Intelligentsia under Empire: Proletarian Authors, Socialist Feminists, and the Fate of Korean Intellectuals in Japan, 1920-1945

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Introduction: Colonialism and the Dislocation of Cultural Capital

> The manner in which culture has been acquired lives on in the manner of using it: the importance attached to manners can be understood once it is seen that it is these imponderables of practice which distinguish the different – and ranked – modes of culture acquisition, early or late, domestic or scholastic, and the classes of individuals which they characterize (such as 'pedants' and *mondains*). Culture also has its titles of nobility – awarded by the educational system – and its pedigrees, measured by seniority in admission to the nobility.
>
> Pierre Bourdieu - *Distinction*[1]

> Colonization is the spread of civilization (*shokumin wa bunmei no denpa*).
>
> Nitobe Inazō – Motto for Colonization Studies at Tokyo University[2]

Searching for Social Success in Colonial Korea

In March of 1919, Korea under Japanese rule saw one of the largest outpourings of public discontent towards Japanese imperial rule. Fueled by animosity towards Hasegawa Yoshimichi's policy of military rule (*mudan chŏngch'i*) which enacted tough corporal punishment, constricted Korean language newspapers, and instated a slew of unpopular policies, Korean citizens flocked to the streets throughout the country crying "Long Live Korea!" The scale of the movement, the brutality of the Japanese response, and concerns

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[1] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 2.

[2] Quoted in Alexis Dudden, *Japan's Colonization of Korea: Discourse and Power* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 134.

about Japan's reputation abroad led to Hasegawa's recall,[3] and the military rule period (1910-1919) came to a halt."[4] The damage was widespread (Korean sources report 47,000 arrests and 7,509 deaths during the uprising),[5] Hasegawa was replaced with Saitō Makoto, pacifying some of the animosity that had brewed under his militant rule, and the Governor General of Korea (GGK) implemented a policy of cultural rule.

Many of the grievances of March 1st, spearheaded by Korean exchange students in Tokyo – the forerunners of the movement – are unsurprising and have been well documented. March 1st activists decried forced labor, taxation, the confiscation of property, and the suppression of Korean culture. Yet two of the lesser-known objections lie at the center of this dissertation: complaints that there was a disparity in educational opportunities for Koreans and Japanese, and discontent with how the upper class and intellectuals were not provided with special treatment.[6] For all the nationalistic zeal that permeated the March 1st Independence Movement, activists also expressed underlying vexation surrounded the limited institutionalized means of social success, and a systematic means of displaying such success.

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[3] Michael A. Schneider, "The Limits of Cultural Rule: Internationalism and Identity in Japanese Responses to Korean Rice" in *Colonial Modernity in Korea*, 100.

[4] Donald N. Clark, *Living Dangerously in Korea: The Western Experience 1900-1950* (Norwalk: EastBridge, 2003), 46.

[5] Donald N. Clark, *Living Dangerously in Korea*, 46.

[6] Kenneth Wells, "Background to the March First Movement: Korean in Japan, 1905-1919" in *Korean Studies* vol. 13 (1989): 5-21; Michael Robinson, "Ideological Schism in the Korean Nationalist Movement, 1920-1930: Cultural Nationalism and the Radical Critique" in *The Journal of Korean Studies* vol. 4 (1982-1983): 241-268.

Such concerns over social success were by no means unusual, and Meiji Japan experienced a similar issue. Earl Kinmonth's seminal work *The Self-Made Man in Meiji Japanese Thought: From Samurai to Salary Man* provides insight into how class aspiration, the educational system, and the ideology of social success (through *risshin shusse*) propagated through works like Samuel Smiles' *Self-Help* molded public life in Meiji Japan. Yet for colonial Korea did not experience a similar phenomenon. As the first chapter of this dissertation outlines, the collapse of local forms of knowledge and its replacement by "universal rationality" accompanied the marginalization of Korean educational institutions during the 1910s. These policies bracketed out native students from participation in the production of knowledge and alienated them from the fruits of their own academic labor.

Furthermore, on an institutional level, the Korean peninsula did not have a 4-year college until 1925. Thus not only were there institutional barriers to achieving success, but the very ideology of social success (Jp. *shusse* Kr. *ch'ulse*) did not become the same target of widespread public attention that it attracted in late Meiji and early Taisho Japan. Although the idea of "making one's way in the world," *shusse,* was imported through the term *ch'ulse* to Korea, it did not garner the same public attention that it did in Japan. In fact, the term *ch'ulse* was often used in its older Buddhist meaning of the Buddha and bodhisattvas' emergence in the human realm to provide guidance.[7]

How should we understand class aspiration and social success under colonial rule? The March 1st activists tied asymmetries in education with the lack of social distinction and

[7] There are some notable exceptions, like Yi Kwang-su, "Minjok kaejoron" in *Kaebyŏk* vol. 23 (May 1923): 18-72.

complaints about limited avenues for class aspiration, and this dissertation investigates this issue through the relationship between cultural capital and the ideology of success.

Imperializing the Ideology of Success: Culture Rule through Cultural Capital

From 1910 to the mid 1920s, the Governor General of Korea (GGK) instituted a series of educational policies designed to bring the colony's educational system in line with universal "modern" education. Yet for an aspiring intellectual in colonial Korea, colonization would mark a widespread closing of doors. GGK discourse was adamant in spatializing the Korean other into a distant time, denying citizens the teleological "civilizational development" (*mindō*) necessary for higher education, and instead the common school curriculum focused on disciplinary aspects aimed at rooting out "indolence and indecency," and teaching the national language (Japanese) while leaving little room for independent inquiry ("theories") or pathways to becoming a public intellectual. At the same time, GGK policy also demoted native educational institutions, changing their status from colleges or technical schools to training schools or academies.

It is unsurprising, then that many aspiring intellectuals turned their attentions overseas for higher education, and a foreign degree quickly became the keystone for any self-respecting member of the intelligentsia. Janet Poole states this succinctly by asserting that in the late 1920s, studying abroad, particularly in Japan, was "a rite of passage for Korean intellectuals."[8] While the Cultural Rule policy implemented to address complaints

[8] Janet Poole, introduction to Yi T'aejun, *Eastern Sentiments,* trans. Janet Poole (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 17.

during the March 1st Independence Movement ostensibly created new opportunities for Koreans within the colony, this is betrayed by the explosion of colonial students studying in Japan. As of March, 1921, there were 902 Korean exchange students in Japan at the middle school level or higher, and by 1930 this number ballooned to 5,015.[9]

Thus this dissertation also rethinks the definition and boundaries of cultural rule policy in Korea. Scholars have long debated the meaning of Cultural Rule policy, and whether it was rule of culture, rule by culture, and the exact meaning of the term. Michael Robinson credits it for changing "decisively the tone of Japanese rule… cultural policy was a brilliant co-optative maneuver."[10] However, such definitions paint cultural rule a top-down policy in which colonial citizens are passive victims of GGK machinations.

This dissertation instead sees cultural rule as a means of re-establishing a hierarchy, manifest through the educational system, by a class of what I call "comprador intellectuals." I use the term comprador intellectuals to refer to colonial Koreans that received a higher education in Japan, almost entirely from universities in Tokyo. The term comprador refers to the native Chinese businessmen who worked as local intermediaries between European trading houses and the Chinese markets. With their language skills and social networks, many became incredibly wealthy as they served a crucial role as intermediaries between colonial powerbrokers. Comprador intellectuals, similarly, were fluent in Japanese, built strong social networks in Japan, and enjoyed many privileges afforded by their education.

