been undertaken (let alone completed) by Korean actors, and so Western language ideologies and the English language in particular became important benchmarks for further development. In the case of language-related activities on the part of colonial authorities such as dictionary compilation and textbook publication, the political authority that undergirded their efforts guaranteed a degree of institutional dissemination and diffusion. As legitimized knowledge and authorized compendia of the Korean language were reinforced through cross-referencing among Japanese and Western scholars of the language and as independent forums for Korean contributions to linguistic modernization were silenced by colonial authority, an alternate, 'indigenous' discourse on the language became difficult to

articulate or even imagine, buried under the sedimentary weight of increasingly legitimized, appropriated, and ‘settled’ vocabulary. By the time the first native-produced Korean-Korean dictionary was published in 1938 by Mun Seyōng, nearly a dozen dictionaries had already been in circulation, the oldest Korean-English dictionary dating back nearly a half century, and to exclude the by then long-established neologisms of modernity—though inspired by the West, transported to Korea through *kanji* mediation and codified by foreign compilers—would have resulted in a ludicrously incomplete, even untenable catalogue of the language.<sup>580</sup> George Heber Jones, in his Preface to *Yōng-Han Chădyōn* (*An English-Korean Dictionary* 1914), remarked candidly on the dramatic transformations that were already evident in the Korean lexicon at the time of compilation:

The past fifteen years have seen a remarkable change in the Korean language amounting almost to a transformation of its vocabulary. The old civilization with its philosophical theories and ideals is being rapidly replaced by new ideas and institutions bringing with them a new language. The first great force in introducing this new infusion into the Korean tongue was Christianity, which has brought into Korean thought life the rich and marvelous terminology of the highest religious ideals. Following on the heels of the Christian faith has come modern education bringing all the sciences in its train each with a vocabulary of terms all its own and which had to be transplanted onto the Korean tongue... This process of the enrichment of the original Korean speech is still in progress. In fact it can be said to be only just begun, for everywhere schools are being founded and teachers and students multiplied who are making the inquiry for the equivalents of the various terminologies of modern thought. The following work is an attempt to make a beginning to supply this need. The terminologies in use in Japan and China have been freely drawn upon to supply equivalents and wherever a term in use in those countries has been found which was intelligible to a Korean scholar it has been

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<sup>580</sup> The first Korean-English bilingual dictionary was Horace Grant Underwood, *Han-Yōng chădyōn* (*A Concise Dictionary of the Korean Language*) (Yokohama: Kelly and Walsh, 1890). However, a Korean-French dictionary had already been compiled a decade earlier by French Catholic missionaries, a work that Jones pays tribute to in his preface. See Félix Clair Ridel, *Han-Pul chădyōn* (*Dictionnaire Coréen Français*) (Yokohama: C. Levy Imprimeur-Libraire, 1880). This was also the dictionary that served as the seed for James Scarth Gale’s subsequent lexicographical labors.

used. The work done in those lands has greatly aided the work in Korea which is now permitted to enjoy the fruits of the scholarship of its neighbors.<sup>581</sup>

Jones' observations are positioned at a crucial turning point in Korean linguistic and political history, providing a snapshot of an epistemic shift that is rarely so palpably experienced. Korea's 'late' and highly compressed time frame for modernization meant that radically different modes of thought—and hence methods of representing that thought textually—were strongly inspired by and often forcefully grafted onto the premodern Confucian episteme by foreign actors and experienced within a single generation, and although such discourses were contested and rearticulated by Korean actors, the virtual vacuum into which initial Western efforts at Korean language modernization were injected and the Korean media blackout within which later Japanese government-backed efforts continued, precluded a sober actualization of indigenous-led lexical, orthographic, and to a lesser extent grammatical standardization. Being a missionary, Jones is predictably optimistic about the legacy that Christianity had wrought on the peninsula, providing it with the “marvelous terminology of the highest religious ideals,” a statement that consequentially denies Confucianism and its terminology the same status of religiosity. However, Jones is equally ebullient about the Japanese contribution, both politically and linguistically. Coming just three years after the GGK's issuing of the First Rescript on Korean Education (*Che I ch'a Chosŏn kyoyungnyŏng*), Jones' observation that “everywhere schools are being founded and teachers and students multiplied who are making the inquiry for the equivalents of the various terminologies of modern thought” clearly refers to the proliferation of *pot'ong hakkyo* that accompanied Japan's newly-formed education policy in Korea, especially when considering that the first decade of colonial rule was a period of contraction for missionary schools—the only

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<sup>581</sup> George Heber Jones, *An English-Korean Dictionary* (Yŏng-Han chădyŏn), Tōkyō: Kyo bun kwan, 1914, Preface 2.

other type of school that Jones may have been referring to—due to restrictive GGK policies.<sup>582</sup> On the linguistic front, Jones clearly draws on Chinese and Japanese as models, but it is remarkable that it is not the languages per se or even the existence of more comprehensive dictionaries in the languages that attracts his attention, but rather that Chinese and Japanese have already adapted in many cases the “terminologies of modern thought,” and that thanks to the “work done in those lands,” Korea is “now permitted to enjoy the fruits of the scholarship of its neighbors.” Here is the unmistakable establishment of a hierarchy of linguistic modernization, with the West at the pinnacle, and the Chinese and Japanese languages positioned as appropriate models for emulation by Korea, being fellow members of the Sinographic Cosmopolis with analogous textual traditions already in the process of successfully formulating the language of modernity and facilitating intertranslatability with English.<sup>583</sup>

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<sup>582</sup> Although traditional village schools (*sōdang*) actually proliferated during the first decade of colonial rule, it is highly unlikely that Jones would be referring to such schools, considering the Confucian nature of their curriculum. The *sōdang* curriculum as well as the specific makeup of the Enlightenment-era and colonial school system will be explored in detail in the following chapters.

<sup>583</sup> Jones explicates Japanese influence on the overall structure of the dictionary when he writes later in the preface, “In translating English into Korean there are two persistent problems among many others; the first is in connection with the adjective which in Korean speech is not an independent word but is usually expressed by an intransitive verb. To modify the nouns the participial forms of this verb are used and may be expressed in either the past present or future tense. Recently two new forms have been introduced from abroad, one being the suffix 상 (上) ‘sang’ meaning ‘concerning’ and the other the suffix 덕 (的) *chuk* which means ‘subject.’ We have used all three of these forms, giving the preference to the participial in ㄴ “han” which is the most workable form of the adjective.” Jones, *Yōng-Han chǎdyōn*, “Preface,” 3. James Scarth Gale made a strikingly similar observation in 1926 when, commenting on his Bible translation project, he wrote of his desire to “preserve the old dignified language of Korea against the ravages of *chuks*, *sangs*, and *keus*,” referring, according to Ross King, to some newly-imported “features of Japanese linguistic modernity that Gale despised: the suffixes *-chōk* 的, and *-sang* 上, and the newfangled redeployment of pre-noun *kū* as a third person pronoun (‘he’).” Although in 1914 at the time of Jones’ observations *sang* and *chōk* would have had a novel, new-fangled feeling, by the late 1920s the forms had been firmly established in Korean prose, and Gale’s



Jones' descriptions and observations are also remarkable in what they suggest about the future direction of 'academic' Korean and the place of foreign-originating, sinograph-based neologisms in Korea's emerging modern linguistic hierarchy, and the position of the Korean scholar in mediating neologism adaptation. Jones writes above that new terminology from Chinese and Japanese were chosen and adapted based on a kind of 'educated Korean litmus test,' where words deemed to be "intelligible to a Korean scholar" were selected for inclusion. Jones later describes his target readership and expounds on the mediational role of the Korean scholar when he writes of his dictionary,

It is not intended so much for ordinary conversation as for the classroom and the student's desk. We have sought to find equivalents for English terms rather than to manufacture definitions in Kukmun. First the English word is given followed by the Kukmun word and then the Chinese characters... Many of the words used are new and strange and it may be that difficulty will be met in using them but it is our hope that the difficulty will be found to rest, not so much with the term itself, as with the strangeness of the idea of the term. It must be remembered that the ideas back of many of the terms are as yet quite foreign to the average Korean and known only to a few of the scholar class.<sup>584</sup>

For Jones, the strata of neologisms imported from China and Japan were of an academic nature. More specifically, they were terms which ought to be learned in the "classroom" and at "the student's desk" and not "intended for ordinary conversation," statements that reiterated the modernity of the vocabulary, the overall goal of the dictionary compilation project, and again the position of the Korean scholar as arbiter of legitimacy. Importantly, the definition is pegged to the English word initially and only then is a suitable *kungmun* equivalent provided, if available. The result is the appearance of quite a few awkward vernacular words, but of course the English

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comments reflect a rather unrealistic goal inspired by his quite conservative language ideology. See Ross King, "James Scarth Gale and the Christian Literature Society: Salvific Translation and Korean Literary Modernity," in *Corea, una Aproximación Humanista a los Estudios Coreanos*, ed. Wonjung Min (Santiago: Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, 2014).

<sup>584</sup> Jones, *Yōng-Han chădyōn*, Preface 3.

equivalent is not strange but simply a humdrum part of the English lexicon, in fact hand-picked for inclusion due to its perceived indispensibility. Because the bulk of neologisms is derived from China and Japan, the method of dictionary compilation and presentation becomes clear: the compiler first chose an English word that he considered indispensable to the modern lexicon, cross-checked this against newly-emerging sinographic terminology from China and Japan, and then searched for a '*kungmun*' equivalent, where available. In the event that a well-known vernacular definition could not be found, "a few of the scholar class" would serve as the ultimate litmus test for generating a new term which could then re-anchor the Korean language in a newly-configured trans-cosmopolitan network of intertranslatability.

Although very little has been published in English on dictionary compilation in early modern and colonial-era Korea, in the past ten years or so a growing body of Korean-language research has appeared on the subject. Hō Chaeyōng, while not delving into a detailed history of dictionary compilation, provides an insightful discussion of periodization in defining 'modern' (*kūndae*) and 'contemporary' (*hyōndae*) Korean language and gives a helpful overview of transformations and overlaps between the two language varieties. Much like Hwang and Yi, Hō claims that lexical formation during the Korean Enlightenment is crucial to understanding later development of the language, and should receive extra attention due to its emergence outside of the purview of indigenous compilers. Hō calls particular attention to the school textbook lexicon, as textbooks were "conveyors of general knowledge, and thus were the foundation of linguistic life and the standard of knowledge."<sup>585</sup>

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<sup>585</sup> Hō, "Kugōsa esō kūndae kyemonggi ūi sōlchōng," 284. Hō points to Pak Yōngsōp (1996) as one of the few sources on the textbook lexicon during the Enlightenment Period, but admits to certain shortcomings, as this source does not systematically catalogue all textbooks published during the period, and contains only widely-known vocabulary. See Pak Yōngsōp, *Kaehwagi kugō ōhwi charyojip 3: Kyokwasō p'yōn* (Sōul: Solt'ō, 1996).

Pak Tonggŭn, following Kim Kwanghae's concept of so-called "ghost words" (*yuryŏngŏ*), offers an interesting discussion of the phenomenon as it pertains to post-colonial Korean monolingual dictionaries. According to Pak, ghost words are "those words mistakenly included in the dictionary due to error, or that were judged to be actual words in common usage due to the authority of the dictionary."<sup>586</sup> Although Pak discusses dictionaries in the contemporary period, there are two important implications for our current discussion of pre-colonial and colonial dictionaries. First, the prevalence of ghost words casts doubt on the ultimate authority of the dictionary as arbiter of the lexicon while simultaneously opening the door to wider propagation. That is, the concept of ghost words should make us question what portion of this so-called 'flood of Japanese neologisms' actually settled into the Korean lexicon and became assimilated.<sup>587</sup> On the other hand, to a much lesser extent than in the post-colonial period, dictionary compilation in the Enlightenment Period had an expansive and formative character to it, where compilers had the pioneering intellectual authority to direct the course of lexical formation, and their decisions had outsized impact on future dictionary compilation and the growing base of literate Koreans. Although beginning as a ghost word, or perhaps 'semi-ghost word' known by only a handful of specialists, the mere presence of such vocabulary in an authoritative text had the potential to disseminate the word into wider usage, especially when

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<sup>586</sup> Pak Tonggŭn, "Kugŏ sajŏn ūi p'yojeŏ nŭlligi wa 'yuryŏngŏ' pŏmju ūi munje," *Han'guk sajŏnhak* 17 (2011): 106-143; 137 (emphasis mine).

<sup>587</sup> Kim Kwanghae trots out the oft-cited statistic that about 60% of modern Korean vocabulary is Sino-Korean in origin (*hanchaŏ*), but then makes the bold claim that roughly 90% of the terms are in fact ghost words. Kim goes on to state that if, according to lexical surveys of various global languages, each language is made up of roughly 50-60,000 vocabulary items, about 90% of the 400-500,000 words contained in the *Unabridged Korean Dictionary* are ghost words. It is unclear, however, what criteria he uses for determining the extent of the words' circulation and hence their status as ghost words. See Kim Kwanghae, *Kugŏ ōhwiron kaesŏl* (Sŏul: Chimmundang, 1993), 254-55.

pegged to an English-derived concept without a Korean equivalent. Therefore, this concept of ghost words offers a useful framework through which to view the authority of dictionaries and their roles in lexical expansion from a balanced perspective, as a potentially inflated catalogue of the compiler's perception of the language, and as a compendium of previous perceptions of the language, but also as a potentially powerful tool to influence the subsequent direction of lexical development.

A number of other scholars have conducted pioneering research into the Western missionary role in early dictionary compilation and Korean lexical formation. Focusing on bilingual dictionaries during the Enlightenment Period, Yi Pyōnggūn highlights their evangelical nature as well as the ways in which their status as English-Korean rather than Korean-English dictionaries influenced the nature and form of lexical cataloguing. Yi writes, "Because the main thrust of the compilation was evangelization, excepting new religious terms and *hanmun* phrases, there was much more correspondence between traditionally used common language (*ilsang'ō*) than between abstract, specialized language related to modernity."<sup>588</sup> Yi lists dozens of headwords included by the compilers related to Christianity in the *Dictionnaire Coréen-Français* compiled by the French Catholic missionaries, but only six terms related to Buddhism, a clear reflection of a "conscious attempt to normalize such words in a society where they did not yet hold currency or were virtually unknown."<sup>589</sup> However, Yi is also careful to discern shifts in the interface between the Latin and Sinographic Cosmopoli, and does not paint all Western missionaries with the same brush. Yi points out that Ridel and other French missionaries did not

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<sup>588</sup> Yi Pyōnggūn, "Sōyangin p'yōnch'an ūi kaehwagi Han'gugō taeyōk sajōn kwa kūndaehwa: Han'guk kūndae sahoe wa munhwa ūi hyōngsōng kwajōng e kwallyōnhayō," *Han'guk munhwa* 28 (2001): 1-31; 2.

<sup>589</sup> *Ibid*, 9-10.

hail from the major cities of France but rather the countryside, and so the extent of their familiarity with and inculcation in both the process and ideology of ‘modernization’ must be questioned.<sup>590</sup> The slogans of *liberté, égalité* and *fraternité* of the French Revolution were not even included in the dictionary, and though ‘civilisation’ had been coined more than 100 years prior in French to mean something like the act or process of becoming more civilized, the *Dictionnaire Coréen-Français* included only pre-modern meanings related to ‘civilité’ and ‘politesse,’ showing the conservative character of the lexicon and its compilers.<sup>591</sup> Later dictionaries compiled by Underwood (1890) and J. S. Gale (1897) would contain many more abstract words and conceptual terminology related to modernization, demonstrating both the essential role of the dictionary in mapping a quickly shifting linguistic landscape but shedding doubt on any characterization of missionaries as a monolithic entity or ‘the West’ as unconditionally modern and progressive.

That the first Korean dictionaries to appear were bilingual and compiled by foreigners is also significant for Yi Ŭnyŏng, who explains the linguistic and lexical legacy that such a chronology created. In a study comparing the *Dictionnaire Coréen-Français* (Ridel 1880) and *A Korean-English Dictionary* (Gale 1911), Yi points out that many orthographic inconsistencies, errors in phonographic representation, and the inclusion of ‘non-words’ as headwords characterize the first dictionaries due to their being compiled by foreigners before rules and standards of the language had been established. Many of these infelicities, however, continued into the era of the first Korean-Korean monolingual dictionary drafts, such as Chu Sigyŏng’s

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<sup>590</sup> Ibid, 4-12.

<sup>591</sup> Ibid, 10-11.

*Malmoi* (A Collection of Words), suggesting the lasting influence of such works that emerged in a dictionary ‘vacuum.’ Yi Ŭnyŏng also notes a considerable amount of overlap between Ridel (1880) and Gale (1911),<sup>592</sup> despite the fact that she, like Yi Pyŏnggŭn, claims a much lower occurrence of “modern culture and enlightenment concepts” (*kŭndae munmyŏng kaenyŏm*) in the former.<sup>593</sup> Gale himself writes the following in the preface to his 1897 dictionary, which is reproduced verbatim in the introduction to his 1911 work without refutation or revision, presumably an acknowledgement of the lasting influence of Ridel and other lexicographers’ contributions: “I take pleasure here in acknowledging assistance received from the *Dictionnaire coréen-français*, also from the labors of Dr. Underwood and Mr. Scott. The concise definitions found in Giles’ *Chinese Dictionary* are quite as helpful to a Korean student as to a student in China.” A cursory glance at comparative research findings on early bilingual dictionaries and the personal comments of dictionary compilers seems to suggest then the critical role of bilingual dictionaries in establishing a lexicographical nexus for the Korean language, a matrix of legitimacy that helped to define the codified parameters of the language.

No research has come close, however, to uncovering the depth and breadth of this nexus between the Latin and Sinographic Cosmopoli as Hwang and Yi’s comprehensive study of bilingual dictionaries. The real contribution of this research is the meticulous statistics it provides on the actual accumulation of the Korean lexicon over a vast period ranging from the earliest dictionary compilation to the post-liberation publication of the monolingual and definitive *Uri*

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<sup>592</sup> This is because Gale took *Dictionnaire Coréen-Français* as his starting point. He was chosen for this project because he knew French and had studied in France. I would like to thank Dr. Ross King for pointing this out.

<sup>593</sup> Out of a sample size of 550 headwords, Yi finds that about half (220) were “nearly the same.” Yi Ŭnyŏng, “19segi ijung’ŏ sajŏn *Han-Pul chajŏn* (1880) kwa *Han-Yŏng chajŏn* (1911) pigyo yŏn’gu,” *Han’guk P’ŭrangsŭhak nonjip* 72 (2010): 63-88; 65.

*mal k'ŭn sajŏn* (An Unabridged Dictionary of the Korean Language 1957). Because of the exhaustive nature of their work and space constraints here I cannot add much to their findings in terms of corpus analysis. However, I summarize some of the most relevant findings here to illustrate the highly cumulative nature of Korean lexical formation, and as a segue to my own analysis below of the shifting meanings of some select terms across various dictionaries.

One of the main observations to take away from Hwang and Yi's study is the expansive tendency of the Korean lexicon, especially from the 1890s to the mid-1920s, which is the period most pertinent to this present study. As noted above, the vast majority of dictionaries were English-Korean, with the foreign compiler including what English he believed necessary, then pegging a Korean equivalent or 'viable candidate' according to the "educated Korean" litmus test.<sup>594</sup> Thus, the increase and accumulation of English headwords seems to be a good indication of the extent to which the Korean lexicon expanded. The following is a table adapted from Hwang and Yi showing the increase of English headwords over five dictionaries ranging from 1890-1925.

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<sup>594</sup> However, even Korean-English dictionaries were compiled by English native speakers with of course a much better understanding of their first language, and so the Korean chosen would have been subconsciously selected according to their view of what constituted 'indispensable' English. Furthermore, Korean-English dictionaries as well drew on previous English-Korean dictionaries, creating a cumulative effect across both types of dictionaries. In other words, the compiler's identity and first-language status seem just as important if not more so than the direction of lexical compilation.

**Table 2: English Headword Count and Cumulative Increase in Select Bilingual Dictionaries**

	Underwood, 1890 (Total: 6,702)	Scott, 1891 (Total: 10,601)	Jones, 1914 (Total: 5,068)	Gale, 1924 (Total: 3,226)	Underwood, 1925 (Total: 13, 820)
English headword increase over previous dictionary	6,702	+5,088	+1,948	+1,425	+4,585
Cumulative English headword total	6,702	11,790	13,738	15,163	19,748

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The first thing we may notice about the table is the dramatic increase of English headwords, more than tripling in just over three decades. Of course, each subsequent compiler did not adapt wholesale the lexical inventory of his predecessor. The figure of 19,748 denotes the cumulative total of English headwords that appeared in *any one of these five dictionaries*, but not all five. The number of headwords held in common by all five dictionaries totals 627, a seemingly small number when considering the cumulative total or the individual total in any one of the dictionaries.<sup>596</sup> However, when we consider the slightly different character and motive of each dictionary, the different identities of the compilers, and the wide expanse of time these dictionaries encompass, the continuity is remarkable. The discontinuities, on the other hand, may be explained indirectly by these same factors. Which English words were considered necessary for inclusion and translation into Korean varied over time and depended on the compiler, reflecting a shifting conception of linguistic modernity.<sup>597</sup>

<sup>595</sup> Hwang and Yi, *Kaenyŏm kwa yŏksa*, 196.

<sup>596</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>597</sup> *Ibid.*, 196-97.



The other piece of the puzzle that is modern Korean lexical development is the Japanese influence on the language. As I have repeatedly argued, the most common source of neologism generation in modern Korean was Japanese, and the most productive method of construction was the translation of Western vocabulary through two-character Sino-Japanese mediation. The following table adapted from Hwang and Yi and Yun Kanggu charts the increase and adoption of Meiji neologisms into the Korean lexicon based on *Meiji no kotoba jiten* (明治のことば辞典), a collection of Japanese neologisms created during the Meiji era:

**Table 3: Japanese Neologism Retention in Select Bilingual Dictionaries**

Dictionary	韓英字典 <i>Han-Yōng Chajōn</i> (Underwood, 1890)	韓英字典 <i>Han-Yōng Chajōn</i> (J. S. Gale, 1897)	朝鮮語辭典 <i>Chōsen-go jiten</i> (GGK, 1920)	우리말큰사전 <i>Uri mal k'ūn sajōn</i> (KLS, 1957)
No. of Words	1.9% (23)	10.1% (121)	32.9% (394)	91.1% (1089)

<sup>598</sup>

According to his study on the adaption of sinographic terms into Korean through Japanese, Yun describes the *Meiji no kotoba jiten* as including the following four types of entry: 1) Words that newly emerged during the Meiji era, 2) words that changed meaning during the Meiji era, 3) words that had more than one *kanji* representation or method of reading (*yomikata*) during this period, and 4) words that reflected the social conditions during the Meiji era. Of the 1,341 total headwords appearing in *Meiji no kotoba jiten*, 613 were sinographic translations of foreign words.<sup>599</sup> According to these figures, there is a rather dramatic retention of at least those Meiji neologisms included in this book in subsequent Korean dictionaries. Although not a

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<sup>598</sup> Table adapted from Hwang and Yi, *Kaenyōm kwa yōksa*, 96; Yun Kanggu (尹岡丘), “Nihon kara no kango dōnyū: Meiji no kotoba jiten ni okeru Kango midashigo no Kangokuko e no dōnyū wo chūshin ni” *Irō kyoyuk* 16, Han’guk Ilbonō kyoyuk hakhoe (1999): 301-329.

<sup>599</sup> Yun, “Nihon kara no Kango dōnyū,” 302.

comprehensive catalogue of all Japanese neologisms, the chart above provides a rough topographical guide to the influx of neologisms spanning crucial historical boundaries such as annexation and liberation. In this way it is a compelling testament to the hegemony of the intellectual class and their campaign of linguistic modernity and standardization: the adoption of Japanese neologisms continued unabated—and actually increased—following annexation, despite the concerted efforts at nationalistic elements to resist Japanese encroachment, while the removal of direct Japanese political control post-1945 failed to forestall the institutionalization and legitimization of an accumulated Japanese lexicon with the publication of *Uri mal k'ün sajõn* in 1957.

**Table 4: A Comparison of Definitions from Select Bilingual Dictionaries, 1890-1928**

A Concise Dictionary of the Korean Language H.G. Underwood (1890)	English-Corean Dictionary James Scott (1891)	A Korean-English Dictionary James Scarth Gale (1897)	An English-Korean Dictionary George Heber Jones (1914)	Chōsengo jiten GGK (1920)	Present-day English-Korean: Three Thousand Words James Scarth Gale (1924)	An English-Korean Dictionary H.G. Underwood and H.H. Underwood (1925)	The New Korean-English Dictionary (Ch'oisin Sōn-Yong sajōn)Kim Tongsōng (1928)
Writing, 글, 글시, 쓴것, 글진것, 저술한것.	Writing 글쓰다 Write 쓰다 Writer 서스 스 슈	글짓다 s. 作文 (지을-*작) (글-문) 지여;은 To compose—in Chinese characters; to write a composition—in Chinese characters	Write, t.v. 쓰다 (寫). 기록하다 (記錄): (express), 기록하다 (記載): (compose) 글짓다 (著書)... Writing, n. 서물(書物): (characters made) 글 (書): 글시 (文字):	글 詩. 文. (古語、글월) 글씨 文字. ( 글 ) 글월 [글]의 古語 글스 (字) [글씨]と同じ	Writer 글자 記者 Writing: no entry	Writing. n. (1) 글, 글시, 쓴것, 습習字. (2) 글지은것, 저술한것 著述. (3) 필법 筆法, 필적 筆跡, 슈적 手跡—book, 습習字	글: No entry

A Concise Dictionary of the Korean Language H.G. Underwood (1890)	English-Korean Dictionary James Scott (1891)	A Korean-English Dictionary James Scarth Gale (1897)	An English-Korean Dictionary George Heber Jones (1914)	Chōsenjo jiten GGK (1920)	Present-day English-Korean: Three Thousand Words J.S. Scarth Gale (1924)	An English-Korean Dictionary H.G. Underwood and H.H. Underwood (1925)	The New Korean-English Dictionary (Ch'oisin Sōn-Yong sajōn) Kim Tongsōng (1928)
* No entry under vernacular or common 언문, 諺文, The common Korean alphabet	Vernacular 언문 상말 ㅅ 토리	* 언문 諺文 (속담) (글월) The native Korean writing; the Ünmoon. See 국문	Vernacular, <i>n.</i> (indigenous language) 국어 (國語): 방언 (方言): 본국어 (本國語): (colloquial) 속어 (俗語).	諺文(언문) ㄷ朝鮮固有の文字, 李朝世宗二十八年 訓民正音と称して公示す當時 28 字母**ないもも現今は 25 字を存す <sup>600</sup>	Vernacular: No entry	Vernacular. <i>n.</i> 국어 國語, 방언 邦言, 속어 俗語, 토어 土語, ㅅ 토리 司土俚	언문 <i>n.</i> (諺文) The Korean alphabets.
School, <i>n.</i> 학당, 글방, 학교.	School 학방, 학당, 글방	*학당 <i>s.</i> 學堂 (비흘) (집) A school. See 서진. *학방 <i>s.</i> 學房 (비흘) (방) A school (Prov.) See 학당. 학교 學校 (비흘) (비교) A government school; an academy. 글방 (書齋) (글*셔) (서진*진) A schoolroom; a school.	School, <i>n.</i> 학교 (學校): 학당 (學堂): (in country) 글방 (書堂); disciples of a special system) 학파 (學派) 당파 (黨派). Common—보통학교 (普通學校): 심상학교 (尋常學校)...	學堂 (학당) ㄷ [글ㅅ방] ㄷ 同 じ 。 學校 (학교) ㄷ 教育を施す所。學房 (학방) ㄷ [글ㅅ방] ㄷ 同 じ。 글ㅅ방 (房) ㄷ 漢文の私塾。 (私塾。 書堂。書齋。 學堂。學房)。	School: No entry. School affairs 학무 (學務) School age 학년 (學年) School expenses 학비 (學費) School term 학기 (學期) Schoolmaster 교장 (教長)	School, <i>n.</i> (1) 학교 學校, 학당 學堂, 글방, 서당 書堂, 속塾 練習所.	학교 <i>n.</i> (學校) A school; an academy. ㄷ 專門학교 A college. ㄷ 大(大)학교 A college; A university. 학 <i>n.</i> (學) Learning; Study.
Literature, <i>n.</i> 글, 셔. Language, <i>n.</i>	Literature 글 문 문 <sup>ㅅ</sup> Language	*문 <sup>ㅅ</sup> <i>s.</i> 文字 (글) (글 <sup>ㅅ</sup> ) Written characters; writing; literature. See 글. 말 1. 言 (말씀 -	Literature, <i>n.</i> 문학 (文學) Chinese—한문 (漢文): 진서 (眞書) Western—서양문 (西洋文): 서양서 (西洋西). Language, <i>n.</i> 말	文字 (문ㅅ <sup>ㅅ</sup> ) ㄷ 詩文*一般書史 · 文 (문) ㄷ [長文] (장문) の略。 言語 (언어) ㄷ	Literature 문화 文化 학문 學問 Literary arts 문예 Literary thought 문리 Literary works 저작 Language	Literature, <i>n.</i> 글, 학문 (學問), 시문 (詩文), 학 (學), 문화 (文化), 저술 (著述), 저서 (著書). Language, <i>n.</i>	문 <i>n.</i> (文) Writing; sentence; composition; prose literature. 문사자 <i>n.</i> (文字) A letter; a syllable; a character; an ideograph. 문학 <i>n.</i> (文學) Literature.

<sup>600</sup> The two asterisks represent two sinographs that I am unable to make out.

A Concise Dictionary of the Korean Language H.G. Underwood (1890)	English-Corean Dictionary James Scott (1891)	A Korean-English Dictionary James Scarth Gale (1897)	An English-Korean Dictionary George Heber Jones (1914)	Chōsengojiten GGK (1920)	Present-day English-Korean: Three Thousand Words James Scarth Gale (1924)	An English-Korean Dictionary H.G. Underwood and H.H. Underwood (1925)	The New Korean-English Dictionary (Ch'oisin Sōn-Yong sajōn) Kim Tongsōng (1928)
말, 언어, 말슴	말	*언) Word; speech; saying; language. See 언어. 언어 s. 言語 (말슴) (말슴) Words; language; conversation. See 언변.	(言) 말슴 (語) : 언어 (言語): 방언 (方言): In compounds 어 (語) as... Literary—아언 (雅言): 문리 (文理) National—국어 (國語) —study 어학 (語學) —teacher 어학선생 (語學先生)	[말]에 同ジ.	언어 言語	(1) 국어 (國語), 말, 언어 (言語), 말슴.	Language; speech.

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Based on this snapshot of lexical development over a forty-year period, we can make several generalizations. First, the earliest attempts at lexical cataloguing (Underwood and Scott), in line with the compilers' forwarding remarks, were indeed rudimentary attempts at creating “word collections” rather than anything portending to a comprehensive dictionary, and consequently these “dictionaries” read more as glossaries, lacking differentiation or nuance. Furthermore, there is little attempt to differentiate the vernacular and the cosmopolitan. While the compilers were aware of this complementarity of domains—many of them writing

<sup>601</sup> Certain dictionaries have not been included in this analysis. For a complete catalogue of all bilingual dictionaries published from 1880 to 1937, see Hwang Hodōk and Yi Sanghyōn, *Han'gugō ūi kŭndae wa ijung'ō sajōn, yōngin p'yōn* vols. 1-11 (Sōul: Pangmunsa, 2012).

extensively on the matter in their prefaces—the focus of dictionary compilation at this time, according to one compiler, was “preparing for immediate use” collections that would “contain as far as possible all of the most useful words of the language,”<sup>602</sup> an endeavor primarily driven by practical considerations in the process of evangelization. However, as the dictionary projects progress (Gale, Jones, GGK), a higher degree of specialization and differentiation is evident, as new sinographic coinages designating new terms and a variety of neologisms denoting new concepts or shades of meaning emerge. For example, in the earliest dictionaries, various words for “school” are lumped together without explanation as to their origin or specific function, but in later dictionaries vernacular and cosmopolitan meanings are specified, and distinctions are provided as to the function of the school. The most specific pronouncement on this distinction is in the GGK dictionary, where *hakkyo* is defined as “a place where education is carried out,” whereas all other ‘premodern’ learning institutions (*sasuk*, *sōdang*, *sōjae*, *haktang*, *hakpang*) are lumped together as places where *hanmun* is taught. We can also note in the entries for “language” and “vernacular” the gradual emergence of “*kugō*” and “*kungmun*” as preferred definitions; whereas earlier entries generally list “*ōnmun*” or “*mal*,” later entries gradually add the designation “national language” (Gale 1897), and finally in Jones (1914) and Underwood (1925), “*kugō*” is the first definition listed. Finally, in the last three dictionaries analyzed there is an attempt at even greater differentiation in vocabulary as long lists of neologisms designating variations of a single word (e.g., types of school) are presented.<sup>603</sup> The course of the dictionary compilation projects therefore was characterized by a process of establishing a rough definitional

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<sup>602</sup> H. G. Underwood, *A Concise Dictionary of the Korean Language* (Yokohama: Kelly and Walsh, 1890), Preface, I-II.

<sup>603</sup> Much longer lists of words related to the initial headwords exist in the original dictionaries, but have not been reproduced here due to space considerations.

equivalence, articulating a cosmopolitan-vernacular division, and finally lexical diversification through neologism delineation. In this way translational equivalents were established between English and Korean as subsequent dictionaries contributed to an accumulation of consensus and legitimacy.

## Chapter 4 Curricularization and the Formation of Modern Literacy through Enlightenment-era Textbooks, 1890-1910

The increased contact with Western knowledge and technology following the opening of Korea in the 1870s and 1880s stimulated the Korean government and independent actors to respond by creating various avenues for alternative education. According to the stipulations of the Kanhwa Treaty with Japan (1876), ports were opened in Wŏnsan, Pusan, and Inch'ŏn, and in these port cities schools offering an expanded and reformed curriculum were established by private Korean initiative.<sup>604</sup> From the early 1880s the Chosŏn government emphasized the acquisition of Western knowledge by reforming the government bureaucracy, sending fact-finding missions to China and Japan, and establishing its own official schools which taught an expanded curriculum including non-Confucian material. Meanwhile, newly-signed treaties with Western nations allowed for the first time Christian missionaries on Korean soil,<sup>605</sup> who established schools that aimed to both educate and proselytize a wider swath of the population, including lower class Koreans and women, a section of the population that had largely been excluded from public schooling. Following the Protectorate Treaty (1905), the reins of government education were taken over by Japan, which offered its own vision for Korean education with the publishing of official textbooks in 1906. Throughout this period, moreover, the bedrock of pre-modern elementary education, the *sŏdang*, proceeded apace, offering an air of continuity and tradition amid the influx of new knowledge and ideas.

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<sup>604</sup> These included the Wŏnsan Academy (Wŏnsan haksa 1883), considered the first “modern” school, the Kaesŏng School (Kaesŏng hakkyo 1895) in Pusan, and the Suje School (Suje hakkyo 1900) in Inch'ŏn. For an overview of these schools, see Yuh, “The Struggle for Power.”

<sup>605</sup> This was the first time that Western missionaries were *legally* allowed to enter Korea and proselytize. French Catholic missionaries had been conducting clandestine missionary work in Korean intermittently since the 1830s.

The proliferation and diversification of educational avenues during the decades preceding annexation was accompanied by a diversification of curriculum, which reflected the changing needs and challenges of the Korean government as it engaged with the global system, as well as the motivations and ideologies of individual educators, school founders, and government ministers. The most fundamental and yet nebulous aspect of the new curriculum was the Korean language, known variably as *ŏnmun*, *kugŏ*, or *Chosŏnŏ*,<sup>606</sup> the variation owing to its ongoing solidification as a distinct academic subject and to shifting language ideologies related to language and the nation. The establishment of schools with expanded curriculum and open to a broader percentage of the population immediately brought the need for vernacular literacy into relief, necessitating some form of “Korean” class. Various textbooks offered their own vision of what vernacular Korean for new knowledge conveyance would look like, each providing clues as to the target audience of the textbook, the specific linguistic milieu out of which it emerged, and the intended direction of the vernacular, informed by disparate language ideologies. Through an analysis of government-issued educational ordinances, textbook prefaces, and statements by textbook compilers, this chapter seeks to reconstruct the language and educational ideologies that motivated language textbook production in Enlightenment-era Korea. Furthermore, through an in-depth analysis of select textbooks that symbolically and pedagogically represented each emergent stream of “modern” education—(missionary schools, government schools, Japanese schools, private schools, and girls’ schools—this research will uncover the process of

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<sup>606</sup> The Elementary School Regulations (Sohakkyoryŏng 1895), the Chosŏn government’s first official pronouncement on the content of modern education, stipulated that the elementary curriculum would consist of “reading” (*toksŏ*), “composition” (*changmun*), and “character study” (*sŭpcha*), indicating that “Korean language” as a fully formed academic subject had not yet emerged. By the time of the proclamation of the Common School Regulations (Pot’ong hakkyo ryŏng) by the Japanese Residency General in 1906, the language curriculum had been separated into “*Kugŏ*,” “*Hanmun*,” and “*Irŏ*.” It was within this eleven-year span that vernacular Korean as a separate academic subject emerged from an official pedagogical perspective.



vernacularization through curricularization, that is, the transition of written Korean from medium of *hanmun* mediation to tool of new knowledge conveyance as displayed in subject textbooks utilized in modern schools. Through this analysis I also intend to illuminate the position of interlinear glossing in the vernacularization process; specifically, its usage as a tool to facilitate textual access and increase literacy among select readerships. Throughout this analysis I pay close attention to the shifting parameters of sinograph employment—*hanmun* clause-, phrase-, and word-level utilization—as well as synchronically disparate employment by various writers in contemporaneous textbooks.

In this chapter I analyze six textbooks, all of them utilized between 1890 and 1910, and all but one of them published during the same period. The first “textbook” is the *Tongmong sŏnsŭp* (童蒙先習 *First Learning for Children*), written by the Chosŏn government minister Pak Semu in 1543. After the *Ch’ŏnjamun* (千字文 *Thousand Character Classic*), *Tongmong sŏnsŭp* was the most basic building block of elementary Confucian education, and its continued use at *sŏdang* throughout the Enlightenment period and even into the colonial period will help to shed light on a traditional form of education that ran parallel to the emergent modern curricula. The *kugyŏl* format of the text will also serve as an informative point of comparison between premodern LS and vernacularized pedagogies. The second textbook I analyze is the *Kungmin sohak tokpon* (國民小學讀本 *The Citizen’s Elementary Reader*, 1895, hereafter *KST*), the first official textbook produced by the Chosŏn government, and initially used in four government-established elementary schools in the capital.<sup>607</sup> The third textbook I analyze is *Samin p’ilchi*

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<sup>607</sup> The textbook would eventually be used throughout the Chosŏn government’s expanding system of modern schools. In 1895 the Chosŏn government announced the pre-openings of the four schools in the *Kwanbo*: Changdong Elementary (August 8<sup>th</sup>), Chŏngdong Elementary (August 9<sup>th</sup>), Kyedong Elementary (August 12<sup>th</sup>), and Chudong Elementary (August 13<sup>th</sup>). According to Leighanne Yuh, two more schools were subsequently established in the capital and

(*Necessary Knowledge for Scholars and Commoners*, 1890),<sup>608</sup> a geography textbook penned by the American missionary, Homer Hulbert, and representing the first *han'gŭl*-only textbook in Korean history. The fourth textbook in my analysis is the *Pot'ong hakkyo haktoyong kugŏ tokpon* (普通學校 學徒用 國語讀本 *The Common School National Language Reader*, 1906, hereafter *PHKT*), produced by a Japanese publishing house for use in government schools following the signing of the Protectorate Treaty and the Japanese takeover of the Korean education system. I then turn my attention to two privately-produced textbooks, the *Nodong yahak tokpon* (勞動夜學讀本 *A Reader for Night School Laborers*, 1908, hereafter *NYT*), written by Yu Kilchun, and *Yŏja tokpon* (*The Women's Reader*, 1908), written by Chang Chiyŏn. These final two textbooks provide insight into the education of two groups of students who were largely excluded from official government education—non-elite adult learners and girls—and embody a strongly patriotic tone that suggests a response to the growing encroachment of the Japanese government on independent education. They are also informative for their novel

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37 in the provinces, and by 1905 there were ten Seoul-based and 50 provincial-based government schools in operation, all utilizing the *KST*. This textbook was also used at the Hansŏng Normal School (Hansŏng sabŏm hakkyo), established on September 18<sup>th</sup>, 1894 to train teachers for government schools. Between 1895 and 1905 the government published nine other textbooks, but few of them featured the wide-ranging content of the *KST*, and so we can surmise that the textbook continued to be widely read until its discontinuance with the Japanese takeover of education in 1906. See Yuh, “The Struggle for Power,” 152; 154; 181; “Moral Education, Modernization Imperatives, and the *People's Elementary Reader* (1895): Accommodation in the Early History of Modern Education in Korea,” *Acta Koreana* 18, no. 2 (2015): 327-355; 331.

<sup>608</sup> Although the exact date is unclear, the textbook seems to have been published sometime in late 1890 or early 1891. Min Hyŏnsik mentions three theories on the publishing date—1889, 1891 and 1893—but based on Kwŏn Chŏnghwa's analysis of Hulbert's personal correspondence with members of his family in which he reported in detail on his progress, it seems certain that *Samin p'ilchi* was published some time in a three-month period between November, 1890 and February, 1891, the printing process taking longer because the book was published in the traditional style of binding the author's handwritten manuscript. Min Hyŏnsik, “Kaehwagi han'gŭl pon *Samin p'ilchi* e taehayŏ,” *Kugŏ kyoyuk* 100 (1999): 357-91; 358; Kwŏn Chŏnghwa, “Hulbŏt'ŭ ŭi *Samin p'ilchi* wa Miguk kŭndae chiri kyoyuk ŭi kulchŏltoen t'uyŏngsŏng,” *Sahoe kwahak yŏn'guso* 15 (2013) 1-15; 9.

employment of interlinear *hancha* and *han'gŭl* glossing techniques. Overall these textbooks provide a balanced sampling of the various education streams in Enlightenment-era Korea, giving a glimpse into the language pedagogies and curricularized form of literacy expected of each student body: *sŏdang* students (*Tongmong sŏnsŭp*), sons of literati (*KST*), students at missionary schools (*Samin p'ilchi*), adult laborers (*NYT*), girls (*Yŏja tokpon*), and Japanese public schools (*PHKT*). They also demonstrate the diversification of both education and writing practices in pre-colonial Korea.

The educational changes enacted through the Kabo Reforms (1894-1896) expanded the official curriculum to incorporate many subjects that had previously been considered beyond the purview of a proper Confucian education, including Western science, mathematics, physical education (*ch'ejo*), and geography.<sup>609</sup> From a contemporary pedagogical perspective where school subjects are clearly delineated and compartmentalized, “Korean” class may seem like a single and perhaps insignificant aspect of the curriculum, given its recent emergence at this time and continued position of inferiority vis-à-vis LS throughout Korean learned society. However, there are several reasons why vernacular education in modern schools is the key component to understanding the transformations in the overall educational episteme, and why vernacular textbooks are the focus of my analysis. First, the nebulous nature of “Korean” in the 1890s

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<sup>609</sup> According to the Primary School Regulations (Sohakkyoryŏng, July 19, 1895), “The regular curriculum of primary schools is to consist of *susin* (修身, moral training or cultivating the body), reading, composition, character study (*sŭpcha*), arithmetic and physical education. Depending on the circumstances, physical education may be removed in favor of one or several of the following subjects: national geography, history, books (*tosŏ*), or foreign language. In the case of girls’ education, sewing may be substituted.” Leighanne Yu reminds us that even before this 1895 reform, a limited number of Korean students had been exposed to Western-style education and even American textbooks through the Korean government-established Yugyŏng kongwŏn (The Royal English Academy), which offered courses in English, mathematics, geography, the sciences, history, political science, international law, and economics. See Yuh, “Moral Education,” 338.

ensured that education in the vernacular—that is, accessing new knowledge through a medium other than pure *hanmun* or *kugyŏl*-mediated LS texts—was a form of knowledge that was diffused throughout the curriculum. The 1895 *Sohakkyo kyuch'ik taegang* (Outline of Primary School Regulations) does not establish any one subject entitled “Han’gugŏ” or “Kugŏ,” but rather sets out a constellation of language-related skills such as *toksŏ* (reading) *changmun* (composition), and vernacular grammar and usage (*kungmun munpŏp kwa sayongpŏp*)<sup>610</sup> which, in the framework of an overall commitment to curriculum in the vernacular, engendered a diffusion of Korean language education in courses that were not explicitly labeled as courses related to language. Thus, the earliest textbooks that constituted major elements in the curriculum and are analyzed here were not explicitly “Korean” textbooks, but nonetheless functioned as such due to their position as media of new knowledge dissemination through reading. For example, the first *han’gŭl*-only textbook, *Samin p’ilchi*, was not a “language” textbook in the true sense of the word, but in fact a geography textbook, yet the broad and diverse nature of the information contained in the book, along with the scarcity of textbooks in general, ensured that the book would have functioned as an important form of vernacular Korean education. The first Chosŏn government textbook, the *KST*, had a similar goal, aiming to establish a broad foundation of general knowledge much more comprehensive than its categorization as a “Korean” textbook would suggest. Therefore, while many textbooks analyzed in this chapter do not quite meet the standard of a specialized language textbook in the contemporary sense, they should be understood as crucial media for vernacular education, the

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<sup>610</sup> “Sohakkyo kyuch’ik taegang,” *Kwanbo*, August 15<sup>th</sup>, 1895, *Hakpuryŏng* che 3 ho, Articles 3-4.

proliferation of language-related skills such as reading and grammatical knowledge, and the diffusion of new knowledge.<sup>611</sup>

#### 4.1 The Meaning of the Textbook in Early Modern Korea

An analysis of school textbooks over time is fundamentally a study of the social history of language, particularly its written forms. In that sense, this analysis theorizes the language of textbooks as more than “an organism which ‘grows’ or ‘evolves’ through various stages and which expresses the values or ‘spirit’ of the nation that speaks [or writes] it,” although this was an integral aspect of the language for late nineteenth century actors.<sup>612</sup> On the other hand, this present study is primarily concerned with approaching the language of Enlightenment-era textbooks from a sociolinguistic perspective, by investigating the different “varieties” of language usage by disparate social, religious, and political groups, based on diverse motivations. Peter Burke and Roy Porter, in their landmark volume on the social history of language, provide a useful overview of the socio-linguistic contribution to the study of ‘variety’ in language—“the relationship between languages and the societies in which they are spoken (or written):”

1. Different social groups use different varieties of language.
2. The same people employ different varieties of language in different situations.

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<sup>611</sup> The only textbook analyzed in this chapter that was actually termed a language textbook was the *PHKT*, which nevertheless shares many characteristics with other “*tokpon*” (readers) of the time, including the general-knowledge nature of its content. The rather late application of the terminology “*kugō*” to refer to a type of education that had existed in diffuse form for a number of years reflects the eventual convergence of various language-related skills and topics into a constellation that emerged as a discrete modern school subject. I would argue that the specific term applied—*kugō*—is the result of Japanese influence in publishing, something that is even more pronounced in the specific language pedagogy utilized in the textbook. This issue will be taken up in detail in the section on the *PHKT*.

<sup>612</sup> Peter Burke and Roy Porter, *The Social History of Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 2.

3. Language reflects the society (or culture) in which it is spoken.
4. Language shapes the society in which it is spoken.<sup>613</sup>

All four of these axioms have been reiterated at different points in this study thus far, and a brief consideration here will illuminate the significance of textbook analysis moving forward. I have demonstrated the compartmentalized nature of the premodern linguistic landscape in Korea, where LS was considered the only true medium of aristocratic education, and the vernacular script was relegated to serving as a tool for accessing this truth, or conveying a mode of vulgar literature. Relating to point two, however, there was overlap in LS and vernacular ability—though more so in a top-down sense than bottom-up—whereby literati thoroughly educated and ensconced in the cosmopolitan textual world would employ various shades of more vernacularized writing depending on the forum or reader. The ways in which language (LS or vernacular) reflected the Korean society that utilized it are too numerous to detail here, as is the manner in which spoken (or written) language shapes Korean society.

On the issue of textbook production and utilization in pre-colonial Korea, we may apply the above four points more systematically. Because we are examining textbook compilation by an educated elite, there was probably little variation in the social status of the various compilers. Rather, the difference between these “social groups”—Korean intellectuals, Western missionaries, and Japanese officials—originated in disparate political and ethnic orientations, rather than socio-economic disparities. However, the differences in these social groups undoubtedly influenced the language of the textbooks, and indeed help to explain some of the variation observed in this study. The contention that the same people employ different varieties of language in different situations may be clearly observed in the language of textbooks. As noted above, the textbook authors shared similar educational backgrounds (except perhaps

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<sup>613</sup> Burke and Porter, *The Social History of Language*, 3-4.

Hulbert), and as such would have obtained fluency in the language of the Sinographic Cosmopolis, LS. And yet, the language of these textbooks is closely calibrated to “speak down to” the intended readership, to filter the amount of cosmopolitan that is allowed to pass through the vernacular. This simplified language is most notable in Yu Kilchun’s *NYT* and Chang Chiyŏn’s *Yŏja tokpon*, two textbooks written by authors fully versed in LS yet written in an extremely simplified idiom aimed at semi-literate adult laborers and ostensibly less literate young girls. Furthermore, the language utilized in these textbooks clearly reflects the society which produced it, an axiom that is most manifest in the differences displayed between a traditional work such as *Tongmong sŏnsŭp*, featuring a premodern glossed reading technique and orthodox Confucian learning, and all other textbooks, but most drastically Hulbert’s *Samin p’ilchi*, utilizing pure *han’gŭl* orthography and conveying a stridently Western worldview.

Perhaps the most significant contribution of sociolinguistics to the study of language and society, however, has been to demonstrate that language actively shapes the society in which it is utilized, rather than merely reflecting that society, and this I argue is the most significant function of the school textbook in early modern and colonial-era Korea. School textbooks did reflect the political and religious dispositions, educational background, and language ideologies of their respective authors, but as influential models of vernacular reading and writing in a largely illiterate country just beginning to institute mass primary education, these documents possessed enormous potential to direct the course and shape of literacy. According to Mun Hyeyun, writing on the *PHKT*, “the form of *écriture* (*kŭlssŭgi*) employed in textbooks has implications that transcend the concept of *munch’e* (style), or the individuality displayed through the writer’s personal method of utilizing language.” Rather, “as a far-reaching concept, [textbook *écriture*] had the potential to influence personal writing, and through the accumulation of

individual writing, signified the formation of a common written idiom for a particular time and social space.”<sup>614</sup> This was especially true following Japan’s gradual monopolization of education beginning with its takeover of the Chosŏn education system in 1905<sup>615</sup> and the continual string of Japanese-produced textbooks for use in Korean common schools that combined to define the mainstream of legitimized literacy. While the various textbooks analyzed in this chapter represented competing models of modern vernacular literacy, and offered the potential for alternative modes of reading and writing, the political, and more importantly legitimizing, potential of accredited public schooling ushered in by Japanese authority harnessed the growing consensus surrounding *kukhanmun* for academic prose and manipulated it as a powerful pedagogical tool for expedient, transitional literacy, an argument I take up in the following chapter.