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[9] Pak Ch'un-p'a, "Ilbon Tonggyŏng e yuhakhanŭn uri hyŏngje ŭi hyŏnsang ŭl tŭl'ŏssŏ" in *Kaebyŏk* vol. 9 (March 1921): 80-83; Kim Pong-jun, *Zai Nippon Chōsenjin yōran* (Tokyo: Minbunsha, 1932), 2-3.

[10] Michael Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920-1925* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998), 4.

Yet the comprador intellectual also serves as a peculiar colonial inflection of social success. Like the self-made man of Meiji that Kinmouth wrote of, comprador intellectuals served as symbols of class aspiration and emblems of individual achievement. Yet at the same time, their success tied them to the imperial metropole in myriad ways. One of the most salient of these was cultural capital, "the importance attached to manners can be understood once it is seen that it is these imponderables of practice which distinguish the different – and ranked – modes of culture acquisition, early or late, domestic or scholastic, and the classes of individuals which they characterize."[11]

Comprador Intellectuals and the Reification of Cultural Capital

One of Kim Saryang (Kim Shiryō)'s short stories provides a stark image of this phenomenon. In the story titled *Kusa bukashi* (Weedy), the protagonist Pak In-sik meets a certain teacher named *Hanakami-sensei* [sic] (Mr. Handkerchief). Mr. Handkerchief once taught Korean language courses at Pak In-sik's school, but had become a lower level clerk for his uncle, a bureaucrat with the Governor General of Korea (GGK). In a memorable scene, the bureaucrat uncle addresses a crowd of villagers, criticizing them for washing their white clothes, which is a waste of resources. Thus he decrees that the locals must desist in wearing white as it is labor-intensive to clean.

However, a major point of interest is the linguistic and academic context of this incident. The uncle speaks this decree in Japanese, which is then translated to Korean by

[11] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 2.

Mr. Handkerchief for the villagers, who do not understand Japanese. However, because the uncle's Japanese is broken, Mr. Handkerchief struggles to understand him and translate his speech to Korean properly.[12] Thus Kim Sa-ryang presents the reader with a tense situation where a Korean GGK official gives a speech in broken Japanese to Mr. Handkerchief, his crony nephew, which is awkwardly translated to Korean for the villagers to understand. The protagonist, however, was an exchange student in medical school at a certain "university in Tokyo," which is insinuated to be the elite Tokyo Imperial University, and it is through his lens that the reader views this incident.[13] Thus the readers implicitly understand that the protagonist's Japanese is flawless, and this adds to the farcical nature of the whole situation: the "knowing" protagonist sees through inept performance of authority. The author himself also graduated from Tokyo Imperial University with a degree in German literature in 1939, and was nominated for the esteemed Akutagawa Literary Prize.

Kim Saryang's *Weedy* encapsulates some of the issues faced by Korean intellectuals trained in Japan – the prestige status granted to the Japanese educational system, the disciplinary aspect of language, and how class stratification that was legitimized through both of these phenomena. Thus comprador intellectuals are an important lens into the ways that the peculiarities of the colonial educational system, the tendency for Koreans to study in Japan, and their return routes to Korea shaped history during the 1920s to early 1930s at the height of the Cultural Rule period.

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[12] Kim Saryang, *Kim Shiryō zenshu* vol. 1 (Tokyo: Kawade shobō shinsha, 1973), 152.

[13] Kim Saryang, *Kim Shiryō zenshu* vol. 1 (Tokyo: Kawade shobō shinsha, 1973), 159.

Imperialism is a Two-Way Street

Lastly, comprador intellectuals are a promising avenue into looking at how the colonization of Korea shaped Japan's history. Imperialism is inherently a two-way street. However, because the very nature of colonization is wrapped within unequal power relations, it is much harder to trace the impact of the Korean colony on the Japanese metropole than vice versa. By looking at socialist feminists and proletarian authors, my dissertation tackles what Professor Andre Schmid refers to as the "Korea Problem" in Japanese historiography. Schmid asserts that Japanese historiography has largely written Korea out of national histories of Japan during the colonial period, thus my dissertation traces how comprador intellectuals, with their unique social networks and language skills, left a lasting impact not only on the Korean colony but also the Japanese empire.[14]

The dissertation addresses these goals through five chapters. The first chapter of my dissertation, "Modernizing the Colonial Intelligentsia: The Great Academic Demotions of 1910 to 1920" focuses on this period in which the Japanese colonial government (GGK) demoted many of Korea's existing educational institutions to technical training schools, academies, or even Confucian institutes, while limiting native educational practices like the sŏdang. The chapter addresses how educational experts and bureaucrats had to first scrutinize existing educational practices and institutions, delegating some as "rational" with others as "backwards" or "Confucian."

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[14] Andre Schmid, "Colonialism and the 'Korea Problem' in the Historiography of Modern Japan" in *The Journal of Asian Studies* vol. 59 no. 4 (Nov 2000): 951-976.

Nowhere was this more evident than with the Keigakuin, the new moniker for the Sŏng'gyun'gwan, Korea's oldest educational institute under colonial rule. Once a bastion of Confucian learning, the Sŏng'gyun'gwan underwent reforms in 1895 aimed at transforming it into an institution suitable for the modern age, with a curriculum that included math, science, and languages. However, with direct funding from Emperor Meiji, the academy was relaunched as a purely Confucian training center under the moniker Keigakuin. By tracing colonial policy and investigating the reformed institutes' official journal, this chapter underlines how GGK policies were not concerned with straightforward assimilation, nor a constituted a perfunctory conspiracy to indoctrinate the populace through education, but was part of a larger scheme of excluding "traditional" or Confucian forms of knowledge from viability in a capitalist market.

By the early 1920s, the dearth of educational opportunities spurred the Civic University Establishment Movement to create a university within Seoul. While the movement to establish the university had well-studied nationalistic overtones, this chapter focuses on the movement as an expression of class aspiration, as the doors had been shut for would-be intellectuals. One of the complaints surrounding the March 1st Independence Movement noted the lack of special distinctions for scholars, and the movement capitalized on this desire to create a socialized class of intellectuals through a "modern" university. As the movement was unsuccessful in establishing a Korean university, it created a pressure for aspiring intellectuals to study abroad, particularly in Tokyo, creating a class of what I call "comprador intellectuals."

The second chapter, "A Tale of Two Compradors: *Lux Scientia* and the *Asia Review*" focuses on two journals published in Tokyo for Korean exchange students. *Lux Scientia,*

published in Korean from Tokyo, portrayed Korean exchange students in heroic terms as an elite class tasked with bringing back both enlightenment and economic development to their home colony. This elitism was expressed in nationalistic terms, as writers touted the importance of their education in creating a strong Korean nation. The multilingual *Asia Review,* on the other hand, was strongly pan-Asianist, printing articles from Japanese, Korean, and Chinese contributors in those respective languages, and distributed throughout East Asia from Pyongyang to Taipei. Under the broad umbrella of pan-Asianism, contributors to *Asia Review* proposed more nuanced stances towards the nature of imperialism, even prompting sympathetic submissions by prominent Japanese intellectuals like Ishibashi Tanzan that questioned the necessity of colonial expansion for economic development.

Ultimately, this chapter destabilizes some of the presumptions about the nature of nationalism, pan-Asianism, and assimilation, as the "nationalist" rhetoric of *Lux Scientia* ultimately accepted the teleology of colonial development while socialising intellectuals into their roles as an economic elite. Pan-Asianist rhetoric, however, opened up spaces for imperial critique as it considered issues of inequality of development and the ties between colonialism and class.