Pak Ch’ibŏm, also writing on the *PHKT*, argues for an even broader interpretation of the textbook’s significance, presenting a schema of three overlapping textbook functions. Pak writes: “The primary characteristic of the textbook is that of classroom material (*suŏp charyo*), where the textbook becomes the standard of instructor pedagogy, aids students in learning, and mediates communication between the instructor and students. At the same time, the textbook reflects certain community beliefs or principles of education, such as educational processes, policy, and theory, while furthermore embodying a given social, political, and cultural

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<sup>614</sup> Mun Hyeyun, “Singminji Kugŏ kyokwasŏ ūi kŭlssŭgi: *Pot’ong hakkyo haktoyong Chosonŏ tokpon* (1911) ūl chungsim ūro,” *Hanminjogŏ munhak* 71 (2015): 155-78; 159.

<sup>615</sup> Although Japanese authority over the Korean education system began in 1905, the first Japanese-issued textbook was not published until the following year.



background.”<sup>616</sup> Thus, the textbook provides an important window through which to view projected ideals for education, reflecting both the motivations of individual authors and representing a microcosm of a particular pedagogical and political milieu. For example, the decision by Homer Hulbert to write his textbook in pure *kungmun* suggests a community belief—perceived or actual—that *kungmun* would serve as the most effective form of democratic education, while reflecting the author’s own educational background and those of his prospective students. Yu Kilchun’s particular choice of orthography in *NYT* likewise reflected the author’s sense of his readership’s ability, the actual political background that necessitated accessible “industrial education,” and the socio-linguistic landscape at the time that featured integral though increasingly reduced *hancha* utilization. In the colonial or semi-colonial context, moreover, textbooks offer clues—at times explicit pronouncements—as to the perceived status of the ruling power vis-à-vis the colonized population, and indicate the future direction that this power dynamic may take.

In Chapters 4 and 5, informed by the above theorizations of the role of textbooks and the relationship between language and society, I view the pre-colonial textbook as a textual pronouncement of vernacular literacy, as well as an index of the ongoing vernacular-cosmopolitan differentiation process. I argue that the textbook was a reflection of the compiler’s (corporate or individual) personality, language ideology, educational background, and teaching philosophy.<sup>617</sup> Moreover, positioning the author within a greater political, cultural and social

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<sup>616</sup> Pak Ch’iböm, “Hakpu palgan *Pot’ong hakkyoyong Kugŏ tokpon* (1907) yŏn’gu: ‘Kyokwasŏ wisang’ e ttarŭn t’ŭkching ŭl chungsim ŭro,” *Kukche ōmun* 58 (2013): 43-72; 49.

<sup>617</sup> Because the context of *Tongmong sŏnsŭp*’s compilation was so removed from the socio-cultural atmosphere of the late nineteenth century, its author Pak Semu (1487-1564) and his particular language ideologies will not be considered here. Although the identity and language

milieu, I will demonstrate that the textbook functioned as a manifestation of this complex background, in particular as an index of the extent of vernacularization. Finally, the textbook will be understood as an active agent in shaping the linguistic and literacy landscape of Korea, a process that gained influence and scope with the increasing political monopolization of the educational system by Japanese authority.

#### 4.2 *Sōdang* Education and Epistemic Overlap: *Tongmong sōnsūp*

Despite the diversification of education in the late nineteenth century, the Confucian village school or *sōdang* remained the primary avenue of elementary education well into the colonial period. The *sōdang* was a form of private education<sup>618</sup> that sought to impart the fundamentals of Confucian thought, including the five relationships and the cardinal virtues. The purpose of this education was to prepare the student for eventual reading of the Confucian canon, which was

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ideologies of the Residency-General-produced *PHKT* will not be examined, language policy pronouncements by the colonial government will serve as criteria for assessing motive.

<sup>618</sup> As Watanabe Manabu points out, however, although *sōdang* were established by private initiative, usually through the efforts of a prominent scholar from a particular village and/or the pooled resources of a given community to respond to a perceived need, *sōdang* were increasingly regulated, though not created, by Chosŏn government administration. For example, the “Regulations for Provincial Education” (*hyanghak chi kyu* 鄉學之規, 1659) stipulated that *sōdang* instructors chosen by public opinion were to report to the government, and that the central government could approve or reject the *hunjang* (instructor) nominations by local populations. Sŏngmun Yun Pong’o’s (尹鳳五, 1688-1769) early eighteenth-century “Chŏlmok” (節目 Summary of *Sōdang* Instructors and Curriculum) further regulated *sōdang* by requiring formal reviews and enrollment reporting to the government, and overseeing academic schedules and the enactment of punishments. Watanabe states that the *sōdang* existed within this mutual relationship of rivalry and dependence between public and private (*kwan/min* 官/民). This close, organic relationship of confrontation was evident in each facet of Chosŏn society, and the synthesis of this paradox formed the developmental dialectic (發展辨證法) and structural dialectic of ethno-national society. See Watanabe Manabu, “Kankoku no kyōkō shodō kyōiku to Nihon: Shodō no hattatsu to Nihon no taiō,” *Jinbun kakkai zasshi* 15, no. 3 (1984): 7-43; 24; 29-30; 26.

introduced in the later stages of the *sōdang* curriculum. However, in order to reach this stage of textual interface, the student not only required philosophical priming but also an array of linguistic tools that would bridge the gap between the first (spoken) language, illiteracy/semi-literacy in “*ōnmun*,” and *hanmun*. In other words, the *sōdang* was the primary institution for providing training in vernacular techniques for accessing LS texts. Importantly, the ultimate goal of the *sōdang* was not vernacular literacy per se, but the establishment of a cosmopolitan-vernacular pronunciatonal matrix (e.g., the “*hanŭl CH’ŎN* 하늘 天” chanting matrix of a text like the *Thousand Character Classic*) that would facilitate more complex subsequent vernacular explications of LS texts, as well as to provide an oral explication of difficult or abstruse Confucian concepts.<sup>619</sup> Because of their wide distribution compared to any other schools in the pre-annexation period, an understanding of *sōdang* education will help to provide a backdrop to educational diversification during this period, and serve as a baseline comparison for modern schools. Moreover, the continued popularity of *sōdang* well into the colonial period, followed by a gradual decline coupled with a surge in common school enrollment, suggests that a large population of *sōdang* students shifted to public education, meaning that the type of literacy

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<sup>619</sup> According to Song Kich’ae (宋基采), Professor of Classical Chinese at the Sōnggyun’gwan University Graduate School of Classics Translation who received a *sōdang* education during the late 1950s and early 1960s, when teaching a *kugyōl*-glossed text such as *Tongmong sōnsŭp*, the instructor would first read the text and have the students repeat, and each student would have to memorize the text before being allowed to proceed to the next work. Although minimal oral explications of the meaning were provided, the learning process was not based on contemporary linguistic analysis and explanation, but rather primarily dependent upon gradual uptake through constant vocal repetition/recitation and memorization. As for *ōnhae* editions of this and other canonical works, Song claims that *ōnhae* were not officially used as part of *sōdang* curriculum, but were rather utilized by a broad swath of people involved in Classics study when attempting to understand the meaning of a particularly difficult or abstruse passage. Although it is impossible to know in detail the conduct of *sōdang* education in the late nineteenth century, Song claims that the method by which he learned had been passed down to his instructor. Song Kich’ae, personal conversation, Sōnggyun’gwan University, December 1, 2016.

formed at these institutions fundamentally shaped the learning experiences of incoming “transfer students” at Japanese public schools.<sup>620</sup>

Considering the wide distribution of *sōdang* and their crucial role in Confucianizing—both ideologically and linguistically—a significant portion of society, relatively little research has been conducted on them. This is partially due to the relative dearth of historical records dealing with the *sōdang*. Two of the earliest works on *sōdang* education are Yi Man’gyu’s (1947) *Chosŏn kyoyuksa* and Watanabe (1984). Watanabe provides a thorough accounting of the Japanese government view of *sōdang*, its policy towards the schools, as well as detailed statistics on student enrollment and distribution throughout the colonial period. For example, Watanabe claims that in 1918, according to Japanese government accounting, roughly 20% of school-aged children attended a *sōdang*, and that they numbered about .86 *sōdang* per village (*tongni*). Based on an analysis of statements by GGK authorities and the Shodō kisoku happu (Pronouncement of *Sōdang* Regulations 書堂規則發布 1918), Watanabe concludes the following about the Japanese perception of *sōdang* education. First, *sōdang* were ubiquitous throughout the country. Second, rote recitation (*sodok* 素讀) of *hanmun* did not provide helpful daily knowledge and was therefore impractical. Third, the day and night recitation and memorization was not an effective method of education. Fourth, the meagerness of the GGK’s own education policies forestalled the abolition of the *sōdang*. Fifth, the harm that would come from mixing politics and education by abolishing these unlicensed *sōdang* that had sprouted up since annexation would be comparatively greater than that posed by the private schools. Finally, Japan concluded that

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<sup>620</sup> There seems to have been heavy overlap between *sōdang* and *pot’ong hakkyo* enrollment. Pak Chongsŏn cites a statistic that claims that during the 1910s 65-70% of those entering primary schools had some experience in *sōdang*. See Pak Chongsŏn, “Ilche kangjŏmgi (1920-1930) Chosonin ūi sōdang kaeryŏng undong,” *Yŏksa kyoyuk* 71 (1999): 35-84; 39.

*sōdang* were in the end *sōdang* and not schools (K: *hakkyo*; J: *gakkō*), nor could they ever become schools.<sup>621</sup> Applying these observations to the state of *sōdang* education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, we may conclude that *sōdang* were by far the most widely distributed centers of learning, that they offered a traditional Confucian education based on a prescribed pedagogy, and that they formed a rather organic relationship with their local communities.

The most detailed recent treatment of *sōdang* of which I am aware is Chōng Sunu's *Sōdang ūi sahoesa* (A Social History of the *Sōdang*) which, in addition to a thorough history of the *sōdang*, provides a helpful overview of attested *sōdang* curriculum according to a three-stage pedagogical process. Because this categorization informs my own analysis of the *Tongmong sōnsūp*, I reproduce it here:

- 1) Character study stage (*ŭm i pulsōk* 音而不釋 Sound/pronunciation only and no explication)
- 2) Meaning explication stage (*hunsōk* 訓釋)
- 3) Study of the Classics (*kyōnghak* 經學) stage<sup>622</sup>

The following quotation from Yi Sangsu (李象秀, 1820-1882) illuminates these important shifts in *sōdang* pedagogy:

A widely-used method in the provincial institutions (鄉塾, *hyangsuk*) is to first have children learn Chu Hūngsa's (Ch. Zhou Xingsi 周興嗣) *Ch'ōnjamun* (*Thousand Character Classic*) followed by Pak Semu's (朴世茂) *Tongmong sōnsūp*. At this stage only the Sino-Korean sounds (*ŭm*) are used, and an explication is not provided.

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<sup>621</sup> Watanabe, "Kankoku no kyōkō shotō kyōiku to Nihon," 9.

<sup>622</sup> Chōng, *Sōdang ūi sahoesa*, 314-15. Chōng includes a second part to stage 2 entitled "Elementary (*sohak*) study stage (elementary *susin* material), but as it is subsumed under the meaning explication stage and the author does not separately analyze it, the stage is unclear. At any rate, it does not pertain to the crucial shift in pedagogy from straight oral recitation to vernacular explication. Chōng also provides tables listing the different texts used throughout the Chosŏn Dynasty during the character study stage and the meaning explication stage, respectively.

Continuing on, the *Saryak* (Ch. *Shiliue* 史略) by Chŭng Sŏnji (Zeng Xianzhi 曾先之) and the *T'onggam chŏryo* (Ch. *Tongjian jieyao* 通鑑節要) by Kang chi (Ch. Jiang Zhi 江贄) are introduced, and from this point explications are given. As the student gets older, his intellect gradually progresses.<sup>623</sup>

This progression seems to have been typical of most *sŏdang* education until at least the late nineteenth century.<sup>624</sup> Invariably the student would begin with the *Thousand Character Classic* and then usually progress to *Tongmong sŏnsŭp*, followed typically by the *Saryak* and *T'onggam chŏryo* before advancing to the *Four Books*, usually in the order of *Maengja*, *Nonŏ*, *Taehak* and *Chungyong*.<sup>625</sup> For the purposes of this study, however, the content of the education is not as germane as the method by which LS texts were accessed, and observing the above description, there is a significant transition that occurs between the first and second stages, namely, the provision of vernacular explanations of the Sino-Korean vocalizations. *Tongmong sŏnsŭp* was presented at a point in the curriculum following initial orientation to the vernacular-cosmopolitan interface and directly preceding more detailed and nuanced vernacular explications of presumably more difficult texts. In other words, at the conclusion of *Tongmong sŏnsŭp* study the student would have been imbued with some sense of Sino-Korean sound values and how they related to the cosmopolitan LS, as well as provided with a general foundation in the vocabulary of Confucianism and high frequency four-character set phrases (*saja songŏ*) through rote

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<sup>623</sup> Quoted in Chŏng, *Sŏdang ũi sahoesa*, 315.

<sup>624</sup> Chŏng, *Sŏdang ũi sahoesa*, 318-21.

<sup>625</sup> Ibid., 316. Chang Hŭigu gives the following similar order of curriculum, but does not specify from which point there was a shift from rote recitation to character explication: *Ch'ŏnjamun*, *Yuhap* (Ch. *Leihe* 類合), *Hunmong chahoe* (訓蒙字會), *Kyemong py'ŏn* (啓蒙篇), *Tongmong sŏnsŭp* (童蒙先習), *Kyemong suji* (啓蒙須知), and *Kyŏngmong yogyŏl* (擊蒙要訣). The *Elementary Learning* (*Sohak*; Ch. *Xiaoxue* 小學) and the *Book of Filial Piety* (*Hyo kyŏng*; Ch. *Xiaojing* 孝經) were read in preparation for the core of the Confucian canon. See Chang Hŭigu, "Chosŏn sidae ch'odŭng kwajŏng kyojae naeyong punsŏk koch'al: *Tongmong sŏnsŭp* ũl chungsim ũro," *Hancha hanmun kyoyuk* 1 (1994): 197-227: 197-98.

memorization and recitation, but probably still lacked a fundamental understanding of the ideas imbedded in the text, or the ability to expound on them orally due to the delayed vernacular oral or written mediation of the text. It is important to keep in mind the position of the *Tongmong sŏnsŭp* in the curriculum in the following textual analysis in order to grasp the particular form of literacy being interfaced as well the reader's personal interaction with the text.

*Tongmong sŏnsŭp* is generally attributed to the Chosŏn government minister Pak Semu (1487-1564) sometime during the reign of Chungjong (1488-1544; r. 1506-1544). The scope of its readership among the literati class was exceptionally wide. According to Yu Puhyŏn, "From the time when it was written, there was almost no one with a rudimentary knowledge of *hancha* who did not read it, and from the time of King Hyŏnjong (顯宗 1641-1675; r. 1659-1675), the standard progression of curriculum for the Crown Prince became *Hyo kyŏng*, *Tongmong sŏnsŭp*, and *Sohak*."<sup>626</sup> The book continued to be used, primarily in the *sŏdang* curriculum, until a February, 1918 GJK-issued directive banned its use.<sup>627</sup> *Tongmong sŏnsŭp* begins with a brief explanation of the five relationships of Confucianism, that between father and son, ruler and subject, wife and husband, elder and junior, and between friends. It then gives a history of China from the mythological Three Sovereigns (*samhwang* 三皇) and Five Emperors (*oje* 五帝) down to the Ming, and a history of Korea from the time of Tan'gun to the present Chosŏn Dynasty. According to An Sojin's comparative study, there are two extant *ŏnhae* exegeses of *Tongmong sŏnsŭp*, the first of which was produced in 1819 and reads more like a direct translation, and the second of which has an unclear publication date and is rendered in a looser style of translation, or

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<sup>626</sup> Yu Puhyŏn, "*Tongmong sŏnsŭp* ibon ūi muncha idong yŏn'gu," *Sŏjihak yŏn'gu* 15 (1998): 77-102; 79.

<sup>627</sup> Chang, "Chosŏn sidae ch'odŭng kwajŏng kyojae naeyong punsŏk koch'al," 200.

“meaning translation (*ũiyŏk*).<sup>628</sup> Despite the circulation of these much more accessible *ŏnhae* versions, according to the above characterizations of *sŏdang* pedagogy as presenting such a text according to the original form in a style of vocal recitation and memorization, we can conjecture that the *ŏnhae* exegeses were utilized more as a kind of “cliff notes” to confirm the meanings of specific portions of the text that may not have been fully grasped through classroom instruction.

As mentioned above, although this textbook does not fit the contemporary definition of a [Korean] language textbook, in lieu of textbooks which specifically aimed to teach the vernacular as an end in itself, such books as *Tongmong sŏnsŭp* functioned as a sort of vernacular primer, or rather, a primer for accessing the cosmopolitan through vernacular vocalization. Moreover, although it is difficult to confirm the exact circulation or distribution of *Tongmong sŏnsŭp ŏnhae* versions, given the placement of such a textbook early in the elementary curriculum, it is safe to assume that many students would have at least occasionally consulted an *ŏnhae* version for help. Through such consultation, students may have formed connections between vague vocal recitation and knowledge of Sino-Korean pronunciation and meta-linguistic explanations provided by annotations. At any rate, it is important to realize that the student whose first language was Korean experienced such a textbook neither as a pure LS nor as “vernacular,” but rather as a hybrid form of textuality that combined foreign language grammar, vernacular vocalization, and memorization as a specific pedagogical formula. As such, it should

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<sup>628</sup> The following are other differences between the two versions uncovered by An: 1) The first version exposes the reader to a lot of *hancha*, whereas the second version utilizes none at all, 2) the first version uses no interlinear notes (*hyŏpchu*), while the second version includes them after difficult *hancha*, and 3) there are times when the latter version adds language that was not in the original, and uses sentence structure that explains the text in more detail. An Sojin, “*Tongmong sŏnsŭp ŏnhae* ūi sŏji wa ŏnŏ: 7 haeng 15 chabon kwa ūi ŏnhae yangsik pigyo,” *Kwanak ŏmun yŏn’gu* 30 (2005): 67-85.



not be understood according to modern concepts of language learning, but rather as a distinct and highly developed method of scholarship with a long and celebrated history.

The most notable aspect of this and other *kugyŏl*-glossed texts is that the *kugyŏl* glosses serve only to facilitate access to the meaning of the text and not to draw the text into any sort of vernacular orbit in the written sense, at least not like *ŏnhae* versions attempted to do. This is of course the most minimal level of vernacular facilitation, as the reading rendered remains abstruse to the uninitiated, and must still be committed to memory in order to convey a deeper and lasting significance to the student. Importantly, LS word order and grammar overall are observed, and the text stripped of *kugyŏl* glosses could be read as pure LS, albeit of a very elementary nature. These opening lines from *Tongmong sŏnsŭp* serve to illustrate several of the salient characteristics of *sŏdang* education.

天地之間萬物之衆厓(에)惟人伊(이)最貴爲尼(하니)所貴乎人者隱(는)以其有五倫也羅(라).<sup>629</sup>  
*Romanization*        *e*            *i*            *hǎni*            *nŭn*            *'ra*  
                               LOC        NOM        be-because        TOP            COP

Among all the myriad things throughout creation, only man is the most precious, for it is he who possesses the Five Relationships (*Oryun*).

是故奴(로)孟子伊(이)曰父子有親爲旡(하며)君臣有義爲旡(하며)夫婦有別爲旡(하며)  
                   *ro*            *i*                            *hamyŏ*            *hamyŏ*            *hamyŏ*  
                   LOC        NOM                        CON                CON                CON

Thus, Mencius said: ‘Between father and son there is familiarity, between ruler and subject there is loyalty, between husband and wife there is distinction...’<sup>630</sup>

長幼有序爲旡(하며)朋友有信爲羅(이라).<sup>631</sup>

<sup>629</sup> For this and other *Tongmong sŏnsŭp* quotations I refer to Sŏng Paekhyo et al., *Hyŏnt’o wanyŏk Tongmong sŏnsŭp: Kyŏngmong yogyŏl* (Sŏul: Chŏnt’ong munhwa yŏn’guhoe, 1992), 5. This version consists of a xerographically reproduced copy of the original work, and a modern translation with grammatical explanations.

<sup>630</sup> Sŏng, *Tongmong sŏnsŭp*, 5.

<sup>631</sup> *Ibid.*

*hamyǒ*                  *ira*  
 CON                          COP

...between elder and senior there is order, and between friends there is sincerity.

In the above text, the *kugyǒl* elements have been rendered in subscript, followed by the pronunciations as they would have been read, though *han'gŭl* does not appear in the original.

Several aspects are notable in the above excerpt. First, as mentioned above, the *kugyǒl* glosses or *t'o* are merely inserted into or “hung” (*hyǒnt'o* 懸吐) from the text rather than forming an integral part of the work. In other words, the vernacular in no way plays an integral role in the *composition* of the text, but is rather included as a parsing mechanism to facilitate reading. Therefore, pure LS word order and grammar are observed despite the vernacular intermediation. Secondly, according to *kugyǒl* glossing principles, both *ǔmdok* (sound glossing) and *hundok* (meaning glossing) methods are employed, a glossary of which is provided as an appendix to the original version.<sup>632</sup> For example, the Sino-Korean *ǔmdok* pronunciation of the sinograph “爲” is *wi*, but in the above it is read as *hǎ-* in line with the LS *hundok* vernacular gloss of 爲:*hǎ-l WI* 爲 meaning ‘do; be.’” Interestingly, *hundok* and *ǔmdok* glosses may be combined within the same phrase, as in “~*hamyǒ*,” where the first sinograph is used for meaning (*hundok*) and the second for sound (*ǔmdok*). Furthermore, it is notable that in this and other similar texts, the *kugyǒl* embellishments are extremely limited in grammatical scope, and their method of employment is quite uniform and formalized. In *Tongmong sŏnsŭp*, *kugyǒl* embellishments are limited to particles (e.g., 伊 (이), locative 厓 (에)); verbal connective forms (爲於 (하며)), and sentence-final verb endings (爲飛尼羅 (하나나라)).<sup>633</sup>

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<sup>632</sup> Sŏng, *Tongmong sŏnsŭp*, 2.

<sup>633</sup> The final example appears in Sŏng, *Tongmong sŏnsŭp*, 16.

The above characteristics suggest that this form of education was intimately connected to cosmopolitan education in LS conducted according to a formalized system of textual interface dependent upon the vernacular for phonological guidance and clause extraction and parsing, but minimal metalinguistic input. An Sojin observes in the *ŏnhae* versions of the *Tongmong sŏnsŭp* that methods such as expanding *hancha* in the original text from one syllable to two-syllable compounds, a method still used today in rendering *kugyŏk* (vernacular translations) of *hanmun* texts, increased the explanatory power of the new “translation,” and this is undoubtedly the case.<sup>634</sup> However, what *Tongmong sŏnsŭp*, its *ŏnhae* versions, and indeed all *kugyŏl* and *ŏnhae* texts had in common was an obligatory grounding in a cosmopolitan original. These were not new documents conveying new information or knowledge, but rather reiterations of accepted knowledge, repackaged in more accessible garb. The *Tongmong sŏnsŭp ŏnhae* could and did go so far as to supplement the annotations with extra *hancha* not in the original in order to explicate the “truth” of the original canonical work, but the original *hancha* or at least the idea behind it was by necessity included. Meanwhile, the vernacular’s role was necessarily hampered because it was not an integral element of the *composition* process. This was the revolutionary potential brought about by Yu Kilchun’s *Sŏyu kyŏnmun* and the first official textbook, the *KST*. These works had the freedom to vernacularize as little or as much as the author saw fit, whether at the lexical, grammatical, or syntactic level. In the analysis of the *KST* in the following section I place particular focus on this revolutionary potential of composition in the vernacular for conveying academic knowledge to young students.

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<sup>634</sup> An Sojin, “*Tongmong sŏnsŭp ŏnhae*,” 76. This method will be explored in detail in the following section on the *KST*.

### 4.3 The Publication of the First Official Textbook: *Kungmin sohak tokpon* and the Emergence of Curricularized Vernacular Education

In 1894 the Tonghak Uprising precipitated the intervention of Qing forces, which provoked Japan to send its own troops to the Korean peninsula, eventually escalating into the Sino-Japanese War. Japan utilized its elevated influence in Korea during this period to influence the passage of a number of sweeping reforms of Chosŏn government and society, known collectively as the Kabo Reforms (1894-1896).<sup>635</sup> On July 19, 1895, as part of the second of three reform pushes within a roughly two-year period, the Chosŏn government passed the Primary School Regulations (Sohakkyoryŏng) outlining the official plan for modern education. The following month on August 12, 1895 the government published a number of pedagogical principles and guidelines for teachers and administrators for carrying out this new education, titled *Sohakkyo kyoch'ik taegang*, and the following month the first official textbook appeared, titled the *People's Elementary Reader (KST)*, a hastily-produced, broad-based pronouncement of a new direction in official education for the nation.

As both the first official Korean textbook and the first textbook in the vernacular,<sup>636</sup> *KST* has received considerable attention in scholarly literature.<sup>637</sup> The *KST* was also extremely

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<sup>635</sup> As Yuh points out, there is disagreement among scholars over the exact role of Japan in these reforms, whether the reforms “were merely guided by the Japanese, and thus an outcome of Korea’s indigenous modernization movement, or if the reforms were enforced by the Japanese, implying that modernization had to be externally superimposed and that the Koreans were incapable of modernizing themselves.” Yuh, “Moral Education,” 339.

<sup>636</sup> It may be argued that Homer Hulbert’s *Samin p'ilchi* predated this textbook by at least three years, although the scope of this textbook’s utilization is unclear. As a textbook produced by a foreigner, some may be inclined to place it in a different category.

<sup>637</sup> For example, see Kim Mangon, “*Kungmin sohak tokpon* ko: Kŭ ch'ulhyŏn kwajŏng kwa paegyŏng e taehayŏ,” *Kugŏ munhak* 20 (1979): 296-316; Pak Sŭngbae, “Kabo kaehyŏkki kyokwasŏ e nat'an'an kyoyuk kwajŏnghakchŏk inyŏm yŏn'gu: 'sohak' kyokwasŏ rŭl chungsim

significant for introducing Western scientific knowledge to elite levels of Korean society in an institutionalized manner, and much research has thus focused on the role of the textbook in advancing “new knowledge.” The content of the *KST* is also striking in its indigenous, ‘de-Sinified’ orientation, referring for example to China simply as “*China*” (支那) just months after the country’s defeat to Japan and the termination of Korea’s tributary relationship.<sup>638</sup> Thus, much scholarly literature has also focused on the role of the textbook in fomenting modern Korean nationalism.<sup>639</sup> However, as Leighanne Yuh has pointed out in her English-language study of the *KST*, the tendency of this research to focus on the scientific and nationalistic aspects of the content elides the strong element of Confucian learning that pervades the text, and that the work represents an embodiment of the slogan “Eastern Way, Western Technology” (*Tongdo sŏgi*) based on American, Japanese, and indigenous influences. According to Yuh, “the preservation of Confucian moral cultivation along with the introduction of Western-style learning not only

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ŭro,” *Kyoyuk kwajŏng yŏn’gu* 29, no. 3 (2011): 1-22; Yun Ch’ibu, “*Kungmin sohak tokpon ũi kugŏ kyokwasŏjŏk kusŏng yangsang kwa kŭ ũimi*,” *Sae kugŏ saenghwal* 64 (2002): 171-94.

<sup>638</sup> The term was the Korean pronunciation of the Japanese rendering of China, “*Shina*,” used throughout most of Japan’s modern period. Following World War II the excepted term reverted back to *Chūgoku* (Middle Kingdom), which was a common term for China before the Meiji Restoration (1868). Stefan Tanaka has written extensively on the derogatory nature of the term as it was used in Japan and China: “Throughout much of Japan’s modern period various groups used *shina* to emphasize difference: nativist (*kokukagu*) scholars, for example, used *shina* to separate Japan from the barbarian/civilized or outer/inner implication of the term *chūgoku*; early-twentieth-century Chinese revolutionaries used it to distinguish themselves from the Manchus of the Ch’ing dynasty (1644-1912; and in early-twentieth-century Japan, *shina* emerged as a word that signified China as a troubled place mired in the past, in contrast to Japan, a modern Asian nation. See Stefan Tanaka, *Japan’s Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 3-4.

<sup>639</sup> Pak Chongsŏk and Kim Sujŏng, “1895 nyŏn e palgandoen *Kungmin sohak tokpon ũi kwahak kyoyuksajŏk ũiŭi*,” *Han’guk kwahak kyoyuk hakhoeji* 33, no. 2 (2013): 478-85; Hŏ Hyŏng, “Han’guk kaehwagich’o ũi kyokwasŏ *Kungmin sohak tokpon e nat’anan chuje punsŏk*,” *Kyoyuk kwajŏng yŏn’gu* 12 (1993): 112-21.

conformed to current (at that time) educational trends influenced by the United States and Japan, but also facilitated the study of Western learning by appealing to a Confucian *yangban* audience, the *PER*'s [*KST*'s] main readership."<sup>640</sup> Pak Sŭngbae has also demonstrated the influence of Japanese and American textbooks on the content and style of the *KST*. For example, Pak claims that 78% of the chapter titles in the *KST* are identical to those that appear in the *Upper Elementary Reader*<sup>641</sup> (*Kōtō shōgaku tokuhon* 高等小学読本) published in Japan in 1887, and that much of the content appearing in the *KST* was adapted directly from the American textbooks, *The Union Readers* (Sanders, 1858) and *The New National Readers* (Barnes 1883).<sup>642</sup> Although the precise author of the textbook is unknown, Pak concludes that the *KST* was written through a combination of direct experience overseas, specifically in the United States, and close consultation of existing Japanese and American textbooks.<sup>643</sup>

Although the inclusion of scientific and technical knowledge in an education directed at upper-class students was itself a major transformation in such a Confucian society, focusing only

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<sup>640</sup> Yuh, "Moral Cultivation,"

<sup>641</sup> I borrow this English title from Yuh, "Moral Education."

<sup>642</sup> Pak also analyzes another early officially-produced textbook, *Sinjōng sŭmsang sohak* (1896) and reveals that certain pictures that were nearly identical were adapted directly from these American textbooks, proving conclusively that they were at least referenced in the process of compilation. Pak further claims that the decision to place a chart depicting the Korean alphabet at the beginning of the textbook, a practice which debuted in the *Sinjōng sŭmsang sohak*, was inspired by the same practice in American readers. See Pak Sŭngbae, "Kabo kaehyōkki Hakpu py'ōnch'an kyokwasō chōja ka hwaryonghan munhōn kojūng," *Kyoyuk kwajōng yōn'gu* 30, No. 3 (2012): 141-64; 161.

<sup>643</sup> Pak, "Kabo kaehyōkki Hakpu py'ōnch'an kyokwasō chōja," 142. Yuh points out that the first two Ministers of Education, Pak Chōngyang and Yi Wanyong, had both traveled to the United States on a diplomatic mission in 1887, and that the three chapters on American independence appearing in the *KST* were adapted from Pak's *Misok sŭbyu* (美俗拾遺), penned while on the mission. See Yuh, "Moral Education," 338-39.

on the changes in textbook content fails to grasp the significance of the larger textbook *écriture* being unveiled; that is, written vernacular for the conveyance of new knowledge. An analysis of the *KST* does indeed uncover a blending of Confucian and scientific education, but what the actual medium of the text suggests about the official government strategy for new education and the future direction of literacy is much more revealing. Despite the heavy preponderance of *hancha* vocabulary and phrases, the syntax of the *KST* is decidedly vernacular. In other words, the *KST* has made the critical jump from *hanmun* grammar with vernacular conjunctions, particles, and final endings rendered in *kungmun* characteristic of *kugyŏl* texts such as *Tongmong sŏnsŭp*, to vernacular grammar, with *kungmun* expanding beyond the above limited and merely auxiliary parsing-*cum*-grammatical functions. Most importantly perhaps is the thought process involved in writing the *KST*. Unlike the pre-modern tradition of *ŏnhae* exegeses and *kugyŏl* glossing of LS texts, the vernacular elements were not added to a pre-existing LS text for the purpose of parsing, but rather formed an integral part of the *composition* process. Therefore, to borrow again Im Sangsŏk's helpful schema for delineating the Korean vernacularization process, the style of composition appearing in the *KST* was Type 2, *Hanmun kujŏlch'e* (Hanmun Phrase Style), as it followed an overall vernacular grammatical pattern, but at the same time four-character set phrases, dense *hanmun* holophrases, and lexical-level *hanmun* grammar abound.<sup>644</sup> Moreover, because the textbook was composed first in the vernacular, not in LS, we can conclude that this form of *écriture* represents a *Kukchu Hanjong* (國主漢從 Vernacular

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<sup>644</sup> The critical litmus test for assessing whether a text is Type 1 (*Hanmun munjangch'e*) or Type 2 (*Hanmun kujŏlch'e*)—in other words, whether it is LS or vernacular grammar—is whether the writing when stripped of *kungmun* elements would form a readable LS text. The answer in the case of the *KST* is no.

dominant) style of writing.<sup>645</sup> Although the fact that new knowledge of a technical and scientific nature was for the first time being included in official elite curriculum, and given added weight due to the abolition of the *kwagŏ* examination, the content of the textbook itself will not figure prominently in the following discussion. Rather, I will focus on both the ruptures and the continuities between the LS and vernacular textual regimes, and how these developments affected the unfolding of curricularized vernacular education in modern schools.

As mentioned above, in August of 1895 the Chosŏn government issued *Sohakkyo kyoch'ik taegang*, a number of pedagogical guidelines outlining its approach to new education. I have translated the portions related to language education (Articles 3 and 4) below in order to shed light on the official teaching philosophy and provide hints as to how the *KST* was utilized in the classroom setting.

Article 3: The reading (*toksŏ*) and composition (*changmun*) method shall proceed from familiar to more remote material, and from simple to more complex. Reading methods and meanings of the characters, phrases, and grammar of common language and general knowledge shall be taught, appropriate language, words and phrases shall be employed, the ability to express thought with exactitude shall be fostered, and knowledge and morality shall be developed. These are to be the main focus.

In the elementary curriculum, simplicity and suitability shall be adopted. Classroom language shall be kept simple, the language shall be practiced, and the method of *kungmun* reading, writing and spelling shall be imparted. Short passages in *kungmun* and texts mixing in simple *hanmun* (*kŭnyŏkhŏn hanmun kyohŏnŏn* 近易<sup>한</sup>漢文交<sup>한</sup>는<sup>한</sup>文) are to be used and, proceeding gradually, reading and composition time should be divided. Reading time is to consist of *kungmun* and *kungmun* with basic *hanmun* mixed in, while composition shall include *kungmun*, *kungmun* with basic *hanmun* mixed in, as well as documents that students may encounter in daily life (*ilsang sŏryu* 日常書類).

In higher curriculum, readings shall incorporate *hancha* (*hancha kyomun* 漢字交文) while composition shall consist of writing, including *hancha* as well as documents commonly composed in daily life.

During reading and composing, students shall take dictation of words, phrases, and short passages, and when writing students shall be taught the rules of *kungmun* usage as well as the method of word and phrase usage.

The grammar used in the reader shall be simple and convenient and serve as a model of elementary (*pot'ong*) *kungmun*, aiming at ease in understanding and making the

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<sup>645</sup> Im, *20-segi Kuk-Hanmunch'e ūi hyŏngsŏng kwajŏng*.



students feel lively and pure. The subjects taught are to include morals, geography, history, natural sciences, and other subjects needed in daily life, and the instructors' individual tastes are to be applied to the teaching process.

Composition and reading shall consist of material from other class subjects, things that children encounter in daily life, and subject matter that the child needs to advance in the world. The writing should be simple and the point of the text should be clearly conveyed.

Care should always be taken to practice language in all other classes of the curriculum as well.

Article 4: Character practice shall consist of learning the method of writing commonly used characters [sinographs] and gaining skill in brush movement.

In the elementary curriculum, short passages employing *kungmun* with simple *hancha* mixed in shall be taught, along with everyday words designating people, places, and things, and writing encountered in daily life.

In higher curriculum, the language used in the preceding curriculum shall be expanded, vocabulary appropriate for daily life shall be increased, and writing encountered in daily life shall continue to be taught.

In the teaching of *hancha* writing style, printed style (*haesō*) and semi-cursive style (*haengsō*) shall be employed in the primary curriculum, and in the higher curriculum the cursive method (*ch'osō*) is to be added.

During character practice, special attention should be paid to maintaining proper posture, grip of the brush and brush movement, and the movement of the brush ought to be brisk.

When writing in all other subjects as well, attention should be paid to maintaining proper character form and lineation (*chahaeng*).

The most striking aspect of this teaching method is the emphasis placed on simplicity and ease of access in gaining new knowledge. The regulations repeatedly call for simple, straightforward language, while suggesting the employment of “documents that students may encounter in daily life” (*ilsang sōryu*). This was a clear break from a traditional Confucian education, which emphasized certain key relationships that of course incorporated the student, but nonetheless were decidedly philosophical and cosmological in nature, not concerned with everyday life or “advancing in the world.” The clear foundation of such an accessible education, moreover, was *kungmun*, with *hancha* added, and not the other way around. The regulations clearly state, “Short passages in *kungmun* and texts mixing in simple *hanmun* (*kūnyōkhān hanmun kyohānān*) are to be used and, proceeding gradually, reading and composition time

should be divided. Reading time is to consist of *kungmun* and *kungmun* with basic *hanmun* mixed in, while composition shall include *kungmun*, *kungmun* with basic *hanmun* mixed in, as well as documents that students may encounter in daily life (*ilsang sōryu*).” The guidelines also place emphasis on learning the rules of *kungmun*: “The grammar used in the reader shall be simple and convenient and serve as a model of elementary (*pot’ong*) *kungmun*.” This clearly demonstrates the squarely vernacular character of the textbook language, and explicitly reveals the desired function of this and other textbooks, as a model of literacy development that both reflected the language ideologies of the compilers and actively shaped the future direction of literacy. As suggested earlier in this chapter, the language of this textbook, which served as a model of literacy, exerted influence throughout the curriculum, enjoying a level of curricular permeation that exceeded what its status as “language class” would suggest. Finally, the guidelines suggest that morals (*susin*) did indeed continue to occupy a strong position in the curriculum, concurring with Yuh’s assessment.

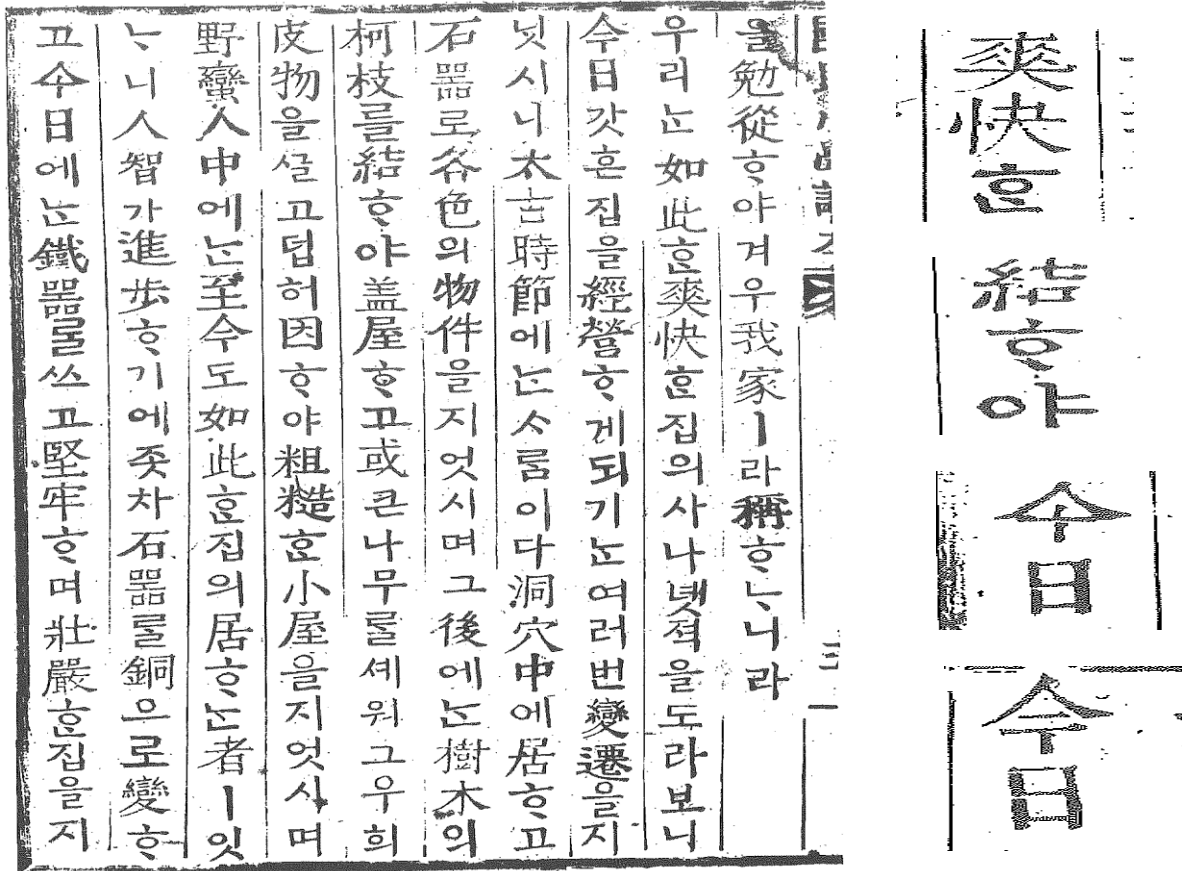
One of the most salient features of the textbook are the inconsistencies and abnormalities that abound in sinograph appearance, grammar, and word choice. The hurried manner in which the textbook was compiled is evident in the idiosyncratic carving of characters, the overlapping and unsettled state of LS and vernacular grammar utilization, as well as alternating sinographic and vernacular vocabulary. For example, on page 18 the word *sangk’wae* (爽快 refreshingness, exhilaration) appears, but the carving for the first sinograph contains two horizontal lines, an idiosyncratic carving that is not attested in any *hanmun* dictionary that I can confirm and seems to be a miscarving.<sup>646</sup> Page 18 also contains a substandard carving of “今” (in *kūmil* 今日,

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<sup>646</sup> In the foregoing discussion of the *KST* I refer to the following phototypographically produced version (*yōnginbon*): Kang Chinho and Hakpu p’yōnjipkuk, *Kungmin sohak tokpon* (Kwangmyōng: Tosō ch’ulp’an kyōngjin, 2012), which I abbreviate as *KST*, (18).

today)<sup>647</sup> and “結” (*kyölhäya* 결<sup>ㅎ</sup>야, conclude and), which are unreproducible with standard word processing, but may be found in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: *Kungmin sohak tokpon* (Citizen’s Elementary Reader 1895) Substandard Carvings



<sup>647</sup> Page 18 contains two different carvings of the sinograph “今,” both of which are non-standard. Other idiosyncratic, non-standard, or simply miscarved sinographs include, but are not limited to: “記” (*kisa* 記事 report, p. 19 and throughout); “堯” (*YoSun* 堯舜 Yao and Shun, the sage rulers, p. 20), “民” (*yangmin* 良民 the good people, citizens p. 21); “主” (*chaju* 自主 autonomy, p. 21); “植” (*singmul* 植物 plant, p. 24); “葉” (*yöpchil* 葉質 foliar, p. 26); “落心” (*naksim* disappointment, despair, p. 42) carved as “銘心,” a nonstandard combination. Furthermore, on page 19 the author writes mistakenly that the name of the book penned by King Sejong on agriculture was titled *Nongsa chipsöl* (農事集說), when the actual title was *Nongsa chiksöl* (農事直說, Straightforward Explanations on Farming). The “söl” in this title as well is a non-standard carving.

Inconsistencies can be noted in grammar usage, where LS and vernacular versions are employed interchangeably and without any seeming rhyme or reason. For example, on page 18 the vernacular phrase “*yōrō pōn*” (several times) appears, whereas elsewhere in the text the synonymous LS prefix “*che~*” (諸~) is the preferred option. On the following page in the phrase 우리의所務一니라 (*uri ūi somu'nira* “... is our mission”) we can observe the mixing of LS grammar in “*somu*” (our mission) with the vernacular term “*uri ūi*” (our), whereas elsewhere the LS term for “our” (*adŭng* 我等) appears. The following phrase appearing on page 81 shows the extent of vernacularization in the *KST* over the level of a standard *kugyōl*-glossed text, despite maintaining a strong LS presence: “賢明은君主를니사護道布德야此民을保護케 하리니라.”<sup>648</sup> The two LS blocks that set off this phrase are mediated by *kungmun* elements rendering understandable two-syllable compound words, a level of vernacularization that surpasses traditional *kugyōl*-glossed texts. However, here as in many places throughout the textbook, a *saja sōngō* remains, as well as residual LS *hanmun* in “*ch'amin*” (此民 these people). In a phrase such as “許多勞動” (*hōda nodong* “much work,” 17), on the other hand, the modifier “*hōda*” is not mediated by suffixal “~*hǎn*,” and rather retains an LS flavor. These are some of the most identifiable characteristics of a Type 2 *Hanmun kujōlch'e* text such as this.

Probably the most significant vestige of the LS textual regime to be found in the *KST* is the usage of single-character sinographic words mediated by vernacular connectors to function as

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<sup>648</sup> “Put forth a wise sovereign who attains the way and bestows virtue and the people shall be protected and secured.” *KST*, 81. There seems to be an improper sinograph used twice in the above quotation. The character “護” (*sōngnael hoek*) means “to get angry,” but in this context the sinograph 獲 (*ōdŭl hoek*, get, attain) is the only possibility that makes sense.

full words. As LS was increasingly intermediated by the vernacular language in written form, two-syllable Sino-Korean vocabulary (combined most often with *~hǎda*, *~chǒk*, or *~sǒng*) gained increasing currency among Korean writers and intellectuals, and this is reflected in the attenuation of single-character Sino-Korean words in favor of formalized two-syllable combinations in later textbooks. However, in the *KST* such word forms abound, a practice that resembled premodern *ǒnhae* versions of the Classics. Moreover, the emergence and parallel employment of expanded two-syllable *hanchaǒ* suggests a tension existed as the process unfolded. The reader gets the sense that the author was at times unsure of how much or how little to vernacularize, given the novelty of such a writing technique and the unsettled nature of Sino-Korean vocabulary in the vernacular.

The following passage contains many examples of one-syllable *hanchaǒ* employed in a parallel fashion with two-syllable *hanchaǒ* combinations, displaying a tension between the vernacular and the cosmopolitan:

“英王이我商船을損<sup>ㅎ</sup>며아財貨를劫<sup>ㅎ</sup>고我民狀을害<sup>ㅎ</sup>며我兵器를毀<sup>ㅎ</sup>거늘我衆의더욱忍  
힘은王政의더욱虐이니”<sup>649</sup>

Throughout this passage, nouns are rendered in familiar two-character combinations, whereas the bold underlined verbs remain as single-character verbal nouns, relying on vernacular mediation, the *hancha* knowledge of the reader, and context for comprehension. Certain two-character *hanchaǒ* such as *minsang*, however, show vestiges of LS grammar and may have been lexically expanded even more for greater comprehension (e.g., *minjok sanghwang* 民族 狀況 situation of the ethno-nation). Moreover, the LS expression for “I” or “we,” “a” (我) is used

<sup>649</sup> “The King of England seizes our merchant ships, threatens our property, harms our citizenry, and decimates our weaponry. To endure any more is to invite even more tyranny.” *KST*, 115.

throughout, but we can detect the emergence of the vernacular “*uri*” elsewhere in the textbook. In the following phrase the author seems to be consciously attempting to make the writing more accessible to a target readership, but in the absence of any set formula for the extent or manner of vernacularization, the result is inconsistency and tension: “定훈곳스로그셔各기제業務의 時間을恪守<sup>ㅎ</sup>야.”<sup>650</sup> Here, two-syllable sinographic vocabulary have been separated into their constituent combinations to render viable “Korean” vocables. However, the orthography introduces non-uniformity as certain *hanchaǎ* are not rendered in *hancha* but in *kungmun*.<sup>651</sup>

This brings us to another salient feature of this textbook, and that is evidence of orthographic decision-making in the composition process. In other words, there are instances in the *KST*, as in the example above, of Sino-Korean vocabulary rendered in *kungmun*, something that was exceedingly rare in mixed-script orthography up to this time but would come to characterize writing aimed at broader consumption during the Enlightenment Period, including textbooks analyzed later in this chapter and of course *han’gŭl*-only newspapers such as *The Independent*. For example, on page 39 “진실노” (*chinsil no* 眞實노 in truth, really), although a

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<sup>650</sup> “Go to the agreed upon place and each adheres to a specific time for various duties.” *KST*, 78.

<sup>651</sup> The examples are far too numerous for a comprehensive accounting, but the following are some representative examples followed by their page numbers: 出<sup>훈</sup> (1); 修<sup>ㅎ</sup>다 (2); <sup>ㅎ</sup>시는 地<sup>며</sup> (13); 結<sup>ㅎ</sup>야 (18); 居<sup>ㅎ</sup>는 (18); 照<sup>ㅎ</sup>야 (27); 사람을<sup>益</sup>할<sup>뿐</sup>아<sup>니</sup>오 (the accepted two-syllable *hanchaǎ* 有益 appears elsewhere on page 28, showing the parallel employment of such vocabulary and the unsettled state of the lexicon); 醫<sup>ㅎ</sup>나 (35); 始<sup>훈</sup>후<sup>로</sup> (37); 利<sup>ㅎ</sup>문 (41); 舉<sup>ㅎ</sup>면 (47); 물은<sup>高</sup>로<sup>부터</sup> 低<sup>에</sup>流<sup>動</sup><sup>ㅎ</sup>나 (48); 人<sup>의</sup> (52); here *in* meaning “person” is used as a full word, but on page 59 *in’gan* 人間 appears, again showing the tension between LS and vernacular and the unsettled nature of the lexicon); 發<sup>ㅎ</sup>고 (65); 훈<sup>鳥</sup>가 (72); 類 (72); 誤<sup>ㅎ</sup>는 (77); 入<sup>코</sup>주<sup>ㅎ</sup>는 (87); 養<sup>ㅎ</sup>고 (98); 跪<sup>ㅎ</sup>야 (107).

Sino-Korean term, is rendered in *han'gŭl*. On page 65 the word “계교” (*kyegyo* 計巧 scheme, a stratagem) appears three times written in *han'gŭl*, as well as “자세히” (*chasehi* 仔細히 in detail) on pages 94 and 98.<sup>652</sup> One may be tempted to argue that more common *hancha* vocabulary that could be inferred through context was written in *han'gŭl*, and this indeed seems to have been the case in later textbooks such as the *NYT*, but in the *KST*, due to the appearance of difficult sinographs from the earliest chapters and throughout the text, it seems that the appearance of *hancha* in *han'gŭl* is evidence of the gradual breakdown of the infallible hegemony of the cosmopolitan, or the idea that the sinograph possessed an inherent “truth” that necessarily imbued the concept being conveyed with philosophical legitimacy. The very act of *composing* new “truth” in the vernacular allowed the author through the text to explore the parameters of the vernacular-cosmopolitan textual interface by virtue of orthographic agency.