The third chapter, "The Return of the Comprador: Returnee Intellectuals and the Birth of Korea's Cultural Reserve Army," returns to Seoul to trace two interrelated phenomena: the large scale return of Tokyo educated Koreans to Seoul in the 1920s and the surge of unemployed university graduates in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Turning to mass media, this chapter shows how Tokyo educated graduates in Seoul were portrayed as *nouveau riche* – papers reported graduate salaries, publicized successful returnee

entrepreneurs, and popular representations even included depictions of Tokyo graduates cavorting in Seoul's glamorous cafes with Japanese-speaking Korean waitresses who adopted Japanese names.

However, by the late 1920s the inability for the growing numbers of graduates to find jobs led to a phenomenon dubbed the "cultural reserve army." The social panic surrounding these figures underlines how Tokyo educated Koreans were expected to be a separate elite class, and the shock upon realizing that Japanese education had failed to live up to people's expectations as cornucopia of economic success. This figure of the unemployed Japanese-trained intellectual was also espoused by authors like Ch'ae Man-sik and Yi Kwang-su, who used satire to trace both the ironies and moral failings of this disillusioned coterie of graduates.

This widespread phenomenon illustrates how comprador intellectuals became aspirational figures, touting the possibilities of upward mobility (and middle class life) under Japanese colonialism and the pleasures of modern consumerism promised by colonial assimilation.

My fourth chapter, "From Compradors to Feminists: The Rose of Sharon Alliance and Enunciative Legitimacy in Colonial Korea," traces colonial Korea's largest feminist organization, the Rose of Sharon Alliance (1927-1931). This chapter looks at how the Rose of Sharon Alliance leadership built social and cultural capital through their education in Japan, and were able to exercise creative interpretations while appropriating the prestige afforded to translated texts. By tracing the writings and activities of feminist leaders within the organization like Hwang Sin-dŏk, Hŏ Chŏng-suk, and Chŏng Ch'il-sŏng, this chapter illuminates how these women made the most of their academic networks to advocate

women's rights. Through connections with prominent Japanese feminists including Yamakawa Kikue, leaders of this group debated the nature of egalitarian romance through the works of Alexandra Kollontai, reinterpreted Korea's premodern history in a Marxist vein by placing Koryŏ period history into the framework of Engel's *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, and even challenged assumptions about the innateness of gender difference through the image of the physically tough, economically independent haenyŏ, or female divers of Jeju island.

Chapter 5, "Proletarian Authors and the Search for Colonial Subjectivity" covers the proletarian debates over Korean representation in literature and poetry. Japanese proletariat writers like Nakanishi Inosuke began to depict the plight of Koreans under imperialism, helping to mold an "iconography of suffering," which foreground the myriad ways in which colonial Koreans were wronged by Japanese imperialism.

Yet much like the "noble savage" trope in Western Imperialism, this chapter traces how Japanese images of the "noble victim" helped justify continued colonial rule while staying palatable to left leaning intellectuals. Koreans were often the objects of study, but rarely had a chance to portray themselves for the Japanese public – that is, until the 1920s, where my research begins. As one example, Chang Hyŏk-chuʻs writings were well received within Japanese literary circles. Yet he faced challenges when trying to portray Koreans for Japanese audiences. While trying to embrace capable, independent Korean protagonists in his short stories, he was criticized for not portraying suffering in sufficient detail. Such debates capture the both the struggles and contributions by Japanese-educated Korean proletarian authors.

The Emergence of a Modern Colonial Intelligentsia

> "A class does not descend full-grown from heaven, but grows in a crude elemental manner from a number of other social groups (transition classes, intermediate and other classes, strata, social combinations); … a certain time usually passes before a class becomes conscious of itself through experience in battle, of its special and peculiar interests, aspirations, social 'ideals' and desires, which emphatically distinguish it from all the other classes in the given society"
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> - Nikolai Bukharin, *Historical Materialism*[1]

> All men are intellectuals, one could therefore say: but not all men have in society the function of intellectuals.
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> - Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*[2]

Introduction

How is an intellectual born? In Chosŏn period Korea (1392-1897), the answer was relatively straightforward – those who could pass the kwagŏ (科擧) civil service exams gained the right to consider themselves part of an intellectual elite. With the institutional power of the state behind their credentials, there was little ambiguity as to their societal position. Seen positively, the civil service exam became a relatively egalitarian means for aspiring scholars to gain a position as an intellectual. However, this was only possible with the disciplinary apparatus of the state which segregated scholar from commoner, and coerced adherence to the Confucian ideology tested through theses civil service exams.

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[1] Nikolai Bukharin, *Historical Materialism: A System of Sociology* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1926), 292.

[2] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks,* ed. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 9.

This parallels Pierre Bourdieu's *noblesse de robe* in *The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power.* As Bourdieu notes, this group of people were bestowed academic titles as a "'patent of education' guaranteeing privileges," which was both a "practical and symbolic construction operation aimed at instituting positions of bureaucratic power independent of…. Knights [*la noblesse d'epee* noblemen of the sword]."[3] These bureaucrats' social domination was legitimized through the idea of "public service" towards the state.[4]

Similarly, the Korean *yangban* (兩班) nobility also had a similar dichotomy between the two branches of nobility: the militant *muban* (武班) and the civil administrator *munban* (文班). Like *noblesse de robe* of France, the *muban* civil administration also professed to serve the state as a scholarly gentleman and bureaucrat. Thus in Chosŏn period Korea, Confucianism was a multivalent presence within the world of intelligentsia – it became the subject matter which students studied, it was institutionalized within the state bureaucracy, and knowledge of Confucianism itself became a form of cultural capital that both delineated and preserved a type of educated class.

However, the cozy relationship between Confucian ideology and the intellectual class was thrown into disarray by the late 19th century. The Kabo Reforms (1894-1896), which were based on suggestions by Japanese ambassador Ōtori Keisuke and drew inspiration from the Meiji Restoration, proposed widespread changes in society, including the abolition of the *yangban* Confucian scholar nobility. The Kwangmu reforms (1897)

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[3] Pierre Bourdieu, *The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996), 377.

[4] Pierre Bourdieu, *The State Nobility*, 378-379.

further destabilized the primacy of the cultural capital of Confucianism, giving preference to a modernized curriculum. Thus Emperor Kojong gave his imperial support to the modern Posŏng Technical School, which was opened by the royal treasurer Yi Yong-ik, rather than lending this imprimatur to the leading Confucian school at the time, the Sŏnggyunkwan. The name of the newly established Posŏng technical school itself touts its modern and global aims – the Chinese characters for the name suggest a desire to "become universal (普成)." Thus on the eve of Japanese colonization, Korea had the seeds of a modern structure for educating and training intellectuals.

Yet this system would soon be thrown into disarray. The focus on this chapter is on the fate of academia during the early period of colonization, particularly 1910 to 1925. The first segment, "The Great Academic Demotions," looks at how the advent of Japanese colonial rule brought a series of institutional demotions, relegating nascent modern educational institutions to a secondary status throughout the first decade of colonization. The second, "Valorizing Academia" traces how aspiring intellectuals reacted to these changes by proposing an indigenous university through the People's University Establishment Movement (University Movement) in the early 1920s, which was ultimately unsuccessful.

Ultimately, the chapter is concerned with how the early period of colonization in Korea from 1910 to 1920 had reverberations that reached far beyond the realms of politics and economics. Although the disciplinary aspects of this "military rule" period in law and commerce have received much scholarly attention, equally important is the process in which imperialism colonized class – particularly the nascent class of intelligentsia. The

"great academic demotions" were not merely a means of limiting colonial academia, but rather a process of alienating aspiring intellectuals from their academic labor.

Similarly, the People's University Establishment Movement (University Movement) became a revolutionary moment as a transition from a "class-in-itself" to a "class-for-itself." Borrowing from Marx's terminology, this distinction underlines the moment that the class of aspiring intellectuals ceased to simply share similar conditions as competitors, but began to consider themselves as a common community, and this "awakening" 自覚 became a central discourse throughout the movement. Yet the movement's ultimate goals were inseparable from the economics of labor; the battle to establish a people's university was not a simple fight for national interest, independence, nor modernization, but a struggle for the valorization of academic labor and the formation of a superior, intellectual class endowed with what Bourdieu called the "patent of nobility (*titre de noblesse*)" – the diploma.[5]

Thus this narrative differs from other works which aim to place the development of modern education before the colonial period, and which sees the advent of Japanese imperialism as an "interruption" of the modernization efforts that had begun under Western missionary schools and the Kabo and Kwangmu Reforms.[6] Instead, the process of valorizing academic labor, the separation of the nascent intelligentsia from the unlearned "masses," and the formation of cultural capital are all inseparable from the institutional

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[5] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), trans. Richard Nice, 25.

[6] Sungho Lee, "The Emergence of the Modern University in Korea" in *Higher Education* vol. 18 no. 1 (January 1989): 92-96.

history of Korean higher education. To trace this phenomenon, we must first turn to the beginning of what many Korean historians refer to as the "Era of Mass En-stupidification Policy."[7]

The Great Academic Demotions of 1911-1920

Following the annexation of Korea in 1910, one of the chief concerns of the newly formed Governor General of Korea administration (GGK) was to implement an educational policy appropriate for the new colony. Thus the GGK quickly passed the first Ordinance on Korean Education, promulgated on August 23, 1911 and enacted on November 1st of the same year, which set the framework for the future of Korean education.

Section 1, Articles 4 through 7 note that the overall aims were to encourage a three part educational system, with "common schooling (普通教育)," "practical education (実学教育)," and "technical education (専門教育)," while university education (大学教育) is not mentioned. The chief concern was over mandatory schooling, which sought to develop a foundation to gain basic knowledge, cultivate "national character" (国民タルノ性格ヲ涵養シ), and spread training in the national language (Japanese).[8] Some of the major fears for the unschooled public were laziness and indecency, thus the GGK noted their hopes to eradicate these in the name of civilization. Fittingly, under this ordinance the GGK quickly

[7] Han Yong-jin, "Ilchae singminji t'ongch'i ha ŭi taehak kyoyuk" in *Hanguksa simin kangjwa* vol. 18 (Feb 1992): 95-97.

[8] Chōsen sōtokufu, *Dai-1-ji Chōsen kyōiku rei* Imperial edict 229, Section 1 Article 4-7. Note: the Japanese and official English translations of the edict differ.

approved a slew of public common schools: in 1911, the GGK approved 134 schools, in 1912 107, in 1913 22, in 1914 17, and in 1915 28.[9]

Yet this concern over the "level of civilization" also extended to higher education in technical schools and colleges. Article 3 of the Ordinance notes that "education must be appropriate for the given temporality and civilizational development [of Korea] (教育ハ時勢及民度ニ適合セシムルコトヲ期スヘシ)," [10] and there was a common sentiment that Koreans lacked the sufficient "development of civilization" (*mindo*) for higher education. In fact, the following year the Governor General of Korea, Terauchi Masatake, noted that Koreans had not reached the necessary cultural development that required higher education, thus the fundamental policy would be to "focus on agricultural and vocational schools," [11] and even in vocational schools the GGK was explicit in its desire to avoid "theory" but focus only on actual practice.[12] However, a directive was sent to each province (道) when the law went into action stating that any technical school facilities would have to wait until common schooling had become more developed, and that the logistics of technical schools would be left for an undefined "later date." [13] Furthermore, while the GGK's general ordinance on education for Korea promised in 1911 that existing tertiary

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[9] *Nihon shokuminchi kyōiku seisaku-shi shiryō shūsei* vol 2. no. 1, 39.

[10] Chōsen sōtokufu, *Dai-1-ji Chōsen kyōiku rei* Imperial edict 229, Section 1 Article 3.

[11] Takahashi Hamakichi, *Chōsen kyōiku-shi kō* (Keijō: Teikoku chihō gyōsei gakkai Chōsen honbu, 1927), 365.

[12] *Nihon shokuminchi kyōiku seisaku-shi shiryō shūsei* vol 2. no. 1, 16.

[13] Han Yong-jin, "Ilchae singminji t'ongch'i ha ŭi taehak kyoyuk" in *Hanguksa simin kangjwa* vol. 18 (Feb 1992): 95.

schools would be recognized with their original status intact, a supplementary addendum notes that GGK could make adjustments as necessary, while in reality higher education faced widespread demotions.[14]

The Demotion of Native Institutions

For an aspiring intellectual in colonial Korea, the advent of colonization marked a widespread closing of doors. GGK discourse was adamant in spatializing the Korean other into a distant time, denying citizens the teleological "civilizational development" (*mindō*) necessary for higher education, and instead the common school curriculum focused on disciplinary aspects aimed at rooting out "indolence and indecency," and teaching the national language (Japanese) while leaving little room for independent inquiry ("theories") or pathways to becoming a public intellectual.

Yet such denial of academic agency was not limited to the policies which eschewed establishing institutions of higher education, and extended to the proactive demotion and widespread downgrading of existing Korean higher education institutions from 1911 to 1920, further limiting opportunities. The major higher educational institutions that grew out of the Kabo (1894) and Kwangmu (1897-1907) reforms: the aforementioned Posŏng technical school, Hansŏng law school, Kyŏngsŏng medical school, Hansŏng normal school, the Law Training Academy, and Sŏnggyungwan all faced demotions during the colonial period under the GGK. These policies have led some Korean historians to describe this period within educational history as the "Era of Mass En-stupidification Policy" (寓民化 政

[14] *Nihon shokuminchi kyōiku seisaku-shi shiryō shūsei* vol 2. no. 1, 5-6.

策期).[15] However, there in an irony within this process that is most stark within the demotion/promotion of then Korea's oldest and most prestigious institution, the Sŏng'gyun'gwan.

From Sŏnggyun'gwan to Keigakuin

In GGK policy documents concerning colonial education, one of the targets of critique were village schools called sŏdang, which were traditional Confucian village schools. Sŏdang were private institutions that did not confer any civil degree nor enjoy any official recognition. Most commonly, either someone with advanced knowledge of the classics would establish a school in a village, or often wealthy patrons would sponsor a tutor to reside, and a standard sŏdang would divided by a village teacher (*hunjang*), leader (*chŏbjang*), and pupil (*hakdo*). Students would normally start around 6 or 7 years of age, and the curriculum focused on the Confucian classics. These informal institutions were ubiquitous during the Chosŏn period (1392-1897), and may have numbered over 10,000 in late Chosŏn.[16]

The GGK, however, saw these Confucian primary institutions as barriers to modern education, and noted their desire to abolish native Korean schools (*sŏdang*), but they could not do so because of widespread public support, instead suggesting gradual reform with an implied goal of eventual elimination.[17] In fact, GGK materials in 1920 go so far as to

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[15] Han Yong-jin, "Ilchae singminji t'ongch'i ha ŭi taehak kyoyuk" in *Hanguksa simin kangjwa* vol. 18 (Feb 1992): 95-97.