Perhaps the most striking feature of this textbook is the difficulty of the language and content, and the almost total lack of gradations in the level of difficulty as the student proceeds through the text. This characteristic is especially apparent when comparing the *KST* with later

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<sup>652</sup> There are also many examples—much more numerous than *hancha* written in *han'gŭl*—of vernacular word choice when Sino-Korean word choice was not only possible but is utilized elsewhere in the text. These examples include but are not limited to the following: “그마음” (mind, heart 心 12); “全國에 으뜸이라” (“is the best in all the nation” 全國에最高라 14); “업다하더라” (“is apparently lacking” 無하더라 102). Examples may also be found of the inclusion of difficult sinographs when the vernacular version would have been much more transparent and informative for the student. These cases seem to represent, like the rendering of *hancha* in *han'gŭl* and the choice of vernacular vocabulary over LS, a form of editorial decision making to present a specific form of literacy for the student. In these cases, the difficult or obscure sinographs for commonly-known vernacular terms are provided with the specific purpose of exposing the student to such characters for familiarization, with the assumption or understanding that the instructor would explain the terms in the vernacular in the classroom setting. Some examples include: “膝” (knee 무릎 33); “銜轡” (reins 고삐 41); “鯨” (whale 고래 68); “氣息” (breathing 숨쉬기 90-91). I refer to these compositional practices as hyper- and hypo-vernacularization, and explore the former in more detail in the section on the *NYT*.

Japanese-produced textbooks such as the *PHKT* (1906) and the *Pot'ong hakkyo Chosŏnŏ kŭp Hanmun tokpon* (Sino-Korean Common School Reader, *PCHT*). As Yun Ch'ibu points out, although there is an overall trend toward lengthier units, this is a trend only, and shorter units are interspersed with longer units.<sup>653</sup> Despite Article 3 of the *Sohakkyo kyoch'ik taegang* stipulating that the “reading (*toksŏ*) and composition (*changmun*) method shall proceed from familiar to more remote material, and from simple to more complex,” there is little evidence that such a methodology was followed, at least gauging by the layout of the textbook. In contrast to later “language textbooks” that proceeded from the most elementary building blocks of language (the alphabet → syllables → words → sentences), the first unit of the *KST* begins with complete paragraphs relaying complex ideas. Moreover, there seems to be no gradation of difficulty in the introduction of *hancha*: any character (within reason) needed to describe or convey a given theme is fair game, and furthermore there is no attempt to introduce separately ostensibly new or unfamiliar *hancha* as in the *PHKT* and *PCHT*. In that respect, I concur with Yuh's contention that the *KST*, though an “elementary textbook,” in the loosest sense, was aimed not at illiterate or semi-literate students just embarking on an education, but rather the sons of elite yangban who had already received a grounding in Sinitic education.<sup>654</sup>

However, that the *KST* contrasts so sharply with Japanese-produced language textbooks during the protectorate and colonial periods does not prove that the *KST* represented an antiquated, Confucian pronouncement of what it considered reform education. The *Kōtō shōgaku tokuhon* (1887) utilized in the first modern Japanese schools followed a similar textual layout, where little gradation in difficulty level was evident, whether in terms of content or denseness of

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<sup>653</sup> Yun, “*Kungmin sohak tokpon ūi kugŏ kyokwasŏjŏk kusŏng yangsang kwa kŭ ūimi.*”

<sup>654</sup> Yuh, “Moral Education,” 331.



texts.<sup>655</sup> The American readers mentioned above which have been demonstrated as having influenced the *KST* likewise did not yet incorporate the characteristics of contemporary elementary language textbooks (i.e., extremely gradual progression from the most simple vocabulary, grammar, and syntax to more complex, and separate introduction of new vocabulary) but rather were firmly rooted in an antebellum tradition of morals education combined with contextual grammar and vocabulary instruction presented in sentence and paragraph form. The language and layout of the *KST* appears rather as a product of its time, the result of intersecting influences including the Confucian tradition, Japanese appropriation and repackaging of a perceived Western modernity, and direct American textbook referencing. In terms of the premodern Confucian influence, although gradations in the level of difficulty were a feature of *sōdang* curriculum, this extent of gradation pales in comparison to that evident in the *PHKT* and the *PCHT*. Much like *sōdang* curriculum, the *KST* is driven primarily by theme, while the difficulty of the language needed to convey that theme is given only secondary consideration.<sup>656</sup> From the publishing of the *PHKT* in 1906, direct Japanese influence on the Korean curriculum is naturally evident, but it should be noted that this shift in pedagogy from a premodern “reader-style” education to what is considered a linguistically modern style of learning languages was

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<sup>655</sup> Monbushō. *Kōtō shōgaku tokuhon* (Tōkyōfu: Monbushō, 1887).

<sup>656</sup> An analysis of the *KST* also reveals fluctuation in the difficulty level of a given unit depending on the content of that unit, and not necessarily following the overall trend of the textbook from simpler to more complex language. For example, Unit 29 of the *KST*, a unit very late in the book, presents information on breathing. To describe this very natural and basic act, the syntax and orthography is straightforward and vernacularized, with *hancha* employed to convey unfamiliar concepts such as “oxygen” and “CO<sub>2</sub>.” However, in the units dealing with London (14 and 15) positioned much earlier in the textbook, the orthography is much more *hancha*-laden, which I argue is to convey new concepts much more transparently to students proficient in *hancha* with the added mediation of vernacular grammar, a method I mentioned in the Chapter 3 discussion of Yu’s *Sōyu kyōnmun*.

occurring during roughly the same timeline in the United States and Japan, as evidenced by the evolution in their own textbooks,<sup>657</sup> and thus it would be inaccurate to claim that Japan inspired the modernization of a hopelessly backward indigenous attempt at new education curriculum (*KST*) with its own forcefully imposed alternative (*PHKT* and *PCHT*). Rather, the *KST* displays evidence from multiple sources (Japanese, American, indigenous Confucian), and the subsequent shifts in textbook methodology reflect transformations in global teaching philosophies as well as an evolving indigenous linguistic landscape and related language ideologies. The potential for lasting influence on Korean literacy development through textbooks proceeded most fundamentally not from the *PHKT*, which still reached only a limited number of students, but would have to wait until further monopolization of the educational regime during the colonial period in order to function more hegemonically, an issue that will be taken up in Chapter 5.

A final salient characteristic of the *KST* that deserves mentioning is the couching of Confucian themes and concepts in the language of modernity—with vocabulary that represented “buzzwords” recently imported via Japanese mediation in most cases. For example, in Unit 4 titled “Sejong Taewang (King Sejong the Great),” the accomplishments of Korea’s most famous king are claimed to be greater than the most venerable of China’s ancient sages, and examples of King Sejong’s “civilizational morality” (*munmyōnghāsīn tōk*) are given.<sup>658</sup> The author goes on to state that Korea’s current king has inherited the sagely wisdom of King Sejong, and that as the subjects of such a wise leader the students of Chosŏn should study hard (*kongbu rŭl chakhāya*), display love for their country (*aeguk*), and work towards a civilized country that is powerful and

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<sup>657</sup> Yuh, “Moral Education.”

<sup>658</sup> *KST*, 20.

wealthy (*pugang munmyǒng*) as well as autonomous and independent (*chaju tongnipkuk*).<sup>659</sup> In Unit 12 entitled “Treaty Nations” (*choyakkuk* 條約國) the author writes in glowing terms on the wisdom of King Kojong in concluding treaties with Japan and Western nations while simultaneously faulting Qing for failing to enter the modern system of international relations (*segye man’guk* 世界萬國). However, in the author’s explanation for Qing’s decline we can note an air of disdain for the Qing, a denial of their legitimacy, and an implicit expression of loyalty to the Ming, an ideology with deep roots in Chosŏn history and squarely positioned within a premodern, Sino-centric world view. Therefore, although the “anti-modern” suzerain relationship between China and Korea is challenged for being out of step with modern relations between “equal” states, the historical context of the argument implicitly denies not Korea’s subjugation to the central kingdom per se, but submission to illegitimate “barbarian” Qing rule, a fundamentally Sino-centric weltanschauung.<sup>660</sup>

The *KST* may be summarized as a hybrid textbook in terms of philosophical content, pedagogical approach, and linguistic composition. While the *KST* did introduce technical and scientific knowledge to an elite readership for the first time in an official capacity, as Yuh has demonstrated, this knowledge was typically couched in terms of moral education, a pedagogical strategy that resembled American and Japanese educational models in many respects.<sup>661</sup> The examples in the above paragraph further illustrate the contextualization of modern arguments for “civilization and enlightenment” within familiar, Confucian theoretical moulds. American and Japanese influence did not stop at philosophical tone, but extended to textbook content and

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<sup>659</sup> *KST*, 21.

<sup>660</sup> *KST*, 37-39.

<sup>661</sup> Yuh, “Moral Education.”

format. The “reader” format of language textbooks mirrors a similar style in the Japanese *Kōtō shōgaku tokuhon* and the American *Union Readers* (Sanders, 1858) and *New National Readers* (Barnes 1883), the latter two of which were directly referenced in the compilation of the *KST*. Such readers emphasized content over linguistic knowledge or difficulty gradation for linguistic scaffolding purposes, something that may be said of traditional *sōdang* education as well, so the *KST* should be described as a site of intersecting transnational and indigenous influences. Finally, the *KST*’s most significant feature is that it embodied an official pronouncement and confirmation of a commitment to both vernacular education and education in the vernacular. That is, not only did the textbook serve as a conduit for myriad subject matter—from Korean history to technological innovations to the biology of the camel—but it also simultaneously played the role of language textbook, serving as a model of written vernacular literacy. A close linguistic analysis of the textbook furthermore reveals a tension between the cosmopolitan and the vernacular as the latter undergoes a process of differentiation from the former, groping to find its footing as it undertakes the newly-bestowed mantle of academic knowledge conveyance.

#### **4.4 *Sămin p’ilchi*, Missionary Education, and Language Ideology**

Homer Bezaleel Hulbert (1863-1949) arrived in Korea on July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1886, having been recruited along with George William Gilmore and Dalzell Adelbert Bunker at the behest of King Kojong to head Korea’s first modern government school, the Royal English Academy (Yugyōng kongwōn). According to Hulbert’s memoirs,

The abysmal ignorance of the Korean officials about everything foreign suggested to Mr. Foulk (the Naval Attaché) the need for instruction, and it was through his influence that the government determined to establish a school where young members of the nobility, upon whom the burden of the government would sooner or later rest, might be taught the

English language, the science of geography and other basic elements of Western culture.<sup>662</sup>

Hulbert soon became aware of the acute shortage of textbooks, and it was during his five-year stint at the Royal English Academy that he wrote *Sămin p'ilchi*, a sort of geographical and statistical inventory of the world's nations, and the first textbook in pure *kungmun*. Hulbert wrote in his memoirs, "I determined that what the Koreans needed most of all was a geography of the world but including many things that an ordinary geography does not give, details about government, revenue, industries, education, religion, armies and navies, colonies, and other important matters, so that the reader could get a sort of bird's-eye view of the world and degree of wealth, culture, and power attained by each nation."<sup>663</sup> This is indeed what the textbook provided, but several scholars have noted that, because Hulbert's academic specialty was not geography but rather history and language, he most likely did not write the book from scratch but instead translated or adapted vast portions of it from geography textbooks circulating in the United States, making Korea the central focus instead.<sup>664</sup> Kwŏn Chŏnghwa, for example, claims that in part one of the textbook Hulbert references contemporary American geographies by Montieith, James and Maury, in part two Johnston's geography that functioned as a preparatory manual for the American civil service examination, and either an encyclopedia or almanac for

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<sup>662</sup> Homer Hulbert, *Echoes of the Orient: A Memoir of Life in the Far East* (Seoul: Sŏnin, 2000), 11-12, quoted in Leighanne Yuh, "The Royal English Academy: Korea's First Instance of American-Style Education and the Making of Modern Korean Officials, 1886-1894," *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies* 15, no. 1 (2015): 109-29, 120.

<sup>663</sup> Hulbert, *Echoes of the Orient*, 64, quoted in Yuh, "The Royal English Academy," 121.

<sup>664</sup> Chang Pong, "Kaehwagi ūi chiri kyoyuk," *Chirihak* 5 (1970): 41-58; Kim Chaewan, "Sămin p'ilchi e taehan sogo," *Munhwa yŏksa chiri* 13, no. 2 (2001): 199-209.

the section including recent statistics.<sup>665</sup> In the case of place names, which appear copiously, Kwōn claims that Hulbert relies on conventions that had been established by missionary publications, but it seems likely that much of the orthography was based on Hulbert's hangŭlizations of his own American pronunciation, judging by the idiosyncrasies of certain spellings.<sup>666</sup> *Sămin p'ilchi* clearly displays the highest degree of Western influence of any of the textbooks analyzed in this chapter, both in terms of content and language ideology.

Three different versions of *Sămin p'ilchi* were produced: the initial *han'gŭl* version (1890/91), the *hanmun* version (1895), and the *kukhanmun* version (1906).<sup>667</sup> The order of publication reflects the dominant language ideologies of the author and to a lesser extent the Ministry of Education that commissioned the *hanmun* version. Hulbert's decision to publish such a work in pure *han'gŭl* was of course influenced by his own educational philosophy, which viewed the written vernacular as the most effective instrument for conveying knowledge.<sup>668</sup> That the second version was in *hanmun* and not mixed script suggests that the linguistic landscape was still quite compartmentalized, and an ideology considering *hanmun* and the vernacular as separate languages still dominated popular thinking in 1895.<sup>669</sup> By the appearance of the

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<sup>665</sup> Kwōn "Hōlbōt'ŭ ŭi *Sămin p'ilchi*," 11.

<sup>666</sup> Ibid, 11-12; Min, "Kaehwagi han'gŭlbon *Sămin p'ilchi* e taehayō."

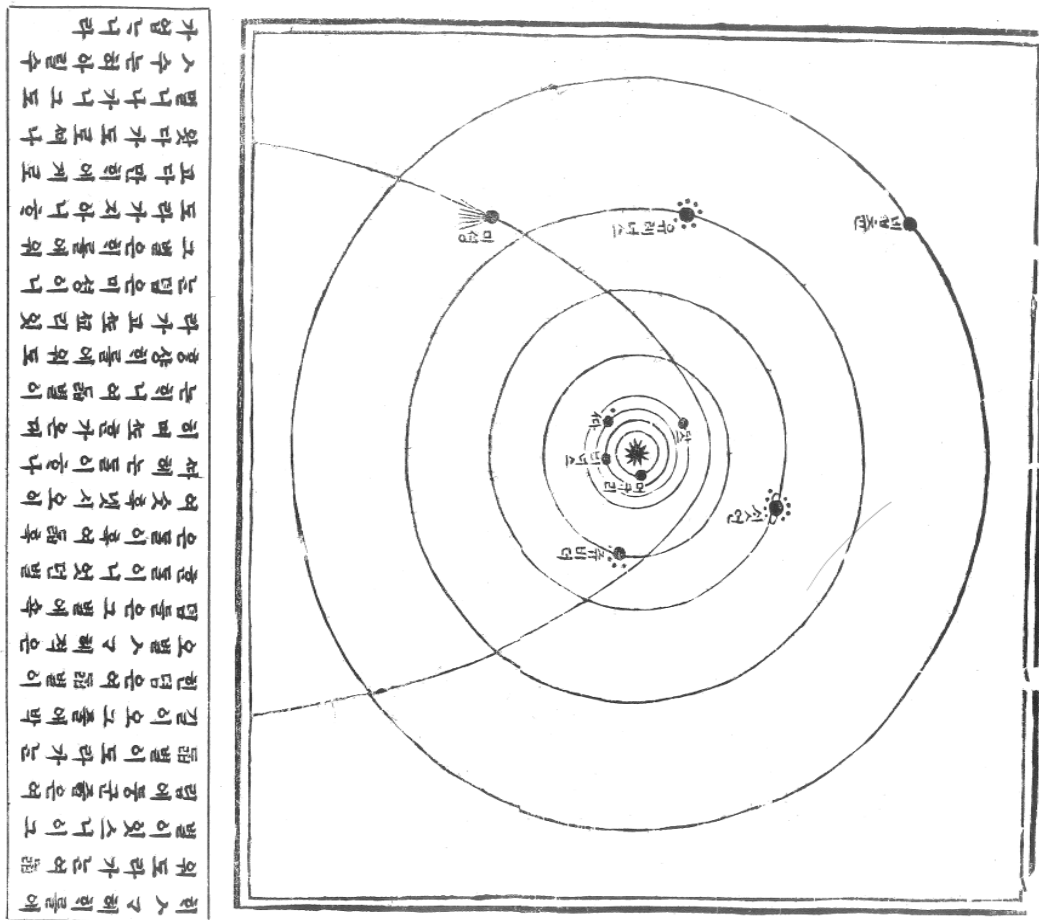
<sup>667</sup> The *hanmun* version was translated under the auspices of the Ministry of Education (*Hakpu*) by order of King Kojong by Paek Namgyu (白南奎) and Yi Myōngsang (李明翔).

<sup>668</sup> Hulbert's educational philosophy was well known through his various publications, and is perhaps relayed most clearly in his three-part essay, "The Education Needs of Korea" published in the October, November, and December issues of *Korea Review*, a missionary publication. These will be analyzed in some detail below.

<sup>669</sup> We can note a similar publishing pattern for the *New Testament*. Although Chinese versions of the New Testament had circulated in Korea, Western missionaries felt compelled to produce a vernacular version due to their belief that such a translation would reach a larger readership and

*kukhanmun* version in 1906, however, the vernacular and the cosmopolitan had progressed to some extent through a process of differentiation, and mixed-script orthography had gained a modicum of legitimacy.

**Figure 2: *Samin p'ilchi* (Necessary Knowledge for Scholars and Commoners, 1890)**



be a more effective mode of evangelization. However, William D. Reynolds, an American Presbyterian missionary who completed the first vernacular translation of the Old Testament in 1910, noted the authority that “Chinese” still commanded when he wrote in 1906 of the “delight with which the better educated among the Christians hail the appearance of the Mixed Script edition of the Board’s New Testament version, 20,000 copies of which have just been issued... With Mixed Script editions of the Scriptures for readers of Chinese, and word-spaced varied type, attractively bound editions in the vernacular for the great mass of the people, the Bible societies are now equipped...” Quoted in King, “Protestant Missionaries,” 25.

Other than the evolving relationship between *ŏnmun* and *hanmun*, what these multiple versions tell us about *Sămin p'ilchi* is that it was a widely read book, and multiple formats were in demand. Although the exact circulation is unclear, Hulbert himself taught for many years at various schools, including the Hansŏng Teacher's School (Hansŏng sabŏm hakkyo) from 1897-1902, where his usage of the textbook is confirmed,<sup>670</sup> and it is safe to assume that, as the author of the book, it was utilized at every other school at which he taught, as well. If *Sămin p'ilchi* was utilized at teacher's schools, this would have affected an even wider distribution, as newly-minted instructors may have equipped themselves with a familiar text when they embarked on their own careers. In a 1908 issue of the *T'aegŭk hakpo*, one author mentions the continued usage of *Sămin p'ilchi*, suggesting that the textbook had considerable staying power.<sup>671</sup> Another author in a 1929 issue of *Samch'ŏlli* lauds the contribution of the first pure Korean (*sun-ŏnmun*) textbook, but laments that due to the intervention of Japanese policy no one is aware of the contribution, suggesting the continued popularity of the book up to annexation but also crucially that Japan's policy of promoting mixed script as the legitimate form of vernacular literacy had forestalled the development of pure *kungmun* in education.<sup>672</sup> Kwŏn reveals that Hulbert wrote often in his letters to family members of his high expectations for the sale of his book, expressing his desire for the work to serve as more than a school textbook but as a general information book for the purposes of enlightenment. Kwŏn mentions Hulbert's report of a visit from James Scarth Gale in 1890 in which Gale predicts huge sales of the books in the southern area of the country,

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<sup>670</sup> Kwŏn, "Hŏlbŏt'ŭ ūi *Sămin p'ilchi*," 11.

<sup>671</sup> It is unclear what specific schools are being referred to. Hŏ Yŏnja, "Kyoyukkye ūi sajo" (教育界의 思潮) *T'aegŭk hakpo* 19, March 24, 1908.

<sup>672</sup> Chu Yohan, "Munhak (1) Sinmunye undong ūi sŏn'guja, yŏnggwang ūi Chosŏn sŏn'gjadŭl," *Samch'ŏlli* 2, September 1, 1929.



to which Hulbert writes that he has decided to publish 2000 copies instead of his original 1000, expecting significant profits in return.<sup>673</sup> In a period when so few textbooks were available for the growing number of modern schools, especially those conveying direct knowledge about the West and the broader world in a relatively more accessible form, we can conjecture that *Sămin p'ilchi* enjoyed wide circulation and played an important role in establishing a model for vernacular literacy in the academic register.

Hulbert clearly outlines his purpose for publishing *Sămin p'ilchi*, particularly relating to his choice of script, in the preface when he writes:

It is sad when one thinks of how difficult it is to quickly grasp Chinese writing (*Chungguk kŭl*) and how little it is known, while Korean writing (*Chosyŏn ōnmun*) is not just the writing of this country, but may be easily learned by scholars and commoners, men and women alike throughout the country. Compared to Chinese writing, knowledge of Korean writing is much more crucial, and yet people are ignorant of this fact and instead despise the language. Is this not a shame? Therefore, this book is meant to dispel the embarrassment of those who are ignorant of the Korean language (*Chyosyŏnmal*) and vernacular grammar (*ōnmun pŏp*), and especially provide a broad outline of all the countries of the world, complete with maps, in *ōnmun*.<sup>674</sup>

Hulbert's observations of the Korean linguistic landscape were representative of the foreign population in Korea, and many examples of similar language ideologies were presented in Chapter 2 of this paper. Like these foreign observers, Hulbert believed strongly in the superiority of the vernacular for educational purposes, and the concomitant need to break away from the hold of *hanmun*. It should be noted that, like those of the earliest foreign observers discussed in Chapter 2, Hulbert's observations above represent the application of a distinctly

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<sup>673</sup> Homer Hulbert, Letter to Brother Henry, June 15, 1890, quoted in Kwŏn "Hŏlbŏt'ŭ ūi *Sămin p'ilchi*," 11.

<sup>674</sup> Many books during the Enlightenment era experimented with different methods of indicating proper nouns, given the "lack" of majuscules and minuscules in Korean compared with English. In *Sămin p'ilchi*, Hulbert underlines all proper nouns. Homer Hulbert, *Sămin p'ilchi* (Sŏul: Han'guk kyohoesa munhŏn yŏnguwŏn, 2001), Preface, 1-2.

Western language ideology to the Korean situation, not a reflection of growing indigenous tendencies. Writing in 1890 before the emergence of such discourses in the Korean press, Hulbert describes “Chinese writing” (*Chungguk kŭl*) in opposition to “Korean writing” (*Chosyŏn ōnmun*) when a Korean would have most likely written *hanmun* or *chinmun*, had they discussed the subject at all. Unlike many other foreigners living in Korea, however, Hulbert took the initiative and contributed to the advancement of vernacular literacy by producing his own textbook. Although Hulbert had missionary affiliations, he was first and foremost an educator, having been initially recruited for that purpose and holding various teaching posts during a long career in the country.<sup>675</sup> Hulbert was intimately concerned with the issues of mass education and literacy, and in addition to his textbook wrote extensively on the subject, most notably in a three-part essay entitled “The Educational Needs of Korea” appearing in the *Korea Review* in late 1904. Some fourteen years after the publication of *Sāmin p’ilchi*, the serious lack of proper textbooks is apparently still foremost in the educator’s mind:

One of the great obstacles at the present time is the grievous lack of proper text books; and not this alone but the absence of any genuine literature along modern lines. These things have all to be made. Korea is in much the position that England was when the fashion of writing everything in Latin was just going out but there was as yet little or nothing in English... Every foreigner in Korea should bend every energy to the task of convincing the Korean that his own vernacular is an immensely better medium of thought than the Chinese to which he has clung so long. There can be no naturalness, no vigor, no snap to Korean literature so long as they cling to the Chinese. One has but to note the clumsy manner in which a conversation is transcribed when put in Chinese characters. The Korean native writing has taken on much of this stilted style, but there is no reason why the Koreans may not break away from it and transcribe a conversation verbatim in quotation marks as we do. But the first need is textbooks.<sup>676</sup>

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<sup>675</sup> Of course Hulbert, being a good Christian educator, believed that the organization most suited to carrying out modern education in Korea was the missionary field. His justifications for this are most explicitly laid out in the December, 1904 issue of *Korea Review*.

<sup>676</sup> *Korea Review*, Volume 4, October 1904, 447-48.

Later in the same essay, Hulbert writes more specifically on the issue of literary medium and textbook orthography, issues which he undoubtedly encountered during his fourteen years of hands-on experience with his own *Sămin p'ilchi* in the classroom setting:

One of the gravest difficulties in the way is the lack of a perfect and universally accepted literary medium. The Korean alphabet is nearly perfect and is capable of expressing thought as well as the English alphabet, but a very large number of the terms that must be used in scientific works are not at present readily recognized by their sounds. The Korean wants to see the ideogram before him, even in cases where it would seem to us that the context would clearly circumscribe the meaning and prevent all ambiguity. But we must not fall into the opposite error of fearing that this difficulty is insurmountable, for as a man deprived of sight will soon develop a new and marvelous delicacy of touch, so these people if once weaned away from the Chinese character will grasp the idea of phonetically expressed thought. Nor do I fear that this simile will be successfully exploited by those who would make the Koreans cling to the Chinese, for the day has gone by when anyone can hold that general education is possible under the old system...

There will always be the cultured few who will want to know the Chinese, just as there are the cultured few in the West who study Greek and Latin. For these few we must provide in our schools, but as for the great mass of the people, the ninety-nine out of every hundred, they must have a purely native literature.

The vital question then arises. How are we to wean the people away from the Chinese to the pure Korean? The Chinese is the medium through which all literary ideas have flowed into this Peninsula. The existing religion of the people, or at least the recognized cult, Confucianism, is embedded in Chinese. The ideograph and its study form the great barrier between the upper and lower classes, a barrier which the upper classes will be loath to see torn down. *There is one and only one way to attack this barrier and that is by giving the common people such a good literature in their own native character that the position will be reversed and it shall come to be acknowledged that genuine education lies with the many rather than with the few.*<sup>677</sup>

The heady idealism of Hulbert's early days that produced the first pure *han'gŭl* textbook seems to have been tempered somewhat by years of classroom experience. Hulbert must have come up against considerable resistance to pure *han'gŭl* for conveying academic knowledge, particularly from those with some grounding in LS knowledge. Although Hulbert insists on the "near perfection" of the Korean alphabet for expressing thoughts, on par even with English, he

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<sup>677</sup> *Korea Review*, Volume 4, October 1904, 449-50. Emphasis in the original.

acknowledges the perspective of the Korean student, as well as the unsettled nature of the lexicon, where many scientific words still demanded *hancha* mediation. However, the last lines of the excerpt reveal the fundamental purpose for his textbook publication, and that is as an active contribution to the viability and attractiveness of “native literature.” For Hulbert, moreover, “the ideograph” represented a very tangible class barrier, while vernacular education manifested in such textbooks as *Sămin p’ilchi* was a pronouncement of democratization and modernization.<sup>678</sup>

Besides its obvious position as the first pure *han’gŭl* textbook, *Sămin p’ilchi* is significant for several other reasons. First, as suggested earlier in this chapter, the nature of knowledge conveyed by this textbook was much broader and more applicable than its designation as “geography textbook” suggests. *Sămin p’ilchi* stood as a model for not only writing but to some extent speaking about the world in a register that approached the vernacular. Appearing as it did just at the cusp of Korea’s opening up to the international system of states, it provided an extremely cogent idiom for expressing the new language of international relations. Second, as I

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<sup>678</sup> Hulbert wrote elsewhere in more explicit terms on the inevitability of some education in “the character,” given the deep roots such a tradition had: “There may be some who will object to beginning with the Chinese character. No one is more anxious than I to see the Chinese character take its place where it belongs alongside the Egyptian hieroglyphics, but this cannot be done at a single bound. We should advocate only such a knowledge of the ideographs as would enable a boy to read the daily papers and such other things as are printed in the mixed script. This will not do him much harm but meanwhile we will have schools. That is the main thing. The study of Chinese is better than nothing and country schools would mean this or nothing. We must not forget the intense prejudice of the people in favor of Chinese. If it were dropped from the curriculum not one boy in ten in the country would care to go to school. The point is to give him gradually something besides the Chinese and, as time goes by, increase the ratio of these new branches. There is no question that the practical studies will soon wean the student away from his present absorption in the Chinese and the way will be opened to drop the latter altogether. Meanwhile books on interesting topics should be printed in the pure native character and the student encouraged to read and discover the meaning even though it be difficult at first.” *Korea Review* Volume 4, December 1904, 535-36.

have also suggested previously, the multiple editions and versions also indicate a wide readership that exceeded the classroom setting, and it seems reasonable to suggest that its circulation surpassed that of *Sōyu kyōnmun*, though the latter has garnered much more attention in scholarly literature.<sup>679</sup> Third, as evidence suggests that it was used primarily in missionary schools, an overview of its contents can provide a rough estimate of not only the content of missionary education, but also of the language ideologies and worldviews of at least a portion of the mission field. Finally, as it was the most direct conveyance of Western world views and the vocabulary of modernity available in vernacular Korean textbook form, it was an important conduit for the implantation of Western modernization.

Because my analysis in this chapter is mainly concerned with the relationship between the cosmopolitan and the vernacular in Enlightenment-era textbooks, a description of *hancha* deployment in a pure-*han'gŭl* textbook is impossible, and at any rate detailed studies have been conducted on the linguistic aspects of *Sāmin p'ilchi*.<sup>680</sup> Rather, what I would like to draw attention to in the present study is the specific language and education ideology that produced

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<sup>679</sup> I would submit that this is primarily due to *Sāmin p'ilchi*'s foreign authorship.

<sup>680</sup> For example, Min Hyōnsik provides a detailed overview of the various linguistic aspects of the textbook, including orthography, proper noun spelling conventions, parts of speech, and style. Salient characteristics of the textbook are as follows: 1) lack of orthographical standardization, 2) influence from "Christian orthography," 3) inconsistent palatalization, 4) desyllabified *sai siot* representation in compounds (e.g. *물스고기* {*mŭl-s-kogi*} for *mŭlkogi* to represent the tensed ㅍ /kk/ pronounced in compounds like this), 5) various nominalizations (in *~m*, *~ki*, *kōt*), 6) past, present, and future tenses, 7) lack of word spacing. See Min, "*Sāmin p'ilchi* e taehayō." Other recent research on *Sāmin p'ilchi* and Hulbert's teaching philosophy more generally include the following: Kang Ch'ōlsōng, "*Sāmin p'ilchi* ūi naeyong punsōk: Chayōn chiri rūl chungsim ūro," *Han'guk chihyōng hakhoeji* 16, no. 3 (2009): 67-75; Kwōn, "Hōlbōt'ū ūi *Sāmin p'ilchi*"; Yi Kūnyōng, "*Sāmin p'ilchi* ūi ūmun-nonjōk yōn'gu," *Hanmal yōn'gu* 28 (2011): 201-30; Chōn Minho, "Hōlbūt'ū (H. B. Hulbert) ūi hwaltong kwa kyoyuk sasang koch'al," *Han'guk kyoyukhak yōn'gu* 16, no. 1 (2010): 5-23; "Yu Kilchun kwa Hōlbōt'ū ūi kyoyuk sasang pigyo yōn'gu," *Han'gukhak yōn'gu* 39 (2011): 385-413. For a laudatory account of Hulbert's activities, see Kim Tongjin, *P'aran nun ūi Han'guk hon Hōlbōt'ū* (Sōul: Ch'am choūn ch'ingu, 2010).

such a text, outlined above, and their manifestation in the overall style and compositional strategy. The most striking characteristic of the text is that it differs markedly from any other pure-*kungmun* text that I have encountered, which up to this time would have meant mainly vernacular fiction. This again brings into relief the revolutionary nature of the textbook, namely, its role as a pure-*kungmun* document imparting academic knowledge. In terms of style and word choice it breaks all previous conventions for the complementarity of domains maintained between the cosmopolitan and the vernacular. Whereas the overall syntax and grammar is decidedly vernacular, *hancha* of a technical nature abound, and relatively little preference for vernacular word choice is evident as compared to vernacular fiction. In other words, whereas vernacular fiction showed a preference for ‘pure Korean’ word choice over *hancha* and expressed a relatively smaller number of *hancha* in *han’gŭl*—presumably “assimilated vocabulary” with no ready “vernacular” equivalent—and *kukhanmun* writing such as *Sōyu kyōnmun* heavily favored Sino-Korean vocabulary expressed overwhelmingly in sinographs, *Sāmin p’ilchi* combined the two traditions, expressing myriad *hancha* of a dense and technical nature in *han’gŭl* in a writing style that seems ideologically forced. In short, from a pre-modern, Sino-centric language ideological point of view, it is extremely difficult to imagine *Sāmin p’ilchi* being penned by a Korean at the time. Even viewing the language of the textbook from a contemporary perspective more adapted to pure-*han’gŭl* orthography, *Sāmin p’ilchi* is permeated with ambiguities arising from the absence of signifying *hancha*.<sup>681</sup> The difficulty of understanding such academic language devoid of *hancha* mediation may explain Hulbert’s tempering of his stance toward *hancha* education expressed in *Korea Review* in 1904.

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<sup>681</sup> Part of the difficulty in reading the text may also stem from its lack of word spacing.

The result of Hulbert's Western language ideology applied idealistically to a Sino-centric linguistic landscape is a hybrid text that reads like a translation of Western textbooks, as indeed much of it was, rather than as an organically-produced work of non-fiction. Much like the *KST* and other "readers" of the time, there is little or no gradation in the level of difficulty, and in that sense *Sămin p'ilchi* follows a pre-modern language-learning pedagogy. Moreover, while written in pure *han'gŭl*, due to the scientific nature of much of the material and the prominence of *hancha*, the text itself is by no means easy to understand. One reason for this is that the target readership for such a hybrid form of writing combining the pure-*han'gŭl* vernacular tradition with *hancha*-laden academic content had yet to emerge. Elite *yangban* students seeking to transition to the new knowledge economy following the abrogation of *kwag* examination would have demanded the transparency and legitimacy afforded by their familiar *hancha* mediation, and this explains the later appearance of *hanmun* and *kukhanmun* versions of the textbook. However, as Hulbert mentioned in other writings, *Sămin p'ilchi* was meant as a contribution to the vernacular canon, and as a building block on the road to developing the viability and attractiveness of Korean "literature," and in that sense it was just one step in a long-term process. Another reason for the difficulty of the textbook again relates to the language ideology of the author. At the time of writing, Hulbert had been living in Korea for less than five years, and while he had achieved an impressive command of the language, his perception of the cosmopolitan-vernacular dichotomy was still primarily informed by a Western point of view on the importance of vernacular education, the unqualified utility of the vernacular over the cosmopolitan, and the necessary compartmentalization of the two. For Hulbert, *kungmun* inexorably signified ease, convenience, and democratic education, yet the continued authority of the cosmopolitan educational tradition mitigated against such a radical pronouncement.

*Kukhanmun* education would continue its ascendance as modern schools expanded. Following its takeover of public education in 1905, Japan led the drive toward vernacular education in *kukhanmun*, increasingly minimizing or marginalizing alternative forms of schooling through restrictive education and language policies.

#### **4.5 Turning over the Reins of Education: *Pot'ong hakkyo haktoyong kugö tokpon (PHKT)* and the Commitment to Vernacular *Kukhanmunch'e***

On November 17, 1905 Imperial Japan forced the signature of the Ŭlsa Protectorate Treaty (Han-Il hyöpsang choyak), which divested Korea of autonomy in foreign affairs and placed matters of trade under Japanese authority.<sup>682</sup> The treaty additionally stipulated that Japan would now assume ultimate authority in matters of education.<sup>683</sup> On August 27, 1906 the Korean Ministry of Education announced the Common School Regulations (Pot'ong hakkyoryöng), which set the curriculum for new Japanese-run “common schools” (*pot'ong hakkyo*) which were converted from Chosön government-run “elementary schools” (*sohakkyo*).<sup>684</sup> The following is an

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<sup>682</sup> King Kojong never consented to signing the treaty.

<sup>683</sup> As mentioned in Chapter 2, according to Andrew Hall, ultimate authority over public education in Korea had already been assumed by Education Affairs Councilor Shidehara Taira in February 1905, before the signing of the Ŭlsa Treaty. See Hall, “First Steps Towards Assimilation,” 362.

<sup>684</sup> The first modern schools were termed “*sohakkyo*” by the 1895 Chosön government-issued *Sohakkyoryöng*. The 1906 *Pot'ong hakkyoryöng* changed the name to “common schools” (*pot'ong hakkyo*). In 1938 the Third Rescript on Korean Education (Che 3 ch'a kyoyungnyöng) rechristened the schools “*sohakkyo*,” but the *Kungmin hakkyoryöng* of 1941 changed the name again, this time to “*kungmin hakkyo*.” In 1995, as part of a campaign to remove colonial vestiges, these schools came to receive their current designation, *ch'odüng hakkyo*. Yun, “*Kungmin sohak tokpon üi kugö kwokwasöjök kusöng*,” 172-73.



excerpt from the version of the regulations that appeared four days later in the *Official Gazette* (*Kwanbo*):

Section 1: General Regulations

Article 1: In common school education, special attention shall be paid to developing the whole student (*sinch'e*), moral education and citizen education shall be carried out, and fostering the necessary knowledge and technical skills of daily life shall be the main thrust.

Article 2: The common schools are divided between *kwallip hakkyo* (government-run schools) *kongnip hakkyo* (local schools), and *sarip hakkyo* (private schools). *Kwallip hakkyo* are those schools funded through the state budget, *kongnip hakkyo* are schools funded at the provincial (道), district (府), or county (郡) level, and *sarip hakkyo* refer to those schools which are funded by private civilians.

Article 3: The establishment and closing of *kongnip* and *sarip hakkyo* is dependent upon authorization by the Minister of Education.

Section 2: Curriculum and Organization

Article 4: The Common School curriculum shall consist of four years of study.

Article 5: Supplementary courses may be added to the common school curriculum.

Article 6: The common school curriculum shall consist of the following subjects: Morals, National Language, *Hanmun*, Japanese, Arithmetic, Geography and History, Natural Sciences, Literature (*tosō*), and Calisthenics. For girls, manual arts (*suye*) may be added. When appropriate, one or several of the following subjects may be added: singing, handicrafts (*sugong*), agricultural and commercial work.

Article 7: In the event that a subject is to be added according to item two of the aforementioned Article 6, the Minister of Education shall first approve a draft request by the school principal.

Article 8: Common school textbooks shall consist of those published by the Ministry of Education or those approved by the Education Minister.

The stipulations that had the greatest ramifications for literacy development were the unique authority accorded the Japanese-controlled Ministry of Education to establish or close new schools and to either directly produce or authorize all textbooks used throughout the common school curriculum. The Ministry of Education moved quickly to control both the scope of elementary education and the content of the curriculum. Through large expenditures, the Ministry increased the number of common schools from 22 in 1906 with an enrollment of 1924 to 60 in 1910 with enrollment totaling 12,732.<sup>685</sup> On August 26, 1908 the Private School

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<sup>685</sup> Hall, "First Steps Toward Assimilation," 386.

Regulations (Sarip hakkyoryōng) were promulgated by the Ministry of Education, which required “all private schools to send in a detailed application to be allowed to remain open,” and contained “rules on the qualifications of school founders, principals, and teachers and rules on school finance.” It also “gave the Minister of Education the power to work with the police to close down any school that did not follow the regulations,” in effect strengthening the authority established by the 1906 regulations.<sup>686</sup> Under these strict regulations, the number of approved private schools dropped from 2241 in 1909 to 1467 in 1911, and this figure continued to drop precipitously during the first decade of the colonial period.<sup>687</sup> Although mission schools were initially granted leeway due to treaty stipulations between Japan and Western nations, these too faced increasingly onerous restrictions.<sup>688</sup> The Ministry of Education actively intervened to control the curriculum as well, approving only certain textbooks for use in private schools.

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<sup>686</sup> Ibid.

<sup>687</sup> Ibid. According to Seong-cheol Oh and Ki-seok Kim, based on GGK figures, the number of Japanese-run primary schools increased from 343 in 1912 to 1,254 in 1925, while the number of Korean-run private schools exhibited the opposite trend, decreasing from 1,323 to 615 during the same period. Chōsen sōtokufu, *Chōsen sōtokufu tōkei nenpō* (Keijō: Chōsen sōtokufu, 1932-38), quoted in Oh Seong-cheol and Kim Ki-seok, “Expansion of Elementary Schooling under Colonialism: Top Down or Bottom Up?” in *Colonial Rule and Social Change in Korea, 1910-1945*, ed. Clark W. Sorenson and Kim Hyung-A (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013), 117-18. This figure of 2241 in 1909 did represent a dramatic increase, however, from the number in 1905, reflecting the stimulus created by the 1905 treaty signing and the resultant Patriotic Enlightenment Movement. The Residency-General moved quickly to restrict this boom in private education.

<sup>688</sup> The Private School Regulations (Sarip hakkyoryōng) were issued in 1908 and revised in 1912, at which time all private schools were required to conform to government standards. Mission schools were given a ten-year grace period, but many found it difficult to conform to these standards; regulations included the use of approved textbooks, the inclusion of Japanese as a compulsory subject, and the removal of Bible studies from the curriculum. See Theodore Yoo, “The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health (1910-1945)” (PhD diss. University of Chicago, 2002), 220-21, UMI (AAT 3060285).

According to the Ministry's 1910 statistics, "117 textbooks had been examined, with 55 approved, 18 rejected, and 44 pending judgment," the majority of which were "morals, history, geography, *hanmunkwa* and Korean language readers."<sup>689</sup> Such a two-pronged approach to Korea's education—controlling the curriculum while gradually monopolizing the distribution method—was highly effective in directing the course of literacy development for the first generation of public-school students on a broad scale.<sup>690</sup>

The Ministry of Education provided more concrete policies for implementing each of the school subjects in the new curriculum in its August 27, 1906 Guidelines for the Implementation of Common School Regulations (Pot'ong hakkyoryōng sihaeng kyuch'ik). Relevant items related to the language curriculum are presented below:

2. The National Language (*Kugō*): The vocabulary and writing style of daily life should be taught, the capacity to express thoughts with accuracy should be fostered, a moral character should be cultivated, and common knowledge (*pot'ong chisik*) shall be imparted.

Correct pronunciation shall be taught, along with the rules of reading and writing the necessary vocabulary of everyday life. Appropriate language shall be practiced.

Class time shall be divided between composition and character practice (*supcha*), with special attention given to establishing mutual connections between each. Composition shall consist of material taught in *Kugō*, *Hanmun*, and throughout the curriculum, as well as things encountered by students in daily life and necessary to conduct one's affairs. The composition style shall be simple and allow the students to express themselves clearly...

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<sup>689</sup> Hall, "First Steps Toward Assimilation," 387.

<sup>690</sup> Although the number of private school students and to a greater extent *sōdang* students far outnumbered the enrollment in Japanese common schools, enrollment in common schools trended continually upward throughout the colonial period while private school enrollment experienced the opposite trajectory. The number of common schools finally surpassed the number of private schools in 1920. The number of *sōdang* actually increased during the first decade of colonial rule, peaking in 1920 before steadily declining each following year. For detailed statistics on colonial school enrollments, see Oh and Kim, "Expansion of Elementary Schooling under Colonialism."

3. *Hanmun*: The main focus shall be the understanding of common *hancha* and *hanmun*, as well as the cultivating of one's character. The wise words and good actions of the sages should be taught, along with the ability to understand contemporary phrases and expressions.

Efforts shall be made to connect (*yŏllak*) [*hanmun* education] with *kugŏ*, and translation shall be provided from time to time in *kugŏ*.

4. Japanese (*Irŏ*): Students shall be taught to understand familiar conversation and simple grammar, and be instructed in practical composition. Proceeding from familiar conversation, instruction in the reading and writing method of simple conversational Japanese shall be given, as well as composition. The primary objective shall be practicality (*siryong*) and common knowledge shall be imparted according to the students' level of intelligence. Attention shall be paid to pronunciation, and efforts should be made to familiarize the student with proper (*chŏngdanghŏn*) Japanese. Efforts should be made to connect Japanese with *kugŏ*, and translations provided from time to time in the language.<sup>691</sup>

There are several notable aspects to the language policy statement above. First, the languages Korean (*Kugŏ*), LS (*Hanmun*), and Japanese (*Irŏ*) have been curricularized as three distinct subjects, suggesting that the process of differentiation between the vernacular and the cosmopolitan had progressed substantially since the 1895 *Sohakkyryŏng*, but also perhaps reflecting the more developed state of this vernacularization process in Japan, the implementer of this policy. Secondly, although each language is listed separately, this policy places special emphasis on the integration of the three languages. In Korean class, "mutual connections" were to be established between reading and writing, and composition was to draw on material from language class as well as "throughout the curriculum," including Japanese and LS. LS and Japanese education were to "connect" with Korean, and calls for timely translation into Korean would have constantly necessitated the mediation of the sinograph to facilitate understanding. Finally, although Japanese has gained importance in the new curriculum—equal to Korean in terms of classroom hours as of 1906—it remains a "foreign language" (*irŏ* 日語) and of

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<sup>691</sup> Hakpu, "Pot'ong hakkyoryŏng sihaeng kyuch'ik," August 27, 1906, quoted in *Kwanbo*, Hakpu ryŏng che 23 ho, September 4, 1906.

secondary importance to Korean. However, if the language were truly on par with other foreign languages, one might expect an emphasis on reading comprehension, but what is striking about the Japanese pedagogy is its similarity to Korean teaching. The focus in each subject is placed on acquiring practical language—vocabulary, phrases, reading and writing. The added conversational component in the Japanese curriculum suggests the perception among policy makers that Korean students would have to familiarize themselves with the increasing direct Japanese involvement in the school setting. The overall impression given by the Japanese language pedagogy is one of preparation for further integration of Japanese in the curriculum through the provision of baseline skills in classroom Japanese, rather than focused “foreign language” reading skills.

The separate yet interconnected nature of the language curriculum indicates a commitment to vernacular education, yet one expressed in firmly *kukhanmun* orthography. This presumption is borne out by the format of the *PHKT*, as well as related government publication policies following the Protectorate Treaty. In a March 2, 1908 edition of the *Kwanbo*, the government’s language policy related to advertisements is explained like this: “Those individuals wishing to advertise in the *Kwanbo* should send their manuscript to the Cabinet Legislation Bureau (Naegak pŏpcheguk 內閣法制局). Manuscripts must be prepared in the printed style of *kukhanmun* writing. Manuscripts written in a foreign language will not be published.”<sup>692</sup> Because *kukhanmun* format is the only writing considered acceptable for publication according to the government’s own stipulations, it would seem that every other format counted as a “foreign language” beyond the mainstream of correct Korean writing. Furthermore, from 1909 a common feature of advertisements in the *Official Gazette* was the inclusion of mixed script with both *kana*

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<sup>692</sup> “Kwanggo,” *Kwanbo* 4011, March 2, 1909.

and *han'gŭl* particles, suggesting that the Japanese government in Korea sought to bridge the gap between vernacular Korean and Japanese through the specific medium of *kukhanmun/kokkanbun*:

銀行業一設立ノ(의)年月日 隆熙參年拾月貳拾九日一資本ノ(의)總額 金壹千萬圓一一株 /  
 (의)金額 金壹百圓 一各株ニ(에)對シテ(하)拂込ミタル(은)株金額 金貳拾五圓一公告  
 ヲ行フキ方法 日韓兩國ノ(의)官報及新聞紙ヲ以テ(로써)此ヲ(을)行 フ(을)但公告ス(을)  
 へキ新聞紙ハ(는)總裁此ヲ(가)選定 シ(하) <sup>693</sup>

Based on an initial analysis of Japanese language policy in education pronouncements on official publication policy and publication practice, we can surmise that mixed-script vernacular Korean education accompanied by strong practical Japanese and LS components characterized language education during the Protectorate Period. The format, pedagogical approach, and method of sinograph manipulation in the *PHKT* further supports this thesis. <sup>694</sup>

<sup>693</sup> “Kwanggo,” *Kwanbo* 4551, December 10, 1909. Hō Chaeyōng claims that from 1909 this kind of writing style commonly appeared in the *Kwanbo*. See Hō, *T’onggam sidae ōmun kyoyuk*.

<sup>694</sup> A note on semantics here is necessary, as certain scholars have attempted to differentiate *kugŏ* and *kukhanmun*, associating the former with pure *han'gŭl* orthography alone, which I would argue is not the case. For example, Yun Ch’ibu writes, “Enlightenment-era education may be divided broadly into two periods, the first following the *Sohakkyoryōng* regulations of August 15<sup>th</sup>, 1895 and the second following the *Pot’ong hakkyoryōng* regulations of August 27<sup>th</sup>, 1906. If the former period was one of autonomous pure *kugŏ* education, in other words a period of active *han'gŭl* propagation, then the latter was a period of combined *kukhanmun* and *kugŏ* education carried out by the Residency-General, a period when *kugŏ* education subsided.” While I would agree that the Japanese-directed Ministry of Education did make a clear commitment to education in Mixed Script, it is difficult to find any indications that such a language policy curbed any indigenous *han'gŭl*-only trends. More to the point on the matter of terminology, however, I fundamentally disagree with the characterization of *kugŏ* and *kukhanmun* as separate entities. While this of course may be said of *kungmun* and *kukhanmun*, *kukhanmun* and *han'gul chōnyong* were simply separate orthographic iterations of the Korean vernacular, and not separate languages. See Yun Ch’ibu, “*Kungmin sohak tokpon ūi kugŏ kwokwasōjōk kusōng kwa kŭ ūimi*,” 172-73.

The *PHKT* was compiled on February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1907 by the Ministry of Education and printed by the Great Japan Publishing Company (Dai Nippon tosho kabushiki kaisha).<sup>695</sup> The textbook is divided into eight volumes with varying numbers of units, leading Kim Hyeryŏn and Chang Yŏngmi to surmise that two volumes were learned in each of the four years that constituted the common school curriculum.<sup>696</sup> The main actors involved in its publication were the Editorial Bureau Head, Ŏ Yunjŏk (魚允迪, 1868-1935), who studied at the Keio Institute in Japan and was fluent in Japanese, and Education Ministry Head Mitsuchi Chūzō (三土忠造, 1871-1948).<sup>697</sup> Despite the “collaboration” between Ŏ and Mitsuchi, however, the ultimate authority behind the Ministry of Education lay with Japan and so with the latter. Mitsuchi was a teacher at Tōkyō Normal School (東京高等師範學校) and had experience writing textbooks for common schools in Japan, and when we was tapped to direct textbook production in Korea, according to one report, he translated material from various Japanese elementary school textbooks along with an assistant for inclusion in the *PHKT*.<sup>698</sup> Mitsuchi’s subsequent imprint on common school textbook production in early colonial Korea was substantial. As of 1909, along with the *PHKT*, Mitsuchi also directed the compilation of the following textbooks: *Morals* (*Susinsŏ*, 4 volumes), *The Japanese Reader* (*Irŏ tokpon*, 8), *The Hanmun Reader* (*Hanmun*

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<sup>695</sup> The first edition was entitled *Kugŏ tokpon*, but the following year some portions were edited before it appeared in its final form, *Pot’ong hakkyo haktoyong kugŏ tokpon*.

<sup>696</sup> Kim Hyeryŏn and Chang Yŏngmi, “Chonghap kyoyang kyoyuk kwa singmin kyoyuk ũi sibalchŏm,” in Hakpu, *Pot’ong hakkyo haktoyong kugŏ tokpon sang*, ed. Kim Hyeryŏn and Chang Yŏngmi (Kwangmyŏng: Tosŏ ch’ulp’an Kyŏngjin, 2012), 9.

<sup>697</sup> Kang Chinho, “Kugŏ kwokwasŏ ũi hyŏngsŏng kwa Ilche singminjuŭi *kugŏ tokpon* (1907) *Chosŏnŏ tokpon* (1911) ũl chungsim ũro,” *Hyŏndae sosŏl yŏn’gu* 46 (2011): 65-99; 72.

<sup>698</sup> *Ibid.*, 76-77.

*tokpon*, 4), *Natural Sciences* (*Ikwasō*, 2), *Painting* (*Tohwa tokpon*, 4), *Character Study Reader* (*Sŭpcha tokpon*, 4), and *Arithmetic* (*Sansulsō*, 4).<sup>699</sup>

The most drastic difference between the *PHKT* and the first official government textbook, the *KST*, is the stark gradation in difficulty levels apparent in the *PHKT*. The impression given by this text is of a contemporary foreign language textbook or the beginner-most levels of an elementary first-language textbook. The primary focus of initial volumes of the textbook seems to be placed on linguistic knowledge, rather than content. Much like the *Sinjŏng simsang sohak* (1896), the first official textbook to do so, the *PHKT* introduces the Korean alphabet in the opening pages of the text, first presenting the consonants, then vowels, followed by combinations of the two in simple vernacular words accompanied by pictures.<sup>700</sup> The textbook then proceeds not according to theme or subject but by gradually presenting increasingly more complex linguistic knowledge in a systematic fashion.<sup>701</sup> Units 1-20 proceed in the following manner: Units 1-11: consonants/vowels, mono-/multi-syllabic words, modifying adjectives + nouns; Unit 12: particles/full sentences (e.g., “*hanŭl i nopta* 하늘이 높다” The sky is high); Unit 13: past tense; Unit 15: imperative, interrogative, propositive sentences, locative particles; Unit 16:

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<sup>699</sup> Kim and Chang, “Chonghap kyoyang kyoyuk,” 8.

<sup>700</sup> The *Sinjŏng simsang sohak* presents a similar hybrid *chamo-sik/ŭmjŏl-sik* method of learning the Korean alphabet, though with emphasis on the latter. Due to the existence of both methods in teaching *hunmin chŏng’ŭm* prior to the imposition of direct Japanese influence on Korean education, it would be a mistake to consider syllabified alphabetic pedagogy an instance of Japanese influence, although certain educators in post-liberation South Korea viewed it as such. See Daniel Pieper, “The Attraction and Repulsion of Empire.”

<sup>701</sup> Although later in Volume 1 the units start progressing according to themes (e.g., the importance of study), the first fifteen units are random words and sentences presented primarily for their linguistic value. All units in Volume 1 furthermore have only numbered titles (e.g., *che sibo kwa* 第十五課 “Lesson 15”) rather than “theme titles” as in the *KST* and later volumes of the *PHKT*, again indicating the primacy of linguistic knowledge in this textbook over content, at least in the earliest volumes.



compound verbs, honorifics; Unit 17: verbs/actions in a sequence; Unit 18: giving a reason (e.g., “*hae ka nŭjössuni chip e kajya* 해가느젷스니집에가자” The sun has set so let’s go home); Unit 20: future tense.<sup>702</sup> Thus, the intended readership of this textbook was assumed to possess no *hancha* knowledge or indeed any writing ability, a far cry from the extremely dense, *hancha*-laden prose that characterized the *KST*. Whereas the *KST* was produced for an elite student body with grounding in LS education in order to retrain them in “modern” knowledge, the extremely graded format of the *PHKT* suggests that it was the product of an educational and language policy that envisioned a long-term, broad-based approach from the bottom up. When considering that the *PHKT* was formatted based on Japanese textbooks in a public school system that was approaching universal education at the time, such a textbook policy comes into sharper focus.

According to Im’s three-part syntactic categorization, the writing style in the *PHKT* should be described as Type 3, *Hanmun* Word Style, and therefore the thought process involved is *Kukchu hanjong* (vernacular-dominant).<sup>703</sup> The *PHKT* is drastically more vernacularized than the *KST*, most notably in terms of word choice, grammar, and in earlier volumes the rate of *hancha* usage.<sup>704</sup> Although many instances of LS grammar can be noted, they are mainly limited

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<sup>702</sup> *PHKT*, 3-24.

<sup>703</sup> Kang Chinho describes the writing in the *PHKT* as *Hanju kukchong*, but we seem to be employing this term in two fundamentally different ways. Much like Yun Ch’ibu’s use of the terms *han’gŭl* and *kugŏ* mentioned in Footnote 88, Kang seems to be equating any form of *kukhanmun* script with *Hanmun*-dominant writing while according the designation of “vernacular dominant” writing to that which is or is approaching *han’gŭl*-only orthography. However, in this paper I follow Im’s definition of ‘vernacular-dominant’ as writing that is composed in the vernacular according to overall vernacular grammar, regardless of the number of *hancha* used. See Kang, “Kugŏ kwokwasŏ ŭi hyŏngsŏng,” 71.

<sup>704</sup> *Hancha* are much more heavily used in later volumes, especially from Volume 5.

to the lexical level, a hallmark of Im’s Type 3 writing style.<sup>705</sup> For example, the following sentence contains several words that individually have an antiquated feel, but are limited to the lexical level, and in no way disrupt the vernacular grammatical tone of the syntax: “*kŏgŭm samch’ŏn yŏnyŏn e KIJA ra hanŭn SŎNGIN i CHINA ro pŭt’ŏ torae haya Chosŏn wang i twoeyŏ P’yongyang e kŏhada* 距今三千餘年에箕子라하는聖人이支那로브터渡來하야朝鮮王이되여平壤에居하다” More than 3000 years ago a sage named Kija arrived from China, became the king of Chosŏn and resided in P’yongyang).<sup>706</sup> The word “距今” (*kŏgŭm*, dating back~) combined in the highly Sinicized expression “距今三千餘年에” (More than 3000 years ago...) conveys a dated impression, but the grammar and syntax can still be construed as Korean. The word “居하다” (*kŏhada*, live, reside), a long-time holdout against the more vernacular *salda* (to live), also has a cosmopolitan flavor, but again it is limited to the word level. The most noticeable difference between this and the *KST*, however, is the organization of *hancha* into two-syllable combinations, the most familiar configuration in contemporary Sino-Korean vocabulary and *ondoku*-style Sino-Japanese. Although one-syllable *hanchaŏ* used as complete words in somewhat stilted wording is evident (e.g., *cholhago* 卒하고 finish and, 299; *PYŎNGJIL e Ihagi* 疾病에罹하기易하니라, 307 “it is easy to suffer from disease”), the occurrences

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<sup>705</sup> Some examples include “甚廣” (*simgwang*, very wide, 305); “且” (*ch’a*, and; moreover); “然則我等은時時로沐浴하고...可하도다” (*yŏnchŭk adŭng ŭn sisiro mogyokhăgo... kahădoda* Therefore it is proper from time to time to take a bath, 307); “浣濯” (*want’ak*, wash, 307); “一日之內” (*iril chi nae*, within a day, 309); 於是에 (*ŏsie*, upon this, 325).

<sup>706</sup> *PHKT*, 297.

nowhere approach the systematicity of the *KST*, and rather involve more familiar, assimilated *hancha* that may already be known or inferred from context.<sup>707</sup>

The overall pedagogical strategy related to the use of *hancha* and their positionality in literacy development is a strong and concerted commitment to Mixed-Script orthography. The page numbers and chapter titles are written in *hancha* from the very beginning, but the first twenty units feature no *hancha* in the main text, and only a limited number of *hanjcha* rendered in *han'gŭl*—17 in total.<sup>708</sup> However, from Unit 20, roughly a third of the way through Volume 1, *hancha* appear in the main text, and the textbook quickly proceeds to phase out *hancha* expressed in *han'gŭl*. In Unit 38 of Volume 1, “*küich'ya*” (train) initially appears in *han'gŭl* then subsequently in *hancha*, and from this point on throughout the remaining seven volumes I have been unable to locate any *hancha* written in *han'gŭl*.<sup>709</sup> Unlike the *KST* which placed primary emphasis on content, employing myriad *hancha* to express an intended message regardless of the *hancha* difficulty, the language of the *PHKT* is carefully calibrated so as not to exceed the linguistic knowledge that may be conveyed through already introduced and familiarized *hancha*. This close consideration for language gradation when introducing *hancha* again reflects a pedagogical shift from pre-modern content-driven “reader-style” education to modern language education based on linguistic knowledge and balanced literacy. Moreover, the initial presentation of the Korean alphabet coupled with an early injection of sinographic vocabulary into the main text—represented throughout the bulk of the textbook in *hancha*—demonstrates a strong

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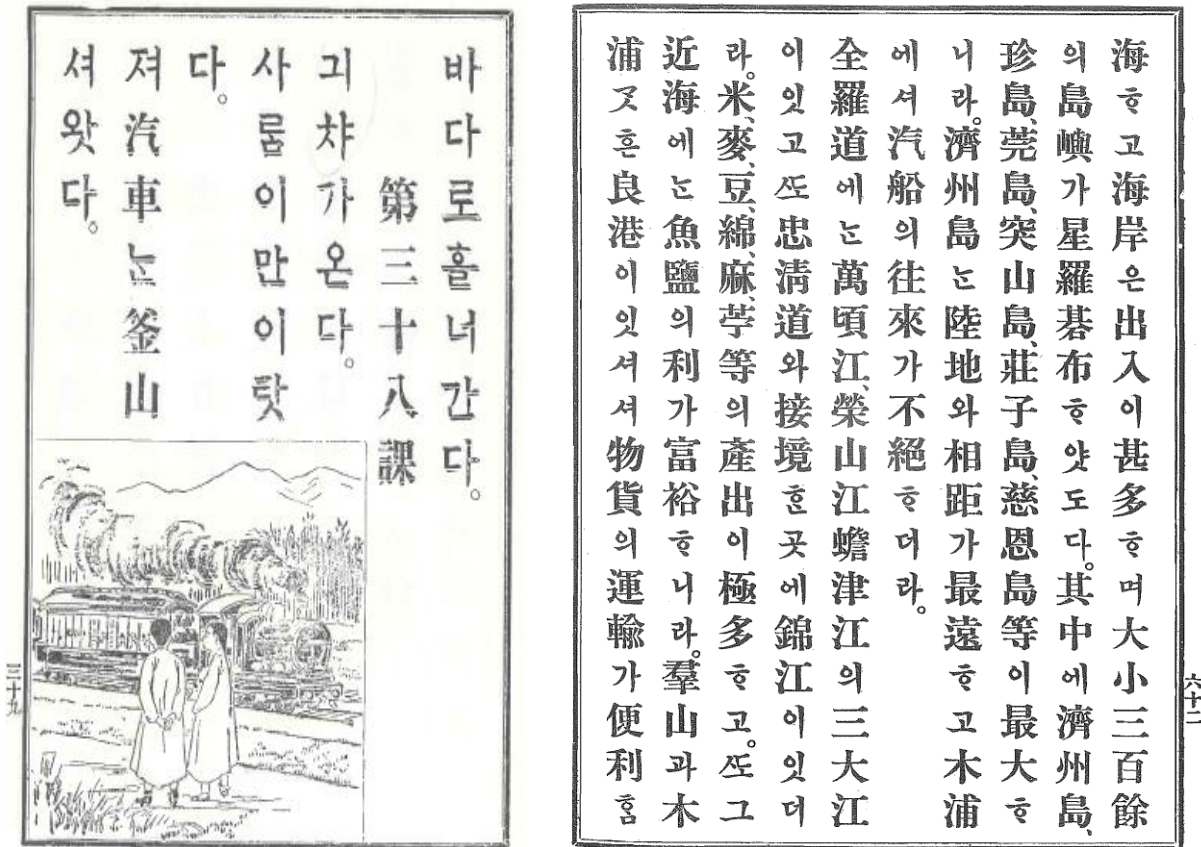
<sup>707</sup> For example “發<sup>ㅎ</sup>야” (*palhăya*, to come about, 299); “分<sup>ㅎ</sup>야海로入<sup>ㅎ</sup>니라” (*punhăya haero iphănira*, divide and enter the sea, 305).

<sup>708</sup> *PHKT*, 3-24.

<sup>709</sup> *PHKT*, 41.

commitment to vernacular education in the mixed script. The configuration of *hanchaŏ* in mainly two-syllable compounds further demonstrates the expansion of Japanese-coined neologism currency in Korea, and perhaps also direct influence from Japanese through Mitsuchi's translation process.<sup>710</sup> Figures 3 and 4 below show initial and more advanced stages of *kukhanmun* employment in the *PHKT*.

**Figure 3 and 4: Early and Advanced Stages of *Kukhanmun* Employment in *PHKT* Volume 1, Unit 38 (Left) and Volume 6, Unit 25 (Right)**



<sup>710</sup> This is an issue that requires further research.

The earliest units of the *PHKT* demonstrate an extreme form of hyper-vernacularization, assuming almost complete ignorance among its readership, as they begin from the most basic building blocks of linguistic knowledge and proceed very gradually. However, once the presence of *hancha* is established in the main text, the *PHKT* proceeds quickly to fully integrate the cosmopolitan into the vernacular, to the point where hypo-vernacularization becomes evident, much as was noted in the *KST*. For example, in Volume 2, Unit 5, entitled “*U wa MA* 牛와馬” (The Cow and the Horse), sinographs are used for two simple words for which ready vernacular versions exist. Indeed, throughout the remainder of the unit “*so*” and “*mal*” appear instead of their LS equivalents,<sup>711</sup> so the initial inclusion of the sinographs serves not the purpose of transparency or legitimacy, but rather represents an editorial and pedagogical decision. In other words, while there were times when “the character” was needed to clarify the meaning of an ambiguous word, as Hulbert claimed, or to convey cosmopolitan philosophical weight, describing a cow and a horse to elementary students was not one of those times. Rather, this and other decisions to include sinographs when conveying common knowledge at a time when the meaning could not possibly be misconstrued represents an editorial and pedagogical choice to include the cosmopolitan as an integral part of the vernacular learning process and an attempt to confirm the central position of *kukhanmun* in the new education regime.

#### **4.6 *Nodong yahak tokpon*, Private Education, and the Push for Inclusive Literacy**

The signing of the Protectorate Treaty in 1905 and the takeover of Korean education did not go unchallenged. Modernist Korean intellectuals and reform-minded Confucians spearheaded the so-called Patriotic Enlightenment Movement (*Aeguk kyemong undong*), which sought to

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<sup>711</sup> *PHKT*, Volume 2, Unit 5, 75-79.

combat growing Japanese influence, regain national sovereignty, and develop various aspects of Korean society. The main focus of their efforts was the fostering of modern education, primarily through the only avenue that offered any autonomy—private education. From 1905-1909, prior to a stricter crackdown by the Ministry of Education, private schools achieved an impressive rate of growth, and there was evidence that previously more conservative Confucians began to cooperate with reformist elements to that end.<sup>712</sup> It was during this period that the first indigenous push for universal education emerged, education that included previously neglected groups such as the emerging labor class.<sup>713</sup> In a 1907 article in the *Hwangsŏng sinmun*, one writer exhorts his countrymen to lay down their arms—referring to the Righteous Armies (*ũibyŏng*) that had sprung up in the spring of 1906 to avenge the country against Japanese advances—and instead direct their efforts at the development of industry through education:

While there are those righteous soldiers (*ũibyŏng*) who have vehemently risen up with minds of sincere loyalty, joining them are the juvenile vagrants and ne'er-do-well leeches who also call themselves *ũibyŏng*, thinking their day has come. This kind of behavior on the part of these soldiers... can only do damage to our countrymen and cause shame for our ancestors, and produces not an ounce of results. If you truly desire to recover our sovereignty... lay down your weapons, farmers, and return to your ancestral homes to dedicate yourselves to farming. Craftsmen, diligently pursue your trade. Engage in

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<sup>712</sup> Yuh, “The Struggle for Power,” 210-213; Hall, quoting Lee Yoonmi, claims that, according to one Japanese estimate, there were 5000 private schools by 1908. However, Hall, citing Ministry of Education statistics, states that the number of approved private schools dropped to 1,973 by 1910, while Yuh claims that the number in 1910 stood at “almost 3000.” The discrepancy may stem from the fact that Hall’s figure represents the number of “approved schools” after vetting by the Ministry of Education, while Yuh’s figure seems to refer to the number prior to vetting. See Hall, “First Steps Toward Assimilation,” 386; Lee Yoonmi, *Modern Education, Textbooks and the Image of the Nation: Politics of Modernization and Nationalism in Korean Education: 1800-1910* (New York: Garland, 2000).

<sup>713</sup> School *enrollment* was of course far from universal during this period, even if we understand the “school” in the broadest sense as including *sŏdang* education. However, this was the first time that the majority of Korean leadership from all intellectual walks of life united in support of some form of reformist education for every major sector of the population, as well as the first appearance of textbooks aimed at these populations.

industry, save your money, educate your progeny, develop your intellect, and foster your abilities, and you may anticipate a day when independence may be recovered.<sup>714</sup>

It was within this milieu that Yu Kilchun's *NYT* (1908) emerged, a "reader" approximately one hundred pages in length consisting of fifty short units with advice, information, and general knowledge of various aspects of modern society, including the value of hard work and frugality, the duties of the modern citizen, and how to properly interact with foreigners.<sup>715</sup> The *NYT* reads as a sort of owner's manual for modern capitalist society, seeking to ease the integration of the emergent labor class into urban, industrial life. The *NYT* came about through Yu's founding and involvement with the Hŭngsadan (興土團) established in 1907, forerunner of the better-known organization of the same name founded by An Ch'angho in 1913 in San Francisco.<sup>716</sup> The Hŭngsadan was based on the philosophy that every person could be molded into a "model man" (*sŏnbi*), and to that end the organization, through its affiliated Tongmungwan (同文館) Publishing House, produced a string of independent textbooks, including the *NYT*<sup>717</sup>. Yu's textbook publication project paralleled a broader popular movement which sought to bring about wider democratic education through private initiative.

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<sup>714</sup> "Kyŏnggo ūibyŏng chegun," *Hwangŏng sinmun*, September 25, 1907.

<sup>715</sup> In the foregoing discussion on the *Nodong yahak tokpon*, I refer to the following xerographically reproduced version, abbreviated as *NYT*: Yu Kilchun, *Nodong yahak tokpon*, Cho Yunjŏng, ed. (Kwangmyŏng: Kyŏngjin, 2012).

<sup>716</sup> Cho Yunjŏng, "Nodongja kyoyuk ūl tullŏssan chisik ūi chŏlhap kwa kyemong ūi chŏngch'isŏng," *Inmun nonch'ong* 69 (2013): 407-455; 413.

<sup>717</sup> Other textbooks included *Elementary Geography of Our Country* (*Ch'odŭng pon'guk chiri* 初等本國地理), *Elementary History of Our Country* (*Ch'odŭng pon'guk yaksa* 初等本國略史), and *Taehan Grammar*, (*Taehan munjŏn* 大韓文典), one of the earliest Korean grammars. See Cho, "Nodongja kyoyuk," 413-14.

The *NYT* has garnered significant interest among scholars, with most research conducted in the past twenty years.<sup>718</sup> Many scholars point to the importance of the work in signaling a turn toward popular education for broader sections of the population. For example, Chŏng Yunjŏng states, “It is no exaggeration to say that the *Nodong yahak tokpon* was the starting point of a project to carry out the education of the entire citizenry, with Yu Kilchun at the helm.”<sup>719</sup> Unlike many other Enlightenment-era textbooks, much of the research on the *NYT* has focused on the language employed in the text due to its experimental nature. Hwang Hodŏk argues that the language of the text represented the creation of a social communicative technology that mediated between capital and labor in a shift between two paradigms: “Nation/enlightenment/*kugŏ* → labor/capital/language.”<sup>720</sup> Kim Yŏngmin meanwhile engages with the writing style of the text, in particular its unfavorable comparison in previous research with Japanese *furigana* writing style, featuring interlinear glosses of sinographic words. Writing on the *Mansebo* style, which he equates with *NYT* orthography, Kim points out that previous research has proven that such a style could not have been derived from Japanese, as certain of the glossing techniques are not attested in the language.<sup>721</sup> However, Kim then claims that the main reason for employing *pusok kungmunch’e*—“the division of writing between *hanmun* and *han’gŭl* according to a gap in

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<sup>718</sup> Chong, “Nodongja kyoyuk,” 409.

<sup>719</sup> *Ibid.*, 408.

<sup>720</sup> Hwang Hodŏk, “Chabon kwa ŏnŏ, Yu Kilchun ũi *Nodong yahak tokpon* ũi nodong kaenyŏm kwa munch’e ũi t’ek’ŭnolloji: T’ongch’i, kyemong, chihwi ũi kyŏlhap kwanggye rŭl chungsim ũro,” *Kaenyŏm kwa sot’ong* 14 (2014): 95- 135; 95-96.

<sup>721</sup> Cho Yŏnhyŏn, “Sin sosŏl hyŏngsŏng kwajŏnggo,” *Hyŏndae munhak* 4 (1966): 178; Saegusa Toshikatsu also claims that, of the four types of glossing styles employed in *Hyŏl ũi nu*, two are unattested in Japanese. See Saegusa, “Ijung p’yogi wa kŭndaejŏk munch’e yangsang.”



social status” —discounts the possibility of Japanese inspiration, which I would argue is not the case.<sup>722</sup> While I agree that the primary goal of *pusok kungmunch’e* was to render the text more accessible to a broader readership, which may or may not have been the original purpose of Japanese *furigana*, this does not discount the at least partial inspiration of certain Japanese glossing techniques employed by Korean intellectuals thoroughly familiar with such a system through fluency in Japanese. More likely is the possibility that Yu Kilchun and editors of the *Mansebo* combined what they saw as a positive trait in Japanese writing for purposes of literacy development with the potentiality that already existed in Korean through the traditional *hunmin chōng’ŭm pusok munch’e* style to produce a novel printing style that harmonized with their own ideologies of democratic literacy for national development.<sup>723</sup> Moreover, as mentioned in Chapter 2, the hint of Japanese influence or inspiration need not forestall positive evaluation of a particular writing technology, nor call into question the allegiances of the “language entrepreneur,” but rather suggest a level of cosmopolitan awareness in terms of linguistic knowledge and entrepreneurialism. More to this point, the source of the specific influence in writing styles is not the main focus of this section, nor is it grounds for the most productive discussion. Rather, the writing technology employed by Yu in *NYT* is primarily of interest due to its function as an attempt to transverse the cosmopolitan-vernacular divide, an experimental *écriture* that aimed for expansive literacy while nevertheless maintaining an integral position for the cosmopolitan. Therefore, in the following discussion primary emphasis is placed not on the extent of Japanese influence behind such an experimental writing style, but rather on the function

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<sup>722</sup> Kim Yōngmin, “Kūndae kyemonggi munch’e yōn’gu: Yu Kilchun ūl chungsim ūro,” *Tongbanghak chi* 148 (2009): 391-428; 406.

<sup>723</sup> For an explanation of this style, see Kim, “Kūndae kyemonggi munch’e yōn’gu,” 405.

of such experimentation itself in transversing LS and vernacular literacy for the means of conveying modern knowledge.

The *NYT* is the most vernacularized of all texts analyzed in this chapter, adapting a register close to the spoken language and employing a relatively limited number of *hancha*ǒ. The text was clearly composed in the vernacular, with LS grammar and other influence limited mainly to the lexical level, making this a Type 3 (*Hanmun* word-level style) form of writing. Unlike in the *PHKT*, virtually no gradation in difficulty can be detected, demonstrating that this book was directed at an adult readership with a baseline of literacy seeking to improve basic knowledge, rather than at illiterate or semi-literate elementary students. In this sense, the *NYT* is primarily content-driven with linguistic knowledge playing a secondary role to the conveyance of knowledge on modern society, also in contradistinction to the *PHKT*. The most fundamental goal of the *NYT* is to facilitate access to knowledge among a broader, non-traditional readership with little to no grounding in Sinitic education. *Hancha*, though representing an integral element of the text and appearing throughout the *NYT*, play a supplemental role—one of transparency, mediation, and at times legitimacy—though an *NYT* free of *hancha* is conceivable. This, however, may be an assessment based in a contemporary language ideological view accustomed to *han'gŭl*-only orthography, whereas Yu and other intellectuals of his time may not have been able to conceive of such an orthography.

The most conspicuous feature of the *NYT* and the characteristic that has garnered the most scholarly attention is Yu's employment of so-called affixed notation (*pusok kungmunch'e*). Figure 5 below displays typical glossing techniques in the *NYT*.

Figure 5: Nodong yahak tokpon (A Reader for Night School Laborers, 1908)

勞動夜學讀本 第一

八

그려 놓고 직업 無는 사람은 목심 이 잇셔도 生涯 가 업심 인 즉 生는 功  
 効가 업다 흘지 오너

나라도 亦그 백성의 직업으로 以其 목심을 삼나니 國人 에 직업 잇는 者  
 가 多흔 즉 그 나라가 昌하고 少은 즉 衰하는 지라 故로 나라를 愛하는 人  
 은 怠히 遊지 안코 勤란히 事하 나니라

職業 이 千萬 가지로 分혀 서나 그 實狀은 二路에 出지 아니 할니 曰대

一 心을 勞하는 者 이 나 곳 心智로 事하는 사람

二 力을 勞하는 者 이 나 곳 筋力으로 事하는 사람

金章 燦爛 禮服을 身에 들리고 정부에 안젓다고 자랑 할지 말지어다

사람의 직업 이니라 해진 衣에 지개 젓다고 붓그리 말지어다 또 흔 사람  
 의 직업 이니라

第七課 人의 福祿

사람의 福祿은 곧 사람의 樂움이니

When analyzing such notation it quickly becomes apparent that not only did Yu compose the NYT in the vernacular, but the text was meant to be read in the vernacular, a feature that

distinguishes it from other textbooks analyzed in this chapter. A few experiments reveal that the vernacular reading is actually the only reading that works with the flow of the sentence, and the presence of *hancha* serves more as semantic mediation than reading guide. For example, in the following phrase appearing in line five of Image 6 above, vernacular *hundok* glosses are used, and through an analysis of these glosses we can determine with certainty that the text was meant to be read in the vernacular:

“游<sup>(노)</sup>지안코 勤<sup>(부지)</sup>런히事<sup>(일)</sup>하나니라.”

*NO<sup>(no)</sup>ji ank'o KŪN<sup>(puji)</sup>rōnhi SA<sup>(il)</sup>hananira*

Don't play, but work diligently.<sup>724</sup>

The first and last sinographs, “游” and “事,” convey a stilted, awkward feel when read according to their *umdok* readings of “*yu*” and “*sa*,” but as I have demonstrated, many such words appeared in the *KST*, and according to a pre-modern reading method, such a rendering would have been tenable for those grounded in LS education. However, the second sinograph “勤” when pronounced in its *umdok* reading “*kŭn*” and combined with the following grammatical elements “*~rōnhi*” (i.e., *kŭn-rōnhi*) fails to render any sort of understandable word, and therefore we must conclude that only a vernacular reading (as *pujirōnhi* “diligently”) is possible. At other points the grammatical dissonance between the *umdok* reading and the rest of the sentence makes the impossibility of the *hancha* reading even more pronounced. Consider the following phrase:

집을興<sup>(이르케)</sup>는 자는

*chip ūl HŪNG(irŭk'e)nŭn chya nŭn*

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<sup>724</sup> *NYT*, 14.

One who props up the house

According to basic Korean grammar the particle following the *ũmdok* reading of “興” (*hũng*) is necessarily “*ũn*,” but the presence instead of “*nũn*” again makes only a vernacular reading tenable.<sup>725</sup> This pattern occurs continually and systematically throughout the text, and so it can only be concluded that not only was the *NYT* composed in the vernacular but could only have been read as such.

The *NYT* employs a variety of glossing techniques in experimental and intriguing ways. The following are a list of glossing techniques and examples that are attested in the *NYT* according to my analysis: 1) Sound (*ũmdok*) glossing (道理 = *tori*), 2) Vernacular (*hundok*) glossing (人 = *saram*), 3) Expanded *hancha* (靈 (*sin*) = 神靈 (*sillyǒng*) “spirit”), 4) Hybrid vernacular-cum-Sino-Korean gloss (正道 = *parhũn TO* “correct way”), 5) Hybrid vernacular-cum-Sino-Korean gloss with extra *hancha* (力役 = *himyǒksa* (*him* + 役事) “mobilization”), and 6) Variant *hancha* gloss (民 = *paeksǒng* (百姓) “common people”). Throughout the *NYT*, *hancha* appear in the main text and *han’gũl* is interlinearly glossed; however, where verses of songs appear this method is reversed, and *hancha* appear interlinearly with *han’gũl* in the main text. Below is a table presenting the number of occurrences of the four main glossing types<sup>726</sup> in the first five units of the textbook:

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<sup>725</sup> *NYT*, 9.

<sup>726</sup> The fifth glossing type appears only sporadically throughout the textbook and so has been excluded from the table.

**Table 5: Occurrence of Four Main Glossing Types in *Nodong yahak tokpon* (1908)**

Glossing Type \ Unit	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5	Total
Type 1 ( <i>ũmdok</i> )	17	21	16	19	17	90
Type 2 ( <i>hundok</i> )	15	21	20	18	16	90
Type 3 (expanded <i>hancha</i> )	2	2	6	4	5	19
Type 4 (hybrid)	0	0	1	1	0	2

<sup>727</sup>

As the above table demonstrates, by far the most common glossing methods are *ũmdok* and *hundok*, styles whereby an entire word is rendered syllable-for-syllable in its Sino-Korean pronunciation (Type 1) or according to its vernacular meaning (Type 2). In the first five units of the *NYT* each glossing type appears exactly the same number of times, and this trend more or less continues throughout the textbook. These two techniques incidentally form the bedrock of sinographic mediation in the Japanese language (*ondoku/kundoku*). However, another common glossing technique is what I call *hancha* expansion, which is a method not attested in Japanese. Examples of this include “盜” (*to*) → “*tojök*” (盜賊, thief, 65), “巧” (*kyo*) → “*konggyo-hi*” (工巧히, skillfully, dexterously, 74), 82: “農” → “*nongsa*” (農事, farm work, 82), and 89: “保” → “*pojön*” (保全 integrity, preservation, 89).<sup>728</sup> As I mentioned in my earlier analysis, the *KST* contained many instances of monosyllabic Sino-Korean words that functioned as full words, as

<sup>727</sup> *NYT*, Units 1-5, 7-13.

<sup>728</sup> *NYT*.

well as evidence of *hanchaŏ* that had been expanded to two-syllable compounds. However, in the *NYT* there are very few examples of such words remaining, most *ŭmdok hanchaŏ* undergoing manual lexical expansion as in the above examples or having already been expanded into two-syllable compounds and appearing as such in the main text. In this sense, the method in which this specific glossing technique is employed functions as a sort of index for the extent of *hanchaŏ* vernacularization and the author's own language ideologies. In other words, Sino-Korean vocabulary that is manually expanded as in the above examples are words in the process of assimilation into the vernacular lexicon, or at least perceived to be so by the author, whereas words already represented in two-syllable compound form without manual expansion have already been assimilated into the vernacular as a “settled” part of the lexicon. Finally, “hybrid” glosses, which in most cases employ a combination of *ŭmdok* and *hundok* readings, represent attempts to render the text as accessible as possible to the “semi-literate” worker, regardless of formal glossing rules, and also appear as a form of experimentation as the author grapples with the cosmopolitan-vernacular interface.<sup>729</sup>

Judging by the overall glossing strategy of the *NYT*, the primary goal seems to be conveyance of knowledge and information through accessible text, with a secondary emphasis on linguistic knowledge and literacy. However, through such accessible writing the reader would have undoubtedly gained linguistic knowledge and literacy, specifically: access to a form of reading and writing about “modern” subjects such as the capitalist economy. The overarching *hancha* strategy in the *NYT* is to gloss in *han'gŭl* the first occurrence of a Sino-Korean word, after which the *hanchaŏ* appears in the main text written in *kungmun*. For this reason there is an

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<sup>729</sup> Some of these instances include the following: “一兩” (*hallyang* (< K. *han* + SK *RYANG*), one side, 36); 52: “文字” (*kŭlcha* (< K. *kŭl* + SK *CHA*), 52); “字意” (*kŭlcha ttŭt*, the meaning of a character, 64); “天道” (*hanŏl to* (< K. *hanŏl* + SK *TO*), the heavenly way, 90).

overall progression toward more *kungmun* and less *hancha* over the course of the textbook because the author gradually exhausts the number of *hancha* deemed to be “basic” enough to expose the uninitiated reader to. However, there are instances where this overarching strategy is not observed. For example, the first appearance of the *hancha* “*uae*” (友愛 “love between friends”) is expressed not in *hancha* but in *kungmun*, and this also occurs with “*punbyŏl*” (分別 “distinction”).<sup>730</sup> On the same page the *hancha* “*paeksŏng*” (百姓 “common people”) is presented for the first time, but written in *kungmun* in the main text; however, on the next page, “*min*” (民) is glossed as “*paeksong*” (百姓, one hundred surnames, common people).<sup>731</sup> Perhaps the most befuddled glossing techniques, however, appear in a unit titled “我家” (My Family). In this unit, “家族(가족)” appears first, followed by “*kajyok*” accompanied by interlinear open dots to designate emphasis. The next appearance of this word is in *han’gŭl* only, followed inexplicably by *hancha* in the main text with *han’gŭl* glossing, followed subsequently by *han’gul* only in the main text. Meanwhile, repeated occurrences of *hancha* such as the titular “我家” (read *aga* in Sino-Korean) continue to appear in *hancha* with *han’gŭl* glosses, despite the relative familiarity of the sinographs which constitute the phrase.<sup>732</sup>

Such idiosyncrasies in glossing technique reflect editorial agency in a form of *écriture* that was still unsettled and in a state of transition. They also suggest a process of cosmopolitan/vernacular negotiation and differentiation as the author attempts to strike the desired balance between vernacular transparency and cosmopolitan legitimacy. As I mentioned in the analysis of *KST* and *Sămin p’ilchi*, the tendency to express *hancha* in *han’gŭl* instead of

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<sup>730</sup> *NYT*, 8; 12.

<sup>731</sup> *NYT*, 8-9.

<sup>732</sup> *NYT*, 20.



sinographs that began to appear signified a quite dramatic breakdown of cosmopolitan infallibility and authority, and this is a trend that continued in the *NYT*. However, it is significant that Yu could not do away with *hancha* completely, but merely attenuated their positionality. For the vast majority of *hancha*ǒ, the first appearance was in *hancha*, and even after conversion to *han'gŭl*, previously introduced *hancha*ǒ would reappear later in the main text, again in cosmopolitan garb. Moreover, there is evidence that the choice of *hancha* or *han'gŭl* is dependent to some extent on content, suggesting a cosmopolitan attraction or adherence that is lexically and conceptually dependent. For example, Unit 31 entitled “To Be the Citizen Descendants of Our Great Emperor” (*Kohwangje ūi chason toenun kungmin* 高皇帝의子孫되는國民) is heavily packed with *hancha* in the main text, and many of the *hancha*ǒ have already been introduced and subsequently represented in *kungmun* only. Moreover, Unit 30 follows an overall trend toward less *hancha*, so the abrupt reappearance of so many sinographs is somewhat jarring. However, through a glance at the vocabulary rendered in *hancha* we can determine that many of the words pertain to the King, the nation, and the people’s position within this relationship. Although phrases such as “天下萬國” (*ch'ŏnha man'guk* All nations under heaven) and “大韓國民” (*taehan kungmin* The Great Han People) were *linguistically* accessible and able to be inferred from context, Yu’s representation of them in *hancha* suggested on the one hand that he deemed certain common *hancha* more deserving of repetition and worthy of memorization, but on the other hand that certain concepts demanded cosmopolitan mediation to add weight and legitimacy. Alternatively, when presenting to his readers vernacular songs, *han'gŭl* is found in the main text, while Yu only bothers to gloss in *hancha* one out of three songs, demonstrating a division in the proper domain of each script.

A final observation on *hancha* strategy relates to an evident divide between *ũmdok* and *hundok* glossing. That is to say, whereas *ũmdok*-glossed words most often appear first as *hancha* in the main text with *kungmun* glossing, followed by *kungmun*-only orthography, *hundok*-glossed words are repeatedly accompanied by *kungmun* glossing. I would argue that this is another example of editorial agency, a decision to vernacularize more or less stemming from the author's perception of his readership and his own language ideology. *Hancha* are provided for the initial introduction of an *ũmdok*-glossed term, but then removed in subsequent appearances because the author does not believe constant reiterations of the cosmopolitan are necessary when the ultimate goal of the text is not *hancha* education per se but lucid conveyance of knowledge and information. The initial *hancha* presentation establishes the transparent meaning of the two-syllable combination but is abandoned once the meaning of this assimilated term can be inferred from context, to be reintroduced only in cases where added cosmopolitan authority may be derived. Related to this is the occurrence of what I have termed hyper-vernacularization, where a vernacular gloss of a seemingly assimilated cosmopolitan word is provided even though the meaning can be assumed to be inferrable from context.<sup>733</sup> This acts as further evidence of Yu's goal in producing such a textbook—the enlightening of a previously neglected population, and the drawing of the modern industrial laborer into the vernacular orbit, a realm in which the cosmopolitan occupied an essential though significantly attenuated position. The following advertisement for the *NYT* appearing in the *Hwangsŏng sinmun* reveals Yu's target readership:

*Nodong yahak* (Author: Yu Kilchun)

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<sup>733</sup> For example, “此六條” (SK *CH'A YUK CHO*, glossed as “*i yŏsŏt kaji*,” 7 “these six articles”); “文字” (SK, *MUNCHA*, glossed as “*kŭlcha*,” 52 “writing system; graphs”); “唯一” (SK *YUJIK*, glossed as “*ojik hana*,” 73 “one and only”); “卽” (SK *CHŬK*, glossed as “*kot*,” 77 “namely, to wit”); “上下” (SK *SANGHA*, glossed as “*u arae*,” 87 “top and bottom”); “天道” (SK *CH'ŎNDO*, glossed as *hanŏl to*, 90 “heavenly way”).

In order to foster the moral foundation and develop the intellect of our nation's foundation, the laborer, this book is presented in clear, simple, and straightforward language. It is appropriate not only for workers' education but also filled with general knowledge (*pot'ong haksik*) for all our countrymen, young and old. Purchase it today!<sup>734</sup>

Thus, the *NYT* was primarily directed at laborers with a basic level of literacy, presented in a “clear, simple, and straightforward language” for the purpose of developing the nation's intellect. However, the information continued within the *NYT* is not limited to laborers alone but “all our countrymen,” and so the language used serves as a blueprint for what Yu, an intellectual with a thoroughly developed language ideology and deep knowledge of both cosmopolitan and vernacular grammar, believed to be the ideal *écriture* for universal education. Unlike other textbooks analyzed in this chapter, the *NYT* was focused mainly on reaching the widest readership possible outside of the traditional classroom setting. Whereas the Japanese-produced *PHKT* had the feel of a contemporary language textbook and attempted to rather systematically develop literacy and convey linguistic knowledge through a commitment to Mixed Script, the *NYT* assumed a baseline level of literacy and utilized *hancha* as an important though at times expendable element of the “new vernacular.” Textbooks such as the *NYT* demonstrated the diversification and partial privatization of the textbook and education market following the signing of the Protectorate Treaty and the rise of the Patriotic Enlightenment Movement. Such textbooks represented alternative proclamations of what vernacular literacy might be, as disparate intellectual streams coalesced for the sake of the nation and attempted to draw wider segments of the population into the orbit of vernacular literacy.

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<sup>734</sup> “Nodong yahak,” *Hwangsŏng sinmun*, January 26, 1909.

#### 4.7 *Yōja tokpon*, Women's Education, and Gendered Literacy

The first attempt by the Chosŏn government in 1895 to create a system of modern schools was fitful and showed a lack of strong commitment. However, where the Chosŏn government provided virtually no support at all in the initial years of its new education policy was in fostering education for women. Indeed, if we are to understand “education” as synonymous with “schooling,” or attending an institution outside of the home with other students for the purpose of learning, then women’s education in the modern sense began with Western missionary initiative. Following the arrival of the first missionaries in the 1880s, schools for girls and boys teaching an expanded curriculum were founded, first in Seoul and P’yŏngyang, then branching out to smaller towns.<sup>735</sup> Women’s education was seen to be so desperately needed that one of the first schools to be founded by the new missionary arrivals was Ehwa Hakdang (Pear Blossom School), established by the American Methodist missionary Mary Finch Scranton on May 31, 1886 with a single student.<sup>736</sup> Enrollment at Ehwa Hakdang and other missionary schools grew slowly but steadily over the next fifteen years, and by 1911 there were twenty-two schools in the capital alone accepting girls.<sup>737</sup> As of 1908, according to an advertisement taken out by Ehwa Hakdang in the *Hwangsŏng sinmun*, primary school students studied “National

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<sup>735</sup> For a list of early mission schools, including their affiliated denominations, years founded, and location, see Yoo, “The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea,” 209.

<sup>736</sup> This is the origin of the English name of today’s Ehwa Woman’s (not “Women’s”) University. Observing the work done by the school’s founder Ms. Scranton, Queen Min visited the school the year after it was founded and christened it Pear Blossom School (*ihwa haktang* 梨花學堂). This was the third missionary school to be established, preceded by Paejae haktang founded by the Methodist missionary Henry Appenzeller, and Kyŏngsin haktang founded by the Northern Presbyterian missionary Horace Underwood, both in June of 1885. See Yoo, “The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea,” 203-205.

<sup>737</sup> Yoo, “The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea.”

language, Chinese language,<sup>738</sup> composition, arithmetic, drawing, geography, elementary gymnastics, and English,” while middle school students added “moral training, Korean history, physiology, hygiene, zoology, botany, drawing, cooking,” and “bookkeeping” to their repertoire.”<sup>739</sup>

Due to the lack of enthusiasm for official support of girls’ education, the first Korean initiative to provide modern education for girls came from the private sector, and this movement gained momentum following increased Japanese influence from 1905 and the emergence of the Patriotic Enlightenment Movement. Theodore Yoo reports that there were seventeen private girls schools founded by Koreans—the vast majority in Seoul—between 1905 and 1908 alone,<sup>740</sup> filling an important void in girls’ education up to that point: self-determined, secular, modern education. One Korean scholar who was interested in the role of women’s education for the purpose of national advancement was Chang Chiyŏn (張志淵, 1864-1921), a reformist Confucian scholar, journalist, activist, and author of *Yŏja tokpon*<sup>741</sup> (The Women’s Reader, 1908). Until his early thirties Chang led the quiet life of a rusticated literatus, and it was not until 1897 at the age of 34 when he joined the *Maninso* (萬人疏 “Memorial of the Ten Thousand”) movement calling for the return of the King to the palace from his refuge in the Russian Legation

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<sup>738</sup> Presumably this refers to *hanmun*.

<sup>739</sup> *Hwangšŏng sinmun*, September 17, 1908, quoted in Yoo, “The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea,” 207.

<sup>740</sup> Yoo, “The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea,” 214-15.

<sup>741</sup> The original spelling of the textbook was *Nyŏjŏ tokpon* (녀주독본).

that he entered public life.<sup>742</sup> In September of the following year he became managing editor of the fledgling *Hwangsŏng sinmun*, and through this and other media outlets he dedicated his efforts to fostering the strength of the Korean people and resisting foreign aggression and influence.<sup>743</sup> His efforts in this regard soon brought him into confrontation with the Japanese authorities when, in perhaps his most well-known piece titled “Today We Cry Out in Lamentation” (*Siil ya pangsŏng taegok* 是日也放聲大哭) appearing in the *Hwangsŏng sinmun*, Chang expressed his betrayal at the treaty forced on Korea by Japan, and received a three-month jail sentence in return.<sup>744</sup> In April of the following year Chang along with Yun Hyojŏng and Na Suyŏn formed the *Taehan chaganghoe* with the goal of self-strengthening and independence, but this endeavor too was foiled by Japanese suppression.<sup>745</sup>

Like many reform-minded Confucianists of his day, Chang recognized the importance of education for women, but not as an end in itself. As evidenced by the content of the *Yŏja tokpon*, the fundamental conceptualization of women for Chang was according to her Confucian roles as mother and wife. However, within the new paradigm of the modern nation-state, women must go beyond the inner quarters to receive an education along with men, but apply this education to fostering their own household. A stable, enlightened household then serves as a building block for modern citizen education and a strong state. Although a separate preface does not accompany the text, Chang writes in the first unit, “Women are the mothers of our country’s people. When a

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<sup>742</sup> Pak Yongok, “1905-1910 Sŏgu kŭndae yŏsŏngsang ūi ihae wa insik: Chang Chiyŏn ūi *Yŏja tokpon* ūl chungsim ūro,” *Inmun kwahak yŏn’gu* 12 (1992): 197-231; 199.

<sup>743</sup> Chang Chiyŏn, “*Siil ya pangsŏng taegok*,” *Hwangsŏng sinmun*, November 17, 1905; Yuh, “The Struggle for Power,” 208; Pak, “Sŏgu kŭndae yŏsŏngsang,” 199.

<sup>744</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>745</sup> Pak, “Sŏgu kŭndae yŏsŏngsang,” 199-200.

woman's education is developed, her sons and daughters may be made into good-natured people. Therefore, instruction will soon advance domestic education and become a model to guide the knowledge of our nation's people."<sup>746</sup>

*Yöja tokpon* was published by Kwanghak söp'o, a publishing house begun by Yun Ch'ihö (尹致昊, 1864-1945) and other progressive intellectuals in 1906 and responsible for multiple textbooks and other "patriotic enlightenment" tracts.<sup>747</sup> *Yöja tokpon* consists of two volumes—the first volume containing 64 units and the latter 56—with each unit dealing with a female protagonist.<sup>748</sup> Volume 1 describes the contributions or achievements of Korean women, and Volume 2 those of Chinese and Western women. Although the primary roles for Korean women presented in the textbook are those of wife and mother, the public careers of certain Western women are described, presenting non-traditional though remote role-models. While the exact extent of its circulation is uncertain, we can conjecture that the book was intended for private girls' schools that began to appear after 1906, although due to the banning of the book by Japanese authority in November of 1910, it unfortunately would not have enjoyed a wide readership.<sup>749</sup>

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<sup>746</sup> In the my discussion I refer to the following xerographically reproduced version of the *Yöja tokpon*: Chang Chiyön, *Yöja tokpon*, ed. Mun Hyeyun (Kwangmyöng: Kyöngjin, 2012): 9-10.

<sup>747</sup> These included *Ch'odüng Taehan chiji* (Elementary Korean Geography), *Ch'odüng yullihak* (Elementary Ethics), *Ch'odüng sohak* (Elementary Sohak), *Chungdüng man'guk sinjiji* (New Intermediate Geography of All Nations), *It'aeri kôn'guk samgöl chön* (Biographies of Italy's Three Founding Heroes), and *Ülchi Mundök chön* (Biography of Ülchi Mundök). See Mun, "Kungmin kukka üi hyöngsöng."

<sup>748</sup> *Yöja tokpon*.

<sup>749</sup> Mun, "Kungmin kukka üi hyöngsöng."

Much like many other textbooks during the Enlightenment Era, research on the *Yōja tokpon* has highlighted the hybrid and transitional nature of the work. For example, Pak Yongok claims that the *Yōja tokpon* presents an image of women as autonomous and independent actors possessing the authority of the modern citizen. The textbook moreover provides a global women's history through its depiction of not only Korean but foreign women as well, which serves to broaden the perspective of its readership.<sup>750</sup> However, while women are elevated to the level of modern citizens who must build the nation through education, such work is emphasized through the traditional Confucian roles of wife and mother. In other words, the primary beneficiary of education is not the student herself, but rather the nation as a whole through the agency of male actors.<sup>751</sup> Mun Hyeyun meanwhile points out the contradiction which emerges in the *Yōja tokpon*, whereby Korean women are described according to traditional roles and placed in domestic scenarios while Chinese and Western women simultaneously are lauded for active involvement in and contributions to society.<sup>752</sup>

Such hybridity and contradiction is also evident in the language of the *Yōja tokpon*. The following advertisement that ran repeatedly in the *Hwangsōng sinmun* demonstrates a perceived need among educated men to cultivate a form of literacy that would bridge the gap between “false, vulgar” literacy and enlightenment.

女子讀本 (*Nyōjā tokpon*)  
By Honorable Teacher Wiam<sup>753</sup> Chang Chiyōn...

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<sup>750</sup> Pak, “Sōgu kūndae yōsōngsang,” 198.

<sup>751</sup> Ibid, 201.

<sup>752</sup> Mun Hyeyun, “Kūndae kyemonggi yōsōng kyokwasō ūi yōllyōjōn, kūrigo aeguk puindūl: Chang Chiyōn ūi *Yōja tokpon* ūl chungsim ūro,” *Pan'gyo ōmun* 35 (2013): 97-128; 103.

<sup>753</sup> Wiam (韋菴) was Chang Chiyōn's pen name.



The women of our country have long been without teaching (講 *kang*). Even in the case of noble women, their knowledge reached no further than false (虛誕 昏 *höt'anhän*), vernacular books (*ön ch'aek*). But today with the importance of civilization and enlightenment (*munmyöng*) women's schools have been cropping up and yet, to our lament, a complete (*wanjönhan*) textbook remains absent. Therefore, for the intellectual development of women this two-volume book has been produced, written in pure *kungmun* with interlinear glosses (旁註 *pangju*) in *hanmun*. The first volume deals with famous women in Korean history, while the second volume is a history of notable women from Eastern and Western countries.<sup>754</sup>

This advertisement reveals a great deal about the elite perception of women's literacy, the changing state of education, and the language hierarchy in Korea. The author, presumably speaking for the educated male elite, equates vernacular (*ön*) fiction with "falsehood," implying that *hanmun* or at least writing incorporating *hancha* (*kukhanmun*) represented the "true" writing. The following sentence is significant in that the author equates universal *munmyöng* with not only education but schooling for girls—still a rather progressive if not radical idea for most Koreans. The author laments the lack of textbooks for such schools, but is quick to explain exactly what sort of textbook is needed. When the author describes a lack of "complete" textbooks, this should be understood as a textbook combining the vernacular and cosmopolitan in a well-rounded form of literacy. Thus, with even more educated elite women still regrettably clinging to vernacular fiction and with ill-equipped modern girls' schools popping up, *Yöja tokpon* filled the void with a combination of *kungmun* for women's accessibility and interlinear *hancha* to supplement the "false" with "truth."