[16] Yi Kil-sang, *20segi Hanguk kyoyuk-sa* (Seoul: Chibmundang, 2007), 17-23.

[17] *Nihon shokuminchi kyōiku seisaku-shi shiryō shūsei* vol 2. no. 1, 17.

juxtapose photographs of sŏdang as old-fashioned schools next to pictures of more modern, imposing GGK and mission school buildings.[18] Yet despite this professed policy goal of modernizing Confucian education, in 1911 under a GGK ordinance no. 73, "Policies Regarding the *Keigakuin*," the GGK relegated a modernized educational institution back to its Confucian roots, effectively teaching a new dog old tricks.[19] This institution was Korea's oldest place of learning, the Sŏnggyungwan.

The Sŏnggyungwan was established in the Koryŏ period (918-1392), and first appears in written materials in 1289. Tasked with training students to become *sŏnbi* scholars and passing civil service exams, during the Chosŏn period the Sŏnggyungwan played a large presence both as a training institution and as a place to hold Confucian rituals. The grounds of the institution were large, and even included a dormitory for students. It included a systematized entrance system, giving precedence to applicants who passed the lower tiers of the civil service exam, particularly the *saengwŏnsi* (生員試) and the *chinsasi* (進士試). Thus because of the institution's central role as a bureaucrat training center, it was often a nexus for political intrigue, and it was embroiled in the great Chosŏn literati purges of the early 16th century.

It was Sŏng'gyun'gwan's illustrious history that led Kabo reformers to turn their attentions on modernizing the institution starting in 1894. The Kun'guk kimuch'ŏ (軍國機務處), a deliberate legislative body launched as part of the Kabo reforms, took up the issue of modernizing the Sŏng'gyun'gwan. The Kun'guk kimuch'ŏ seized control of the

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[18] *Nihon shokuminchi kyōiku seisaku-shi shiryō shūsei* vol 2. no. 1, 41, 51.

[19] *Kyŏnghakwŏn chabji* vol 1. (1913): 41-44.

educational operations of the Sŏng'gyun'gwan in July of 1895 with the promulgation of direct ordinance 136, "Directive concerning the bureaucratic system of Sŏng'gyun'gwan," and by 1908, the Sŏng'gyun'gwan received official recognition as a fully fledged undergraduate institution, offering studies in Korean, Japanese, mathematics, science, painting, physical education, and political economy[20] with the goal of raising educated bureaucrats and statesmen (養士).[21]

However, the Sŏng'gyun'gwan would face a strange series of demotions in 1911 after annexation alongside the passage of the Ordinance on Korean Education. The GGK changed the name of the institution from Sŏng'gyun'gwan to Keigakuin (Kr. Kyŏnghakwŏn), and abolished the newly minted undergraduate curriculum. In its stead, the GGK charged the institution with the duty of spreading Confucianism. Thus the new moniker for the institution, Keigakuin 経学院 meaning "Institute for the Study of Confucian Scripture," explicitly restated this drive towards upholding public morality through the teaching of classics. Towards this goal, the Japanese imperial house bestowed an imperial gift (*onshikin*) of 250,000 yen, which was invested and accrued roughly 12,000 yen per year on interest. This was used to maintain the institution, which simply took over the grounds of the old Sŏng'gyun'gwan.[22]

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[20] Yi Kil-sang, *20segi Hanguk kyoyuk-sa* (Seoul: Chibmundang, 2007), 56.

[21] Kang Myŏng-suk, "Kabo kaehyŏk ihu (1894-1910) Sŏng'gyun'gwan ŭi pyŏnhwa" in *Kyoyuk sahak yŏngu* vol 10 (June 2000): 155.

[22] Chōsen sōtokufu, "Keigakuin bunbyō gakkai kōshūkai" in *Chōsen hōrei shūran Taisho 11nen* (1923): 11.

The choice to abolish the modern educational aspects of the Sŏng'gyun'gwan and replace it as a Confucian center had some precedence before. After the 1895 ordinance delegated the educational operations to the Kun'guk kimuch'ŏ deliberative body, the Korean government took charge of modern educational branch while the Sŏng'gyun'gwan's Confucian teachers maintained autonomy over the teaching of the classics and holding of ritual. Thus the Sŏng'gyun'gwan, on the eve of colonization, was split into two departments: a modern educational branch and a Confucian scholar branch.

An article in the *Kyōiku jiron* shows that the reversal of the decision to separate the shrine and educational aspects of Sŏng'gyun'gwan was one made out of necessity. Colonial policy originally aimed at creating three tiers for education – elementary schools (小学校), middle schools (中学校), and a "university" (大学校). Yet the Confucian scholars in the Sŏnggyungwan would not give up their authority so easily, so the decision to maintain the Confucian center within the college operations could be seen partially as a move to placate them.

Thus the Confucian ritual and classics education department of the Sŏng'gyun'gwan became an affiliated learning institution (書院) of the Korean imperial house which took charge of the *sŏnsŏng* 先聖, 先賢 *sŏnhyŏng*, and *samyo* 祠廟, three types of Confucian rituals, and the interpretation of Confucian texts. Concurrent with this duty, the Kun'guk kimuch'ŏ also took over many of the duties once held by the Sŏng'gyun'gwan, including higher education, craft schools, foreign languages, and technical education, leaving the institution with the tasks associated with the temple, but not so much the one of raising educated bureaucrats and statesmen (養士). Part of the reasoning for this shift was the

necessity to separate the ritual practices of the Confucian shrine with the more modern educational aspects – the separation of education and religion was one of the key goals of the Kun'guk kimuch'ŏ.[23] In short, the Confucian department of the Sŏng'gyun'gwan were left in an amorphous "pseudo-religious" ritual space, while the Kun'guk kimuch'ŏ deliberative body, as an organ of the Korean Empire, was charged with maintaining the modern educational elements.

Yet this uneasy marriage was thrown into flux with the onset of colonization, as the GGK took charge. Of the two "departments" of the Sŏng'gyun'gwan, the GGK, despite its professed drive in modernizing Korean educational institutions, chose instead to maintain the segment reserved for Confucian ritual and classics, rather than the division tasked with teaching an undergraduate curriculum including math, science, and languages. The reborn Keigakuin was also placed as a direct organ of the GGK. Furthermore, Emperor Meiji went so far as to impart an imperial donation (*onshikin*) to provide for its operation. The inaugural issue of the Keigakuin periodical (*Kyŏnghagwŏn chapji* 1913-1930 */ Keigakuin zasshi* (1930 - 1945) lists the rules of the Keigakuin ordinance, which established the institution, as follows:

[23] Kang Myŏng-suk, "Kabo kaehyŏk ihu (1894-1910) Sŏng'gyun'gwan ŭi pyŏnhwa" in *Kyoyuk sahak yŏngu* vol 10 (June 2000): 155.

1. The Keigakuin will be a branch of the GGK and be dedicated to the study of Confucian texts and the betterment of morality (風教徳化)
2. The Keigakuin will be located in Seoul
3. The Keigakuin will be oversee the service of those with learning and moral guidance (学識徳望) from each province
4. The Keigakuin shall hold the *sekitensai* ritual twice a year during the spring and fall
5. The Keigakuin will receive guidance from the GGK and provide lectures at the institution[24]

Thus in 1911, the Sŏng'gyun'gwan was reborn as the Keigakuin, retaining some of old status positions given to Confucian educators, while reviving other obsolete positions created during the late Koryŏ period.[25] The staff at the Keigakuin had three major duties, which were the publication of *Keigakuin Magazine* (経学院雑誌), holding a regional lecture circuit on Confucian morality, and leading the *sekitensai* ritual, which was arguably the institution's most important duty.