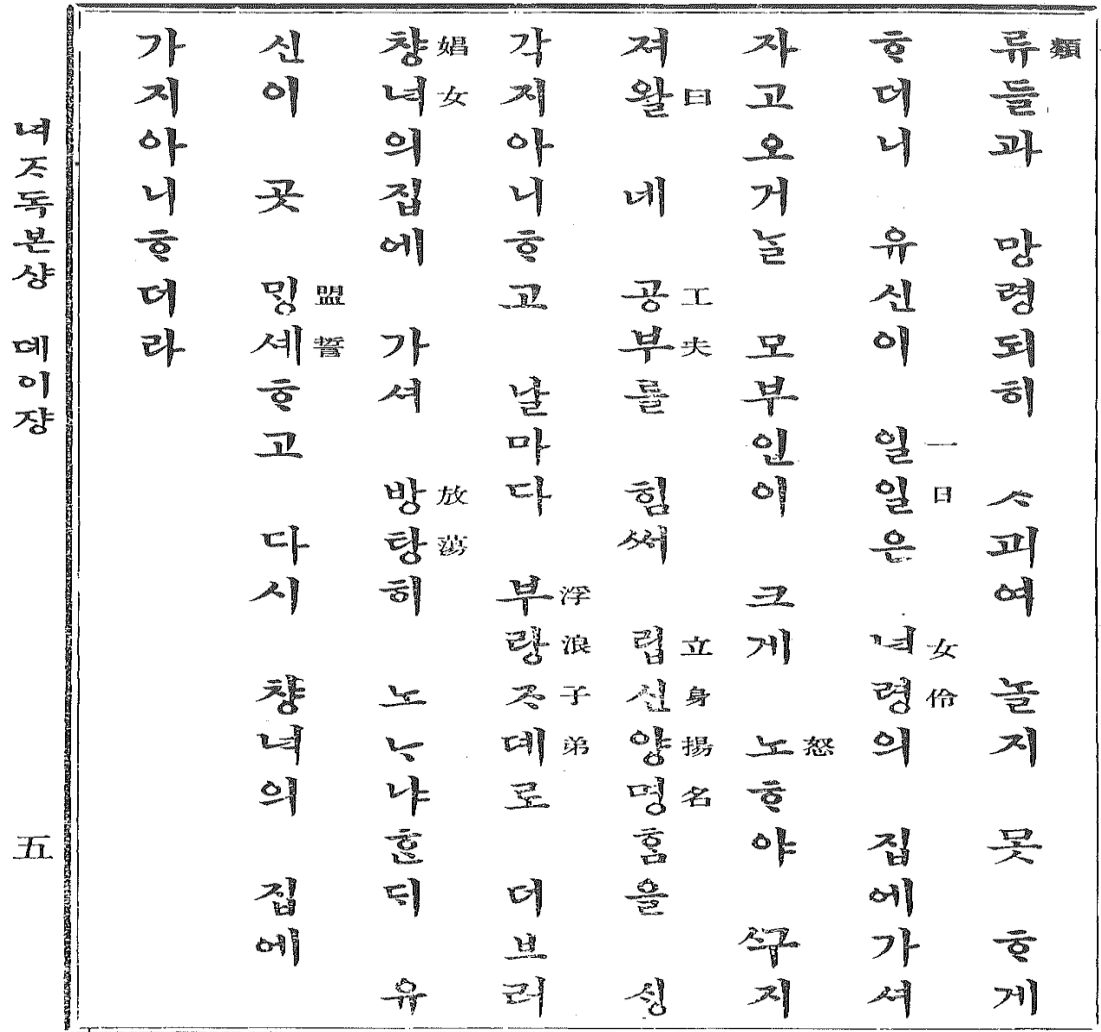
As the above paragraph advertises, the *Yöja tokpon* is written completely in vernacular Korean, with certain Sino-Korean words interlinearly glossed in small-print *hancha*. In this way,

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<sup>754</sup> "Nyöjä tokpon," *Hwangsöng sinmun*, April 23, 1908. This advertisement first appeared on April 23 and then ran for several months before being replaced by an ad listing newly published textbooks and other books, most of which were also published by Kwanghak söp'o. *Yöja tokpon* is placed at the top of this list.

the *Yōja tokpon* employs an interlinear glossing technique similar to the *NYT*, but in the reverse fashion. Figure 6 below illustrates the *Yōja tokpon*'s glossing technique.

Figure 6: *Yōja tokpon* (*Women's Reader*, 1908)



A further difference between the textbooks is that the *Yōja tokpon*, providing glosses in *hancha* instead of *kungmun*, employs only the *ūmdok* method, rather than the variety of glossing methods appearing in the *NYT*. A further innovation, also taken up in the colonial-era *Pot'ong hakkyo Chosōnō kŭp hanmun tokpon* (PCHT, 1911) is the separate introduction of new *hancha*ŏ

vocabulary, in this case at the end of each unit. Much like the *NYT* and the *PHKT*, the spelling utilized in the *Yōja tokpon* is fairly standardized, but unlike other textbooks analyzed thus far, word spacing is introduced. The *Yōja tokpon* continues the process of lexical stabilization through *hancha* expansion, as well. There is a virtual absence of monosyllabic verbs mediated by vernacular affixation, and instead two-syllable Sino-Korean combinations are the norm. A final salient feature is that there is virtually no difficulty gradation evident, but because the textbook is composed at such an elementary level, roughly equivalent to Volume 2 of *PHKT*, not only is the anticipated baseline literacy level of the readership quite low, but there is little expectation of significantly improved literacy over the course of textbook usage. In other words, the format of the textbook suggests the anticipation of a focused, limited, and terminal education. The writing style is Type 3 *Hanmun* Word Style, and is vernacular dominant (*kukchu hanjong*).<sup>755</sup>

The most significant observations we can make about the *Yōja tokpon* relate to the *hancha* deployment strategy of the text and what it suggests about the perception of the target readership. In contrast to all other textbooks analyzed in this chapter except for *Sāmin p'ilchi*, *kungmun* writing appears throughout the main text—even in unit titles<sup>756</sup>—whereas *hancha* are glossed interlinearly, in direct contrast with the *NYT*. This reversal of centuries of textual practice alone suggests an attenuation of *hancha* education for a female audience, but a closer look will reveal the mechanics of such a textual strategy. An analysis of *hancha* (re)presentation techniques demonstrates that *hancha* education is not the primary or even secondary focus of the textbook, but rather is tangential to the conveyance of knowledge about note-worthy women.

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<sup>755</sup> *Yōja tokpon*.

<sup>756</sup> The most vernacularized textbook analyzed thus far, the *NYT*, rendered unit titles in *hancha*, as did the *PHKT*. *Sāmin p'ilchi*, however, is the only textbook analyzed to render even page numbers in *han'gŭl*.

*Hancha* rather facilitate the “completion” of the vernacular, filling the void between “false, vernacular *ǒnmun*” and “true” writing—something the reader is not expected to master.

For example, not every *hanchaǒ* included in the text is glossed in *hancha*, even at its first appearance. In terms of nouns and verbs this may be observed somewhat in the *NYT*, but in instances of grammar glossing, whereas the *NYT* quite consistently and repeatedly provides glosses, the *Yǒja tokpon* does not. Unit 1 reads:

“녀즈는 나라 빅성(百姓)된자의 어머니될 사름이라 녀즈의 교육(教育)이 발달(發達)된 후에 그즈녀로 ㅎ여곰 착한 사름을 일울지라 그런고로 녀즈를 ㄱㄹ침이 곳 가덩(家庭) 교육을 발달(發達)야 국민(國民)의 지식(智識)을 인도(引導)는 모범(模範)이 되느니라.”<sup>757</sup>

Here, although most nouns and Sino-Korean verbal nouns appearing for the first time are glossed with *hancha*, significantly the *hanchaǒ* deployed as grammatical elements are not rendered in sinographs (e.g., *toen CHA ũi* 된<sup>者</sup>의, *paltaldoen HU e* 발달된<sup>後</sup>에, *kūrǒn KO ro* 그런<sup>故</sup>로). This is in sharp distinction to the *NYT*, in which such elements fairly consistently appeared in *hancha* in the main text. Moreover, *hanchaǒ* such as *kyoyuk* (education) and *paltal* (development) are glossed on the first appearance, but subsequently only the *han’gŭl* is expressed. This *hancha* presentation technique suggests that the reader is not expected to know the cosmopolitan origins of vernacular grammar, and instead what can be understood from context is rendered strictly in vernacular without *hancha* mediation. The decision to gloss only the first appearance of a Sino-Korean word further represents a decision to forego the opportunity for repetition and possible commitment to memory, reflecting Chang’s gendered language ideology: the cosmopolitan is not an integral, unassailable component of women’s education, and is rather tangential to basic knowledge of a patriotic nature through primarily vernacular mediation. Another glossing technique that demonstrates this goal is the partial

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<sup>757</sup> *Yǒja tokpon*, 9-10.

glossing of words where a single sinograph had been previously glossed (e.g., *il TAE YÖNGUNG* 일터|영웅 (代英雄)), showing that the central goal of such literacy formation is familiarization with “foreign” *hancha* vocabulary, not fully initiated *kukhanmun écriture*.<sup>758</sup>

Related to this last point is the otherizing of the *hancha* in the *Yöja tokpon*, the curricular differentiation of the cosmopolitan and the vernacular. Although this process is evident over the course of the textbooks analyzed in this chapter, here it is perhaps most pronounced. Almost complete ignorance of *hancha* among the readership is assumed. Regardless of the simplicity of the sinograph in terms of stroke count or meaning, or the ability to grasp the meaning of the word through context, new *hancha* of even the most elementary nature are glossed in *hancha*.<sup>759</sup> Furthermore, as previously mentioned, new *hancha* are placed at the end of each unit along with a standard vernacular definition. A similar method can be observed in the *PCHT*, when new *hancha* are presented separately in the upper margins. However, there are crucial differences between these *hancha* pedagogies. Whereas the *PCHT* includes only the new sinographs with no vernacular mediation, the *Yöja tokpon* presents an enlarged version of the sinograph complete with *ümdok* reading and vernacular definition in a style reminiscent of the *Thousand Character Classic*, the most basic form of sinographic education. Such a *hancha* pedagogy represents an advanced form of vernacular-cosmopolitan differentiation and continues the gradual process of language curricularization that had been unfolding in school textbooks since the *KST*. In the *Yöja tokpon*, *hancha* and by extension *hanmun* are considered truly foreign languages, and as such are presented in a tangential fashion and otherized as superfluous (but supplemental) to the

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<sup>758</sup> *Yöja tokpon*, 15.

<sup>759</sup> See for example “*sam il*” (三日, three days) and “*samwöl*” (三月, three months). *Yöja tokpon*, 37.

conveyance of desired knowledge. This process continued during the colonial period with the differentiation of *hanmun* and *Chosŏnŏ* into separate units in the *PCHT*,<sup>760</sup> and finally with the complete division of the two “languages” into separate textbooks with the curricular reorganization of 1922.

The *NYT* and the *Yŏja tokpon* were two examples of private textbooks that emerged in the post-protectorate era to satisfy a perceived need for independent, patriotic education to serve underrepresented sections of the population. They also represented specific pronouncements of modern, mass education, as well as alternative visions of vernacular literacy for the next generation of students, both young and old. Although their discontinuation by Japanese authority in 1910 roughly two years after their issuance prevented any sort of wide readership, they are valuable documents for indexing the ongoing vernacular-cosmopolitan differentiation process in the first decade of the twentieth century. The *NYT* and *Yŏja tokpon* thus represented important sites of vernacular-cosmopolitan articulation and experimentation, and served as indigenous blueprints for teaching the nation through the national language.

#### 4.8 Conclusions

The two-decade period from 1890-1910 witnessed monumental changes in Korean language and education. After nearly a millennia of operation, the *kwagŏ* examination was officially abrogated in 1895, and the Chosŏn government embarked on a new path toward “modern” education, a path often fraught with missteps, hesitation, and lack of commitment. Western missionaries meanwhile offered their own vision of modern education, driven primarily by the desire for mass education and, to that end, proselytization. With the signing of the

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<sup>760</sup> The *Chosŏnŏ* sections of the *PCHT*, however, came to be increasingly intermediated by *hancha* in later units, a matter that I explore in the following chapter.

Protectorate Treaty in 1905 Japan imposed its own model for modern education, gradually increasing its clout through restrictions on alternative forms of schooling. The growing influence of Japan sparked an indigenous movement to promote education to save the nation, and secular, independent schools emerged in its wake. Meanwhile, traditional Confucian education persisted in the bastion of Chosŏn elementary education, the *sŏdang*, providing an assuring alternative to modern schools that may have seemed unfamiliar and foreboding to certain parents.

These various streams of education utilized distinct textbooks, each offering their own manifestations of vernacular literacy. At a time when both the literate population and the student population was quite small, such textbooks not only reflected the language ideologies of their respective compilers, but also possessed significant potential to shape popular literacy. Moreover, the textbooks represented crucial sites for garnering a consensus around a specific form of writing, as well as laboratories for experimentation. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, the idea of composing in mixed script for the conveyance of new knowledge was still gaining legitimacy, so textbooks such as *KST* served as important testaments to the feasibility of such a writing system. *Sămin p'ilchi* meanwhile bucked the trend, attempting to combine the pure-*kungmun* fiction tradition with knowledge of a scientific nature, ignoring to a large extent word choice conventions. On the other hand, in the first decade of the twentieth century we can observe that a consensus of sorts had crystallized around *kukhanmun* as the preferred *écriture* for elementary education, and so textbooks such as *NYT*, *Yŏja tokpon* and *PHKT* functioned as media for working out the kinks of the vernacular-cosmopolitan differentiation process.<sup>761</sup>

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<sup>761</sup> The ascendancy of *kukhanmun* as the preferred form of writing may also be confirmed through the dominance of this writing style in the popular press from roughly 1907 onward. For a clear demonstration of this shift, see Im, *20-segi Kuk-Hanmunch'e ūi hyŏngsŏng kwajŏng*.

One of the most remarkable aspects of this period was the crucial role of centralized coordination—or lack thereof—in creating modern Korean literacy. The abrogation of the *kwagŏ* examination produced a cataclysmic rupture between Confucian tradition and a modern future, but the Chosŏn government's inability or unwillingness to decisively turn to universal education invited foreign missionaries, private citizens, and finally the Japanese government to satisfy a perceived demand. Although the disparate education streams during Enlightenment-era Korea offered novel and encouraging alternatives for vernacular Korean literacy, Japan's ultimate takeover of Korea's education system forestalled private initiative and directed the mainstream of subsequent, officially sanctioned education. The political will that accompanied Japanese language policy—the gradual monopolization of educational outlets coupled with the consistent and concerted commitment to mixed-script orthography—combined at a crucial point of transition in Korean orthography to lay the foundation for literacy in Japanese through *pot'ong hakkyo* education.



## Chapter 5: Korean as a Transitional Literacy: Imperial Language and Education Policy and the Emergence of Colonial Literacy, 1910-1925

Not only is it true that no one with a middle school education or above is ignorant of Japanese, but also that Korean writing (*Chosŏn mun*) in its present state is more difficult to understand than Japanese writing (*Hwamun*). Thanks to this (?) we have been able to avoid the cumbersome task of translating foreign literature into Korean by our own hands...In exchange for our efforts to carry out our duty in elementary and middle schools to learn the Japanese language, a path has been opened—a special privilege—by which we may absorb foreign culture without the need to resort to translation into Korean.<sup>762</sup>

Mother always dreamed that I would go on to higher schooling, and so she was always judging my *kokugo* skills to be inadequate. She would motivate me by telling me that if I read ten books in *kokugo* then she would tell me one of her old stories that I loved so much. Mother liked to hear me read *kokugo* books, and for my part I realized that reading aloud was a special technique that helped me improve my Japanese. As I entered higher grades I gained confidence in Japanese, I no longer trembled with fear worrying that the teacher might call on me, and as my *kokugo* grades improved I swiftly joined the ranks of the ‘good’ students... Through my mother, I had been baptized by literature. Mother charmed me with her graceful storytelling in our language, but at the same time, with the intensification of colonial policy, my mother tongue became nothing more than an impediment that had to be overcome. At school, it was a time when we were taught that dreams, too, were meant to be dreamt in Japanese.<sup>763</sup>

By the closing years of the colonial period, *kokugo* had permeated to some extent every corner of intellectual life in Korea. Common school enrollment in 1942, the last year for which GGK records are available, surpassed 50%, spurred by a dramatic uptick from the mid-1930s,

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<sup>762</sup> Kim Tongin, “Pŏnyŏk munhak,” *Maeil sinbo*, August 31, 1935. Kim expressed similar sentiments on various other occasions including in a two-part essay in the *Chosŏn chungang ilbo* entitled “The Rise of the Translation Movement” written under his pen name Ch’un Sa. See Ch’un Sa, “Taedudoen pŏnyŏk undong (Sang/Ha),” *Chosŏn chungang ilbo*, May 20, 23, 1935.

<sup>763</sup> Pak Wansŏ, “Nae an ũi ŏnŏ sadae chuŭi yŏtpogi,” in *Tubu: Pak Wansŏ sanmunjip* (Sŏul: Ch’angjak kwa pip’yŏngsa, 2002).

and for boys in certain urban areas, the rate approached universal enrollment.<sup>764</sup> Decades of limited vernacular literacy development meanwhile gave way to the demotion of Korean to optional subject in 1938 and finally its official removal from the curriculum in 1942, meaning that a significant portion of the students constituting this 1930s boom in public education—such as the author Pak Wansŏ quoted above—would have received little to no sanctioned vernacular education. In what was left of the private sector, the number of *sŏdang* in 1942 stood at a paltry 3,052, down from its 1920 peak of over 25,000, while the moribund state of modern private education consisted of merely 252 schools, constituting just under 13% of the total number of elementary schools.<sup>765</sup> The pull of Japanese literature and the appeal of education in Japanese accompanied by the gradual diminution of indigenous alternatives directed the course of translation and literary development for writers such as Kim Tongin, while shaping the literary and intellectual maturation of ambitious young students such as Pak. In the post-liberation era, while a major focus of modern nation building on both sides of the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel was the eradication of illiteracy, among the intellectual class a much more salient issue was the de-Japanification of literature and writing practices, where certain writers who had grown accustomed to composing in Japanese had to train or retrain themselves to compose in Korean, or give up their professions entirely.<sup>766</sup> Many first-hand accounts from the liberation period recall

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<sup>764</sup> There was a large gender-based discrepancy in primary school attendance: for boys the attendance rate was nearly 70% in 1942, while for girls it was closer to 30%. See Chōsen Sōtokofu, *Chōsen Sōtokofu tōkei nenpo* (Keijo: Chōsen Sōtokofu, 1932-38, 1942), quoted in Oh and Kim, “Expansion of Elementary Schooling under Colonialism,” 123-24. For statistics on the rural/urban divide in common school enrollment, see Kim, *Hakkyo pakk ūi yŏsŏngdŭl*; Dong, “A Study in Assimilation,” 496.

<sup>765</sup> Chōsen Sōtokofu, *Chōsen Sōtokofu tōkei nenpo*, quoted in Oh and Kim, “Expansion of Elementary Schooling under Colonialism,” 117-18.

<sup>766</sup> Chŏng, “Ilbonŏ kumun ūi yŏnghyang,” 380-84.

teachers using for expedience Japanese textbooks and translating the now discredited language into Korean. Anecdotal evidence by many Koreans today often mentions the Japanese proficiency of parents or grandparents, a colonial curiosity that surfaces intermittently. How could Japanese have penetrated the educated class so deeply?<sup>767</sup> The answer lies in the monopolizing and assimilationist nature of language and educational policies of Imperial Japan, the specific developmental trajectory of written Korean in the first two decades of the twentieth century, and the emergence of fractured semi-literacies<sup>768</sup> wrought by colonial language education.

At the outset of the colonial period (1910-1945) the Korean language and education system were in a state of flux. The Japanese Residency General had been in the process of counteracting the boom in Korean private education through the implementation of an accreditation regime while working to establish a network of official public schools. These

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<sup>767</sup> Many authors have pointed out what they consider to be relatively low rates of literacy in both Japanese and Korean, even with the higher public school attendance rates that marked the late colonial period. See Mitsui, “Singminjiha ūi Chosōnō ōnō chōngch’ihak,” 89; Yi, “Chosōn Ch’ongdokpu ūi ōnō tonghwa chōngch’aek. Kim Puja for example claims that, due to the low attendance rates throughout the colonial period, especially among girls, the focus should rather be placed on chronic non-attendance rather than on attendance, as has traditionally been the case. See Kim Puja, “Singminji sigi Chosōn pot’ong hakkyo ch’wihak tonggi wa Ilbonō—1930nyōndae chungsim ūro,” *Sahoewa yōksa* 17 (2008): 39-55. However, due to the relatively short period of colonial rule in Korea compared to that of European powers and the comparatively higher rate of Japanese diffusion within an equivalent time frame, I argue that Japanese diffusion was actually quite high. The continued usage of English in former British colonies has more to do with the global ascendance of English as an international language and Great Britain’s victory in World War II and postponing of its colonial reckoning vis-à-vis its colonies rather than more “effective” language spread policy.

<sup>768</sup> This is a state in which the *discourse* of Japanese as national language and the curriculum which supported it collided with Korean as *actual* first language, resulting in varying degrees of semi-literacy in Korean, Japanese, and LS reading and writing. This also describes the development of early literacy in Korean coupled with the transition to higher-level academic Japanese for continuing students.

schools promoted the official version of vernacular literacy with the *PHCT* (1915-1918)<sup>769</sup> while simultaneously attempting to establish a foundation for Japanese literacy through a strong Japanese component in the curriculum. Written Korean was meanwhile in a state of rapid transition in the decade prior to annexation as it underwent a process of vernacular-cosmopolitan differentiation, shifting from *kugyŏl*-style *kukhanmun* with LS grammar to *kukhanmun* with LS limited to the lexical level.<sup>770</sup> Expansion of the popular press offered a forum of experimentation for working out the nuts and bolts of this transition, with various outlets presenting alternative writing styles along a spectrum of more or less vernacularization.<sup>771</sup> Private textbooks such as the *NYT* and the *Yŏja tokpon* meanwhile emerged as alternative proclamations of vernacular Korean literacy for the next generation of students.

Following the annexation of Korea in August of 1910, the newly-installed GGK moved swiftly to establish control of its colony. The Japanese military continued its offensive against the nationalist militias (*ũibyŏng*) which had been gaining strength since the signing of the Protectorate Treaty in 1905 and the disbanding of the Korean military in 1907, and with the full weight of political and military authority eventually crushed the last remnants of the movement.<sup>772</sup> The conditions of the Annexation Treaty wrested sovereignty from the Korean

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<sup>769</sup> These are the years during which these textbooks were published, but they were used in common schools until they were replaced by the *Chosŏnŏ tokpon* in 1923.

<sup>770</sup> Im, *20-segi Kuk-Hanmunch'e ũi hyŏngsŏng kwajŏng*.

<sup>771</sup> The most representative example of a *kungmun*-only newspaper was *The Independent*, although other newspapers also came to employ this style, though mainly limited to specific articles rather than as a publication policy. The *Hwangsŏng sinmun* probably represented the most highly sinicized of the Enlightenment-era *kukhanmun* periodicals.

<sup>772</sup> According to Andre Schmid, the *ũibyŏng* had originally formed around the time of Queen Min's assassination to offer "armed resistance to the Japanese presence in the peninsula." In December of 1907 a more than ten-thousand-strong coordinated force of *ũibyŏng* reached the

Emperor, granting this authority “completely and permanently” to the Japanese emperor, and all Chosŏn government functions were assumed by the GGK, which pledged security of “person and property” to all Koreans who observed Japanese authority.<sup>773</sup>

Two of the changes most relevant to the Korean language situation were the transformations in the publishing industry and educational system. Beginning in 1905, the Residency General tightened its grip on publication content on the peninsula until the press was virtually co-opted or disbanded by the GGK by 1910.<sup>774</sup> All privately owned newspapers were shut down, and the widely circulated *Korea Daily News* (*Taehan maeil sinbo*), until that time able to publish anti-Japanese articles due to its foreign ownership, was purchased in a forced sale and converted into the GGK organ newspaper *Maeil sinbo*.<sup>775</sup> The crackdown on the Korean press had a dramatic impact on the burgeoning publishing industry. Lee Chong-sik claims that, “before annexation there were one or two newspapers in most of the cities, but all the Korean publishers were ordered to close their shops, and finally only one Japanese newspaper was allowed in each city. These and any remaining periodicals were forbidden to report matters relating to

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outskirts of Seoul before being defeated by superior Japanese firepower. *Ŭibyŏng* militia members as well as collaborators were slaughtered by Japanese forces, and between 1907 and 1911, according to Japanese police reports, more than 17,600 people were killed. See Schmid, *Korean Between Empires*, 44-46. For a longer account of the struggle in English, see Shin Yong-ha, *Formation and Development of Modern Korean Nationalism* (Seoul: Taegwang munhwasa, 1989), Chapter 5.

<sup>773</sup> Chōsen sōtokufu kanpō, “Han-Il pyŏnghap choyak,” August 28, 1910.

<sup>774</sup> Michael Robinson, *Korea’s Twentieth-Century Odyssey* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 19. Certain smaller newspapers did manage to survive the crackdown for two to three years, as well as close to thirty underground newspapers, including the *Kyŏngsang ilbo* (1909-1915). Mark Caprio, personal communication.

<sup>775</sup> *Ibid.*

politics.”<sup>776</sup> Many newspapers printed in Japan were also prohibited from being imported to Korea. As a result of this blackout, there is a dearth of Korean-language writing during this period, especially that of a political nature. Not only did this sever the growing discussion on the future of the nation in the popular press, but it silenced a forum which served as a laboratory for written vernacular refinement and standardization as well as a tool of literacization and *kungmun* popularization. Many progressive reformers also resigned in protest from their posts at these publications, forfeiting their voice in the reform movement. Some periodicals did survive the crackdown, such as Ch’oe Namsŏn’s *Youth* (*Ch’ŏngch’un*, 1914-1918), a magazine that attempted to pioneer a new style of vernacular prose and poetry.<sup>777</sup> This periodical, however, was the exception, and this virtual black hole in the history of Korean literature and the popular press is deserving of its moniker “dark period” (*amhŭkki*). In addition to these actions taken in the publishing industry, the GGK sought to secure control and stability of the colony through the reformation of the educational system. In October of 1910 the Japanese government convened a committee to determine the direction of education policy, and in August of the following year published the First Rescript on Education (che 1 ch’a Chosŏn kyoyung-nyŏng) followed by a

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<sup>776</sup> Lee Chong-sik, *The Politics of Korean Nationalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 91.

<sup>777</sup> *Youth* spearheaded by the young intellectual, writer, and activist Ch’oe Namsŏn (1890-1957), was a magazine which focused on “civilization and enlightenment” for a young audience, as well as writing that eschewed direct political confrontation. Later literary magazines such as *Py’ehŏ* (Ruins, 1920-1921) and *Ch’angjo* (Creation, 1919-1920) which similarly turned away from political activism in favor of “pure” literature have been held up as evidence of a Korean literary response to colonial modernity, but Christopher Hanscom notes the essentially political nature of colonial literature in its relation to modernism, problematizing the accepted narrative that writers not promoting a nationalist or socialist agenda represented a “turning inward” under the weight of colonial censorship, away from political engagement. Hanscom claims that literary modernism in Korea was “neither an escapist aesthetic practice severed from the sociopolitical context of its production nor a derivative and partial alternative to a purportedly originary or whole European modernism.” Hanscom, *The Real Modern*, 14.

detailed set of pedagogical guidelines that together established the tone of Japan's colonial education and language policy.

In addition to issuing these policy statements, the GGK worked feverishly to produce new textbooks that would reflect the shift toward imperial education. In terms of language education and the language of instruction in public schools, the most momentous change was the sudden designation of Korean (previously termed *kugō*) to the level of *Chosōnō* coupled with the elevation of Japanese (*Ilbonō*) to the status of “national language” (*kokugo*). The crucial position of this terminology alone in Japanese colonial language policy along with the shift to Japanese as the language of instruction throughout the curriculum necessitated an immediate overhaul of the textbook regime, and in the case of Korean language education, *Chosōnō tokpon* (*The Korean Language Reader*, 1911) served as an interim textbook before the more permanent *PCHT* (1915-1918) could be installed in the curriculum. With the reform of the education system in 1922 as part of a shift to “cultural rule” (*bunka seiji*) due to the impetus of the March First Movement, the *Pot'ong hakkyo Chosōnō tokpon* (*The Common School Korean Language Reader*, 1923-1924, hereafter *PCT*)<sup>778</sup> was published, which served as the basis of colonial Korean education until 1930 when a revised edition went into circulation. These textbooks offer a clear pronouncement of Japan's vision of vernacular literacy for its subjects, and offer clues as to the perceived role of Korean in an overall system increasingly dominated by *kokugo*.

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<sup>778</sup> These were the years during which the textbook was published, but it continued to circulate until 1930, when the revised edition appeared (1930-1935). Only the first edition of the *PCT* will be analyzed in this work.

In the proceeding chapter, through an examination of policy statements surrounding the rollout of the first (1911-1922) and second (1922-1938) education regimes,<sup>779</sup> I will demonstrate the official vision for vernacular literacy, especially its role vis-à-vis the newly-established “national language.” Furthermore, through a discourse analysis of Japanese and Korean views on the language of instruction issue that unfolded in the popular press surrounding education reform in the early 1920s, I will illuminate some of the most contentious issues that had been building up over the first decade of colonial rule. Finally, by closely analyzing the specific forms of literacy deployed in the *PCHT* and the *PCT* I will demonstrate the continued shift away from cosmopolitan (LS) grammar and writing conventions to more fully differentiated vernacular literacy, a writing style that increasingly resembled both contemporary Korean and Japanese in terms of grammar, lexicon, and orthography. Finally, I will continue to chart the increasing Japanese monopolization of accredited, legitimized education—especially involving the concerted assault on private schools and the eventual attrition of *sōdang*—as well as the ongoing atrophying of Korean language education and the increase in ethnic Japanese and Japanese-speaking teachers. My contention is that increasing restrictions on private education coupled with the expansion of sanctioned public education directed students toward an “official” and legitimized form of Korean literacy, an *écriture* expressed in mixed-script orthography, vernacularized syntax and grammar, and employing an increasing number of Japanese neologisms. Moreover, the structure of the curriculum that installed *kokugo* as the universal medium of instruction and limited Korean to language class—diminished over time and through subsequent grades—engendered an underdeveloped stage of Korean literacy and affected a transition to Japanese literacy, reinforced by an expanding Japanese and contracting Korean

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<sup>779</sup> In this work, the Education Rescript Periods will be divided into four, following the standard periodization. This will be explained in more detail in the last section on textbook analysis.



popular press.<sup>780</sup> Following the March First Movement, although an open discussion emerged between Japanese and Korean educators on the issue of language of instruction and GJK administrators entertained the issue of instruction in Korean, with the issuing of the Second Rescript on Education in 1922, the GJK confirmed its commitment to linguistic assimilation, and by the mid-1920s a clear vernacular “educational literacy” had been established in common schools that set the tone for subsequent *Chosŏnŏ* education.

### 5.1 Previous Research on Colonial Language Policy and Textbooks

A number of researchers have argued, as I do in this paper, that the intent of Korean language education was to function as a supplement to Japanese education. For example, Kim Hyejŏng claims that Korean language education, much like the motive of the bilingual dictionary project, was instituted not with the objectives of the colonized in mind but rather as a necessary functionalist tool of communication to lift the population out of a state of illiteracy and facilitate a shift to Japanese literacy in public schools.<sup>781</sup> In a similar fashion, Kim Yunju claims that, rather than for the purpose of Korean language education per se, “the subject of *Chosŏnŏ* was weighted toward the usage of Korean in ideological instruction as a temporary supplemental tool within an educational system where Japanese could not yet function as an effective medium of

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<sup>780</sup> See Cheon Jeong-hwan, “The Process of the Formation and Diversification of the Readers of Korean Prose Fiction in the 1920’s and 1930’s,” in *Critical Readings on Korea’s Colonial Period*, edited by Hyung Gu Lynn, 687-716, (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 690. Han, “Singminji sigi munhak kŏmyŏl kwa inswae chabon.”

<sup>781</sup> Kim Hyejŏng, “Ilche kangjŏmgi ‘Chosŏnŏ kyoyuk’ ūi ūido wa sŏnggyŏk,” *Ŏmun yŏn’gu* 31, no. 3 (2003): 431-455; 440.

communication.”<sup>782</sup> In other words, Korean language education was intended to effectively “connect” the vernacular to wider information dissemination in the national language, whatever the nature of that information may have been.

Other researchers have remarked on the mediational function of LS in the development of colonial literacy. In his examination of the Higher School Sino-Korean Reader (*Kodŭng Chosŏnŏ kŭp hanmun tokpon*, 1913), a textbook which included many translations and adaptations of both LS and modern Japanese sources, Im Sangsŏk has pointed out that, whereas “translations” of *hanmun* sources into modern Korean (*kukhanmun*) read as modified adaptations of the source text, the translations of modern Japanese texts—the proportion of which incidentally increased over time—read as more faithful renditions or even “excerpts” of the original.<sup>783</sup> This logic of translational equivalence implicitly acknowledged the modernity of Japanese literature in relation to LS while simultaneously legitimizing its position through institutional diffusion. Pak Ch’ibŏm, in his comparative study of *The National Language Reader* (*Kokugo tokuhon*) and the *Sino-Korean Reader* (*Chosŏnŏ kŭp hanmun tokpon*), points out that the greatest portion of the *hanmun* sections of this textbook was devoted to memorization and usage of sinographs rather than the meaning of the texts themselves.<sup>784</sup> When considering the elective status of LS education after 1922 and the official position that “the teaching of *hanmun*

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<sup>782</sup> Kim Yunju, “Ilche kangjŏmgi *Chosŏnŏ tokpon* kwa *Kugŏ tokpon* ŭi pigyo: Che 1 ch’a kyoyungnyŏnggi pot’ong hakkyo 1, 2 hangnyŏn kyokwasŏ rŭl chungsim ŭro,” *Uri ŏmun yŏn’gu* 41 (2011): 137-66; 161.

<sup>783</sup> Im, “Chungdŭng kyoyung-yong *Chosŏnŏ-kŭp hanmun tokpon* ŭi Chosŏnŏ insik,” 193.

<sup>784</sup> Pak Ch’ibŏm, “Ilche kangjŏmgi pot’ong hakkyo *Chosŏnŏ-kŭp Hanmun Tokpon* ŭi sŏnggyŏk: Che 1 ch’a kyoyungnyŏnggi sa hangnyŏn ŭi ‘yŏnsŭp ŭl chungsim ŭro,” *Őmun yŏn’gu* 39, no. 2 (2011): 449-476.

in common schools must be abolished in the future,”<sup>785</sup> we can infer that “*hanmun* education shifted toward an emphasis on the sinograph, which was utilized as a tool for the facilitation of *kokugo* (Japanese) education.”<sup>786</sup>

Finally, Yi Kūmsōn explores a further shift toward Japanese literacy when in 1937 the already optional course *Chosōnǒ kǔp hanmun* was removed from the curriculum entirely, replaced by Sino-Japanese (*Kokugo kanbun*) and its foreign language equivalent Modern Chinese (*Hyōndae Chinaō*) for the purpose of East Asian amity through the ideology of “shared literature, shared race” (同文同種, *tongmun tongjong*).<sup>787</sup> Thus, Yi illustrates one of the final stages in a transition that had been underway since the late nineteenth century in Korean language and literature, the transition from LS, through a period of *kukhanmun* experimentation—mediated primarily by *hancha* in the pre-colonial period then increasingly by *kanji* spurred by the institutionalization of Japanese language legitimacy through language policy and the cultural capital of Japanese neologism circulation through translation—and finally to *kanji*’s virtual monopolization of mediation through the abolition of Sino-Korean class. Furthermore, the promotion of “Modern Chinese” as a means of achieving “peace and amity between Japan and China” (日支親善) established it as the foreign language equivalent of LS and the legitimate embodiment of modern Sinitic culture while simultaneously solidifying Korea’s voiceless position in the Japanese empire as part of the East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. With the 1943 Rescript on Education, the final medium of vernacular mediation was

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<sup>785</sup> Hamakichi Takahashi, 1927, Quoted in Pak, “*Chosōnǒ kǔp hanmun tokpon ũi sōnggyōk*, 469.

<sup>786</sup> *Ibid*, 469.

<sup>787</sup> Yi Kūmsōn, “Ilche malgi ‘Hyōndae Chinaō’ kyoyuk ũi ũimi: *Chungdǔng Simun ũl chungsim ũro*,” *Sai* (間) 10 (2011): 257-83.

extinguished in the public sphere as the Korean language was removed from the curriculum entirely.<sup>788</sup>

In the following section, I will analyze the establishment of colonial language policy during the First Rescript Period (1911-1922), providing a backdrop for the subsequent developments in language policy described above and illuminating the process by which transitional literacy in common schools was initiated. Attention will also be paid to the disconnect created between official discourse on Japanese as the ‘national language’ and its actual status as foreign language.

## **5.2 Institutionalizing the Curriculum: The Establishment of Colonial Education and Language Policy**

Immediately following annexation, the GGK set about formulating education and language policy for its new colony. In October of 1910 the Chōsen Ministry of Education Personnel Committee (Chōsen kyōikubu shuji iinkai 朝鮮教育部主事委員会) convened the Tōkyō Imperial Education Meeting, which issued “A Proposal for Chōsen Education” (“Chosŏn kyoyuk pangch’im”), published in Korean in the October 13, 1910 edition of the *Maeil sinbo*. This policy platform formed the basis of the First Rescript on Education issued the following year. The opening article of the policy statement featured many of the overtures to unity and mutual progress that would come to characterize official discourses in subsequent years:

Article 1: It is our hope that the contents of this proclamation may be propagated completely and widely, and that, due to the special historical relationship between Japan and Korea, it will be understood that the union (*happyōng*, annexation) of our two countries represents the proper realization of fate. Furthermore, that the people of Korea

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<sup>788</sup> Ch’oi Yonggi, “Ilche kangjōmgi ūi kugō chōngch’aek,” *Han’gugō Munhak Yōn’gu* 46 (2006): 9-32, 20.

will become the subjects of Japan, become active participants on the world stage of culture and enlightenment, and that such an endeavor will prove to be an immense benefit to their development.<sup>789</sup>

However, the remainder of this rather concise policy proposal is focused almost exclusively on the issues of Japanese language propagation, the limitation of Korean, and the importance of textbooks.

Article 2: Utmost effort is to be directed toward the urgent task of Japanese propagation, and to that end the following actions are to be carried out.

- 1: In elementary education, *ŏnmun* and *hanmun* are to be discontinued (*chŏnp'ye*), and Japanese is to be used.
- 2: Appropriate assistance is to be provided for Japanese instruction schools (*Ilbonŏ kyosŭp hakkyo*).
3. Teachers' schools shall be increased and a large numbers of instructors with mastery in Japanese will be fostered.
4. Japanese-language textbooks shall be used at various technical and specialist schools as well.
5. Japanese shall be the official language of government.
6. Methods shall be devised to compose documents for household consumption as well in Japanese.

Article 3. Due to its particular importance, the Governor General shall directly establish the facilities to carry out textbook publishing.<sup>790</sup>

Based on the above pronouncement, at the time of annexation the GGK had in mind an ambitious campaign for propagating the newly nationalized Japanese language. Not only was Japanese to become the language of instruction throughout the curriculum, but the GGK also sought to foster the next generation of teachers fluent in Japanese to solidify such education. The GGK also intended to spread Japanese usage beyond the core common schools to technical and specialist schools, and even into the domestic sphere. The textbook was to play a key role in this campaign, demonstrating the importance Japan attached to this publishing project. What is most

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<sup>789</sup> "Chosŏn kyoyuk pangch'im," *Maeil sinbo*, October 13, 1910.

<sup>790</sup> Chosŏn kyoyukpu chusa wiwŏnhoe, "Chosŏn kyoyuk pangch'im," *Maeil sinbo*, October 13, 1910.

striking about this pronouncement, however, is what it reveals about the extent to which Japanese policy makers were willing to pursue Japanese language propagation. The very first strategy for carrying out Japanese language dissemination is the outright banning of *ōnmun* and *hanmun* as mediums of instruction in favor of Japanese. This was clearly a policy of high priority, appearing at the top of an agenda almost exclusively dedicated to the issue of *kokugo* dissemination.

On August 23 of the following year, the GGK announced the First Rescript, a policy pronouncement that broadly outlined the structure of public education and established the parameters of GGK authority. The first section provides the general outline and purpose of the education system:

Section 1: General Outline

- 1) Education in Chosōn shall be based on this rescript
- 2) The purpose of education is to make loyal subjects
- 3) Education shall proceed according to the times (*sise*) and the cultural level (*mindō*) of the student.
- 4) Education shall be broadly divided into common (*pot'ong*), vocational (*sirōp*), and technical (*chōnmun*) education.
- 5) The purpose of common education is to teach general knowledge and skills, and especially to foster the character of an imperial citizen and to propagate *kokugo*.
- 6) The purpose of vocational education is to teach knowledge and skills related to agricultural, commercial, and industrial work.
- 7) The purpose of technical education is to teach higher-level technical and practical arts.<sup>791</sup>

Much previous research has taken this policy pronouncement at face value and argued that the primary purpose of colonial education was to create “an imperial citizenry” according to

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<sup>791</sup> Chōsen sōtokufu, “Chōsen kyōikurei,” *Chōsen sōtokufu kanpō*, August 23, 1911. Section 2 on schools reiterates this commitment to fostering an imperial citizen identity: “The common school provides the foundation for children’s general education as citizens. Attention shall be paid to developing the body, teaching *kokugo*, instilling morality, fostering the character of an imperial citizen, and teaching the general knowledge and skills needed for daily life.”

“the times” and the “cultural level” of the Korean student.<sup>792</sup> Some research has argued that such rhetoric translated into the promotion of vocational and industrial education “appropriate to the Korean cultural level” at the expense of academic and higher-level education. Official discourse throughout the colonial period as well as curricularized emperor worship and forced Shinto shrine visits certainly suggest that creating loyal imperial subjects was a major goal of colonial education.<sup>793</sup> However, what is less often taken into consideration is the method by which reproduction in legitimized education in the Japanese language occurred. Article 14 states that all individuals wishing to teach at a higher-level common school would require a diploma from a teacher’s college, while in turn those wishing to enter teaching colleges would likewise require credentials from a higher-level common school or the equivalent (*dōtō ijō no gakuryoku wo yūsuru mono tosu*).<sup>794</sup> Although the GGK may not have been able to ensure the employment of enough elementary school Korean teachers fluent in *kokugo*, higher schooling personnel were from the outset carefully controlled to ensure high levels of *kokugo* proficiency, and in turn the ability to instill such proficiency in the student body. The higher concentration of ethnic Japanese teachers in higher schools and increasing over time further helped solidify the cultural arbitrary of the dominant group—higher education in Japanese—and in turn establish a durable

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<sup>792</sup> Chōng, *Han’guk kyoyuk 100nyōnsa*; Kim Sunjōn et al., *Cheguk singminji susin* (Sōul: Chei aen ssi (J and C) Publishing Company, 2008); Kuksa p’yōnch’an wiwōnhoe, *Paeum kwa karūch’im ūi kkūt ōmnūn yōlchōng*; Myers, Ramon H. and Mark R. Peattie, ed. *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984; Son, *Han’guk kyoyuksa yōn’gu*. Yuh, “Contradictions in Korean Colonial Education.”

<sup>793</sup> Each of the following books offers a detailed accounting of “spiritual assimilation” through Shinto propagation. Henry, *Assimilating Seoul*; Hiura, *Jinja gakkō shokuminchi*.

<sup>794</sup> Chōsen sōtokufu, “Chōsen kyōikurei,” *Chōsen sōtokufu kanpō*, August 23, 1911.

habitus.<sup>795</sup> Furthermore, as higher common schools and teacher's colleges were conducted entirely in Japanese, "the equivalent" could only have meant another school with instruction in Japanese, most likely a school in Japan.

The closing articles of the First Rescript placed ultimate authority over all education decisions with the GGK:

Article 28: The establishment or closure of provincial (*kongnip*) and private common schools, higher common schools, higher girls' common schools, vocational and technical schools shall be subject to GGK approval.

Article 29: Regulations relating to schools subjects, curriculum, personnel, textbooks, and other class material for common schools, higher common schools, higher girls' common schools, vocational schools and technical schools shall be determined by the GGK.

With these regulations, the GGK established clear parameters for officially sanctioned public education while providing itself legislative leeway to direct the subsequent course of schooling outside its immediate orbit. A Proposal for Chosŏn Education (1910) and The First Rescript on Education (1911) thus delineated the following goals that defined the first decade of public education: The broad diffusion of *kokugo*, a curriculum conducted completely in the national language, *Chosŏnŏ* limited to language class alone, centralized control of teacher credentials and language ability, control over the provenance and/or content of textbooks, and the rate of public/private education growth.

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<sup>795</sup> Bourdieu defines Habitus as a "durable training...the product of the principles of a cultural arbitrary capable of perpetuating itself after PA [pedagogical act] has ceased and thereby perpetuating in practices the principles of the internalized arbitrary." Bourdieu, *Reproduction in Education*, 31. The increasing proportion of Japanese teachers to Korean teachers in higher grades is well documented, as is the low Korean proficiency level of these Japanese teachers. For statistics on the racial composition of public school faculty, see Dong, "A Study in Assimilation." For a thorough discussion of the Korean Language Encouragement Policy among colonial officials, and the minimal encouragement and low Korean proficiency among teachers compared with police officers, see Yamada Kanto, *Shokuminchi Chōsen ni okeru Chōsenjo shōrei seisaku: Chōsenjo wo mananda Nihonjin* (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 2004). I would like to thank Mark Caprio for pointing out the probable low Japanese proficiency among many Korean teachers in common schools, and its likely effect on the language of instruction.



Shortly after the issuance of the First Rescript the GGK released Regulations for Common Schools (Pot'ong hakkyo kyuch'ik), a set of pedagogical guidelines and principles that provide a clearer picture as to the conduct of specific subjects in the classroom setting. The regulations also provided specifics as to the exact extent of GGK control over schooling initially established in the First Rescript; the GGK would determine school names, location, the duration of schooling,<sup>796</sup> subjects taught, the number of students (60/class), date of school opening, the physical layout, size, budgetary expenditures and maintenance.<sup>797</sup> The curriculum of common schools consisted of the following subjects: “*Susin, kokugo, Chosonŏ kŭp hanmun*, arithmetic, natural sciences (*ikwa*), singing, physical education (*ch'ejo*), literature (*tosŏ*), manual arts (*sugong*), sewing and domestic arts (*suye*), fundamentals of farming and fundamentals of business (*sanŏp ch'obo*).<sup>798</sup> In terms of the purpose of common school education, the regulations reiterated a number of the lofty ideals set forth in the First Rescript: “Article 7: Special attention shall be paid to the following in the conduct of common school education: 1. Fostering children’s morality (*tŏksŏng*) and molding them into loyal and diligent [imperial] subjects are the primary objectives of the common school. Attention must always be paid to these tasks in the teaching of all subjects.”<sup>799</sup> The following item explains the primary tool of instilling such imperial citizen’s education, and that is the diffusion of *kokugo*, the vessel of the national spirit: “3. Because the

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<sup>796</sup> In the first educational regime (1910-1922) there was not yet uniformity in the number of school years, with many rural schools offering only three years of schooling. See Kim, *Hakkyo pakkŭi Chosŏn yŏsŏngdŭl*.

<sup>797</sup> Chōsen sōtokufu, “Pot’ong hakkyo kyuch’ik,” *Maeil sinbo*, October 25, 1911.

<sup>798</sup> *Ibid*, Chapter 2, Article 6

<sup>799</sup> Chōsen sōtokufu, “Pot’ong hakkyo kyuch’ik,” *Maeil sinbo*, October 25, 1911. Article 2 concerns the maintenance of strict discipline in every class.

spirit of the citizen resides in *kokugo*, and because the acquisition of skills and intellect must not be neglected, the use of accurate *kokugo* in every subject must be carried out in order that students may adapt the language freely for practical use (*ũngyong*).”<sup>800</sup> Articles 9 and 10 then provide detailed pedagogical guidelines for carrying out *kokugo* and *Chosǒnǒ kŭp hanmun*.

Article 9: Efforts shall be made to teach common *kokugo* language and prose (*munjang*) with precision, allow students to comprehend other’s words, let them express thoughts fluently and communicate publicly (*palp’yo*) in the language, so that they may receive necessary knowledge for their daily lives and foster a moral personhood.

*Kokugo* [education] shall begin with kana, and the spoken language (*kuǒ*) shall be taught before proceeding gradually to basic literary language (*munǒ*). The curriculum shall be *susin*, history, geography, natural sciences, vocational work, and other necessary knowledge for daily life. In the case of girls’ education, special attention shall be given to domestic skills (*kasasang ũi sahang*).

*Kokugo* instruction shall consist of reading, translation, conversation, recitation, dictation (*sǒch’wui*), composition and character study; composition and character study shall be carried out separately...<sup>801</sup>

Instructional guidelines are then given for each of the above elements that constitute *kokugo* education. Article 10 then goes on to outline the conduct of *Chosǒnǒ kŭp hanmun* education, a pedagogical approach which shares many commonalities but also displays key divergences:

Article 10: Students shall be made to understand common *Chosǒnǒ* and *hanmun* language and prose so that they may be able to communicate in daily life and gain the ability to conduct their affairs and foster a moral personhood.

*Chosǒnǒ kŭp hanmun* shall begin with *ǒnmun*, proceeding to prose incorporating *hancha* and simple *hanmun*. The material shall be selected to correspond (*chun* (準) *hǎya*) to *kokugo*, especially in the case of *hanmun*, where the language shall serve to foster morality (*tǒksǒng*).<sup>802</sup>

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<sup>800</sup> Chōsen sōtokufu, “Pot’ong hakkyo kyuch’ik,” *Maeil sinbo*, October 25, 1911.

<sup>801</sup> Ibid.

<sup>802</sup> Fostering morality (*tǒksǒng*) was the primary objective of Article 7 on the course *Susin*, a class conducted in Japanese, according to these regulations. This demonstrates the dual function of *hancha/hanmun* in connecting the Korean and Japanese languages.

*Chosŏnŏ kŭp hanmun* teaching shall be composed of reading, translation, recitation (*amsong*), dictation, and composition. The teacher must always ensure that the teaching of *Chosŏnŏ kŭp hanmun* connects (*yŏllak* 聯絡) with *kokugo*, and translations in the national language should be provided from time to time.<sup>803</sup>

A close analysis of these guidelines reveals the priority attached to *kokugo* education as well as the functioning of *Chosŏnŏ* as a reinforcing literacy for Japanese. First, the space and position accorded each language in the policy document is telling; whereas the *kokugo* guidelines appear first, include a five-line introductory paragraph explaining the ideological significance of the language, and unfold over a total of 33 lines, *Chosŏnŏ* and *hanmun* education are given second billing and consist only of a combined 12 lines.<sup>804</sup> The purpose of education in each language is also divergent. Although all three languages share the goal of “fostering moral personhood,” in the case of *kokugo* priority is given to imparting “necessary knowledge” (*p’ilsu chisik*); on the other hand, the purpose of *Chosŏnŏ* and *hanmun* education is the rather pedestrian goal of “gain[ing] the ability to conduct [one’s] affairs” (*yongmu rŏl panhŏnŏn nŭng ŭl tukk’e*). Moreover, the guidelines reinforce the GGK’s commitment to *kukhanmun* writing for vernacular education—beginning with “*ŏnmun*” then “proceeding to prose incorporating *hancha*,” and reiterate that the material covered in the class should correspond to *kokugo*, meaning that *Chosŏnŏ kŭp hanmun* class, comprising just a sliver of the curriculum, functioned to reinforce language conveyed through the more weighted *kokugo* class and more diffusely through other courses in the curriculum also conducted in Japanese.<sup>805</sup> Furthermore, the presence of two

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<sup>803</sup> Chŏsen sŏtokufu, “Pot’ong hakkyo kyuch’ik,” *Maeil sinbo*, October 25, 1911.

<sup>804</sup> The line count is according to the *Maeil sinbo* newspaper.

<sup>805</sup> The guidelines state that “The material shall be selected to correspond to *kokugo*, especially in the case of *hanmun*, where the language shall serve to foster morality.” This does not mean that *Chosŏnŏ* or *hanmun* literacy instruction would be based on *kokugo* instruction, but rather the educational content conveyed in the class would be equivalent to that taught in *kokugo* class.

elements in *kokugo* education absent from *Chosŏnŏ kŭp hanmun* class—conversation and character study—suggests the “foreignness” of the “national language” as well as the primary positioning of *kokugo* in disseminating new *hanchaŏ* vocabulary. Being the first language of Korean students, *Chosŏnŏ* conversation was of course unnecessary, but the addition of this component in *kokugo* education acknowledged the second language status of the “national language.” Character Study moreover focused on the “practical usage of *kana* and *kanji*,” and when considering that this component was absent from *Chosŏnŏ* and *hanmun* education, this suggests that the primary conduit for assimilating new and practical vocabulary was through *kokugo*, while *hanmun* and the vernacular only reinforced such vocabulary.<sup>806</sup>

This brings us to the fundamental divergence between *kokugo* and *Chosŏnŏ kŭp hanmun* education according to these guidelines, and that is the contingent nature of the latter. Although the guidelines explain in detail the conduct of each component of *kokugo* education, *Chosŏnŏ kŭp hanmun* was fundamentally defined by its connection (*yŏllak*) or contact with *kokugo*. Here was the implicit acknowledgement that, despite the discourse on Japanese as the national language, Korean was the first language of Korean students and efforts would have to be made to contextualize it in relation to *kokugo*.

The necessity of maintaining the Korean vernacular at least temporarily was recognized by many Japanese policy makers, though there was disagreement over the pace of Japanese diffusion and the role it would play in public education. For example Mitsuchi Chūzō, who served as a Secretary in the Ministry of Education during the Taehan Empire, drew the following

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However, content correspondence between the two classes would have been an important method of bolstering Japanese literacy by reinforcing terminological uptake and assimilation through the repeated learning of overlapping vocabulary related to similar themes in each class.

<sup>806</sup> Specific regulations for the conduct of Character Study class will be explored below.

parallel between Korea and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, a favorite comparison for Meiji intellectuals:

When we talk about why the present-day Austria and Hungary could not achieve true unification, the national language being divided in opposition between German and Hungarian stands out as a factor of primary importance. With this precedent in mind, *although in spoken Korean it cannot be helped*, I think we must make every effort to do away with Korean writing and the teaching thereof in this, our present opportunity (emphasis mine).<sup>807</sup>

However, as Mitsui Takashi points out, the section calling for the abolition of Korean language education was deleted from the final resolution made by the Chōsen Education Research Committee (J. Chōsen kyōiku chōsa kaigi), which was instrumental in formulating the First Rescript on Education.<sup>808</sup> Furthermore, an internal document presumably circulated in Japanese policy making circles prior to the drafting of the First Rescript titled *Kyōkaikensho* (An Opinion Paper on Education 教化意見書), likely penned by education official Kumamoto Shigekichi in 1910, questioned the feasibility of rapid assimilation, acknowledging that Koreans' assimilation as Japanese would be difficult due to their absence of loyalty to the imperial household, and their being "a people who had founded a nation some 3,000 years ago, however imperfect."<sup>809</sup> Moreover, in 1911 Education Bureau Chief Sekiya Teizaburō criticized such "arm-chair theorists" as Mitsuchi for their failure to see the pragmatism in gradual assimilation due to their pedantic outlook.<sup>810</sup> Even Hoshina Koichi (1872–1955), successor to the pioneering

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<sup>807</sup> Mitsuchi Chūzō, "Chōsenjin no kyōiku," *Kyōikukai* 9 no 12 (1910): 26, Quoted in Mitsui, "Singminji ha ūi Chosōnō ōnō chōngch'ihak," 88.

<sup>808</sup> Mitsui, *Singminji ha ūi Chosōnō ōnō chōngch'ihak*, 88.

<sup>809</sup> Mitsui, "Singminjiha ūi Chosōnō ōnō chōngch'ihak," 88.

<sup>810</sup> Sekiya Teizaburō, "Chōsenjin no kyōiku ni tsuite," *Chōsen* 35, January 1, 1911. I would like to thank Andrew Hall for pointing out this source.

*kokugo* theorist Ueda Kazotoshi and the most strident supporter of nationalistic *kokugo* ideology and its propagation through assimilationist policies in Japan's colonies, nevertheless conceded that the process of forming Koreans into subjects of the Japanese Empire would not occur overnight. Writing in 1914, less than a year after his return from Europe where he had witnessed first-hand Europe's own national language-building strategies, Hoshina stated, "By promoting education that cultivates children's understanding of morals and society through such [*kokugo*] textbooks, we will be able to Japanize their thinking, and gradually replace their anti-Japan sentiment with amicable surrender."<sup>811</sup> However, in the same work he claimed, "It is urgent that normal education in Korea be done in Japanese. *At this transitional stage, we may have to allow some Korean language*, but we must plan to integrate all instruction into Japanese as soon as possible. Otherwise, we could incubate irreparable trouble in the future."<sup>812</sup> Thus, for even the most steadfast proponents of *kokugo* diffusion as an instrument of assimilation, the initial phase of colonial rule was one of transition, where the Korean language would have to be acknowledged in some official, institutionalized capacity. For the next decade common school education thus proceeded along these lines, with *kokugo* established as both the largest proportion of the curriculum and the language of instruction, and *Chosŏnŏ* limited to token "foreign language" status in grudging recognition of its continued indispensability.

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<sup>811</sup> Hoshina Koichi, *Kokugo kyōiku oyobi kyōju no shinchō* (Tōkyō: Kōdōkan, 1914b), Quoted in Lee, *The Ideology of Kokugo*, 163. Emphasis mine.

<sup>812</sup> *Ibid*, 164.

### 5.3 Building Modern Education in Retrospect: The Candid Recollections of Oda Shōgo on the Administration of Korean Education

The first decade of the colonial period has been described as the dark period (*amhŭkki*) due to the nature of GGK administration. Still officially at war with segments of *ũibyŏng* at the outset, GGK rule was heavy-handed throughout society, earning it the moniker “military rule” (*budan seiji*), where Korean criminal offenders received corporal punishment for a range of crimes, teachers wore military uniforms in the classroom, and little to no dissent of any kind was tolerated. Press freedoms were virtually non-existent, as indeed were vernacular forums capable of expressing indigenous voices, having been discontinued or co-opted by the colonial takeover. One periodical that did feature news articles in *kukhanmun* was the *Maeil sinbo*, a pro-Japanese daily that was the mouthpiece of GGK administration. In June and July of 1917 this newspaper ran a 15-part article by the Ministry of Education Publisher-in-Chief Oda Shōgo (小田省吾 1871-1953) in which the Japanese bureaucrat gives his candid and detailed personal recollections of Chosŏn education after just over a decade of Japanese administration. The recollections are a valuable source of direct information about the inner workings of the education system and the mechanics of textbook compilation and provide clues as to the ongoing lessons being learned in Japan’s colonial experiment as well as future directions under consideration.

Oda begins with a brief overview of the textbook project carried out by the GGK, confirming that textbooks were indeed compiled and published according to the First Rescript and the Common School Regulations (Pot’ong hakkyo kyuch’ik) analyzed above, and that due to the vigorous efforts of the GGK the first textbook regime had more or less been completed.<sup>813</sup>

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<sup>813</sup> Volume 4 of the *PCHT* was in press at the time of Oda’s writing. Oda Shōgo, “Chosŏn ũi kyokwasŏ: P’yŏngan saŏp ũi kaeyo 1,” *Maeil sinbo* June 21, 1917. In his books on Japanese colonial textbook policy Hō Chaeyŏng also includes excerpts of Oda’s recollections, but

Oda also describes the decision to use separate textbooks for Japanese residents in Korea and Korean students, explaining that the “difference in circumstances” (*sajǒng i pudong*) between the peoples necessitated this policy.<sup>814</sup> Later in the article Oda explains the usage of different textbooks in slightly more nuanced terms:

The [textbook] project proceeded extremely swiftly and by Meiji 41 [1908] textbooks for each and every subject had been published. Other than the roughly 10 common schools, [the Residency General] also pursued a policy of replacing the incomplete (*pulwanjǒnhǎn*) textbooks that were being used in the private schools with official textbooks, but at the time Korea still enjoyed the appearance (*ch’emyǒn*) of independence under the protection of our country (*a kuk pohoha*), and so instead official textbooks [used by Japanese students] were imitated and translated (*hyobǒn* 效翻) with the addition of material on the Korean royal house.

Then came the annexation of Korea on August 29<sup>th</sup> of Meiji 43 [1910] when the peninsula became a part of our territory and the people of Korea became the children of the Emperor (*p’yeha ūi chǒkcha*). The content of textbooks published by the Ministry of Education quickly became unacceptable and the whole Ministry of Education censorship and approval regime became obsolete (lit. inappropriate for the times), including the books examined under it. However, the abrupt rectification and revision of so many books was no simple task.<sup>815</sup>

Oda then reports in self-congratulatory fashion the feverish efforts put forth to remove the unacceptable textbooks from the old regime and replace the various textbooks in private and provincial schools with GGK-approved or produced textbooks, a process which by 1911 was completed in common schools and caused “no regret” or pedagogical obstacles during this “transitional period” (*kwadogi*).<sup>816</sup> These recollections portray GGK administrative actions

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provides little in the way of substantive analysis. This present study however attempts to delve into the motivations behind Japanese textbook policy, specifically related to language, and uncover clues as to the Korean student response to such implementation.

<sup>814</sup> Oda Shōgo, “Chosǒn ūi kyokwasō: P’yǒngan saǒp ūi kaeyo 1,” *Maeil sinbo*, June 21, 1917.

<sup>815</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>816</sup> *Ibid.* Replacing textbooks in private schools with GGK-issued or approved textbooks was a protracted process that took longer but was eventually carried out. As Oda explains in Part Four of his recollections: “Only textbooks published or approved by the GGK could be used in private



related to textbooks in stark and calculating terms, eliding the abrupt loss of identity engendered by the “sterilization” of official textbooks. The inclusion of “material on the Korean royal house” was a calculating political decision based on the acknowledgement of de facto independence of Korea, rather than a pedagogical consideration to supplement the independent knowledge of the student. What is also striking is the obstacle that this “de facto independence” seemed to represent for more direct Japanese influence on textbook form and content. Official textbooks (*kukchǒng kyokwasǒ*), that is textbooks used in the mainland and for Japanese residents in Korea, were “imitated and translated,” while of course Korea-specific material was created anew, suggesting that, given the pressure to crank out textbooks quickly, if not for this token acknowledgement of indigenous identity the Residency-General-era textbooks would have been even more closely modeled on the Japanese example. Oda’s above recollections portray a GGK administration deeply concerned with the content of the curriculum not only in common schools but in private and provincial schools as well, while also demonstrating the efficiency and determination in textbook and education policy in the first decade of colonial rule.

In the second part of his recollections, Oda turns his attention to the two most immediate issues that arose in textbook compilation, and that was the matter of Japanese and Korean orthography. Oda states that in Japanese-established Taiwan public schools (*konghakkyo*, equivalent to Korea’s *pot’ong hakkyo*) an “extremely phonocentric” (*kǔkhi p’yoŭmjuŭi*) orthography was used in textbooks, a form of representation that had been discontinued in the

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schools, but the number of textbooks actually licensed by the GGK was so small that government-published textbooks have ended up being used. We are now in the process of installing new government-issued textbooks in the more than 400 provincial private common schools (*kwangong sarip pot’ong hakkyo*), as well as in over 1000 private schools (*sarip hakkyo*) of every type.” See Oda Shogō, “Chosǒn ūi kyokwasǒ 4,” *Maeil sinbo*, June 24, 1917.

mainland's own elementary school textbook in favor of the historic kana orthography. Oda gives two explanations for the decision to follow the Taiwanese precedent rather than install the historical *kana* spelling as in Japan.<sup>817</sup> First, the propagation of *kokugo* was such an urgent task that the simplest of kana spelling systems was perceived to exert the greatest potential influence. Second, at the time of annexation thousands of native schools were already in operation, employing thousands of mostly Korean teachers. Outside of the common school heads, public school personnel were mostly Korean, and so the revised orthography was seen to have the most potential for facilitating elementary education and *kokugo* diffusion.<sup>818</sup> These observations provide a clear indication that the GGK perceived Korea's vibrant private education sector as an obstacle to the effective spread of Japanese, and carefully considered the most effective means of linguistic assimilation based on facts on the ground and previous experience in colonial administration.

Oda then explores at length the issue of *ŏnmun* orthography for textbook use, beginning with a potted history of the vernacular script that repeats many of the popular language ideologies of the time. Oda writes,

So-called *ŏnmun* is a kind of phonetic writing used quite regularly in Korea. In past ages when only *hanmun* was used the utilization of *ŏnmun* was extremely rare (*kŭkso*), but today the range of usage has expanded greatly and has come to be used commonly. Because ignorance of this writing causes much inconvenience (*pulp'yŏn*) it has been taught in common schools, but not only had the orthography by this time become very disordered and confused...but the habit of writing according to pronunciation had taken hold, a state which had also characterized *kokugo* orthography as well. Sensing the need to devise some plan for unification, [the GGK] established a committee, conducted an

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<sup>817</sup> However, in Part Seven of Oda's recollections, he explains that the historical kana orthography was employed from the second half of *Kokugo tokuhon* Volume 7. See Oda Shogō, "Chosŏn ūi kyokwasō 7, Item 5," *Maeil sinbo*, June 28, 1917.

<sup>818</sup> Oda Shogō, "Chosŏn ūi kyokwasō: Pot'ong hakkyo kyokwayong tosō 2," *Maeil sinbo*, June 22, 1917.

examination, and enacted rules for *ŏnmun* orthography (諺文假名附法, *Ŏnmun ch'ŏlchapŏp*, 1912) which served as the basis for government-published common school *Chosŏnŏ* language textbooks.<sup>819</sup>

Mentioning nothing of the painstaking efforts put forth by the Korean-led National Script Research Institute (Kungmun yŏn'guso) or the shelving of their final report and recommendations (Kungmun yŏn'gu ũijŏngan) for orthography reform, Oda assigns complete credit to the GGK for settling the “disordered and confused” (*nanjap*) state of Korean spelling. This GGK-led reform set an important precedent for vernacular literacy formation, being the first official orthography and instituted throughout accredited schools. Although the GGK would later invite Korean participation in deliberations surrounding the 1933 Orthography,<sup>820</sup> the unilaterally imposed 1912 orthography was the first spelling system to which an entire generation of incoming elementary students would be exposed, and its influence is evident in later orthographies, the popular press in the 1920s, and Korean literature.<sup>821</sup> What is also revealing is the stated purpose of *ŏnmun* instruction in common schools. That Oda felt the need to justify the teaching of the alphabet in Korean elementary schools is itself remarkable in that it suggests that some alternative form of literacy was feasible. The ultimate purpose of *ŏnmun* literacy however is vague, and we are provided only with an appeal to the facility of this widespread script and the “inconvenience” experienced by one ignorant of it. Absent is the claim that *han'gŭl* would facilitate access to “necessary knowledge” as *kokugo* would, or that it would open the door to vernacular literature, but only the negative claim that *ignorance* of the script would cause inconvenience. The observations give strong evidence that high-level vernacular literacy was not

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<sup>819</sup> Oda Shogō, “Choson ũi kyokwasŏ 2,” *Maeil sinbo*, June 22, 1917.

<sup>820</sup> Mitsui, *Singminji ha ũi Chosŏnŏ ŏnŏ chŏngch'ihak*.

<sup>821</sup> *Ibid.*

the ultimate goal of common school education. Rather, the form of literacy imparted was aimed only at overcoming the most basic level of inexpediency in society, while *kokugo* education was geared toward comprehensive literacy of a higher nature.

In Part 3 of his recollections Oda reiterates some of the main stipulations put forth in the First Rescript and the Common School Regulations as they relate to textbook policy.<sup>822</sup> Like Oda's previous observations, many statements reveal a very concerted effort at Japanese diffusion coupled with a conscious awareness of the lack in proficiency among both students and teachers. Oda writes,

2: Except for *Chosŏnŏ kŭp hanmun tokpon*, all textbooks in the curriculum are composed in *kokugo*. Until *kokugo* is propagated more widely, for the supplementation of private school students, vernacular translations have been provided in *Morals (susinsŏ)* and *Agriculture (nongŏpsŏ)*.

3.8: As mentioned in the previous article, aside from a small number of mainland [Japanese] teachers, the vast majority of teachers at the various schools are Korean. Because their knowledge and experience as educators is lacking, and those with proficiency in *kokugo* and an awareness of the world around them are few in number, considerable attention must always be paid to improving their effectiveness in education.<sup>823</sup>

These observations display a tension between the official ideology of *kokugo* as the shared national language and the reality of lagging proficiency. Although Oda is confident that common school students eventually gain sufficient proficiency for instruction in Japanese, he

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<sup>822</sup> Oda confirms that all GGK textbooks were published based on these two policy statements: "1: All common school textbooks are published based on the Chosŏn kyoyungnyŏng and the Pot'ong hakkyo kyuch'ik." Other significant statements include the following: "3.4: Practical skills and work are to be emphasized, while empty principles and theories (*kongni kongron* 空理空論, academic studies) are to be avoided...3.5: Aside from Volumes 7 and 8 of the *Kokugo tokuhon* which were written in literary language (*munŏ*), arithmetic, natural sciences, agricultural work, and all other textbooks were composed in vernacular Japanese...3.9: At the front of each volume is placed a preface including special matters to take into consideration when using the textbook. An appendix is included at the end of each volume for the student's independent study." Oda Shogŏ, "Chosŏn ũi kyokwasŏ 3," *Maeil sinbo*, June 23, 1917.

<sup>823</sup> Oda Shogŏ, "Chosŏnŏ ũi kyokwasŏ 3," *Maeil sinbo*, June 23, 1917.

acknowledges that special provisions were necessary for private education, his words conveying the official tone of unease with the private sector in general. His assessment of Korean native teachers is quite low, echoing earlier concerns, specifically their lack of *kokugo* proficiency representing a hindrance to “effective” teaching.

In Part 6 of his recollections Oda goes into more detail on the minutiae of teacher and student interactions in the classroom, specifically in relation to the language barrier in the teaching of Morals:

7. This textbook (*susinsō*) is composed in *kokugo* and is to be taught as such, and the vocabulary and prose should be adjusted to fit the *kokugo* proficiency of the students in a particular grade. As establishing this connection with *kokugo* is extremely important, a large majority of the items in [*susinsō*] Volume 1 have been represented in illustrations, and methods of explaining these to students have been provided in the Teacher’s Edition (*kyosayongsō*)... In the event that the instructor is unable to successfully convey the content to the student (lit. ‘make the student understand’) and no other effective method is available because A, the student is in a low grade and lacks *kokugo* proficiency, B, the teacher is a Korean teacher at one of the many private schools and lacks *kokugo* proficiency, or C, there is a general lack of thoroughness, a Korean translation may be provided along with the *kokugo* original. Only after absolutely every other alternative has been exhausted (*manmanbudūgi*) may Korean be used to ensure comprehensive understanding.<sup>824</sup>

Two of the primary thrusts of common school education according to GGK policy statements were the “fostering of moral personhood” and the diffusion of the national language, and so Morals class represented an important intersection of Japanese language education and imperial indoctrination. A thorough comprehension of class contents was thus crucial to Japanese aims. Much like in Oda’s previous recollections, the crux of education is establishing a firm connection between the material and the *kokugo* ability of the student. Once again, Oda’s observations exude an anxiety among Japanese administrators as to the level of Japanese proficiency, a tension between its discursive national language status and apparent foreign

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<sup>824</sup> Oda Shogō, “Chosōnō ūi kyokwasō 6,” *Maeil sinbo*, June 27, 1917.

language otherness. Oda's words also paint a vivid picture of the language hierarchy that had apparently come to characterize the classroom setting: the Korean language was to be employed only as a last resort, after "absolutely every other alternative [had] been exhausted," and only to ensure "comprehensive understanding" before proceeding again in Japanese. By these observations Oda seems to suggest that Korean could be included only as a fall-back plan due to the sensitive nature of the content—instilling the morality and loyalty of the imperial citizen—whereas in other courses where comprehension was less crucial, the Korean language may have been accorded an even more tenuous role.

In Parts 7 and 8 Oda explains in detail the conduct of language classes and the purpose of such instruction. Oda reiterates the reasoning behind the *kokugo* textbook's particular orthography and again manifests the tension between the discursive and actual "national language," writing that "1. The textbook uses the phonetic kana representation method enacted by the GGK so that *kokugo* may be taught easily to Korean children whose mother tongue has until this point been different."<sup>825</sup> In his second remark on *kokugo* education, Oda reveals the fundamental inequity in the language education curriculum—the imbalance between *Chosŏnŏ* and *kokugo*—when he writes, "2: This textbook has been designed to facilitate a teaching method that is dependent not on translation but relies on the intuitive direct method (*chikkwanjŏk chikchŏp kyosu*)."<sup>826</sup> The direct or "immersion" method as it is known in contemporary pedagogy was not the source of imbalance in the curriculum per se, but when juxtaposed with the Korean vernacular pedagogy, the disparity comes into relief. According to the Common School Regulations (1911), "The teacher must always ensure that the teaching of *Chosŏnŏ kŭp hanmun*

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<sup>825</sup> Oda Shogō, "Chosŏn ūi kyokwasŏ 7," *Maeil sinbo*, June 28, 1917.

<sup>826</sup> Oda Shogō, "Chosŏn ūi kyokwasŏ 7," *Maeil sinbo*, June 28, 1917.

connects (聯絡) with *kokugo*, and *translations in the national language should be provided from time to time,*” and so contextualization of Korean vis-à-vis Japanese was to form an integral component of classroom pedagogy. On the other hand, Japanese instruction was to be conducted in a linguistic vacuum, with recourse to Korean only in extreme cases when all other methods failed, and then only to convey the most necessary ideological indoctrination.

Oda defends the direct method by explaining that it is necessary for the conduct of the entire curriculum, and by claiming that children tend to quickly adjust. Oda writes,

3: There is special emphasis placed on speech so that students may learn as quickly as possible the needed classroom language that will facilitate the entire curriculum being conducted in *kokugo*. (No matter the common school, from personal experience with the textbook I have found that about three months after entering school daily language is obtained and instruction in *kokugo* becomes possible.<sup>827</sup>

“Daily language” to facilitate the most basic classroom functions may have been acquired in a matter of months, but the ability to understand the deeper meanings of a variety of subjects through written language would have been another matter entirely,<sup>828</sup> necessitating a course that mediated between fluent spoken Korean and the expansive and strengthening tendencies of Japanese literacy in the curriculum. This course was *Chosŏnŏ kŭp hanmun*, which bridged the gap between the spoken and the written in the form of a hybrid *écriture* and transitional literacy. The mediational component facilitating this transition was none other than the sinograph, simultaneously a unifying cultural artifact in the Sinographic Cosmopolis and a shared aspect of the “vernacular” and “foreign language” curriculum. Oda wrote the following of the role of *kanji* in *kokugo* class:

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<sup>827</sup> Ibid.

<sup>828</sup> Oda’s opinion however was at odds with the views expressed by certain Korean educators participating in a forum discussing the language of instruction issue in 1921. This discussion that took place between Korean and Japanese participants will be analyzed in the following section.

Over the course of *Common School Kokugo tokuhon*'s eight volumes, approximately 5,600 *kanji* are introduced, far more than our domestic *Elementary Readers (Kokutei shōgakkō tokuhon)*. The *Chosonō kŭp tokpon* moreover includes *hancha*, and so there is no need to trouble too much over the teaching of *kanji*, as the opportunities for utilization will be comparatively numerous.<sup>829</sup>

Korean common school students were in fact exposed to a higher number of sinographs than their Japanese counterparts. This may reflect the actual (or perceived) higher level of vernacular-cosmopolitan differentiation in Japanese writing, where the position of *kanbun* in the curriculum had increasingly weakened since the late nineteenth century.<sup>830</sup> What is most relevant about this assessment, however, is what it reveals about the supplementary and reinforcing nature of Korean and LS class. A major component of Japanese literacy, the sinograph, could be imparted without much trouble due to the comparative fluency of Korean children, due in part to Korea's traditional positioning in the Sinographic Cosmopolis but also crucially to the form of "vernacular" literacy curricularized by Japanese policy, heavily dependent on *hancha* uptake (5,600) and fundamentally committed to *kukhanmun* orthography. The Korean student could actually become more "literate" than his or her mainland counterpart, encountering more sinographs in the *kokugo* textbook alone, reinforced by both *hanmun* and *Chosonō* instruction. This strong foundation in sinographic knowledge was key to not only concretizing the legitimacy of *kukhanmun* in the curriculum and wider society but also facilitating higher literacy in academic Japanese, with a much higher proportion of sinographs. As Korean language education receded from the curriculum, this firm foundation in sinographic literacy allowed a bridge to Japanese.

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<sup>829</sup> Ibid.

<sup>830</sup> Nanette Twine, *Language and the Modern State: The Reform of Written Japanese* (London: Routledge, 1991).



In Part 8 Oda expounds on the continuing linguistic capital accorded *hancha* as well as the dual role of the sinograph in connecting Korean and Japanese.

3. Character Study (*Sŭpchach'ŏp*) (4 volumes): The ability to transcribe (*sŏsa*) *kanji*<sup>831</sup> is a great aspiration for regular Koreans, but these days there is also the need for proficiency in kana and Sino-Japanese mixed script. The purpose of Character Study is thus to respond to these needs, in order that Koreans may write in the manner of mainlanders. Although the *kanji* [featured in these textbooks] are somewhat different from mainstream Korean *hancha* in terms of brush strokes, nevertheless these books were devised for ease in learning...3.1: [Character Study] is meant to respond to the need for practical word usage, including *kana*, *kanji* and some (*yakkan*) *ŏnmun*.<sup>832</sup>

Character Study was a special component of the *kokugo* curriculum that aimed to familiarize students with “necessary words and phrases of daily life” (*ilsang p'ilsu ūi chagu*) that were not covered in the *Kokugo tokuhon*.<sup>833</sup> The curriculum seems to be designed to harness the perceived sinographic abilities of Korean students in order to bridge the gap between peninsular and mainland cosmopolitan writing practices. Moreover, Character Study satisfied a perceived demand of the age, the provision of dual proficiency in both *kanji* writing and its employment in Mixed-Script orthography. This meta-linguistic explanation of cosmopolitan and vernacular connectivity in Japanese writing practices would have represented a role model for parallel vernacular-cosmopolitan differentiation and *hanchaŏ* assimilation in Korean.

Later in Part 8 Oda provides further evidence that the *kokugo* curriculum represented the primary model for *Chosonŏ* and *hanmun* education. The section on the *PCHT* begins with an

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<sup>831</sup> It is unclear whether the sinographs (“漢字”) here refer to Korean “*hancha*” or Japanese “*kanji*,” but based on the context of the sentence and the fact that Character Study was officially a part of *kokugo* class, we can infer that it is the latter.

<sup>832</sup> Oda Shogō, “Chosŏn ūi kyokwasŏ 8,” *Maeil sinbo*, June 29, 1917.

<sup>833</sup> It seems that *ŏnmun* was provided only sparingly and that the main focus was on kana and *kanji* vocabulary. Kana pronunciation guides were included throughout. See Oda Shōgo, “Chosŏn ūi kyokwasŏ 8,” *Maeil sinbo*, June 29, 1917.

explanation of the decision to conduct *hanmun* and *Chosŏnŏ* education congruently, in contrast to the practice during the Protectorate Period. Oda explains that, although previously *Chosŏnŏ* and *hanmun* were conducted as separate subjects, in recognition of the intimate relationship between them, like that of “spokes and wheels” (*pogŏ ūisang*), the GGK decided to combine the subjects so that each element could reinforce the other, leading to easier comprehension.<sup>834</sup> At first glance this appears as a retrograde step in vernacular-cosmopolitan differentiation, seemingly elevating *hanmun* instruction to the level of vernacular Korean—“intimately connected” to *Chosŏnŏ* education—after it had been downgraded to separate subject during the Residency General period. However, rather than the resurgence of *hanmun*, this was actually a transitional step in the dismantling and reconfiguring of the cosmopolitan vis-à-vis the vernacular. In other words, it was a textbook policy aimed at the attenuation of pure *hanmun* education in favor of *hancha* literacy as an integral fixture of ascendant *kukhanmun*. Oda further explains that the GGK decided to affix *t’o* readings to “*hanmun*” texts because of the “extreme difficulty” posed by pure *hanmun* passages, and the result was a more palatable form of LS that, while not featuring vernacular grammar, nonetheless approximated a pre-modern form of cosmopolitan interface familiar to any students with at least a smattering of *hanmun* knowledge.<sup>835</sup> When viewing the format of the *PCHT*, the result of this curricular combination was not so much the mutual reinforcement of *Chosŏnŏ* and *hanmun*, but rather the propulsion of *kukhanmun* as the legitimate manifestation of vernacular literacy. The *PCHT* begins with *hanmun* units with *t’o* readings and *Chosŏnŏ* units completely in *kungmun*, but as the units progress *hancha* becomes a permanent fixture of the Korean sections while *hanmun* has no

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<sup>834</sup> Oda Shōgo, “Chosŏn ūi kyokwasŏ 8,” *Maeil sinbo*, June 29, 1917.

<sup>835</sup> *Ibid.*

direction in which to progress but along the same preordained textual interface. The remainder of the curriculum reinforced the Mixed-Script model in Japanese, and from the second education regime in 1922, *hanmun* continued its regression toward extraneousness as it was designated an optional subject.

Oda went on to describe in some detail the methodology behind the *PCHT*'s compilation, and its debt to the Japanese model. Oda writes,

*Ŏnmun* is Chosŏn's unique form of phonetic writing (*p'yoŏm muncha*) that allows one to freely represent every kind of word with facility, but the method of combination (*kyŏlhap*) is complicated and the number of possible spellings infinite, and so taking the 50 sounds of the *kokugo* syllabary as a model (*kokugo ũi osip ũm ũl pŏmŏ ro hăm e*), although the spoken languages are different, we were able to create a more or less analogous method (*kasŏngjŏk kokugo wa t'ongil pangbŏp*) for teaching *ŏnmun* using the method of integrating illustrations (*pŏmŏ pŏp*)<sup>836</sup> and the intuitive method (*chikkwanjŏk ũro kyosuhăm*). Thus, while conducting *Chosŏnŏ* and *hanmun* education together in the same book, we were able to add a novel contrivance to previous techniques, and accompanied by the *kokugo tokuhon*, we created Chosŏn's unique textbook regime."<sup>837</sup>

According to this Japanese administrator, who had intimate knowledge of the innermost workings of GGK textbook compilation and education policy, the influence of the *kokugo* textbook, pedagogy, and literacy more generally was paramount. Reiterating his earlier remarks on the chaotic state of Korean orthography, and no doubt echoing indigenous language ideologies as well, Oda sounds a triumphalist tone of Japanese intervention in a broken system, directly citing the Japanese syllabary as the model of linguistic modernity and reform. The overall sense conveyed by Oda's description of language education in the first decade of colonial rule is continuity, interconnectedness, and comprehensiveness. *Hanmun* education was never envisioned as the 'literacy of the future' but as an important cultural artifact which reinforced

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<sup>836</sup> *Pŏmŏ pŏp* (範語法) is a pedagogical method in which illustrations are first presented to the student, the corresponding pronunciation is given, and the usage of the word is finally taught.

<sup>837</sup> Oda Shōgo, "Chosŏn ũi kyokwasŏ 8," *Maeil sinbo*, June 29, 1917.

both Korean and Japanese literacy. Korean literacy on the other hand was firmly committed to Mixed-Script orthography dominated by two-syllable *hanchaŏ* and Japanese neologisms and influenced directly by *kokugo* writing practices, while Japanese continued to dominate the curriculum as the language of instruction and emblem of higher literacy. Less than two years after Oda's congratulatory assessment of Japan's efforts in education, a seminal event occurred which shattered many preconceived Japanese notions of Korean complacency and cast doubt on the viability of GGK policy.

#### **5.4 The Language of Instruction Debate and the Confirmation of Linguistic Hegemony**

Japanese administration in Korea during the first decade of colonial rule penetrated much more deeply into Korean society than the Chosŏn government ever had, affecting the lives of nearly every Korean in some way. The increased contact with the colonial modernization paradigm in the form of mobilization, modern education, and the circulation of new ideologies stimulated the intellectual class and engendered political consciousness. At the same time, strict press control and limited, segregated education denied outlets of expression and stifled the urban intellectual elite. Prohibition of assembly and intense surveillance also contributed to an atmosphere of animosity and tension in urban areas. However, Japan's policies also affected the lower classes in new ways throughout the country. The GGK's cadastral survey and mass land reform, though beneficial to certain landlords, dispossessed many peasants of their livelihood and placed crushing burdens on the remaining tenants in the form of heavy taxation, debt, and the effects of volatile markets. The violent Japanese pacification of *ũibyŏng* guerrillas in 1905 and again from 1907 through 1911 further awakened the lower classes to the brutality of Japanese rule. Without a release valve, the pressure continued to build on the Korean peninsula

until, in 1919, the release finally came in the form of massive demonstrations. This protest movement, known as the March First Movement (*Samil undong*), had massive reverberations throughout the system and compelled the GGK to change course in its administration of the colony.<sup>838</sup>

Most research on the March First Movement has characterized the event as a mass nationalist movement organized mainly by moderate religious leadership (Christian, *Ch'ōndogyo*, and Buddhist), broadly supported among diverse classes and women, and inspired by the Wilsonian ideal of self-determination.<sup>839</sup> As the details of the movement have been well documented elsewhere, here I focus on the significance of the movement in terms of national consciousness, vernacular development and education reform. The first notable aspect is that the broad scope of the demonstrations signified the maturation of the Korean nationalist movement and reflected the influence of educational institutions, especially Christian, in spreading nationalist sentiment through vernacular education. Since the nineteenth century, Protestantism had stood as a pillar of *han'gŭl* support in Korea, beginning with mass Bible distribution campaigns and continuing through a legacy of private, vernacular education.<sup>840</sup> Schools such as

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<sup>838</sup> Daniel Pieper, “*Han'gŭl* for the Nation, the Nation for *Han'gŭl*: the Korean Language Movement, 1894-1945,” (MA Thesis, Washington University, 2011), *All Theses and Dissertations (ETDs)*, 68-69.

<sup>839</sup> See for example: Frank Baldwin, “Participatory Anti-Imperialism: The 1919 Independence Movement,” in *The Journal of Korean Studies* 1 (1979): 123-162; Ku Dae-yŏl, *Korea Under Colonialism: The March First Movement and Anglo-Japanese Relations* (Royal Asiatic Society, 1985); Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920-1925* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988).

<sup>840</sup> For example, Ch'oe Hyŏnbae, a student of Chu Sigyŏng and giant of twentieth-century Korean linguistics, lists the following contributions of Protestantism to *han'gŭl*: “1) It propagated *han'gŭl* among the masses; 2) it helped Koreans learn to read and write *han'gŭl*; 3) it promoted respect for *han'gŭl* and fostered a spirit of protecting *han'gŭl*; 4) it recognized the scientific value of *han'gŭl*; 5) it propagated the “*Paedal*” [Korean] language and writing to the

these were instrumental in amassing large groups of young people and organizing the March First Movement thanks to the relative autonomy granted to religious organizations. These Christian missionary schools possessed more curricular latitude than Korean private schools, and many school leaders were sympathetic to the nationalist cause. Coupled with the accessibility and mass appeal of *han'gŭl*/vernacular education, these institutions proved to be potent champions of independence among Korean youth.<sup>841</sup>

Secondly, the March First Movement caused the GGK to rethink its policy in Korea, bringing about a new type of colonial administration that came to be known as *bunka seiji* (cultural rule). One aspect of this cultural policy was a suspension of the media blackout and an expansion of the vernacular press. The permit system which had been in place since 1910 was relaxed, and from 1920 to 1925 the number of permits issued tripled from 409 to 1,240.<sup>842</sup> Two Korean vernacular newspapers—the *Tonga ilbo* (*East Asia Daily*) and the *Chosŏn ilbo* (*Korea Daily*)—were also issued permits in 1920 and, along with six magazines, were allowed to print material related to politics, social problems, and international events. Although the most inflammatory material was censored, a flourishing of intellectual discourse erupted in the popular press during the 1920's. These periodicals attracted many of the best and brightest young intellectuals, making the new vernacular press the center of Korean political and social life. The growth in readership during the 1920's was also impressive. Unlike their pre-colonial predecessors *The Independent* and *Taehan maeil sinbo*, the circulation of which never surpassed

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world; and 6) it fostered an atmosphere conducive to *han'gŭl*-only orthography. See Ch'oe Hyŏnbae, "Kidokkyo wa han'gŭl," *Sinhak nondan* 7 (1962): 51-80, quoted in King, "Western Protestant Missionaries," 9-10.

<sup>841</sup> Pieper, "Han'gŭl for the Nation," 69.

<sup>842</sup> Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea*, 51.

a few thousand, combined circulation of the vernacular press reached 103,027 by 1929.<sup>843</sup> *Han'gŭl*, which had been virtually eliminated from public life during the previous decade, made a strong recovery through renewed circulation in the press and a broader base of support among more diverse groups of Koreans. Literary journals continued the legacy of the recently defunct periodical *Youth* (*Ch'ŏngch'un*) by experimenting with new genres of vernacular literature, refining the language and exploring the parameters of *han'gŭl* usage.<sup>844</sup>

Additional reforms engendered by the March First Movement occurred in the field of education and language policy, and in an atmosphere of relaxed press restrictions, we can get a sense of the public discussions that preceded official enactment. In February of 1922 the Second Rescript on Korean Education (Choson kyoyungnyŏng che 2 ch'a) was issued, which set the parameters of Korea's educational structure until the issuance of the Third Rescript on Education in 1938. Prior to this issuance however, through a window onto the public sphere offered by the recent expansion of the vernacular press and the toleration of dissent "within moderation," we are able to catch a glimpse of Korean response to and even minimal participation in the discussions over proposed reform measures. Even the GGK organ paper *Maeil sinbo* reported in a more neutral manner Korean participation in the discourse of education reform, and published voices of more moderate Japanese intellectuals. The following report from 1921 suggests that Korean activists and reformers were taking advantage of the more moderate climate in the 1920s to voice discontent over the state of language use among the youth.

It has been reported that leading members of the T'aech'ŏn Youth League (T'aech'ŏn ch'ŏngnyŏnhoe) in North P'yŏngan Province have stated recently that, because Korean children learning *kokugo* at common schools and other places have begun to mix up

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<sup>843</sup> Ibid.

<sup>844</sup> Pieper, "Han'gŭl for the Nation," 70.

(*hondong*) *Chosŏnŏ* and *kokugo* when using them in conversation, the decision has been made to completely do away with *kokugo* usage among group members (*tongji*). Although the particulars are not yet known, if this is indeed the truth, then the obstinacy (*wanmi*) of these individuals is shocking. –T’aech’ŏn<sup>845</sup>

In the newly-minted nationalist newspaper *Tonga ilbo*, a series of editorials on the issue of education appeared in 1921, coinciding with GGK deliberations over the Second Rescript, issued in 1922. In one three-part essay entitled “Revisiting the Language of Instruction Issue,” the anonymous author claims that the issue of education goes beyond politics to constitute a moral and existential issue, stating that “Education is not a political issue, but a matter of life and death (*saengsa*) for the individual, of existence for the household, of economy for the nation and peace for all peoples under heaven.”<sup>846</sup> In an argumentation heavily influenced by Social Darwinism, the author likens education to a survival of the fittest struggle where the strong triumph and the weak perish, but in this struggle unfortunately the forcible usage of Japanese as the language of instruction impeded Korean advancement.<sup>847</sup> In what became a common trope among moderate Korean reformers writing on the issue of education and language policy reform, the author is careful to point out that he does not oppose the spread of Japanese in theory, but only wishes to advance the discussion beyond a simple dichotomy: “Although there are those who say that Japanese (*Ilbonŏ*) is the national language of Korea and this is an unavoidable fact, and that those advocating using *Chosŏnŏ* as the language of instruction are anti-Japanese, it is our intention to move this conversation forward (*nondam ūl kahagoja*).”<sup>848</sup> In the final

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<sup>845</sup> “Kugŏ sayong p’yeji kyŏrŭisŏl,” *Maeil sinbo*, March 1, 1921.

<sup>846</sup> “Kyoyuk yongŏ e taehaya chaeron hanora (sang),” *Tonga ilbo*, February 23, 1921.

<sup>847</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>848</sup> “Kyoyuk yongŏ e taehaya chaeron hanora 2,” *Tonga ilbo*, February 24, 1921.



installment of the editorial, the author urges that education in the “fluent” first language of Koreans be adopted so as not to delay the mental development of students, but is also quick to acknowledge the necessity of Japanese propagation for the “ease of daily life” and access to “higher learning” (*kodŭng hangmun*).<sup>849</sup>

In his work on Japanese assimilation policies in colonial Korea, Mark Caprio details the diversification of Japanese views on GGK assimilation policy in the wake of the March First Movement. Caprio states that, in the relatively more liberal atmosphere of the early 1920s, a range of opinions on political reform were offered in the popular press: “Many Japanese continued to support assimilation, claiming that the policy just needed more time and greater effort. Others admitted that Korean behavior had altered their opinion on the policy’s merits. Still others argued that Korean behavior rendered the people unworthy of assimilation. To a few it demonstrated progress in the people’s advancement toward civilization.”<sup>850</sup> One of the main debates that emerged in the press revolved around education reform, and as the discussion unfolded it became clear that one of the most contentious issues between the Japanese and Koreans sides was the language of instruction.<sup>851</sup> Doctor of Law Hirame Yoshirō (平沼淑郎), in a two-part essay on Korean education, dedicated a considerable portion of space to language in schools and Japanese spread policy more generally.

The second issue [after the teaching of history] is the problem of *kokugo*, an extremely important issue indeed. This will have a great influence on our shared

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<sup>849</sup> “Kyoyuk yongŏ e taehaya chaeron hanora 3,” *Tonga ilbo*, February 25, 1921.

<sup>850</sup> Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea*, 114. See especially Chapter 4 for a discussion of post-March First Policy Reform.

<sup>851</sup> In the foregoing discussion “language of instruction” (*kyosu yongŏ*) refers both to the spoken classroom language and the language of textbooks, as this was the manner that the term was employed in discourse at the time.

nationality (*p'ia kungminsŏng*) as well as our future prospects for governing. Civilized countries of Europe have always conquered their colonies and protectorates by way of their respective national languages. England conquered India with its national language. France through extraordinary efforts subjected Vietnam and Indochina with French. In more recent times Germany has ruled each of its possessions according to the same policy, and yet the failure of each and every country has cast doubt on the effectiveness of this national language domination policy (*kugŏ chŏngbokch'aek*). Today, no matter how much Koreans are forced to learn *Naejiŏ* (the language of the mainland), there is no reason to believe that *Chosŏnŏ* usage will be curtailed. This is because it is a language formed through a civilization with a long history.

In 1877 in Japan as well there was a discussion over whether to replace the Japanese language with English, but looking back today on that proposal it seems like the mad ravings of a lunatic.<sup>852</sup> The argument to replace *Chosŏnŏ* with *kokugo* has approached this same level of madness. This is not to say that we should not teach the language of the mainland to Koreans, for it is a common language shared between our lands. It is the language of government administration, public meetings, commerce and industry, and may be encountered in international travel, and so there are many instances when its necessity is felt. In particular, in the conduct of higher-level education (*kodŭng kyoyuk*) it is impossible to digest academic subjects without proficiency in *Naejiŏ*. A thorough knowledge of *Naejiŏ* is necessary for a unified nation, and so in no way do I question the logic of *kokogu* propagation. Rather, I believe that conducting early education (*ch'obo kyoyuk*) in *Chosŏnŏ* is a matter of necessity. Today when we conduct education in *Naejiŏ* from the first year of elementary (*simsang*) school in a language that is underdeveloped (*misukhŏn*) the result is unsatisfactory grades in arithmetic and natural sciences. Thus, it is my hope that the earliest stages of education shall be carried out in *Chosŏnŏ* accompanied by *Naejiŏ*. Young *Chosŏn* students are gaining competence in a foreign language (*che 2 oegugŏ*), and so while the language should be taught as such in common schools, I believe that in middle schools (*kodŭng pot'ong hakkyo*) and above there is nothing wrong with teaching the entire curriculum in *Naejiŏ*. However, as to the extent to which *Chosŏnŏ* should be used as the language of instruction—ceasing at the first or second year of common school or extending throughout common school—establishing the particulars is a vexing problem. What is clear, however, is that teaching early education in *Chosŏnŏ* is appropriate, and is the consensus of educators in the field (*kyoyukka ũi chŏngnon*).<sup>853</sup>

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<sup>852</sup> This refers to the now infamous proposal by Japanese educator Mori Arinori to replace Japanese with English as the national language. Although Mori is today regarded as a toadyistic “traitor” to Japan for suggesting the abolition of Japanese in favor of a foreign language, Yi Yŏnsuk claims that his proposal has been misread, insisting instead that Mori was calling for a co-official place for English and Japanese and ultimately desired the reform of Japanese to meet the tasks of the modern age. See Yi Yŏnsuk, “Ilbonŏ ũi chŏlmal,” *Ch'angjak kwa pip'yŏng* 105 (1999): 104-121.

<sup>853</sup> Hirame Yoshirō, “Chosŏnin kyoyuk ũi kŏnbŏn (sang),” *Maeil sinbo* April 2, 1921.

Like many Japanese observers of the time, Hirame Yoshirō consciously reflected on the failure of European powers to effectively assimilate their colonial populations in casting doubt on Japan's own prospects in Korea.<sup>854</sup> His observations also share many commonalities with both Japanese and Korean intellectuals on the merits of *kokugo* spread policy and the indispensability of the Japanese language for the modern, educated individual. Though perhaps a byproduct of continued censorship, it is difficult to find any discourse in either the pro-Japanese or nationalist press in the 1920s which advocates the complete discontinuation of Japanese, or that questions the logic of *kokugo* diffusion or the practical nature of the language. Rather, the language is almost universally acknowledged as a necessary tool for getting along in modern Chosŏn, and particularly in academia where the Korean language was presumably unfit for the task. Hirame claims that “in the conduct of higher-level education (*kodŭng kyoyuk*) it is impossible to digest academic subjects without proficiency in *Naejiŏ*,” a prediction that was of course reinforced by an official curriculum that failed to provide higher-level academic literacy in Korean. The most radical proposal in the early-1920s language debate therefore fell short of a call for removing Japanese from the curriculum and limiting its usage in society, but rather focused on pedagogical issues relating to more effective teaching. Japanese voices such as Hirame and Korean observers may have acknowledged the foreignness of the ‘national language’ and promoted early childhood education in the mother tongue, but they stopped short of questioning the practicality of Japanese—especially in higher education—or challenging the

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<sup>854</sup> For example, Akagi Kameichi questioned Japan's assimilation policy in Korea in 1920, citing France's failed efforts to assimilate Algeria. Akagi challenged the efficacy of assimilation based on a fundamental denial of Korean-Japanese equivalence: discrimination should be ended, but Korea should be ruled separately as Korea, not as assimilated Japanese. See Akagi Kameichi, “Taisen shigi: Dōka seisaku wo haisu,” *Nihon oyobi Nihonjin*, February 1 and 15, 1920, quoted in Caprio, *Assimilation Policies*, 116.

logic of continued *kokugo* diffusion. In other words, the primary goal of reformers seeking to conduct early education in Korean, even “radical” voices calling for the entire curriculum to be conducted in Korean,<sup>855</sup> was to establish a stronger foundation in the first language that would function as a more effective conduit of classroom knowledge, a literacy that would nonetheless transition to or at the very least accompany higher-level Japanese literacy in a colonial society still dominated by Japanese literature, the hegemony of academic Japanese, and the logic of *kokugo* diffusion.

In May of 1921, the GGK convened the Chosŏn kyoyuk chosa wiwŏnhoe (Korean Education Investigation Committee) in Sŏul in order to discuss various issues surrounding the formulation of the Second Rescript on Korean Education (Che 2 ch’a Chosŏn kyoyungnyŏng, February 1922). In the days preceding this conference a number of Korean proposals on education reform were presented in the pro-Japanese *Maeil sinbo*, revealing areas of discontent that had been simmering for over a decade. The *Kyoyuk kaesŏn tongmaenghoe* (The Association for Educational Improvement 教育改善同盟會), a Pusan-based association dedicated to educational reforms, published an article expressing lament that despite the cultural advances (*munun* 文運) made daily by the Korean people and the improvements in the level of the people (*mindŏ*), using the language of the education rescripts, educational policy had not kept pace. The article then presents a five-point “Plan for Progress” (*chinjŏngsŏ* 陳情書) “signed by over 1000 individuals” to be presented at the upcoming Chosŏn kyoyuk chosa wiwŏnhoe convening in Sŏul. Among other items, the plan called for sufficient public expenditures for education, including an increase in vocational and specialist education facilities “where appropriate,” the supplementation of higher schools for girls and boys to the level of “one per province,” and a rapid increase

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<sup>855</sup> Such a proposal will be examined in detail below.

in the number of common schools to “at least one per district.”<sup>856</sup> These were modest proposals at least theoretically aligned with GGK policy, although Japanese common school construction always lagged behind demand.<sup>857</sup> However, the third item presented revealed an area of resentment among certain Korean students and activists vis-à-vis Korean language policy. Item 3 states: “In the common school curriculum, all textbooks with the exception of the *Kokugo tokuhon* shall be produced in *Chosŏnŏ*. Moreover, with the exception of *kokugo* class, the language of instruction throughout the curriculum shall be *Chosŏnŏ*.”<sup>858</sup> This proposal is striking in that it followed a decade of consistent and concerted language policy directed at Japanese propagation and Korean attrition. The entire public curriculum up to this point was composed of textbooks printed in Japanese, and the official line on the language of instruction was that Japanese was to be used, although we cannot be sure how proficient Korean teachers were in the first decade. However, this proposal turns Japan’s colonial language policy completely on its head, and challenges Oda’s observations in 1917 that “about three months after entering school daily language is obtained and instruction in *kokugo* becomes possible.” Would such a “radical” plan have been proposed if instruction in Japanese could be achieved in only a matter of months?

The proposal apparently created waves, because in the second part of the editorial that ran the following day, the anonymous writer walks back the demand, suggesting that it was an effort to appease certain respected members of the association, but was not to be taken seriously.

The writer states,

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<sup>856</sup> “Sasŏl,” *Maeil sinbo*, May 5, 1921.

<sup>857</sup> According to Pak Chongsŏn, by the early 1920s the number of public schools had reached the level of approximately two per administrative district. One school per district, although proclaimed in 1929, was not achieved until 1937. See Pak, “Sŏdang kaeryang undong,” 68.

<sup>858</sup> “Sasŏl,” *Maeil sinbo*, May 1, 1921.