The *sekitensai* is a complex ritual that venerates former teachers and sages, starting with Confucius. This ritual has a long and storied history in Japan, stretching back to the reign of Emperor Tenji in the 7th century, where it fell under the auspices of the *daigakuryō* 大学寮, an administrator training bureau under the Ministry of Ceremonies (式部省 *shikibushō*). Even during the Edo Period (1603-1868), this ceremony was practiced in domainal schools (*hankō*) and at Hayashi Ran's Confucian temple, Yushima Seidō. However, the practice of venerating the sages largely fell out of practice during the Meiji

[24] *Kyŏnghakwŏn chabji* vol 1. (1913): 42.

[25] Chōsen sōtokufu, *Saikin Chōsen jijō yōran* (Seoul: Chōsen sōtokufu, 1919), 255.

restoration.[26] In Korea, however, it was practiced at the Keigakuin twice yearly during the beginning of the 2nd and 8th month on the lunar calendar. This ritual, which was a form of ancestral rites, was aimed at venerating Confucius and 72 of his disciples.[27] If, as Hobsbaum states, invented tradition of "a ritual symbolic nature," which "automatically implies continuity of with the past" is used to "inculcate certain values and norms," then the *sekitensai* served as a superlative case study.[28] The importance of these ritual was given economic backing: in 1922, the GGK revised the "Fundamental Regulations on the Keigakuin" to give a raise to the staff, and even provided travel stipends for regional Confucian scholars to travel to Seoul.[29]

Thus in 1911, the Sŏng'gyun'gwan institution, once a multivalent site with two functions: modern education and Confucian ritual, was demoted into an institutional arm of the GGK, dedicated largely to the dissemination of public morality. Despite the GGK's discourse on the backwardness of Korean Confucian village schools (*sŏdang*), the most Confucian aspects of Korea's largest Confucian academy escaped demotion – even receiving funding from the Emperor's personal purse – while its college branch was closed. Furthermore, rather than illustrating that Korea suffered from a low level of civilization

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[26] Hisaki Yukio, "Sekiten" in *Kokushi daijiten* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2010 [online]).

[27] Chŏng Sehyŏn, "Nihon shokuminchi-ki Kankoku keigakuin no sekitensai ni tsuite" in *Higashi Ajia bunka kōshō kenkyū* vol. 6 (March 2013): 407.

[28] Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction" in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, ed. *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1-5.

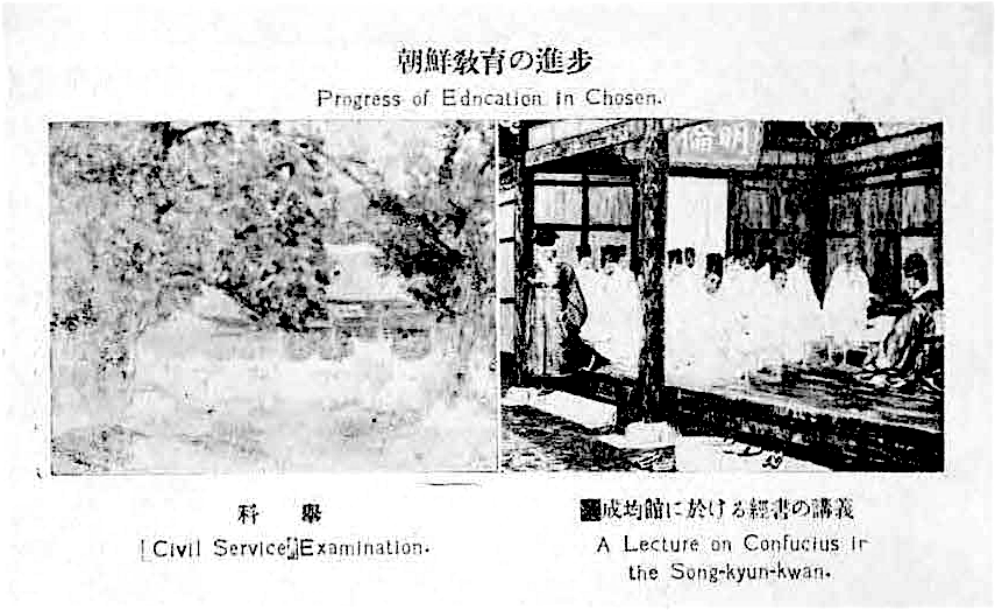
[29] "Kyŏnghakwŏn kyujŏng kaejŏng" in *Tong'a ilbo* (28 Jan 1922), 2.

(*mindō*), the Keigakuin ordinance revived Confucian ritual even as it was criticized as old fashioned.

This phenomenon is visible in magazines like *Korean Education* (Chōsen kyōiku), which touted the strides that the GGK made in educating the colony. One special edition of *Korean Education,* commemorating the promulgation of the revised Ordinance on Korean Education in 1922, included a pictorial overview of the previous twelve years of colonial policy.[30]

From "old institute for higher education" to the Higher Common School in Zenshu (Chŏnju).

[30] Chōsen kyōiku kenkyū kai, *Chōsen kyōiku: kyōiku seido kaisei kinen-gō* (March 1922): unpaginated.



One image touting the "progress of Education in Chosen" places the GGK-built Chŏnju (glossed with the Japanese pronunciation Zenshu in English) high school, which based on the German gymnasium and built in a European architectural style, towering over the modest "old institute for Higher Education." This marks an even starker contrast with the figures of the homely Confucian lectures at Sŏng'gyun'gwan, in which the students are clad in white *chungch'imak* clothing with the black *gat* headwear which was typical for aspiring *sŏnbi* scholars. The choice of building is symbolic also: the pictured Myŏngryundang lecture hall had been one of the main classrooms since it was rebuilt after the Japanese invasions of Korea, though the angle of the image hides the scale of the building as a whole, which was considerable. Yet there is a deep irony here, as the Keigakuin serves here as an example of an older style of education before the implementation of "progressive" GGK policy, despite the fact that its very modernizing efforts were stymied by the GGK itself.

This paradox embodies what Johannes Fabian refers to the allochronic usage of time, which is the contradiction between the physical contemporaneity between the Korean and Japanese populace and the negation of inhabiting the same stage of development (typological time) – what Fabian calls "the denial of coevalness."[31] Thus the juxtaposition of these images serve as a clear example of such schizogenic time – yet in this case it is buried within layers of irony. The image with the caption "A Lecture on Confucian in the Song-kyun-kwan" is clearly an allochronic ploy, distancing Korean education with temporal space. Thus when *Korean Education* stated its goals: "to make the educational system in Korea conform with that of the empire (*naichi*) as to the greatest extent that Korea's level of civilization would allow (mindo jijō no yurusu kagiri),"[32] the journal is implicitly emphasizing the temporal developmental gap.

Yet the institution, the persistence of Confucian lectures, and the teachers were all anachronisms that were funded from the purse of the Emperor himself. Additionally, the Japanese caption refers to the institute by its Korean moniker, which in Chinese characters is 成均館. Furthermore, the reader is explicitly instructed to pronounce the characters in through its Korean reading through the English caption which reads "Song-kyun-kwan" rather than its Japanese reading, which would be *Seikinkan* or *Seikingan*. In this case, the Chinese characters can be read with either a Japanese or Korean pronunciation, and much like Arabic numerals are linguistically ambiguous until they are pronounced and given a

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[31] Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), x.