As for the proposal to print all textbooks save the *Kokugo tokuhon* in *Chosŏnŏ*, certain respected individuals (*insa* 人士) yesterday suggested that we propose this, but we believe that this would not be helpful. We believe that this shows a misunderstanding of the times, and it is our position that *Naejiŏ* does not constitute a foreign language. As it has become our language,<sup>859</sup> we cannot simply teach the language in *kokugo* class alone. Even if we were to consider *Naejiŏ* a foreign language, if we desire to import directly the essence (骨髓 *kolsu*, the marrow) of true (*chinjŏnghŏn*) culture and abandon *kokugo*, we will end up having to promote English to access Japanese culture. In our current state, it is preferable to avail ourselves of this unique shortcut (*ch'ŏpgyŏng*) and receive training (*hullyŏn*) through the acquisition of familiar and simple *kokugo* rather than research remote and difficult English. Therefore, we feel that limiting *kokugo* to a single subject will be insufficient, like scratching the floor with shoes on (*kyŏkhwa soyang* 隔靴搔痒, a feeling of dissatisfaction). For this reason all textbooks [except Korean] should be published in *kokugo*, and the proposal to scrap *kokugo* as the language of instruction in favor of *Chosŏnŏ* shows a serious lack of consideration. The true purpose of *kokugo* usage is not the extermination (*pangmyŏl*) of *Chosŏnŏ*, but rather the rapid progress of *kokugo* [propagation]...We hope that after our petitioning members sufficiently understand this and give it careful consideration that they will settle upon an appropriate policy.<sup>860</sup>

We can sense in these back-to-back editorials a tension between the official language ideology that had dominated for over a decade and the real pedagogical concerns of students and educators. By introducing such a “radical” proposal and then immediately rescinding, Korean reformers seemed to be testing the waters during a transitional period when the parameters of “acceptable” reform were still very much ambiguous. Even while affirming the national language status of Japanese and denouncing the ‘otherizing’ of Japanese as “a foreign language,” through this denouncement the author actually creates a discursive space for such a view. However, assuming the voice of Koreans who considered “*kokugo*” as “Japanese” and not the national language, the author again resorts to the common trope of “*kokugo* utilitarianism,”

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<sup>859</sup> There is a sinograph missing in this phrase in the original document: “自\_\_의語가된以上 에는.” Therefore, I cannot conclude with certainty that the phrase reads “our language” (*chagi ūi* 自己의語). However, from the context of the sentence the writer seems to be taking possession of Japanese in some way.

<sup>860</sup> “Sasŏl,” *Maeil sinbo*, May 2, 1921.

where Japanese offered a unique “shortcut” to higher culture and learning. Significantly, the author invokes the Korean language’s affinity with Japanese as a special opportunity that would allow the quick and effective importation of “true” culture and knowledge: Japanese, being “familiar and simple” due not only to its continued usage in GGK administration and schooling but also the increasing influence of Japanese on Korean, presented a “unique shortcut” that allowed the circumvention of “remote and difficult English.” Importantly, much like Hirame above who considered the “conduct of higher-level education...impossible...without proficiency in *Naejiō*,” the author does not seem to consider the Korean language an adequate vehicle for culture and enlightenment, but mentions only English as an acceptable alternative should Japanese be discontinued. For a segment of Korean reformers, therefore, not only was the logic of *kokugo* diffusion and utilitarianism left unchallenged, but it actually constituted the only alternative, whereas Korean was to remain a “foreign” language in *Chosōnō kŭp hanmun* class alone, merely resisting “extermination” through a parallel yet inferior and transitional position vis-à-vis *kokugo*.

Despite the “retraction” of the proposal, the issues of language education and the language of instruction more generally apparently became major topics of discussion at the *Kyoyuk chosa wiwōnhoe*. In an article in the *Maeil sinbo* entitled “The Issue of Korean Language Education: A Great Debate at the Education Investigation Meeting” which reported on the progress of the meeting, the deliberative committee addressed the initial proposal put forth by the *Kyoyuk kaesōn tongmaenghoe* that was renewed at the meeting, an issue that reportedly generated an “intense debate” (*kyōngnyōlhān t’ōūi*). The article then summarizes some of the opposing views expressed in the meeting, such as by the Japanese Imperial Education Commissioner and education expert Kamata Eikichi (鎌田策吉 1857-1934), who stated that

education in *kokugo* was proper and indeed necessary for the personal development of Korean students. Another Japanese participant, however, claimed that current Japanese policy failed to grasp the fundamental import of education, and that schooling in the mother tongue bestowed by one's parents was the only appropriate method. The meeting reportedly adjourned without a compromise, the final decision being left up to the committee members.<sup>861</sup>

The second section of the editorial with the subheading “Education Meeting Invitation—Views Exchanged” advertised the impartial and ‘collegial’ atmosphere of the meeting by highlighting Korean participation, with the lead Korean delegate none other than the independence activist, educator, and later Japanese collaborator Chang Tōksu (張德秀 1894-1947), who claimed among other things that the failure to improve the state of the Chosŏn education system has made it difficult to compete with other peoples in a system of “survival of the fittest.”<sup>862</sup> However, while “an unlimited number” of views were exchanged in the two hours designated for Korean participation,<sup>863</sup> the dominant issue that emerged was the question of the language of education (*kyoyuk yongŏ*). The summaries of the Korean opinions expressed are revealing because they demonstrate the significance of the issue to a large swath of Korean intellectuals and educators, to the point that they were put forth quite resolutely in a forum that must have been rather intimidating. Furthermore, that moderate Korean intellectuals—at least those moderate enough to participate in an educational forum with Japanese colonial agents—

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<sup>861</sup> “Chosŏnŏ kyosu munje: Kyoyuk chosahoe ūi tae nonjaeng,” *Maeil sinbo*, May 6, 1921.

<sup>862</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>863</sup> The article states that, due to a previous appointment held by the Inspector-General of State Affairs (*Chŏngmu ch'onggam* 政務總監), the participation was restricted to a “compressed time frame” (*tanch'ukhān sigan ūro*). “Chosŏnŏ kyosu munje: Kyoyuk chosahoe ūi tae nonjaeng,” *Maeil sinbo*, May 6, 1921.



advanced positions diametrically opposed to colonial language policy up to that point suggests that adopting Korean as the language of instruction and textbooks was not a radical proposal but rather a mainstream concern among Korean students, educators, and concerned parents alike.

The report states,

The [Korean] participants explained that when Japanese [*Ilbonō*]<sup>864</sup> is used as the language of instruction, it functions as a kind of stumbling block that impairs the progress of regular students (*ilban haksæng*). They claimed that the first step to improving education must absolutely be the utilization of Chosŏnŏ as the language of instruction... Although there were some who held that the usage of Chosŏnŏ as the language of instruction would hinder the realization of Japan-Korea harmonization (*Il-Sen yunghwa*), others pointed out that, in the case of Europe and the United States, the unification of language by no means brought about a swift harmonization of peoples. Countries such as Switzerland, it was said, use more than one language and yet have achieved a degree of unity and conformity greater than other nations.<sup>865</sup>

Sawayanagi Masatarō (澤柳政太郎 1865-1927), head of the Imperial Education Association (Teikoku kyōiku kakkai), then reiterated the public position of the GGK in the newly-inaugurated era of cultural rule, and that was to progress toward the fulfillment of Japanese and Korean harmonization through the “abolition of a discriminatory education policy” (*ch’abyōlchōk kyoyuk chedo*), hinting that GGK administration would be less than amenable to the Koreans’ proposal.<sup>866</sup> When the meeting concluded the proposal to substitute Korean for Japanese as the language of textbooks and instruction in common schools was indeed denied,

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<sup>864</sup> It is notable that, in the reporting of the Korean participant positions in the debate, the term “*Ilbonō*” (Japanese) is invariably used, whereas the ‘editorial voice’ of the *Maeil sinbo* uses the term “*kokugo*,” demonstrating a slippage between official discourse and native appropriation, a crack in the ideological edifice.

<sup>865</sup> “Chosŏnŏ kyosu munje,” *Maeil sinbo*, May 6, 1921.

<sup>866</sup> *Ibid.* The concern that establishing Korean as the language of instruction or even continuing to provide Korean language education would undermine the stated Japanese aim of uniformity in education and the elimination of discrimination between Japanese and Korean students was a major concern in post-March First education reform. See Caprio, *Assimilation Policies*, Chapter 4.

being replaced by a policy with even greater orientation toward Japanese hegemony and linguistic assimilation. The Korean proposal therefore is significant not for its influence on actual policy implementation, but what it revealed about Koreans' views on language in education, the role of Korean literacy, and its relationship to *kokugo*. Contrary to Japanese policy, a considerable number of Korean reformers advocated Korean as the language of instruction through the common-school curriculum. However, many of these same reformers were quick to point out that this position in no way compromised the ideological basis of Japanese spread policy, or constituted an anti-Japanese stance. On the contrary, Korean (and some Japanese) commentators couched their arguments in terms of pedagogical theory; early education in a foreign language created a "stumbling block" for progress, whereas education in the mother tongue would 'level the playing field' and allow more effective education. Furthermore, ultimate recourse to Japanese utilitarianism is unquestioned, and Korean reformers conceded the realm of higher-level literacy and academic language to Japanese. Although the loosening of press restrictions in the early 1920s would soon result in the flowering of Korean vernacular literature and further experimentation and development of 'academic Korean,' at the time the Second Rescript was drafted, few Korean intellectuals perceived the Korean vernacular as yet capable of shouldering the mantle of modern civilization and enlightenment on par with its Japanese and English counterparts. The Second Rescript moreover intensified the attraction of curriculum in Japanese, limited Korean literacy to the lowest grades, continued the monopolization of accredited, legitimized education, and solidified the assimilationist trajectory of higher schooling with the inauguration of Korea's first university.<sup>867</sup>

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<sup>867</sup> Korea's first university, Keijō Imperial University (Keijō teikoku daigaku, 1924-1946), forerunner of today's Seoul National University, will unfortunately not be considered in this work due to space constraints.

## 5.5 The Second Rescript on Korean Education

The March First Movement had forced Japan to rethink its administration of Korea on every level. As Jun Uchida puts it, the movement “shook the young empire to its core” and instilled terror in the settler population.<sup>868</sup> The resident Japanese in Korea were often those most despised by the Korean population and seen as an impediment to assimilation, many of them actively resisting such a policy for fear that effacing the boundaries between Korean and Japanese would threaten any distinction they enjoyed by dint of their ethnicity.<sup>869</sup> Despite their initial opposition to the incoming Governor General Saitō Makoto’s (齋藤実 1858-1936) reform package, the 350,000-strong settler population eventually endorsed a new administrative direction, including “elevating the character of settlers, promoting Korean thought guidance, carrying out social work, philanthropy, relief, and juvenile reform, and fostering metropolitan understanding of Korea’s true state of affairs.”<sup>870</sup>

The centerpiece of Japanese reforms during the *bunka seiji* era was the Second Rescript on Education, finally issued on February 6, 1922 after roughly three years of deliberation.<sup>871</sup> In terms of language education and the language of instruction, this legislation represented a turning point that defined the relationship between Koreans and the settler population for the remaining years of the colony. The crux of the legislation appears in the following sections:

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<sup>868</sup> Uchida, *Brokers of Empire*, 144.

<sup>869</sup> *Ibid*, 150-52.

<sup>870</sup> *Ibid*, 152-53.

<sup>871</sup> The legislation was enacted on April 1, 1922, three years and one month after the movement.

Article 2: Primary education for common users of *kokugo* is dependent on Elementary School Regulations (Sohakkyoryōng), Middle School Regulations (Chunghakkyoryōng), and Higher Girls' School Regulations (Kodūng yōhakkyoryōng)...

Article 3: Primary education for non-common users of *kokugo* shall be carried out by common schools, higher common schools, and girls' higher common schools.<sup>872</sup>

Whereas schooling during the First Rescript period was divided according to ethnicity, the Second Rescript stipulated that schools be divided on the basis of language proficiency, which ostensibly did away with discrimination between Korean and Japanese students by offering an education identical to that in the metropole. However, a glimpse at a November 21, 1921 draft of this ordinance reveals the initial intention to promote equality between Japanese and Koreans, but in *separate facilities*. As Mark Caprio points out, in the margin of the proposal we see “Japanese” crossed out, and “those who can function in *kokugo*” penciled in.<sup>873</sup> No longer was the division of proper citizenship drawn between the racial categories of *Naichijin* (mainlander) and *Chōsenjin* (Korean), but between the seemingly innocuous designations of “common users of the national language” and “non-common users of the national language.” Though Japanese had been declared the national language since 1910, here was the undeniable equating of identity with language. Whereas division of public schooling according to ethnicity had presented an impenetrable barrier to access to the model of education—world-class Japanese

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<sup>872</sup> Chōsen sōtokufu, “Chosōn kyoyungnyōng che 2 ch’a,” *Chosōn ch’ongdokpu kwanbo*, February 6, 1922. The Second Rescript was also published the same day in the nationalist *Tonga ilbo* and pro-Japanese *Maeil sinbo*. This linguistic distinction seems to have been rather strictly observed. Article 25 of the Rescript states: “Only under special circumstances and at the discretion of the Governor General shall common users of *kokugo* be allowed to attend common schools, higher common schools or girls' higher common schools and shall non-common users of *kokugo* be allowed to attend elementary schools (*sohakkyo*), middle schools (*chunghakkyo*), or girls' high schools (*kodūng yōhakkyo*).” See Chōsen sōtokufu, “Chosōn kyoyungnyōng (sok): Che 25 cho,” *Maeil sinbo*, February 7, 1922.

<sup>873</sup> Chōsen kyōiku reian,” in *Saitō Makoto kankei monjo*, reel 77, November 21, 1921, quoted in Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies*, 131.

public schools for Japanese in Korea—paradoxically this had left a space for *Chosŏnŏ* education and culture, however limited. In the absence of truly integrated education at the same facilities or the possibility of *mutual* cultural assimilation (i.e. Japanese, both in Korea and Japan, learning the Korean language en masse), true integration would have meant the closing of *Chosŏnŏ* spaces altogether in the public sphere. Therefore, the tightening of the bond between the model of modern education and the national language represented a further step to unifying the linguistic market<sup>874</sup> and narrowing the vernacular linguistic space in Korea. Despite the indigenous call for Korean as the language of instruction, and the GGK entertaining the idea, the Second Rescript in effect denied the possibility of bilingual education or even higher-level vernacular literacy and instead affirmed the hegemony of Japanese throughout the system, limiting Korean to “foreign language” class in primary education.

This linguistic distinction served as the basis of myriad forms of discrimination in education, and so defining the terminology is crucial. In a five-part article accompanying the Second Rescript proclamation in the *Maeil sinbo*<sup>875</sup> that explained the particulars of the new legislation, Board of Education Head Shibata Zenzaburō (柴田善三郎 1877-1943) defines the distinction in laymen’s terms:

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<sup>874</sup> Bourdieu claims that the most important mark of linguistic market unification is the relationship between education and the labor market. In describing this relationship in nineteenth-century Europe, he writes: “It was doubtless the dialectical relation between the school system and the labour market—or, more precisely, between the unification of the education (and linguistic) market, linked to the introduction of educational qualifications valid nationwide...and the unification of the labour market...that played the most decisive role in...establishing the new hierarchy of linguistic practices.” Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, trans. John Thompson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 49.

<sup>875</sup> The Second Rescript was presented in two parts in February 7 and 8 editions of the *Maeil sinbo*; the first of five explanatory essays appeared on February 8.

Common users of *kokugo* will receive an education at elementary schools, middle schools, or girls' high schools, while non-common users of *kokugo* will receive an education at common schools, higher common schools, and higher girls' common schools. According to these new regulations, determining whether one is a common user of *kokugo* or not depends on whether usage of the language is a habit (*sŭpgwan*) that makes up a daily part of one's life. For example, if the usage of *kokugo* extends no further than the conduct of one's business (*ŏmmu*) or the conversational level (*taehwaja wa ūi kwangye sang*), then this does not constitute the level of common usage.<sup>876</sup>

Clearly the level of Japanese required for admittance to “Japanese” schools was beyond the proficiency of most Korean students, and certainly not in the same category as the “classroom language” that Oda claimed could be acquired in just three months. The level of Japanese that would form a “habit...making up a daily part of one's life” rather suggests the dominance of *kokugo* in the public sphere and the limiting of *Chosonŏ* to private and “foreign” language. Thus, while the division of schooling was officially predicated upon a linguistic division, the divide remained inextricably intertwined with ethnic identity. Not only did entrance to superior educational facilities demand habitual usage of *kokugo*, but the public negation of Korean identity, where even a token *Chosŏnŏ* presence was denied.<sup>877</sup> When considered in conjunction with the language ideologies surrounding Japanese at the time—*kokugo* as the national spirit of Japan, the Yamato as the superior race, national spirit as the defining characteristic of an ideal imperial subject—the implications for “non-common users of the national language” were amplified. In a colonial system where indigenous rule was denied, failure to function in the national language was to negate one's legitimate presence in that system

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<sup>876</sup> Shibata Zenzaburō, “Kyoyungnyōng naeyong sŏlmyōng 2: Kokugo sangyongja,” *Maeil sinbo*, February 9, 1922.

<sup>877</sup> *Chosŏnŏ* class was not part of the curriculum in the Japanese-dominated *sohakkyo*, *chunghakkyo*, and *kodŭng yŏhakkyo*. Furthermore, Shibata explains that Korean history was to be taught only to “non-common users of *kokugo*.” Shibata, “Kyoyungnyōng naeyong sŏlmyōng 2.”

as a citizen. Furthermore, because *kokugo* was thought to be endowed with the national spirit (*kokutai*) of the superior Yamato race, non-compliance became not only an impediment to social advancement through education, but a moral issue, where morality was equated with loyalty to the emperor.

The Second Rescript also tightened the teacher accreditation regime by insuring that future teachers in both Japanese and Korean schools received an officially sanctioned education in Japanese. The following sections outline the teacher's training facilities:

Article 13: Teacher's education shall be conducted at Teacher's Schools. The purpose of such schools shall be the fostering of moral personhood and the training of future *sohakkyo* and *pot'ong hakkyo* personnel. Article 14: Teacher's schools shall be divided into two departments; only under special circumstances shall only one of the two departments be established. Department A (*che 1 pu*) is for the training of *sohakkyo* teachers; Department B (*che 2 pu*) is for the training of *pot'ong hakkyo* teachers.<sup>878</sup>

Thus, not only were the vast majority of Korean and Japanese students divided among *pot'ong hakkyo* and *sohakkyo* according to language ability, but future teachers also received separate education.<sup>879</sup> Crucially, however, the commonality that united teacher training was Japanese. Article 16 of the Second Rescript states that only graduates of *sohakkyo* or individuals specially determined by the GGK to have an equivalent education would be admitted to Department B (*pot'ong hakkyo* training), meaning that these regulations represented an attempt to further Japanize elementary education with either ethnic Japanese or those Koreans with the *kokugo* ability to effectively carry out the entire curriculum in Japanese as stipulated by GGK

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<sup>878</sup> Chōsen sōtokufu, "Chosōn kyoyungnyōng (sok): Che 13 cho, che 14 cho," *Maeil sinbo*, February 7, 1922.

<sup>879</sup> Although it was possible for Japanese students to attend *pot'ong hakkyo* and for Korean students to enter *sohakkyo*, these students were in the extreme minority. This was especially the case for Japanese students attending 'Korean' schools. See Dong, "A Study in Assimilation," 400.

language policy.<sup>880</sup> This was an extremely significant step in strengthening Japanese hegemony and inculcating the primary habitus that would contribute to reproduction in colonial education.<sup>881</sup>

Thus, what the education reforms inaugurated was a *curriculum*<sup>882</sup> that approached in many ways that of education in Japan and for Japanese residents in Korea, but diverged in terms of actual *experience*.<sup>883</sup> Though the Second Rescript sought uniformity in qualifications among the next generation of public school instructors, there was still considerable lag between “Japanese” and “Korean” schools, and the most qualified teachers continued to concentrate in *sohakkyo* or higher education. Schools for common users of *kokugo* were moreover much better funded, being located in predominantly Japanese areas with a much wealthier tax bases.<sup>884</sup> Even in terms of curriculum, however, the continuing token provision of *Chosŏnŏ* education in *pot’ong hakkyo* coupled with the failure to institute this class as a required subject in *sohakkyo* resulted in an unbridgeable chasm in curricular content and a gap in the potential for upward mobility. In the Common School Regulations (Pot’ong hakkyo kyujŏng), a set of guidelines for the new education regime published immediately after the Second Rescript which sought to delineate some of the key changes being instituted, the GGK acknowledged as much when it

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<sup>880</sup> Chōsen sōtokufu, “Chosŏn kyoyungnyŏng (sok): Che 16 cho,” *Maeil sinbo*, February 7, 1922.

<sup>881</sup> Bourdieu, *Reproduction in Education*.

<sup>882</sup> The *Pot’ong hakkyo kyujŏng* (Common School Regulations) state that not only would the curriculum (save *Chosŏnŏ* class) be the same as the metropole, but textbooks as well would be identical. See Chōsen sōtokufu, “Pot’ong hakkyo sin kyujŏng yoryŏng, 10,” *Maeil sinbo* February 15, 1921. These regulations will be explored in more detail below.

<sup>883</sup> Caprio, *Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea*.

<sup>884</sup> For detailed statistics on Japanese public school funding, See Dong, “A Study in Assimilation,” 385.



wrote “The number of classroom hours for each subject is equal to the *sohakkyo*, except in the case of *Chosŏnŏ*, which has resulted in variation in the number of subjects and classroom hours.”<sup>885</sup> This discrepancy in the curriculum meant that those wishing to pursue higher education were obliged to take a special preparation course in Japanese language immersion that Japanese students were of course exempt from taking.

The Second Rescript maintained distinction between *sohakkyo* and *pot’ong hakkyo* education with the continued provision of *Chosŏnŏ* class, but harmonized the curricula in terms of LS education. Article 3 of the Common School Regulations states, “Common school [*Chosŏnŏ*] textbooks shall utilize *Chosŏnŏ*, while *hanmun* has been made an optional (*suŭi*) or elective (*sŏnt’aek*) subject, in line with policy at *sohakkyo*.”<sup>886</sup> Perhaps anticipating a backlash from *hanmun* advocates, the regulations carefully spell out the reasoning behind this drastic change:

Article 4: *Hanmun* has been excluded from the revised curriculum, which represents a great revolution in *Chosŏn* education. Considering the daily lives of today’s citizens, there is little value in retaining *hanmun*, but the benefit it offers in cultivating literary taste and refinement may not be overlooked, and so it remains a compulsory subject in higher common schools. The discontinuance of *hanmun* does not mean that *hancha* shall be discontinued; rather, *hancha* shall be taught even more thoroughly, and thus the beauty of East Asian morality that resides in *hanmun* shall be realized through *Morals*, *Kokugo*, *Chosŏnŏ* and other classes of the curriculum. This has been taken under special consideration in the drafting of other subjects, and so there is no reason to embrace needless fears.

Citing the shifting linguistic landscape, the regulations claim that *hanmun* is no longer an integral part of daily life, but acknowledge the special place that such writing holds in the Korean literary tradition. The portion of this explanation most relevant to Korean vernacular

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<sup>885</sup> Chōsen sōtokufu, “Pot’ong hakkyo sin kyujōng yoryōng, 7,” *Maeil sinbo* February 15, 1921.

<sup>886</sup> Chōsen sōtokufu, “Pot’ong hakkyo sin kyujōng yoryōng, 3,” *Maeil sinbo* February 15, 1921.

education, however, is not the role of *hanmun* in modern Korean society but the reconfigured function of *hancha* as an interlinguistic mediating agent. In the same manner as Yu Kilchun had argued twenty years prior, the regulations are quick to remind the reader that the abrogation of *hanmun* instruction in no way signified the abolition of *hancha*; on the contrary, the “beauty of East Asian morality” inherent in *hanmun* would be conveyed through diffuse *hancha* mediation, reinforced by the various subjects in the curriculum. In this way, following the removal of LS from the curriculum, residual Sinitic education manifested in the sinograph functioned as both spatio-temporal and synchronic trans-linguistic mediating agent: the sinograph linked pre-modern cosmopolitan literacy to contemporary Japanese and Korean vernacular, while at the same time serving as a mediating technology in the transition from elementary Korean literacy to higher-level, comprehensive *kokugo* literacy.

The education reforms enacted in 1922 affirmed the unassailable position of Japanese as the language of instruction and textbook publication throughout the remainder of the colonial period. Despite the pre-reform calls of certain Korean intellectuals and observers that *Chosŏnŏ* be accorded an expanded role in education, this legislation cemented the position of Korean as a “foreign first language,” limited to elementary literacy development in inferior schools. These reforms moreover strengthened the position of Japanese as the language of higher schooling and laid the groundwork for further expansion of instruction in Japanese by closely controlling teacher qualifications. Finally, with the discontinuation of *hanmun* instruction in primary education these reforms sought to reinforce *hancha* education through curricula-wide diffusion and a continued commitment to *kukhanmun* Korean vernacular orthography. The overarching nationalistic language ideology accruing to *kokugo* meanwhile propelled the ideological legitimization of Japanese and problematized the “authentic” citizenship of Korean students.

Japanese public education, however, was not the only option available to Korean parents and students. *Sōdang* were experiencing a boom in the early 1920s, providing an attractive alternative to “denationalizing” public schools and posing a potential threat to GGK efforts to monopolize education.

## 5.6 The Rise and Fall of the Sōdang Reform Movement:

### The Failure to Challenge the Primary Habitus

As the debate surrounding the Second Rescript was unfolding in the popular press, *sōdang* were experiencing a boom in enrolment, spurred primarily by an outpouring of nationalist sentiment, the concretization of a consensus of sorts on the merits of “modern” education, and the failure of the GGK to meet enrollment demand for public schools.<sup>887</sup> Alongside discussions in the popular press on GGK education reform efforts appeared articles urging the reform and revamping of *sōdang* education to respond to the changing times.<sup>888</sup> The continuing popularity of *sōdang* represented a threat to Japanese hegemony in education and a challenge to Japan’s monopolistic vision of vernacular language and literacy for elementary students. Over the course of the 1920s and 1930s<sup>889</sup> the GGK worked to strike a balance between

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<sup>887</sup> This will be explored below.

<sup>888</sup> “Kyoyuk kaesōn kōnui,” *Tonga ilbo*, May 4, 1921; Pak Talsōng, “Sigūphi haegyōlhal Chosōn ūi idae munje,” *Kaebyōk che 1 ho*, June 25, 1920. The most popular forum for such articles was the *Tonga ilbo*.

<sup>889</sup> Although Japanese efforts to limit or co-opt “reformed *sōdang*” (*kaeryang sōdang*) lasted until the end of the colonial period, until which time these schools continued to offer a viable educational alternative for a (shrinking) segment of the population, here I consider the *Sōdang* Reform Movement (*Sōdang kaeryang undong*) only until the mid-1920s, by which time *sōdang* enrollment had declined considerably from its 1922 peak and GGK efforts to limit *sōdang* growth had been firmly established. With the issuance of *Sōdang* Regulation Reforms (*Sōdang*

satisfying an exploding demand for modern education and controlling the form and content of that education. In the end the *sōdang* functioned as an auxiliary reservoir for excess demand, and as the common school network expanded, an accompanying crackdown on recalcitrant *sōdang* funneled students into accredited and legitimized educational institutions, including *sōdang* refashioned according to Japanese standards. This carrot-and-stick approach to controlling education—the soft power of accredited education needed for career/academic advancement coupled with the hard power of forced shut-downs—was extremely effective in controlling the content of education while placating restless Koreans demanding immediate modern schooling.

Despite the widespread distribution of *sōdang* through the 1920s and the important role they played in primary education, relatively little research has been conducted on them.<sup>890</sup> Even less research exists on the so-called *Sōdang Reform Movement* (*Sōdang kaeryang undong*) that unfolded most actively during the 1920s and 1930s. The most definitive study of this movement is by Pak Chongsŏn, who charts the course of the movement from its inception to complete co-opting by GGK authority, providing detailed statistics on its development and a wealth of primary sources that illustrate the perception of the movement among Japanese policy-makers and Korean nationalists.<sup>891</sup> Pak divides previous research on the *Sōdang Reform Movement* into that depicting *sōdang* education during the colonial period as nationalist or assimilationist.<sup>892</sup>

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kyuch'ik kaejŏng) in 1929, GGK control of *sōdang* intensified, precipitating an even greater diminution.

<sup>890</sup> One of the main works on *sōdang* in the modern period remains that conducted by Watanabe Manabu, cited in Chapter 4. See Watanabe, “Kankoku no kyōkō shodō kyōiku to Nihon.” Dong Wonmo also includes a sizeable section on the *sōdang*. See Dong, “A Study in Assimilation.”

<sup>891</sup> Pak, “Sōdang kaeryang undong.”

<sup>892</sup> Ibid, 36-37.

The former body of research holds that *sōdang* taught the Chinese Classics in a concrete way so as to invigorate nationalist consciousness while at the same time providing basic education to ease the overheated demand for modern education that could not be quenched by common schools alone.<sup>893</sup> The latter research on the other hand contends that reformed *sōdang* were directed by Japan for the purpose of assimilation, and that traditional *sōdang* teaching “authentic *minjok*” education were much more numerous and influential.<sup>894</sup> However, Pak claims that both approaches are limited, the former for failing to grasp the contentious relationship between Koreans and Japanese authority or the distortion of the movement by Japan due to an overdependence on statistical analysis, and the latter for providing an insufficient accounting of the actual conditions in the reformed *sōdang* (*kaeryang sōdang ūi silt’ae*).<sup>895</sup>

Pak, on the other hand, offers a comprehensive view of the movement, including Korean accomplishments in transitioning *sōdang* from a traditional curriculum to modern education as well as efforts by the GGK to Japanize the movement in the later period.<sup>896</sup> In the course of this analysis, Pak makes a number of major claims. First, reformed *sōdang* represented the Korean response in the 1920s and 1930s to the insufficient provision of public education by Japan.

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<sup>893</sup> Quoted in Pak, “Sōdang kaeryang undong,” 36-37.

<sup>894</sup> Ibid. This research however is limited to the first decade of colonial rule, and so the character of the *sōdang* had shifted somewhat. The ratio of “traditional” to reformed *sōdang* in the 1920s and 1930s is unclear, but according to Pak, these were much more numerous in the northern region of Korea due to economic conditions that made the establishment of common schools difficult, a strict accreditation regime because of particular concerns with ideological recalcitrance, and the failure of the GGK to satisfy demand for schools due to the difficulty in achieving its “one school per district” policy in the expansive northern geography. Pak, “Sōdang kaeryang undong,” 81.

<sup>895</sup> Pak, “Sōdang kaeryang undong,” 37.

<sup>896</sup> Ibid.

Second, Japan attempted to manipulate the *sōdang* so that it would play the role of secondary colonial education after the common school, and focus on vocational education.<sup>897</sup> However, Pak's additional claim on the utility of "modern education" and Japanese proficiency is most germane to this current study. Pak states that from the late 1910s an increasing number of Koreans came to realize the usefulness of Japanese language proficiency and practical knowledge taught at *pot'ong hakkyo*, which spurred demand for enrolment.<sup>898</sup> Claiming that 65-70% of students entering common schools in the 1910s had some experience studying at *sōdang*, Pak takes this as evidence that *sōdang* education and new-style education (*sinsik kyoyuk*) existed in a mutually reinforcing relationship.<sup>899</sup> The provision of *sōdang* curriculum equivalent to that of common schools was indeed the goal of many reformed *sōdang*, a goal reflected in Korean discourse as well as the wording of the Sōdang Regulations (Sōdang kyuch'ik, 1918). Many *sōdang* refused to capitulate to common school-inspired curriculum and attempted to chart independent paths, some even pursuing nationalist agendas or clandestinely teaching Communist material.<sup>900</sup> However, due to the increasing allure of common school education and its promise of future educational and career prospects, the promise of "semi-independence" should a *sōdang* choose to align its curriculum with GGK demands, and the ongoing liquidation of recalcitrant *sōdang* and private schools, the 1920s witnessed a continual shift away from private education

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<sup>897</sup> Ibid, 38.

<sup>898</sup> Ibid, 39.

<sup>899</sup> Ibid.

<sup>900</sup> Ibid, 49-52. P'i Chōngman conducted an extensive interview of over 200 *sōdang* instructors (*hunjang*), most of whom taught during the colonial period, and also confirms that many personally taught anti-Japanese material. See P'i Chōngman, "Sōdang hunjang ūi kusulsajōk yōn'gu: Ilche kangjōmgi ihu rŭl chungsim ūro," *Han'guk kyoyuk sahak* 30, no. 1 (2008): 119-142.

toward public education and the official model of vernacular Korean literacy, while remaining *sōdang* underwent a gradual process of assimilation.

During the first decade of Japanese administration of Korea's education, various measures were put in place to expand public education while placing limits on secular and Christian private schools. *Sōdang* however were left more or less intact, the GGK perceiving the animosity that would be caused by their immediate closure to be more undesirable than the potential threat caused by their divergent curricula.<sup>901</sup> This changed on March 7, 1918 with the issuance of the *Sōdang Regulations* (*Sōdang kyuch'ik*), a concise piece of legislation that set the official tone for Japan's subsequent approach to *sōdang*. The regulations required that those wishing to open a *sōdang* submit a proposal to the prefectural governor, county magistrate, and *Tosa* (島司) stipulating the name, location, the method of maintaining the *sōdang*, and the credentials of the instructor(s).<sup>902</sup> Significantly, the application was also to include the proposed number of students, a figure that was to be no larger than thirty, the new cap set by the GGK.<sup>903</sup> The rather stringent limit on enrollment prevented *sōdang* from functioning on the same scale as private schools, and also became a contentious matter from the 1920s with the exploding demand for education and the failure of government schools to keep pace.<sup>904</sup> Finally, the regulations urged *sōdang* to include new subjects in addition to *hanmun*, "in particular Japanese and

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<sup>901</sup> Watanabe, "Kankoku no kyōkō shotō kyōiku to Nihon."

<sup>902</sup> Chōsen sōtokufu, "Sōdang kyuch'ik," *Chōsen sōtokufu kanpō*, February 21, 1918.

<sup>903</sup> The *Sōdang Regulations* stipulate that the proposal list the proposed number of students only, but gives no exact figure on an upper limit. The *Conditions on Sōdang Regulations* (*Sōdang kyuch'ik palp'o e kwanhan kōn*) issued in tandem with the Regulations stipulates the new cap.

<sup>904</sup> Pak, "Sigūphi haegyōlhal Chosōn ūi idae munje."

arithmetic,” and to describe the particulars of these subjects.<sup>905</sup> At this point the provision of “new subjects” was not absolutely necessary, and the failure to do so does not seem to have been a deal-breaker for *sōdang* applications, the regulations only demanding the details of these subjects “in the event” (*kyosuhanŭn sinŭn*) that they are offered. However, these regulations seem to have been applied more stringently over the course of the 1920s when the GGK attempted to co-opt promising *sōdang* while closing down or denying permits to questionable *sōdang* that strayed from prescribed curriculum.<sup>906</sup> As I will demonstrate, however, a key component to the *Sōdang* Reform Movement was the voluntary addition of common school subjects to the curriculum, both to meet the demands of GGK officials and modern society, a development that was at least as important as coercive Japanese measures in influencing the course of *sōdang* education.

In a May 31, 1920 issue of *Tonga ilbo*, Board of Education Head Shibata Zenzaburō addresses some of the issues surrounding education reform in the run-up to the Second Rescript promulgation.

There are those who demand education reform and a revision of textbook content along with the discontinuation of our current system of instruction in Japanese, but this is an unnecessary way of thinking. Generally speaking, the fundamental spirit of teaching in Japanese is not a so-called colonial *kokugo* policy but merely an attempt to bring *Chosŏn* education in agreement with schools on the mainland in order to carry out co-education (*Il-Sŏnin konghak*). If we are to accept the doctrine of co-education in *Chosŏn* or revise vocational schools to conform to a six-year schedule this must be carried out even more thoroughly, but without proficiency in Japanese it would be very difficult to maintain a uniformity of pace. Moreover, for today’s Koreans, those who lack mastery of Japanese

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<sup>905</sup> Chōsen sōtokufu, “Sōdang kyuch’ik,” *Chōsen sōtokufu kanpō*, February 21, 1918.

<sup>906</sup> The pressure to conform to GGK-prescribed curriculum increased with the issuance of the Revised *Sōdang* Regulations (*Sōdang kyuch’ik kaejōng*) issued in 1929. These reforms stipulated that Japanese and Korean classes taught at *sōdang* would be required to use GGK-issued textbooks, a further step by Japan in monopolizing literacy instruction.



are incapable of functioning in society, and so we must utilize every opportunity and work toward the propagation of Japanese.<sup>907</sup>

Shibata is clearly responding to the growing demands for making Korean the language of instruction in public schools, explored in the previous section. Attempting to assuage fears that education in Japanese would denationalize Korean youths, Shibata invokes the watchword of the 1920s education reform period, and that is co-education. This term was usually employed in tandem with rhetoric on eliminating inequality in public schools, a measure that was perceived as unworkable if the language of instruction was to be Korean. Shibata goes on to repeat platitudes on the functionality of Japanese in modern society, a common trope adapted by many reform-minded Koreans as well. However, Ko Wŏnhun, a member of the Education Investigation Committee (Kyoyuk chosa wiwŏn), in the *Tonga ilbo* the same year cuts right to the central paradox of the co-education doctrine:

There are many who are quite committed to *kokugo* propagation or calling for the co-education of Japanese and Korean students in common schools, but this is a position of course premised on the utilization of *kokugo* as the language of instruction...Assuming that Korean was to be the language of instruction, I do not believe that any of these individuals would dare to preach the doctrine of co-education. On the contrary, these co-educationists would be deplored for their callousness.”<sup>908</sup>

This was the fundamental impasse between the co-educationists and those calling for instruction in Korean, and the primary reason why *sŏdang* continued to be a viable alternative for many Koreans through the 1920s. In the absence of a commitment to true “co-education” involving *bilingual* education for both Koreans *and* Japanese, the GGK version of co-education inevitably meant the nearly exclusive instruction in Japanese and the truncated development of

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<sup>907</sup> Shibata Zenzaburō, “Hakche kaejŏnggi wa naeyong,” *Tonga ilbo*, May 31, 1920.

<sup>908</sup> Ko Wŏnhun, “Kyoyuk munje ūi ildan,” *Tonga ilbo*, February 21, 1920.

Korean literacy. Another factor which helps to explain the vibrancy of *sōdang* until the mid-1920s is a divergence in the perception of Japanese and Korean literacy among observers on either side. Although many Japanese and Koreans acknowledged the usefulness of Japanese in modern society and higher education, among Japanese policy-makers there is a much greater tendency to emphasize this functionality while connecting it to greater ideological doctrines such as co-education, cultural assimilation and [ethnic] harmony (*yūwa*). On the other hand, among Korean reformers we can observe a recurring theme that is largely absent from Japanese discourse,<sup>909</sup> and that is concern with the developmental implications of education in a ‘foreign’ language for young Korean students. Elsewhere in his 1920 essay Ko Wōnhun expresses such concerns eloquently, while writing on the contradictory nature of *kokugo* rhetoric bluntly:

The language of instruction in common schools forms the citizen’s foundational education, and if this foundation is not constructed soundly not only may we not expect success in technical colleges and higher education, but the individual will not be able to function as a component in the social structure, nor will they be capable of acquiring the advantages of performing their duties in society. In order to attain these dual goals, a language which is familiar to the students must be used in education so that the content of the curriculum may be completely comprehended. However, looking at the state of today’s common school education, instead of using Korean, a language learned painlessly by children early in life, a language understood naturally, historically, and habitually, we throw it away in favor of coercive instruction in the ‘absolute national language’ (*chōltaejōk kugō*). Based on formal rhetoric *kokugo* is the national language, but it is virtually a foreign language, and thus as a “foreign national language” its usage as the language of instruction obstructs the development of children’s abilities, impedes efficiency, and dampens the desire for learning.<sup>910</sup>

Using the same wording of Japanese policy-makers and certain of his Korean colleagues, Ko writes of the importance of language in higher education and social functioning, but in

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<sup>909</sup> An exception is Doctor of Law Hirame Yoshirō, cited earlier in this chapter.

<sup>910</sup> Ko Wōnhun, “Kyoyuk munje ūi ildan,” *Tonga ilbo*, February 21, 1920. Ko then complains that officials are so intent on spreading the national language, yet based on the current system, *kokugo* alone accounts for ten hours of instruction a week. He queries, “Is this not sufficient?”

describing *Korean*, not Japanese. Unlike many Japanese observers who often focused on the long-term goals of acquiring Japanese yet overlooked immediate pedagogical concerns, Ko acknowledges the significance of these future objectives yet argues that using the familiar first language to establish a solid intellectual foundation is imperative to achieving them. His final rejoinder on the ‘doublespeak’ (foreign national language) involved in *kokugo* rhetoric lays bare the central paradox of this language ideology and reveals again the reasons behind the continuing vitality of *sōdang* education.

Despite the peaking popularity of *sōdang* in the early 1920s, they were not without their detractors. A favorite critique among Korean intellectuals was the antiquated nature of *sōdang* pedagogy and the need to incorporate aspects of modern education, most notably those present in common schools.<sup>911</sup> For example, in a 1920 article in *Kaebŏk*, Pak Talsōng describes traditional education in Korea not as “universal,” “relevant,” “civilizational” (*munmyōngjōk*) or “progressive,” but as “intolerant,” “antiquated,” “parochial,” and “conservative.”<sup>912</sup> He then outlines a five-point plan for reforming *sōdang* to make them viable, in light of the insufficient provision of public school education by the GGK, a plan that includes expanding *sōdang* to accommodate 50-60 students and have the appearance of “educational institutions” (*kyoyuk kigwan*)<sup>913</sup> and the recruitment of instructors to teach both traditional and “reform studies” (*sinhak*) such as Korean, Korean history and arithmetic. He also urges that *sōdang* reform their curriculum to include Japanese and geography, and that *sōdang* students be allowed to enter the

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<sup>911</sup> “Kyoyuk kaesōn kōnui,” *Tonga ilbo*, May 4, 1921.

<sup>912</sup> Pak Talsōng, “Sigūphi haegyōlhal Chosōn ūi idae munje,” *Kaebŏk* 1, June 25, 1920, 23-24.

<sup>913</sup> Quoted in Pak, “Sōdang kaeryang undong,” 46.

same “grade” of common school.<sup>914</sup> Pak’s proposal thus aimed to bring the *sōdang* into closer alignment with public education through the provision of many of the same subjects offered at common school, the enlargement of *sōdang* scale, and the granting of mutual “accreditation” by allowing *sōdang* students to transfer to common schools.

Proposals such as these represented an indigenous response to a lack of accredited facilities coupled with explosive demand. Shibata acknowledged the overheated nature of the education system in the 1920s and the “stop-gap” function of the *sōdang* in this following candid passage:

As for the problem of *sōdang*, although ideally we would of course do away with them (*mullon p’yeji*), based on current circumstances this is impossible. However, it is doubtful whether common schools would actually have the capacity to accommodate all of the *sōdang* students in the capitol and the provinces. Even with the increase of 400 schools this is a difficult proposition, and so as a stop-gap measure (*ūnggŭp ch’aek*) we are currently urging (*kūngnyŏk changnyŏ chung*) the addition of arithmetic, Japanese, and other new subjects to the curricula.<sup>915</sup>

For Japanese policy-makers, the *sōdang* were clearly a necessary evil that had to be tolerated until the official network of public schools could be sufficiently expanded. The *sōdang* therefore performed the function of auxiliary education, or as feeder schools for *pot’ong hakkyo*. The GGK attempted to direct the curriculum of *sōdang*—first suggestively then more coercively—toward approved curriculum, excising the immediate threat of nationalistic or ideological content and encouraging conformity through incentives. The long-term goal of this policy then appeared to be the insurance of a curriculum close enough to approved content that *sōdang* students could eventually be funneled into approved institutions following the sufficient expansion of the common school network.

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<sup>914</sup> Quoted in Pak, “Sōdang kaeryang undong,” 46.

<sup>915</sup> Shibata Zenzaburō, “Hakche kaejŏnggi wa naeyong,” *Tonga ilbo*, May 31, 1920.

As suggested before, this shift in *sōdang* curriculum was not only the result of suggestive or coercive GGK policies, but a transition that occurred at the nexus of hard and soft power. Many Korean *sōdang* operators voluntarily added common school subjects to the curriculum, or even attempted to offer a completely equivalent education. One anonymous author writing in the *Tonga ilbo*, while lamenting the less-than-ideal status of *sōdang* as a forum for carrying out modern education, nonetheless remarks on their potential in light of the heel-dragging by the GGK. His essay begins with a scathing assessment of traditional “*hanmun sōdang*.”

From the point of view of today’s progressive education, traditional *sōdang* education, whether in terms of morals (*tōk*), knowledge (*chi*), or the body (*ch’e*), is puerile (*yuch’i*) beyond compare. Their so-called education method is not one of enlightenment but implantation; not one of guidance but rather coercion. Claiming to understand the psychology of children, teachers cannot even imagine what it means to confer upon their students the skills that will adapt them to the future...What they taught was how to write Chinese characters, and so in the end it would not be remiss to say that these *sōdang* are nothing more than literacy centers (*muncha pogŭpso*).<sup>916</sup>

The author then offers a number of solutions to improve the *sōdang* in the interim.

Today, the problem of *sōdang* is not one of maintenance or abolition, but rather an issue of improvement. Although *sōdang* are not the ideal institution for elementary learning, if common school facilities were able to accommodate all of the school-age children wishing to attend, then it would be unnecessary to reform such antiquated *sōdang*, and indeed, they may lapse naturally into oblivion, but this is not the state of affairs. So-called reformed *sōdang* add subjects from common schools, but based on this alone they cannot be determined to be providing an education in step with the modern era. Rather than education officials (*hangmu tanggukcha*) judging the suitability of reforms, *sōdang* founders at the very least must possess a consciousness of the modern age. First, the *hanmun* implantation method (*chuiipsik kyosupōp*) should be abandoned and instead we should imitate the system at common schools (*tangŭp hakkyo*).<sup>917</sup>

Many *sōdang* in the 1920s therefore chose to adapt their curriculum to the changing times, which usually meant adapting piecemeal or wholesale common school curriculum. For example,

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<sup>916</sup> “Sōdang kyoyuk munje: Chōnp’yenyā kaeryang inya,” *Tonga ilbo*, December 19, 1928.

<sup>917</sup> *Ibid.*

a 1927 piece in the *Tonga ilbo* reports the opening of Yongch'ŏn Sŏdang in Kyŏnghŭng County, North Hamgyŏng Province “founded outside the South Gate” and “teaching a curriculum equivalent to a four-year school.”<sup>918</sup> Another report from 1926 describes a rather unorthodox manner of founding a *sŏdang* which may have nonetheless become more common-place following the increased GGK crackdown on various forms of private education. A local church group in North P'yŏngan Province had set up a learning center (*kangsŭpso*) the previous year that aimed to help poor students who had exceeded the age limit to attend common schools, and the center was being operated in a manner equivalent to official Japanese schools. When the provincial government denied the center's application for approval of their learning center (*kangsŭpso ingawŏn*), claiming that such “learning centers” not categorized as private schools could only be approved under special circumstances, the church group out of necessity decided to run the center as a reformed *sŏdang*, which apparently was more amenable to the authorities. All the curricula was reportedly being carried out faithfully as before, that is according to common school standards, and the church members did so “without regret.”<sup>919</sup> Therefore, many *sŏdang* either came to employ various “modern” subjects taught at common schools or even attempted to adopt equivalent education wholesale, some due to increased GGK coercive pressure to conform, especially from the 1930s, but others due to positive incentives, as well as to the indirect hegemonic influence of accredited, modern education offered in common schools. Moreover, with the ongoing crackdown on private schools that had begun earlier in the colonial period and by the 1920s represented a more established regulatory regime than *sŏdang*

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<sup>918</sup> “Yongch'ŏn sŏdang naksŏngsik,” *Tonga ilbo*, September 11, 1927.

<sup>919</sup> “Ŭsŏng kangsŭp pulhŏ: Sŏdang moyang ũro kyŏngyŏng,” *Tonga ilbo*, July 12, 1926.

limitations, the founding of the tacitly approved reformed *sōdang* seems to have been a more viable option than other private schooling alternatives.

*Sōdang* were a semi-autonomous alternative to private schools and Japanese public schools that represented for the GGK both a potential threat and asset. Unable or unwilling to provide universal primary education for Korean students while nonetheless desiring to control the content of curriculum to ensure the minimal level of socialization in imperial citizenry, the GGK utilized the *sōdang* as a reserve for excess demand for primary education while applying an increasingly vigorous approval regime to check ideologically divergent and encourage curricularly convergent *sōdang*. Due in part to the relative autonomy enjoyed by *sōdang*, their numbers reached a zenith in the early 1920s, but then experienced a gradual decline each subsequent year, although they remained a fixture of Korean education throughout the colonial period. Although the number of *sōdang* students experienced a slight resurgence from the mid-1930s, this was a result of Japanese consolidation of traditional *sōdang* into large-scale reform *sōdang* teaching “approved” curriculum, including Japanese and (imperial) Morals.<sup>920</sup> From this period as well the GGK increasingly directed the reformed *sōdang* curriculum toward vocational education, particularly agricultural skills in rural areas especially under-served by common schools, with such *sōdang* offering only the basic level of terminal education.<sup>921</sup>

Despite the gradual co-opting of *sōdang*, another reason for their continued viability, if not intellectual vitality, was their provision of education in Korean, an avenue that had been explored but ultimately denied in common school instruction. However, in spite of this provision, demand for entrance into common schools began to soar from 1919, far outstripping supply

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<sup>920</sup> Pak, “Sōdang kaeryang undong,” 66-67.

<sup>921</sup> Ibid, 81.

throughout the remainder of the colonial period.<sup>922</sup> Though not the language of instruction, Japanese was adapted as part of the curriculum in an increasing number of *sōdang*, and many times this was done so voluntarily. This suggests, as mentioned previously, that even “nationalist” Koreans who demanded that Korean be the language of instruction recognized the utility of Japanese in modern colonial society. However, the fundamental impediment to *sōdang* education was its terminal status; graduation from the common school still represented the minimal credential for career advancement or higher learning,<sup>923</sup> whereas *sōdang* offered only a terminal education increasingly suitable to vocational skills such as agriculture.<sup>924</sup>

In a primarily agrarian economy such as colonial Korea, it may be argued that such an education most suited the needs of Koreans, and this is what many Japanese policy-makers indeed claimed. According to the GGK, “considering that the actual lives of a majority of Koreans revolve around farming, Korean education should likewise be based on farming” and “actual worker education is training for an agrarian nation [Korea].”<sup>925</sup> The structure and curriculum of *sōdang* as well as certain common schools in rural areas<sup>926</sup> therefore represented

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<sup>922</sup> Ibid, 39; Oh and Kim, “The Expansion of Elementary Schooling,” 126.

<sup>923</sup> Other perhaps ‘preferable’ credentials would have included study abroad in Japan or attendance at elementary schools (*sohakkyo*) for primarily Japanese students.

<sup>924</sup> Pak notes that earlier in the colonial period, a *sōdang* education was still sufficient to secure at least some government positions. Citing GGK statistics, Pak states that as of 1914, 3,970 out of 5,209 or 76.2% of township secretaries (*myōn sōgi*) possessed a *sōdang* education. Pak, “Sōdang kaeryang undong,” 38.

<sup>925</sup> Chōsen sōtokufu gakumukyoku gakumu kachō 福士末之助, *Chōsen nōgaibo* 3, no. 9 (1929), 3, 7, quoted in Kim, *Hakkyo pakk ūi Chosōn yōsōngdŭl*, 191.

<sup>926</sup> Kim Puja points out that, although not a required course, by 1914 Agriculture (*Nongōpkwa*) was installed in 70% of common schools, and in rural areas it was for all intents and purposes a compulsory part of the curriculum. Many of these terminal, vocation-based schools remained long after the Second Rescript on Education was passed in 1922. As late as 1928, despite a



the site of contestation and negotiation between Japanese and Korean habitus formation. The continuation of *sōdang* well into the colonial period and their eventual decline reflect the continuation of pre-colonial Korean habitus based on a Sino-Confucian episteme and certain Western-inspired curricular reforms. The gradual inculcation of a Japanese-imposed habitus caused friction where it clashed with the primary habitus of matriculating Koreans. Whereas most Koreans sought academic training that would provide access to higher education and advanced career opportunities based on the “logic” of their habitus which had traditionally extolled literary refinement and moral personhood and a government service career trajectory, the concept of vocational training, though arguably relevant to the actual socio-economic structure of Korea, contravened most Koreans’ view of the role of education. Vocational training had traditionally been instilled through a sort of apprenticeship system, but the Japanese attempt to professionalize manual labor (as well as domesticity) stood in contrast to the “durable training” already inculcated to some extent through the habitus of upwardly mobile (primarily *yangban* or *yangban*-aspiring) Koreans of the pre-colonial era and contradicted their view of what “modern” education should accomplish. The movement to expand educational opportunities and enrollment *within the public school system* from the 1920s onward represented a shift in habitus establishment, the result of negotiation between Japanese and Korean habitus. On the other hand, the campaign to reform *sōdang* along “modern” lines, that is, according to common school standards, resulted from the growing legitimization of modern education as manifested in the Japanese model. The fact that such a reform experienced an initial peak in *sōdang* before transitioning to official schools reflected as much the underdevelopment of the common school network as the

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nationwide push for the expansion of educational opportunities, a full 30% of common schools remained 4-year institutions in which middle school matriculation was impossible. See Kim, *Hakkyo pakkūi Chosŏn yōsŏngdŭl*, 77-78.

coercion of Japanese authority. By the mid-1920s the legitimized avenue of non-terminal education and potential higher career advancement had been firmly established in the form of the common school, and continued to attract heated competition for enrollment as well as curricular emulation from *sōdang* and other private schools. The stipulated usage of GGK-approved *Chosonō* textbooks outside of the common school further directed the monopolization of Japanese-inspired vernacular Korean literacy at the elementary level. In the following section I will analyze the content and structure of the Korean-language textbooks during the First (1911-1922) and Second (1922-1938) Education Rescript periods, giving special attention to the relationship between Korean and Japanese in the curriculum and the function of the sinograph as an interlinguistic mediating agent.

### 5.7 Solidifying the the Foundations of Colonial Literacy:

#### *Chosōnō* Textbooks as a Site of Transitional Literacy Actualization

Below is a table displaying the number of hours devoted to LS, Korean, and Japanese throughout the colonial period. Because the curriculum during the final rescript period was irregular due to Japanese war-time policy, it has been excluded from the table.

**Table 6: Classroom Hours for Chosōnō (C), Hanmun (H), and Nihongo (N)/Kokugo**

Grade	Residency General (T'onggambu, 1907)			First Rescript (1911)		Second Rescript (1922)		Third Rescript (1938)	
	C	H	N	Chosōnō- Hanmun	Kokugo (Japanese)	Chosōnō	Kokugo	Chosōnō	Kokugo
1	6	4	6	6	10	4	10	4	10
2	6	4	6	6	10	4	12	3	12
3	6	4	6	5	10	3	12	3	12
4	6	4	6	5	10	3	12	2	12
5						3	9	2	9
6						3	9	2	9
Total:	24	16	22	22	40	20	64	16	64

As the above table indicates, the first decade of colonial rule witnessed a significant transformation in language policy. During the period of the Residency General (*T'onggambu*), Korean (*Chosŏnŏ*), LS (*hanmun*), and Japanese (*Nihongo*, *Kokugo*) were taught as separate subjects, and the combined number of hours for *Chosŏnŏ* and *hanmun* far outpaced the number of hours dedicated to *Ilbonŏ*. However, with the enactment of the First Rescript on Education, the presence of both *Chosŏnŏ* and *hanmun* was dramatically decreased in the curriculum, while the relative weight of *Kokugo* (national language, *Ilbonŏ*) education increased considerably. Within this combined *Chosŏnŏ-hanmun* (朝鮮語及漢文) class, although *Chosŏnŏ* was given considerable weight in comparison to *hanmun* in the textbook, the curricular combination of these previously separated subjects further diminished the time and resources dedicated to Korean language education.<sup>928</sup> Furthermore, as mentioned above, the Japanese language served as the language of instruction in every subject of the curriculum except Korean language class, which was instrumental in diffusing proficiency in a language that had newly acquired the

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<sup>927</sup> Several different periodizations are employed when analyzing colonial Korean education. Although there were actually a total of ten Rescripts on Education, here I follow the most widely accepted method of periodization, and that is according to the following four-part breakdown based on the major rescripts that governed them: (1911-1922, 1922-1938, 1938-1943, and 1943-1945). My foregoing analysis is concerned only with the textbooks employed in the first and second periods, up until roughly 1925. Kim Yunju (2011) for example lists the first, third, fourth, and seventh rescripts in his analysis due to the extent of change they exhibited in curriculum hours (first, third, and seventh) and major textbook revision (fourth). See Kim Yunju, “Ilche kangjŏm-gi *Chosŏnŏ tokpon kwa Kugŏ tokpon* ūi pigyo: Che 1 ch’a kyoyungnyŏng-gi pot’ong hakkyo 1,2-hangnyŏn kyokwasŏ rŭl chungsim ūro,” *Uri ōmun yŏn’gu* 41 (2011): 141. For a list of the ten rescripts on education, and important changes enacted by each, see Hŏ Chaeyŏng, “Ilche kangjŏmgi kwokwasŏ chŏngch’aek.”

<sup>928</sup> Kim, “Ilche kangjŏm-gi *Chosŏnŏ tokpon kwa Kugŏ Tokpon* ūi pigyo,” 142; For a detailed breakdown of the *Chosŏnŏ-Hanmun* textbook content, see Pak, “*Chosŏnŏ-kŭp Hanmun tokpon* ūi sŏnggyŏk.”

discursive and institutional status of national language while paradoxically functioning as a foreign language for all intents and purposes. The Second Rescript (1922) reduced *hanmun* education to an optional subject, and henceforth the propagation of *hanmun* education was divided among *Chosŏnŏ* and *kokugo* in dismantled and reconfigured form as *hancha* and *kanji*.<sup>929</sup> The proportional inflation of *kokugo* education under the Second Rescript in relation to *Chosŏnŏ* education enhanced the mediational role of *kokugo kanji* in this process, affecting a shift toward *kokugo* literacy and facilitating the assimilation of Japanese terms, grammar, and writing practices to Korean vernacular. While this overview of language policy in common schools suggests a weakening of Korean language education and a transition toward Japanese-language mediation of tradition (*hanmun*) and literary modernity, a more detailed and nuanced examination of the character and mechanics of this education is needed in order to shed some light on this crucial period.

Some researchers have interrogated the character and intention of Korean language education under Japanese rule, questioning why the GGK would institutionalize in the curriculum a subject that was from the outset minimally supported and increasingly atrophied.<sup>930</sup> This is an important question to ask, although we must be careful not to imply by this as other authors have that the provision represented any kind of “benevolence” or “merit” in a relationship that was inherently exploitative.<sup>931</sup> It is worth revisiting the Common School

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<sup>929</sup> See Pak, “*Chosŏnŏ-kŭp Hanmun tokpon ūi sŏnggyŏk*.” For a comparison between *Chosŏnŏ*-*Hanmun* class, *Hyŏndae Chinaŏ* class, and *Kokugo Kanbun*, see Yi, “*Ilche malgi ‘Hyŏndae Chinaŏ*.’”

<sup>930</sup> Kim, “*Ilche kangjŏmgi ‘Chosŏnŏ kyoyuk’ ūi ūido wa sŏnggyŏk*.”

<sup>931</sup> Colonial modernization theory often employs this approach in proving the “relatively liberal” nature of Japanese rule, especially in comparison to other European colonial powers. However, crediting a colonial power with surpassing its peers in building a modern education system or providing a token vernacular language education is to insinuate that some normative goal of

Regulations (Pot'ong hakkyo kyuch'ik, 1911) introduced earlier in this chapter to recall the central purpose of *Chosŏnŏ kŭp hanmun* and *kokugo* education as officially stated by the GJK:

Article 9: Efforts shall be made to teach common *kokugo* language and prose (*munjang*) with precision, allow students to comprehend other's words, let them express thoughts fluently and communicate publicly (*palp'yo*) in the language, so that they may receive necessary knowledge for their daily lives and foster a moral personhood.

*Kokugo* instruction shall consist of reading, translation, conversation, recitation, dictation (*sŏch'wui*), composition and character study; composition and character study shall be carried out separately...<sup>932</sup>

Article 10: Students shall be made to understand common *Chosŏnŏ* and *hanmun* language and prose so that they may be able to communicate in daily life and gain the ability to conduct their affairs and foster a moral personhood...

*Chosŏnŏ kŭp hanmun* teaching shall be composed of reading, translation, recitation (*amsong*), dictation, and composition. The teacher must always ensure that the teaching of *Chosŏnŏ kŭp hanmun* connects (聯絡) with *kokugo*, and translations in the national language should be provided from time to time.<sup>933</sup>

Articles 9 and 10 begin with a similar premise, and that is the teaching of “common” language for the conduct of daily life, although the range of functions imparted through *kokugo* education is more diverse. Revealingly, the pedagogical methods employed in each class—save for the added conversational and character study components in *kokugo*—are identical, namely reading, translation, conversation, recitation, dictation (*sŏch'wui*), and composition. However,

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credible domination is achievable (or desirable) in a relationship that is inherently exploitative. For examples of this qualitative dichotomy of exploitation, see Stephen Evans, “Language Policy in British Colonial Education: Evidence from Nineteenth Century Hong Kong,” *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 38, no. 3 (December 2006): 293-312; Clive Whitehead, “The Historiography of British Imperial Education Policy, Part I: India,” in *History of Education* 34, no. 3 (May 2005): 315-329, 321; Mitsuhiro Kimura, “Standards of Living in Colonial Korea: Did the Masses Become Better Off or Worse Off Under Japanese Rule?” *The Journal of Economic History* 53, no. 3 (September 1993): 629-652.

<sup>932</sup> Chŏsen sŏtokufu, “Pot'ong hakkyo kyuch'ik,” October 25, 1911.

<sup>933</sup> Ibid.

the fundamental divergence between the languages emerges in the final lines, where the purpose of *Chosŏnŏ* and *hanmun* education is revealed. Whereas the teaching of *kokugo* was to be based on the pedagogical methods most often employed in foreign language classrooms—reading, speaking, composition, and writing—Korean was fundamentally defined by its connection or contact with *kokugo*. Here was the implicit acknowledgement that, despite the discourse on Japanese as the national language, Korean was the first language of Korean students and efforts would have to be made to contextualize it in relation to *kokugo*. Viewed in this way, neither the purpose of language education nor the means for achieving it could be described as congruent. In the absence of a relationship based on reciprocal interconnectedness, *kokugo* education was directed toward comprehensive literacy in speaking, reading, and writing, and listening comprehension due to its position as language of instruction, while the onus on Korean education was reduced to connecting with *kokugo*. Furthermore, when considering the virtual illiteracy of Korean students entering elementary school—in Korean vernacular, LS, and Japanese—the GGK language policies can be characterized as promoting the deterioration of Korean textual literacy while maintaining “common *Chosŏnŏ* and *hanmun* language and prose” as a scaffolding device to “connect” to the Japanese language and literacy promoted throughout the rest of the curriculum. The policy of “connecting” Korean and *hanmun* to *kokugo* is constantly manifested in the pages of common school language textbooks, which will be explored in the foregoing analysis.

Much of the research on colonial language and education policy focuses on the manipulation of textbook content in the formation of imperial subjects.<sup>934</sup> For example, Lee

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<sup>934</sup> For a discussion of how religion was utilized in the formation of amenable Indian subjects see Dilip Chavan, “Curriculum, Ideology and Pedagogy: Moral Textbooks and Domestication of the Neo-Literate,” in *Language Politics under Colonialism: Caste, Class and Language Pedagogy in*

Yeounsuk demonstrates the influence of Meiji intellectuals and *kokugo* theorists on the formation of colonial language policy, as well as the publishing of textbooks that emphasized the exploitation and suffering of the old regime compared to the positive developments and reforms brought by Japanese administration.<sup>935</sup> Yi Hyeryŏn, on the other hand, analyzes the GGK manipulation of the Korean folktale *The Tale of Hŭngbu* which appeared in the *PCHT*, 1915-1918), claiming that the origins of the folktale were appropriated by Japan as part of a policy to geographically, racially, and culturally justify assimilation.<sup>936</sup> While the role of textbook content in assimilation and the formation of colonizing discourses is a legitimate area of concern which warrants the increasing attention it is receiving, these treatments rarely treat language itself as a central component of consideration. In the following analysis, on the other hand, I am attempting to answer the following questions: What was the status of Korean language education within the colonial language configuration, and how did its specific institutional policy framing in relation to other languages effect a shift in language and literacy under ongoing and interactive influences from transnational linguistic circulation embodied in dictionary compilation and discourses on linguistic modernity?

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*Western India* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 231-251. In the Korean case see Pak Kyŏngsu and Kim Sunchŏn, “Kugŏ tokpon e t’uyŏngdoen Chosŏnin kyohwa yangsang,” *Ilbonŏ munhak* 50 (2011): 283-384; Chang, “Ilbonŏ kyokwasŏro pon singminji kyoyuk”; Pae, “Ilche kangjŏmgi ‘kugŏ kyoyuk’ ūi singminji kŭndaesŏng yŏn’gu sŏsŏl.” For a discussion of moral education (*susin*) and vocational education (*sirŏpkyoyuk*) in particular—especially on their role in creating loyal subjects while stratifying the labor market and discouraging higher education and elevated status among Koreans, see Yi Pyŏngdam, “Chosŏn Ch’ongdokpu ch’odŭng hakkyo susin kyokwasŏ e nat’anan sirŏp kyoyuk kwa ideollogi,” *Ilbon munhwa yŏn’gu* 17 (2006): 161-182; Kim Sunjŏn et al, *Cheguk singminji susin*, (Sŏul: Chei aen ssi (J and C) Ch’ulp’ansa, 2008); Ch’oe Hyegyŏng, “Ilche kangjŏmgi pot’ong hakkyo ūi sŏllip kwa kyoyuk hwaltong: Kyŏnggido Kunp’o-si chiyŏgŭl chungsimŭro,” *Kyŏngju sahak* 31, 151-183.

<sup>935</sup> Lee Yeounsuk, *The Ideology of Kokugo*, 163.

<sup>936</sup> Kim Hyeryŏn, “Che 1 ch’a Chosŏn kyoyungnyŏng-gi Pot’ong hakkyo Chosŏnŏ kŭp Hanmun tokpon surok chejae yŏn’gu: Hŭngbujŏn ūl chungsim ŭro,” *Ton’amŏ munhak* 23 (2010): 61-95.

The following is a table listing the various “*Chosŏnŏ*” textbooks used during the colonial period, including their publication periods, number of volumes, and education rescript period during which they were utilized.

**Table 7: Colonial-era Korean Language (*Chosŏnŏ*) Textbooks**

Period	Title	No. of Vols.	Publication Period
Early Colonial (Transition)	<i>Chosŏnŏ tokpon</i>	8	1911
First Rescript Period	<i>Pot’ong hakkyo Chosŏnŏ kŭp hanmun tokpon (PCHT)</i>	6	1915-1918
Second Rescript Period	<i>Pot’ong hakkyo Chosŏnŏ tokpon (PCT 1)</i>	6	1923-1924
Second Rescript Period	<i>Pot’ong hakkyo Chosŏnŏ tokpon (PCT 2)*</i>	6	1930-1935
Third Rescript Period	<i>Ch’odŭng Chosŏnŏ tokpon</i>	2	1939

\* Because this text will not be analyzed in the following section, when *PCT* appears this shall always refer to *PCT 1*.

During the *Chosŏnŏ tokpon* period of usage, *hanmun* and *Chosŏnŏ* were still separated, whereas in the *PCHT* these subjects were combined. *Hanmun* was finally removed from the *PCT* when it was made an optional subject. Although *Chosŏnŏ tokpon* was technically the first Korean textbook to be utilized during the official colonial period, because it represented merely a selective edit of the *PHKT* (1907), mainly to ‘correct’ terminological and ideological discrepancies that were no longer appropriate under the colonial regime, this textbook will not be considered here, and I instead focus my analysis on the first textbook to be completely compiled during the colonial period, and that is the *PCHT*. The *PCHT* consisted of six volumes divided into a total of 308 units, featuring a variety of genres including explanations (52), expository



writing (*nonsŏl*, 33), narratives (5), and poems (6).<sup>937</sup> Hŏ Chaeyŏng has conducted an exhaustive study of the relationship between GGK language and textbook policy and changes in textbooks over the colonial period,<sup>938</sup> while a number of other researchers have conducted shorter studies on the ideological content of these textbooks, and so it is not my intention here to duplicate this information. Rather, I focus specifically on points of “connection” between *Chosŏnŏ-hanmun/kokugo*, evidence that this language course functioned as a form of instruction in transitional literacy to higher-level Japanese literacy.

Whereas the specific teaching practices prescribed for the *PHKT* (1907) have to be inferred from the First Rescript, Common School Regulations, and other explanations by policy-makers in the *Maeil sinbo*, each volume of the *PCHT* contains a Preface (*sŏŏn*), a sort of teacher’s guide to how the textbook is to be used in the classroom. The preface appearing in Volume 1 is as follows:

1. This book was published for use as a textbook in the *Chosŏnŏ-hanmun* course of common school grade one.
2. Each unit of the textbook should follow the student’s ability and be accompanied by practice, constituting approximately two to three hours.
3. When teaching the vocabulary that appears at the beginning of this volume, first present to the student the picture, have them name the picture, explain the picture to them, and after question and answer, teach them the *ŏnmun* [writing method].
4. Do not teach the portions of *ŏnmun* vocabulary in boxes “□.”
5. Among the illustrations in this book there are many rough sketches meant for the student to copy.
6. Newly introduced *hancha* are presented in the upper margin so the student may remember them through repetition.

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<sup>937</sup> Kim, “Hŏngbujŏn,” 65.

<sup>938</sup> Hŏ, *Singminji kyokwasŏ*.

7. Practice questions should be utilized as needed, and assistance may be provided to the student. *Hanmun* drills should be \*\*<sup>939</sup> as much as possible, and should be focused on free usage and practical application.

8. This textbook is based on the standard speech of Kyōngsōng, and the orthography (*ch'ōlpōp*) is based on the system established by this office (*ponbu*, the GGK orthography of 1912). This textbook adapts a spelling truer to the style of Korean pronunciation: *tya/chya* = *cha*, *chyō/tyō* = *chō*, *chyo/tyo* = *cho*, *chyu/tyu* = *chu*, *ch'ya/t'ya* = *ch'a*, *ch'yō/t'yō* = *ch'ō*, *ch'yo/t'yo* = *ch'o*, *ch'yu/t'yu* = *ch'u*, *sya* = *sa*, *syō* = *sō*, *syo* = *so*, *syu* = *su*. The medial *arae a* has also been discontinued. For words and sounds (*ōūm*) composed of *hancha*, utilize the *ōnmun*, and let the students always depend on this.

According to Item 1, this textbook was to be used in the first year of common school, and each volume after stipulates usage in each of the subsequent common school grades. Approximately two to three hours was to be spent on each unit of the text, and so we may assume that two or three units were covered each week, depending on the grade and pacing of the instruction. According to Item 3 and an observation of the textbook, pictures were utilized extensively in order to relate the material to young students with underdeveloped literacy, a method that was confirmed by Oda Shōgo's comments in 1917. Returning again to the Common School Regulations (1911), this would have been the opportune time to “connect” Korean education to that of Japanese, as a similar text/illustration layout was encountered in the *kokugo* textbook (*Kokugo tokuhon*). The equivalent level of material encountered in Korean and Japanese classes as well would have ensured overlap and hence mutually reinforcing lexical uptake.

Another feature of the textbook that facilitated interlinguistic mediation was the presentation of newly-introduced *hancha* in the upper margins, an addition not featured in the *PHKT*. Importantly this is a feature not only present in the *hanmun* sections, but throughout the

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<sup>939</sup> The “\*\*” represents two sinographs that are so faded as to be illegible in the only copy of the textbook that I have been able to access. However, as they are followed by the suffix “*hi*,” we can surmise that they constitute an adjective stem.

textbook,<sup>940</sup> suggesting that this was a pedagogical innovation that not only aimed to connect Korean with LS, but also Japanese through cosmopolitan mediation, the spatio-temporal and synchronic mediation mentioned previously in the chapter. Again based on the stated purpose of *Chosŏnŏ* language education, this separation of *hancha* in the upper margins may be viewed as an attempt to comprehensively “connect” language education in the common school through a process of interlingual triangulation, a practice that is explicated in the interlinear notes featured in the version of Volume 2 that I analyze below. Item 5 stipulates that the *hanmun* drill section (*yŏnsŭp*) is to focus on the “free usage and practical application” of *hanmun*, and although the methods used in this section vary (affixing *t’o* readings to *hanmun* passages, answering reading comprehension questions), one major component of this practice section involved the presentation, memorization, and copying out of two-syllable *hanchaŏ* in their vernacular/Japanese garb.<sup>941</sup> That is, two-syllable compounds that represented assimilated or potentially assimilatable “words” in Korean were extracted from *hanmun* phrases in the main text and introduced to the students through drills, presenting another pedagogical ‘opportunity’ for connecting to *kokugo* through shared vocabulary. Finally, Item 6 states that, in the case of words made up of *hancha*, (presumably both *hancha* written in sinographs and *hanchaŏ* written in *han’gŭl*), the instructor is to have students depend on the *ŏnmun* for understanding. This was a method of connecting the familiar spoken language with *hancha* and indirectly with Japanese. In

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<sup>940</sup> The *PCHT* consisted of alternating *hanmun* and *Chosŏnŏ* units, numerically constituting roughly half of each textbook, respectively. The *hanmun* units are not pure *hanmun* but rather *hanmun* with affixed *t’o* readings, equivalent to *Tongmong sŏnsŭp*, though greatly simplified in early volumes.

<sup>941</sup> Although it is unclear what percentage of these two-syllable *hanchaŏ* were contemporaneously shared with the Japanese lexicon, through a cursory glance and selective confirmation through a dictionary, a large number of the words appear to be viable words in Japanese as well. This is an area of textbook analysis that awaits future research.

other words, familiar *ŏnmun* with its more ‘transparent’ pronunciation functioned as the audio-visual foundation through which the cosmopolitan could be accessed through *hancha* mediation, a process that deepened over the course of the textbook as more sinographs were introduced into the main text of *Chosŏnŏ* sections and the orthography transitioned to a solidly *kukhanmun* orientation.

In Volume 2 and subsequent volumes of *PHKT*, certain additions to the preface are included, while a number of deletions occur as well. The most consequential of these discrepancies is the following addition:

3. For the facilitation of teacher instruction and student learning, newly-introduced *hancha* have been presented in the upper margins.<sup>942</sup> In case of combination *hanchaŏ* (*ija isang i kyŏlhaphaya*) or special idioms (*t’ŭksuhan sugŏ*), even if individual *hancha* has been introduced before, it is included again.<sup>943</sup>

Thus, from Volume 2 a new practice began whereby sinographs constituting character combinations and idioms, which constituted mostly two-syllable *hanchaŏ* and four-character set phrases (*saja sŏngŏ*), were re-presented in the top margin on each appearance. This may be viewed as a process of vernacular-cosmopolitan differentiation and a step toward the familiarization of sinographic compounds and set phrases shared between Japanese and Korean. Whereas Volume 1 presented individual *hancha* in a Sino-pedagogically oriented method, Volume 2 and beyond extract modern Korean lexigraphic components and, through repeated exposure, familiarity with the reconfigured language of modernity was reinforced.

The format of the *PCHT* shares many similarities with the *PHKT*. First, the Korean alphabet is presented at the beginning of the textbook, albeit with some interesting pedagogical

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<sup>942</sup> Although this was a practice utilized in Volume 1, the wording of this item was quite different. Furthermore, the second part of this item was completely absent from the preface for Volume 1.

<sup>943</sup> *PCHT*, “Sŏŏn,” 1.

innovations that will be explored below. Second, there is a gradual gradation of difficulty through units in a single volume and over the course of the series, a gradation more or less in sync with that of the *PHKT*. A third similarity which also represents a divergence from Enlightenment-era textbooks is the dual commitment to both linguistic knowledge and ideological content. While many researchers have pointed out the explicit aspects of colonial education found in the textbooks such as the disappearance of the Korean flag and the worship of the Japanese emperor, content more pronounced due to its sudden occurrence, much like the *PHKT*, the *PCHT* also features a clear progression of linguistic knowledge in the modern sense, introducing students to a progression of syllables, words, noun modifiers, verbs, simple sentences, compound sentences, and honorifics.<sup>944</sup> Although *hanmun* sections are utilized primarily to convey traditional Confucian morals, even these sections begin with the most basic one and two-syllable words with no discernible ideological content. In this way, the *PCHT* continues the pre-annexation Japanese approach to language pedagogy that assumed complete or semi-illiteracy and attempted to build a foundational literacy. Finally, the most fundamental commonality between the two textbooks is the pronounced and consistent commitment to Mixed-Script orthography. Volume 1 of the *PCHT* begins with parallel *t'o*-style *hanmun* units<sup>945</sup> and Korean units in *han'gŭl*-only orthography, and over the course of the book the *hanmun* and *Chosonŏ* units converge toward parallel employment of Mixed Script, the former utilizing the Sinicized end of the *kukhanmun* spectrum and the latter the more vernacularized, though still featuring *hancha* as an unassailable and integral component of the writing style. Moreover, the progress toward *kukhanmun* orthography is swift: in a similar fashion to the *PHKT*, following

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<sup>944</sup> *PCHT*.

<sup>945</sup> This is following the first three *hanmun* units that feature only individual *hanchaŏ*.

the introduction of *hancha* into the main text of the *Chosonŏ* section (Unit 32, less than half-way through the first volume), the presentation of *hanchaŏ* in *han'gŭl* is modest, and limited to common, assimilated vocabulary (ie *ANNYŎNG* 安寧; *HYŎNG* 兪). Thus, the continuities between the textbooks suggest the strengthening of a commitment to broad-based, basic literacy in Korean with a firm sinitic foundation.

In addition to the above similarities, the *PHKT* and the *PCHT* also display certain divergences, which indicate pedagogical innovation, the evolution of grammar and writing style, and most importantly the deepening of the relationship between *kokugo* and *Chosŏnŏ* mediated by *hancha*. While both textbooks feature the Korean alphabet at the front, the *PCHT* attempts to integrate the alphabet into vocabulary recognition through experimentation in *han'gŭl* pedagogy. Whereas the *PHKT* presents all consonants and vowels separately at the beginning, followed by words with accompanying pictures and simple sentences, the *PCHT* features a unique format: vowels, individual consonants in the right margins accompanied by pictures and syllabized words, syllabaries in the left margins (ie *ka*, *kya*, *kŏ*, *kyŏ*...), consonants at the end of the illustration section, a complete syllabary titled “Wrap-up” (*husŭp*), *patch'im* practice (termed combination practice 綴字練習), compound medials (*chungjungsŏng* 重中聲, ie 개, 계, 께, 꺾, 귀, 꺾, 꺾, 꺾), fortis (*toen sŏt*) and double *patch'im*.<sup>946</sup> These innovative and varied approaches to *han'gŭl* pedagogy display an attention to vernacular literacy and a sensitivity to various issues that would have been encountered in the first decade of teaching early childhood education.

We can also note a clear shift in writing style, reflecting somewhat organic transformations in writing style that was occurring during the Protectorate Period but more

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<sup>946</sup> *PCHT*, 1-28.

fundamentally the result of the textbook following the newly-established GGK orthography, ostensibly based on the “standard speech of Kyōngsōng.” This shift in writing style may be observed most acutely in the direct comparison between equivalent units in the *PHKT* and the *PCHT*, as a number of units were adapted in compiling the latter. The following table presents a comparison between the sentence endings appearing in the 1907 and 1917 versions of “A Frog in a Well” (*Chǒng wa ũi sogyǒn* 井蛙의所見)

**Table 8: A Comparison of Sentence Endings in *PHKT* (1907) and *PCHT* (1917)**

<i>PHKT</i> (1907) “Chǒng wa ũi sogyǒn”	<i>PCHT</i> (1917) “Chǒng wa ũi sogyǒn”
~업논지라	~업섯소
~후더니	~하얏소
~보이지 아니후더라	~보이지 아니하얏소
~睥睨후논지라	~흘겨보앗소
“~흔놈이라”후니	“~한놈이로다”하니
~후얏노뇨	~하고
~후얏노라	~하얏소
~何處에 잇노뇨	~어디잇느냐
~에 잇노니라	~뵈게잇다
~廣大흔곳이뇨	~넓으냐
~廣大후니라	~넓다
~엇더후뇨	~엇더하냐
~흘수업노니라	~할수업다
~到達치못후게廣濶후니라	~갈수업스리라
~불지후얏노라	~아지못하얏다
~鑿開흙이니라	~구멍이다
~자가 잇노뇨	~자도 또잇느냐
~에 잇노니라	~삼킨다
~후얏슬지라	~하얏슬터이다
~?장弱小흔者에屬후리라	~가장약하고적다
~始覺후얏더라	~새달엇소

<i>PHKT</i> (1907) “Chǒng wa ŭi sogyǒn”	<i>PCHT</i> (1917) “Chǒng wa ŭi sogyǒn”
~古談이라	~고담이오
~井底蛙—라稱 <sup>ㅎ</sup> 느니라	~우물안개구리라하오

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As stated in the textbook preface, the *PCHT* follows closely the GGK orthography, including the abrogation of the *arae a* and palatization (ie *ty'ǒn* → *ch'ǒn*). However, the most striking aspect of the above examples is the dramatic shift toward the spoken language. True to the claim made in the preface, and the recollections of Oda Shōgo, the writing style much more closely resembles spoken standard Korean of the day. Incidentally, this is also a style which closely resembles that employed in Korean fiction from the 1920s. Although much more research is needed on the link between Japanese influence on Korean and the emergence of modern Korean fiction in the late 1910s and 1920s, forums for vernacular Korean literacy propagation such as common school textbooks offer suggestive glimpses into this connection.<sup>948</sup>

Another interesting characteristic of the *PCHT* is the elimination of *hanmun* grammar almost completely and the limiting of cosmopolitan influence almost exclusively to two-character *hanchaǒ*. Whereas in the above examples, instances of *hanmun*-inflected grammar abound (ie 何處 *ha ch'ǒ*, what place; 到達치못<sup>ㅎ</sup>게 *TODAL ch'i mot hǎge*, cannot go; ~라稱<sup>ㅎ</sup>느니라 ~*ra CH'ING hǎnǎnira*, is called~), instances of sinograph usage are limited

<sup>947</sup> *PHKT*, 1907 and *PCHT*, 1917.

<sup>948</sup> Another notable difference between the two versions is the higher incidence of sinographs in the *PHKT*. This was not due to their reduced usage in the *PCHT* overall so much as a function of each unit's positioning in the textbook series, where a gradual increase in sinographs is notable in each. The 1907 version appears as Unit 23, the last unit in Volume 5 of the *PHKT*, whereas the 1917 version is Unit 3 of Volume 3, at a point in the textbook where much fewer sinographs had been introduced.



almost completely to ‘assimilated,’ two-syllable compounds. Moreover, the vast majority of these compounds are also Japanese. A key-word search in a modern Japanese dictionary of all thirty-two *hanchaŏ* appearing in the above-analyzed unit of the *PCHT* reveals that all but six are terms utilized in modern Japanese. The above findings suggest that not only did colonial-era *Chosŏnŏ* textbooks play a role in influencing the direction of “official” vernacular literacy toward a modern writing style that would soon emerge in 1920s Korean literature, but the lexicon utilized in this specific form of literacy was infused with Japanese vocabulary.

A final point of divergence between the textbooks that deserves attention is the addition of new sinographs in the upper margins. As I suggested above, if we are to assume that educators heeded the admonition by the GGK to always “connect” Korean with the “national language,” then this would have functioned ideally in facilitating this connection. In Volume 2 of the *PCHT* analyzed in this current study,<sup>949</sup> the actual mechanics of this interconnectivity can be observed through extensive marginalia. Though it is unclear whether the writing was done by a student or a teacher, judging by the dexterity of the character strokes and the fact that rather large classes of sixty or more common school students most likely did not possess their own books, we may surmise that the writing was that of an instructor. Whatever the identity of the author, the individual closely observed the instruction to “connect” *Chosŏnŏ* and *hanmun* education with that of *kokugo* because throughout the volume Japanese definitions for Korean vernacular vocabulary are supplied. Most telling is the nature of the vocabulary glossed: the most basic of Korean words that even the most illiterate of eight-year-old would have known are written in

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<sup>949</sup> According to Dr. Andrew Hall who provided me with this particular version, it was acquired from Toyama University via interlibrary loan, and the university in turn received the volume as a donation from Katayama Ichiro (片山一郎), who had reportedly worked for the GGK as of 1936 as a financial officer in the Bureau of Finance (Zaimukyoku). The textbook bears Ichiro’s seal. It is unclear how he came to possess the book. January 18, 2017, personal communication.



This was a word that any second-grade student, Japanese, or Korean teacher would have been thoroughly familiar with, and so its glossing in the top margin can only be an attempt by the instructor (or student at the instructor's urging) to "connect" *Chosŏnŏ* with *kokugo*. Despite this being the Korean section of the curriculum, representing the only space for Korean instruction in a curriculum dominated by Japanese in instruction, textbook content, and textbook language, the connection to *kokugo* nevertheless remained, at least for the user/recipient of this particular volume's instruction. Moreover, according to the guidelines in the preface, the instructor has faithfully glossed all of the hundreds of *hancha* in *han'gŭl*, allowing the student to "depend on the *ŏnmun*" for visual mediation, as per preface instructions. Although it is unclear whether this particular instructor was also providing oral *kanji* pronunciations for sinographs, the characters themselves would have offered a visual connection to verbal grounding in vernacular pronunciation, and growing familiarity with the increasing number of modern two-syllable compounds.

Following the March First Movement, despite the concession to teach content related to Korean history and culture in public schools and the discussion in the popular press over increasing the role of Korean in the curriculum, the Second Rescript confirmed the hegemonic role of *kokugo* in the common school curriculum. This is reflected in the format and writing style of the *PCT*. Like its predecessor, the *PCT* features graded levels of difficulty, beginning with *han'gŭl*-only text and transitioning swiftly to mixed-script writing. In Unit 52, toward the end of Volume 1, *hancha* appears for the first time in the main text (*saengdo* 生徒, *sŏnsaeng* 先生) and subsequently, much as in the *PCHT*, other *hancha* is added rapidly, and the number of *hanchaŏ* represented in *han'gŭl* diminishes quickly.<sup>950</sup> The *PCT* also employs a wide variety of

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<sup>950</sup> *PCT*, 53.

pedagogical methods in introducing the Korean alphabet, but integrates *han'gŭl* much more gradually into reading units than the *PCHT*, completely transitioning away from spelling practice and to exclusive reading units by Unit 51, almost at the end of Volume 1.<sup>951</sup> It is unclear why the introduction of the Korean alphabet was extended over so many units compared to previous textbooks, but it may reflect the broadening of common school enrollment in the 1920s and the GGK perception of the literacy level of prospective students. As the common school network continued to expand, especially throughout the provinces and into rural areas, the GGK may have anticipated lower levels of literacy and consequently ‘dumbed down’ the curriculum to ensure that a basic level of literacy could be achieved.

This simplification is also evident in terms of font size, the length of units, and syntax, although the latter may be the result of the writings style’s closer proximity to contemporary Korean. Although later volumes are roughly equivalent to corresponding volumes of the *PCHT* in terms of difficulty, the *PCT* begins with much shorter reading units, considerably larger type, and less words per page, along with very well-defined word spacing. As noted above, this seems to reflect the compiler’s perception of prospective students’ abilities, especially in light of the expanding student body that this textbook portended to serve. This may be viewed as a practical pedagogical decision to respond effectively to the student’s level of ability, but it may also reflect a concerted effort to limit vernacular literacy to the level of basic “scaffolding” in pre-approved subject matter.

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<sup>951</sup> Simple reading sections alternate with *han'gŭl* and word practice throughout the middle portion of the units following the initial 27-page section dedicated to alphabet/word practice alone. Incidentally, the first unit in the exclusive reading section is also the first unit to introduce *hancha* into the main text. *PCT*, 53.

The greatest difference between the *PCT* and the *PCHT*, besides the removal of *hanmun*, is the provision of newly-introduced Korean vernacular vocabulary words in *han'gŭl* alongside *hancha* in the upper margins. A typical example of such a glossing technique appears in Figure 8 below.

Figure 8: *Pot'ong hakkyo Chosŏnŏ tokpon (PCT)*

Parallel Hancha and Vernacular Glossing Technique

소 숨어버렸	각기	달은	술 가리 吉男 고잇	찾는 眞童이	운동 兒孩 場	숨박 꼭질																							
은	제	각기	다	숨어버렸소.	고잇슬	동안	에	달은	兒孩들	여서	吉男	에게	눈	을	가리	眞童이	는	찾는	사람	이	되	꼭질	을	하오.	兒孩들	은	운동場	에서	숨박

十四 숨박꼭질

소 숨어버렸	각기	달은	술 가리 吉男 고잇	찾는 眞童이	운동 兒孩 場	숨박 꼭질
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Like the marginalia in Volume 2 of *PCHT*, very simple Korean vocabulary are listed such as “today,” “schools,” and “teacher,” along with basic grammar (ie *chōgūisō*, over there; *hapsida*, let’s ~).<sup>952</sup> Although we are not provided with the same marginalia showing the mechanics of the process, this would be another instance of an opportunity to “connect” Korean with the ‘national language.’ For a native speaker of Korean, it seems unnecessary that such simple vocabulary is separately presented in the upper margins, which leads the observer to conclude that this method is not for the purpose of Korean instruction but rather an opportunity to integrate such instruction into the broader curriculum, especially in the first grade of common school when rapid uptake of Japanese basic literacy would have been crucial for comprehending other class material. Finally, the placement of these vernacular Korean words alongside *hancha* in the upper margins functions to otherize the language as something foreign, as indeed it might have seemed due to its tenuous positioning in the curriculum vis-à-vis Japanese. The placement in the upper margins of vernacular Korean suggests that these familiar words require some sort of explanation or special treatment, on par with *hancha*, which constituted a part of the curriculum which was now obsolete. Rather than bring the vernacular into closer contact with the student, I would argue that this method creates a distance between the student and their mother tongue, again bringing into relief the tension between *kokugo* nationalistic discourse, curricular structure and actual student experience. Overall, the *PCT* manifests the previous GJK commitment to Mixed-Script orthography with a strong emphasis on ‘assimilated’ *hanchaō* and modern syntax and grammar found in much indigenous Korean writing in the 1920s.<sup>953</sup>

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<sup>952</sup> *PCT*, 46-47.

<sup>953</sup> However, as Im Sangsōk points out, this type of textbook writing style was less sinicized than the vanguard of Korean expository writing in academic magazines of the 1920s, yet much less so

## 5.8 Conclusions

The first fifteen years of the colonial period (1910-1925) witnessed the initial establishment and strengthening of a GGK-imposed educational system. As part of this push to expand the public school network, private schools were strictly limited, a policy that intensified through the 1920s. Although *sōdang* were initially tolerated and left mostly to their own devices, from 1918 the GGK placed increasing pressure on them to conform to official curricular standards, denying permits to or shuttering ideologically recalcitrant *sōdang* while symbolically and financially supporting “model *sōdang*” in an effort to quench overflowing demand for alternative, modern education. By the mid-1920s common school enrollment was enjoying an upward swing that would continue until the end of the colonial period, while alternative schooling continued to dwindle under the weight of GGK restrictions and the failure (or disallowance) to provide accredited schooling that could contribute to higher matriculation and career advancement. This trajectory was instrumental in securing the diffusion of a legitimized form of colonial educational literacy in Korean that transitioned to higher literacy in Japanese for matriculating students as Korean receded from the curriculum and the popular press and Japanese expanded.

The repercussions of the March First Movement shed light on many problems that had festered for years and thrust them into the public sphere for debate, one of these issues being the language of instruction in public schools. Although GGK officials entertained Korean proposals for integrating Korean more extensively into the curriculum, with the issuance of the Second Rescript the fundamental structure of colonial language policy continued into the 1920s and 1930s, that is the underdevelopment of Korean vernacular literacy through instruction limited to

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than vernacular fiction. Im, “A Study of the Common Literary Language and Translation in Colonial Korea.”

language class and the expansion and legitimization of Japanese literacy, while the textbooks employed maintained a commitment to *kukhanmun* orthography incorporating mostly two-syllable sinographic words common to the contemporary Japanese language. Meanwhile, the bulk of the curriculum remained in Japanese, and so parents and students alike continued to feel the disconnect between education that was mandatory for upward mobility yet removed from their daily lives. Perhaps the following 1925 report from the *Tonga ilbo* puts the matter most bluntly:

On March 24<sup>th</sup> in Changyŏn County, Hwanghae Province, a meeting of the school board of trustees was convened, issuing a proposal recommending that the class time allotted for *Chosŏnŏ* in common school curriculum be increased. The reason is that the number of applicants for various common schools—especially in rural areas—has decreased markedly, and while it is true that one reason for this is the deteriorating economic vitality of ordinary Koreans, an even greater reason is that common school education is ineffective. This is because for a period of five years almost all education is conducted in Japanese, and so not only do students not know the meaning of what they learn in Korean, but they graduate from school not knowing even simple nouns in their own language. They then return to their farms and forget all of the subject matter that they learned in Japanese, leading their parents to conclude that common school education is worthless.

A generation or more of Korean students at colonial public schools were thus presented with several alternatives, all of them undesirable. They may continue to carry on their lives without basic schooling, as many did, avoiding both denationalizing propaganda and personal betterment. Students could seek a tenuous education at a *sŏdang* or private school, receiving instruction in Korean but with the ultimate knowledge that such education was terminal, and one's social position finite. On the other hand, one could strive for the best possible education available, with the possibility that this, too, would be futile, leading either to unfulfilled aspirations for social mobility or alienation and ill-adaptation upon return to sedentary life. The most effective course therefore for many Koreans was to mimic the model of cultural, educational, and linguistic 'superiority,' and through a lexicographically, grammatically, and



phonetically comparable language in a colonial curriculum directed at the atrophy of vernacular literacy, this aspiration became a reality.

## Conclusions

Throughout this study I have discussed a shift in colonial Korean literacy, the initial stage of a transition from LS to Japanese in which Korean functioned as a type of linguistic scaffolding or transitional literacy. However, to give some idea of the extent of this transition, a glance at some statistics on literacy rates is needed. Many authors have pointed out what they consider to be relatively low rates of literacy in both Japanese and Korean, even with the higher public school attendance rates that marked the late colonial period.<sup>954</sup> For example, Ch’ŏn Chŏnghwan puts the overall *illiteracy* rate in the early 1920s at 90–95%, with the level for women even higher.<sup>955</sup> However, in a linguistic landscape of multiple and fractured literacies—Korean vernacular, *kukhanmun*, Literary Sinitic, Japanese vernacular, *kanbun*, reading, writing and speaking—we must refine our analysis. If colonial literacy is understood as a matrix of overlapping literacies, the overall literacy rate in the 1930s was estimated by Ch’ŏn to be 6.78%, this being the percentage who could read both Japanese and *han’gŭl*.<sup>956</sup> The GGK’s own statistics put the attendance rate of school-age Korean children at Japanese elementary schools, one measure of the diffusion of proficiency in Japanese, at over 50%.<sup>957</sup> However, as Ch’ŏn accurately claims, attending and even graduating from a Japanese-language common school

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<sup>954</sup> Yi, “Chosŏn ch’ongdokpu ūi onŏ tonghwa chŏngch’aek”; Mitsui, *Singminji Chosŏn ūi ŏnŏ chibae kujo*. Kim Puja for example claims that, due to the low attendance rates throughout the colonial period, especially among girls, the focus should rather be placed on chronic non-attendance rather than on attendance. See Kim, *Hakkyo pakk ūi Chosŏn yŏsŏngtŭl*.

<sup>955</sup> Ch’ŏn, *Kŭndae ch’aek ilkki*, 92-93.

<sup>956</sup> *Ibid*, 96.

<sup>957</sup> *Ibid*, 96. However, there was a large gender-based discrepancy in primary school attendance: for boys the attendance rate was nearly 70% in 1942, while for girls it was closer to 30%. See Chōsen Sōtokofu, *Chōsen Sōtokofu tokei nenpo* [Statistical yearbooks of the Governor-General of Korea] (Keijo: Chōsen Sōtokofu, 1932–38, 1942).

alone would not have instilled a level of literacy sufficient to read most Japanese books, and only 22%–24% of such students went on to higher education from 1930 to 1940.<sup>958</sup> Could this seemingly superficial diffusion of Japanese literacy really be termed a shift?

What these statistics on Japanese literacy rates fail to convey, however, is the geographical and social distribution of this literacy and the rapidity with which the diffusion occurred, especially when considering the ghettoization of colonial education in general. While the overall rate of Japanese literacy was quite low throughout the 1920s and 1930s, there was a rather dramatic increase in at least some form of Japanese in the 1940s, if school enrollment figures are to be trusted. Furthermore, the overall literacy rate conceals the drastically higher rates in urban areas and among men. Based on Japanese census figures, although the diffusion of Japanese, or those conversant in the language, was estimated to be 6.0% and 18.9% in counties and islands in the years 1930 and 1943, the average rate of diffusion in urban areas was calculated to be 24.8% and 45.3% over the same period.<sup>959</sup> In the three cities with the highest rate of diffusion—Wŏnsan (62.7%), Pusan (56.05), and Sŏul (53.9%)—well over half of the population was conversant in the language.<sup>960</sup> This was the young, educated segment of the population that would shoulder the mantle of constructing a new republic.

This is not to discount the importance of broad-based, comprehensive literacy in rural areas and among women. However, what is crucial in assessing the shift to Japanese language and literacy is not so much the number of Koreans proficient in Japanese, although this was more significant than previous research has portrayed it, but rather the perceived (and actual) role of

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<sup>958</sup> Ch'ŏn, *Kŭndae ch'aek ilkki*, 96.

<sup>959</sup> Quoted in Dong, "A Study in Assimilation," 496.

<sup>960</sup> *Ibid.*

Japanese in an education system that had been deemed legitimate by an overwhelming majority in Korean society. Finally, the comprehensive statistics on Japanese literacy conceal the multiple overlapping literacies that characterized colonial Korea, most notably a kind of latent Japanese literacy manifested in Korean as a transitional literacy, a language which shared an increasing number of commonalities with Japanese through grammatical, syntactic, and semantic influence over time in a kind of assemblage relationship. As I have claimed previously, this shift in language and literacy was the result of multiple interactive processes, and focusing on only one aspect is insufficient for a comprehensive understanding.<sup>961</sup> The exposure of the pre-modern linguistic landscape privileging LS as the sole embodiment of ‘truth’ to Western language ideologies on discrepant temporalities and the ‘backwardness’ of Korea’s linguistic hierarchy was accompanied by the inundation of the intellectual field with Western knowledge through Japanese translation. Through this process, LS writing conventions were gradually dismantled by the mediation of vernacular Korean in the form of a transitional and fluctuating *écriture*, Sino-Korean mixed script. As a result of this contact, the semantic, grammatical, syntactical, and rhetorical parameters of the Korean language were extended or reconfigured according to the logic of translational equivalence. The convergence of such a transnational linguistic circulation

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<sup>961</sup> For example, Cheon Jeong-hwan claims that, “Korea seems to have differed clearly from the West and Japan in the role and degree of importance of foreign prose fiction and school education in the formation and expansion of the readers of fiction. For colonial Korea foreign works may be considered all important while school education relatively insignificant.” However, this observation is only valid when the colonial linguistic landscape is viewed as discrete and compartmentalized, which I argue it was not. While *Korean* fiction did not play a large role in the school curriculum, due to the limitations placed on vernacular education discussed throughout this article, *Japanese* education and the Japanese literary market were mutually reinforcing systems, and the surpassing and displacing of Korean literature by Japanese from the 1920s illustrates the significant role played by education in the development of a Japanese readership. Furthermore, the reading and translation of these Japanese works expanded the Korean lexicon and affected its grammar (as discussed above), in turn altering the way Korean language education was conducted in public schools. Cheon, “Readers of Korean Prose Fiction,” 690.

with the political will engendered in colonial education policy at a point of pronounced instability in the developmental trajectory of Korean from that encoded in LS to various iterations of *kukhanmun* combined to lay the foundation for a subsequent shift from semi-literacy in Korean to literacy in Japanese for upwardly mobile-public school students, with Korean acting as a form of transitional literacy, and the sinograph functioning as a mediating agent.

In the transition from the Sino-Confucian episteme privileging LS-based knowledge to the modern episteme incorporating expanded curriculum and acknowledging the equivalency of vernacular mediation, language and education were inextricably intertwined. Discourses on the Korean linguistic landscape, that is the particular configuration of the cosmopolitan and the vernacular, were necessarily predicated on the issue of modern schooling, concerned as they were with the conveyance of knowledge. The most concrete intersection of language and education was the language class in modern schools, and the clearest pronouncement of the intended form of literacy for that language was embodied in the textbook. In contrast to previous research that has focused mostly on the content of textbooks, particularly for inculcating ideology or creating the modern citizen, this study has characterized the textbook as a site of cosmopolitan-vernacular differentiation and articulation, as well as a space for the actualization of literacy transitioning.

Finally, this study is intended as a contribution to a meager but growing field of research that interrogates the overemphasis in previous scholarship on discontinuities brought by annexation in 1910, and instead highlights both the ruptures and continuities that characterized this event.<sup>962</sup> In that sense, I concur with Kyung Moon Hwang's statement that, "A major rupture

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<sup>962</sup> See for example Schmid, *Korea Between Empires*; Uchida, *Brokers of Empire*; Kyung Moon Hwang, *Rationalizing Korea: The Rise of the Modern State, 1894-1945* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016).

certainly occurred with the onset of colonialism, but much of the heavy attention paid to this shift is premised on the belief that formal change in political rule or sovereignty expresses itself immediately and comprehensively,” that “there were many turning points just as significant” like the Gabo Reforms and the advent of “Cultural Rule” following the March First Movement, and that, “when fused into an expansive process of change, these shifts comprise a story of the modern state’s emergence that appears more gradual than sudden, as modified as new.”<sup>963</sup> Hwang extends this approach in his chapter on education, claiming that post-annexation Japanese regulation of education “reflected the ongoing bureaucratization of education, particularly the curriculum, since the Gabo Reforms established the Ministry of Education in 1894.”<sup>964</sup> However, like many works on Enlightenment and colonial-era curriculum, Hwang focuses his attention on “ethics” (*susin*) and its role in fostering loyalty to the state. Although this is a valid assertion, it fails to comprehend the most fundamental area of continuity and rupture, and that is in the developmental trajectory of the Korean language within the field of education. As I have demonstrated in this study, the *PCHT* (1915-1918) demonstrated many similarities to the *PHKT* (1907), especially in terms of the GGK commitment to *kukhanmun* orthography, and subsequent colonial-era developments in orthography and the lexicon followed pre-colonial trends increasingly legitimized by Korean writers and intellectuals. However, the political authority exerted by Japan engendered important ruptures, and in conjunction with Korean acquiescence to Japanese hegemony in education, a critical mode of linguistic influence came to be established. Therefore, while acknowledging both the continuities and ruptures across the annexation divide, this study has attempted to complicate a simple Foucauldian approach too

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<sup>963</sup> Hwang, *Rationalizing Korea*, 1-2.

<sup>964</sup> *Ibid*, 174.

enamored with state power and instead uncover more enduring and imbedded forms of power, such as collusion with linguistic hegemony.

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*Mansebo*  
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