[32] *Chōsen kyōiku* vol 6 no. 5 (March 1922): 1.

phonemic value (i.e. “uno” versus “one.”), the Chinese characters 成均館 are linguistically and ethnically vague. However, the explicit instruction through the English caption to pronounce the characters as “Song-kyun-kwan” marks the term as an inherently Korean one. Thus the ethnic multivalence of the Chinese characters is collapsed with the explicit Korean reading, instructing the readership to think of the institution as an inherently colonial, non-Japanese one. Tellingly, *Korean Education* eschews the official Japanese title of the institution which was used in all other government publications – the *Keigakuin* – as this would draw light on this institution’s unusual genealogy.

The Keigakuin’s schizogenic character manifest itself throughout other publications, particularly as authors, bureaucrats, and historians vacillated on whether the institution was an educational one or a religious one due to the overarching importance of rituals, especially the *sekitensai.* As mentioned earlier, before colonization the Kun’guk kimuch’ŏ deliberative body was cognizant of the religious overtones of Confucian ritual, and statesmen addressed this issue by creating one department for secularized modern curriculum, and another to deal with both ritual and Confucian texts. Yet once reborn as the Keigakuin, the institution’s identity remained amorphous. In the GGK’s 1937 report on Education and Religion in the Kyŏng’gido Province, the Keigakuin is not included within the regular mission schools, but rather reported on as a type of Confucian shrines (文廟), and was listed in the appendix rather than as a standard educational institute.[33] *A History of Education after Meiji* published in 1938 showed the same curious puzzlement towards the

[33] GGK, *Keikidō* [Kyŏng’gido] *no kyōiku to shūkyō* (Keijō: Chōsen sōtokufu, 1937), 128.

Keigakuin. The institution was included in the history of education after Meiji, but only after sections on common schooling for both boys and girls, technical schools, teacher training schools (normal schools), vocational schools, and schools for the blind, in a segment "The Keigakuin and other miscellany."[34]

The reestablishment of the Sŏng'gyun'gwan as the Keigakuin was but one example of how the systematic dismantling of Korea's native educational institutions was used as both an ideological means of allochronic "othering," but also served to limit institutional avenues for aspiring intellectuals to access higher education. It is little surprise, then, that educational activists within the colony would champion the movement to establish a native Korean university through the People's University Establishment Movement.

The People's University Establishment Movement: A New School for New Times

The People's University Establishment Movement traced its roots during the end of the Korean Empire before annexation, and was led by active intellectuals including Yun Ch'i-ho and Pak Ŭn-sik. These leaders were successful in gathering 6,000,000 won, but this early attempt was ultimately unsuccessful. However, after the marginal freedom after the March 1st Movement, educators saw another opportunity to establish a university in Seoul. Thus in June of 1920, intellectuals including Yi Sang-jae and Han Kyu-sŏl noted the necessity for a university within Korea.[35] The manifesto for this movement spoke in grand terms:

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[34] Kyōiku-shi hensan kai, *Meiji ikō kyōiku seido hattatsu-shi* (Tokyo: Ryūgin-sha, 1939), 1027.

[35] Oh Ch'ŏn-sŏk, *Hanguk sin kyoyuk-sa* (Seoul: Kyoyuk-hak sa, 2014), 95-114.

> How are we to pioneer our destiny? Shall it be through politics, diplomacy, or commerce? Of course, these are all necessary in varying degrees. However, it is undeniable that the most pressing, the utmost necessary, powerful, and foundational element, and that which is in most need of decision, is nothing other than education. Furthermore, the university has a tremendous connection with the evolution of mankind, and the development of culture and the betterment of living can be planned and achieved through the university. Take note! The motive force for the development of the culture of the West and the improvement of living is concatenated with the university, and starting with the University of Paris starting around the 12th and 13th century, the respective establishment of universities in the Italian, English, and German Empires were illustrious… In other words, the Renaissance also promoted the university, the Reformation also was formed at the university, the French Revolution emerged from within the university, the industrial revolution was spurred by the university, and transportation, law, medicine, commerce – all these are the fruit of the university.[36]

The manifesto continues that the establishment of a university and the "creation and betterment of our culture" was an absolutely necessity to join the ranks of the global community as one of the world's "cultured peoples," and to ensure the "survival of our race."[37]

The rhetoric surrounding the university often included such discourse of social Darwinism. The *Sinhan minpo,* for example, noted that within the struggle for survival (生存競争) outlined in evolutionary theory, for people like the Koreans "who live within [a

[36] Chosŏn minnip taehak kisŏng-hoe, *Minnip taehak palgi ch'wijisŏ,* March 29, 1923.

[37] ibid.

society] with a high level of civilization (文明), the sole weapon (武器) that we can depend on to win [the struggle] with ease is nothing other than education."[38] Continuing to underline the direness of this movement, the author insists that a failure of education is the suicide of a people (国民), thus those who do not support the movement should be "prepared to assist in the suicide of your own offspring."[39]

Such rhetoric raised the stakes for the university, and everyone was encouraged to contribute to the effort. A representative Yi Chae-sun from the Chin'namp'o branch of the Establishment Movement, noted in the *Sidae ilbo* that everyone could contribute to the university's establishment. Even the extremely destitute (極히貧困한 사람) could contribute 10 chŏn (sen), calling such an act "sincerity and devotion 精誠," and encouraged those in such a position to bring their donation to the local committee. As the price of the newspaper itself was 4 chŏn per issue or 95 chŏn per month including delivery, one wonders how appropriate the medium was for the destitute he hoped to reach, and this statement may have been intended more to exhort his newspaper-reading middle-class audience to give.[40]

Yet the movement would soon fail to a plethora of reasons. In August of 1920, the GGK gave initial concessions to the establishment of a branch of Tōyō University, but in September of the same year, went back on this decision stating that there were no legal

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[38] "Minnip taehak palgŭi rŭl tŭdgo" in *Sinhan minpo* 26 April 1923, 4.

[39] "Minnip taehak palgŭi rŭl tŭdgo" in *Sinhan minpo* 26 April 1923, 4.

[40] "Mindae kibu rŭl, 10chŏnssik chŏch'uk, pin'gonhan saram i chŏngsŏng uro" in *Sidae ilbo* 14 April 1924, 1.

provisions for the establishment of a branch school, while also promising that Kyŏngsŏng Medical Technical School would be promoted to a university. This promise would ultimately not come to fruition. Furthermore, pushback from the emergent socialist movement against "bourgeois" education which was seen as creating pro-Japanese sentiment also undermined support for the movement.[41]

With the limited avenues for advancement within Korea following the demotion of native institutions, and the collapse of the People's University Establishment Movement, aspiring students and intellectuals increasingly took another route for academic advancement: study abroad in Japan. Janet Poole has stated succinctly that "studying in Japan was a rite of passage for Korean intellectuals at this time."[42] Thus by 1921, there were nearly one thousand students studying in Tokyo at the middle school level or higher.[43] By 1930, this number had increased over fivefold.[44] The educational asymmetries between colony and metropole had succeeded in creating a pressure for aspiring students to receive education abroad, and this would have a lasting effect on the formation of a Korean intellectual class, particularly for men. Similarly, women's education faced a similar situation in colonial Korea.

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[41] Oh Ch'ŏn-sŏk, *Hanguk sin kyoyuk-sa* (Seoul: Kyoyuk-hak sa, 2014), 95-114.

[42] Janet Poole, introduction to Yi T'aejun, *Eastern Sentiments,* trans. Janet Poole (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 17.

[43] Pak Ch'un-p'a, "Ilbon Tonggyŏng e yuhakhanŭn uri hyŏngje ŭi hyŏnsang ŭl tŭl'ŏssŏ" in *Kaebyŏk* vol. 9 (March 1921): 80-83.

[44] Kim Pong-jun, Zai Nippon Chōsenjin yōran (Tokyo: Minbunsha, 1932), 2-3.

Colonial Education for Korean Women

The establishment of Ewha Academy in 1886 under Mary Scranton, a Methodist missionary, marked the inauguration of modern formal education for women in Korea. Although female students' enrollment was lower than their male counterparts, between 1920 and 1930 the number of female high school students increased over six-fold, and by 1930 there were 4,554 students studying in sixteen women's high schools across Korea (Figure 1).[45] While secondary education grew rapidly during this period, until 1925 there were no institutions of higher learning for women to accommodate the growing numbers of high school graduates.[46] Ewha Academy started offering college courses on a limited basis in 1910, but did not offer a formal four year curriculum until 1925.[47] In 1925, however, Ewha Vocational College received official approval from the Governor General of Korea and became the first institution of higher education for women in Korea.

Female High School Enrollment in Korea (Figure 1)

Year	1912	1914	1916	1918	1920	1922	1924	1926	1928	1930
Female Enrollment Secondary Schools	283	331	527	632	705	1322	1710	2630	3760	4544

Source: *Sin kachŏng*[48]

[45] Chu Yo'byŏn, "Chosŏn yŏcha kyoyuk sa," in *Sin kachŏng* no. 4 (1934): 36-37.

[46] A note on terms: secondary education refers to post primary, non-mandatory education starting at high school (高等學校). Higher education refers to formal curriculum past the high school level, either technical/vocational schools (專門學校) or colleges (大學).

[47] Pak Chihyang, "Ilchaeha yŏsŏng kodŭng kyoyuk," 257.

[48] Chu Yo'byŏn, "Chosŏn yŏcha kyoyuk sa," in *Sin kachŏng* no. 4 (1934): 36-38.

Furthermore, many high school graduates lamented the lack of opportunities available to continue their studies even after Ewha Women's University was established. An article in *Tong'a ilbo* in 1925 on the "Innate Vocation and Calling of Everyday Women" includes a recent high school graduate's statement that that a vast majority – ninety percent of high school graduates – hoped to proceed to college.[49] The 90% figure may have been an exaggeration, but a significant number of female graduates sought opportunities for higher education. In 1933 the *Tong'a ilbo* surveyed graduates from each women's high school in Korea about their future plans (Figure 2). With few exceptions, roughly one-third to one-half of the graduating class of each high school expressed a desire to continue to higher education (上級), including college (大學), technical schools, or normal schools (師範學校).[50] Thus the paucity of tertiary institutions in Korea was at odds with the widespread desire for higher education among high school graduates.

[49] "Ilban [n]yŏsŏng ŭi t'agonan [t]ch'ŏnjik kwa chik'ŏp" in *Tong'a ilbo,* 7 November, 1925, 3.

[50] "Kachŏng, c'hwichik poda nŭn sang'gŭp chimang i tasu" in *Tong'a ilbo* 7, March 1933, 6.

Female High School Graduates Future Desires, Class of 1933 (Figure 2)

Alma Mater	Employment	Higher Education	Housewife / Family	Undecided	Total
Kyŏngsŏng Paehwa High 京城培花女子高等學校	3	21	26		50
Kyŏngsŏng Sookmyung High 京城淑明女子高等學校	5	19	60		84
Kyŏngsŏng Ewha High 京城梨花女子高等學校	7	35	18		60
Kyŏngsŏng Kŭnhwa School 京城槿花女子學校	0	10	9		19
Kyŏngsŏng Chinmyŏng High 京城進明女子高等學校	10	32	38		80
Kyŏngsŏng Tongdŏk High 京城同德女子高等學校	8	22	17		47
Kyŏngsŏng Public High 京城公立女子高等學校	3	45	45		93
Chinju Ilsin High 晋州一新女子高等學校	0	4	12	1	17
Kaesŏng Hosukyo High 開城好壽敎女子高等學校	0	24	0	32	56
Wŏnsan Russi (Lucy) High 元山樓氏女子高等學校	7	22	10		39
Kwangju Supia (Sophia) School 光州須彼亞女子高等學校	2	16	2		20
Kongju Yŏngmyŏng School 公州永明女子學校	0	2	3	1	6

Source: *Tong'a ilbo*[51]

In a similar vein, the author of another article in *Tong'a ilbo,* "Establish More Colleges for Women! Women who Received High School Education Make their Demand," states that in Seoul alone nearly two hundred women graduated from high school, and if one includes the various other provinces, the total was closer to three hundred.[52] The author also notes that in 1925, thirty students matriculated into Ewha's English Literature Department, and another fifteen joined the music department, for a total of fifty-five [sic]

[51] "Kachŏng, c'hwichik poda nŭn sang'gŭp chimang i tasu" in *Tong'a ilbo* 7, March 1933, 6. Three schools were omitted because of legibility problems.

[52] "[N]yŏcha rŭl wihayŏ chŏnmun hakkyo rŭl seura: [t]chosŏn ŭn kotŭng kyoyuk pa[s]d ŭn nyŏcha rŭl yoku handa," in *Tong'a ilbo,* 17 February 1926, 3. The exclamation point was not written in the original, but added to capture the forceful –ra command form.

new female college students in Korea.[53] However, she argues that the availability of higher education to only fifty [sic] students among three hundred graduates was totally unacceptable.[54]

Lastly, many people voiced concerns about the quality of pedagogy at Ewha's Women's College, Korea's sole tertiary institution for women from 1925 to 1938, in its early years of operation. The 1933 October edition of the popular women's magazine *Sinyŏsŏng* (新女性) noted a common sentiment that "women at the top of their class go to Japan, while the remainder, who lack skill and have only pretense, go to Ewha."[55] Mo Yunsuk, a prominent Korean poet and Ewha class of 1931, wrote in *Sin kachŏng* (新家庭) that Ewha's English literature department felt like a Christian "proselytizing literature department," and lamented that "among the 80 students in our English literature department, there is not a single one that can write a single essay beautifully."[56]

Until Sookmyung Women's University was established in 1938, Korean women in pursuit of higher education were limited in their options to Ewha University for domestic colleges, and some were dissatisfied with Ewha's curriculum. Thus the natural choice was to go abroad. The *Tong'a ilbo* notes that in 1930 there were one hundred thirty-two women studying in Japan alone,[57] and before Sookmyung Women's University was established,

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[53] ibid.

[54] ibid.

[55] Quoted in Pak Chihyang, "Ilchaeha yŏsŏng kodŭng kyoyuk," 258.

[56] Quoted in Pak Chihyang, "Ilchaeha yŏsŏng kodŭng kyoyuk," 258.

[57] "Ilbon yuhaksaeng samch'ŏn p'albaek myŏng, changyŏn mal hyŏnjae chosa t'onggye yŏcha nŭn paek samsip'i myŏng" in *Tong'a ilbo,* 31 October, 1931, 3.

there were more Korean women in higher education in Japan than in Korea.[58] In short, the existing educational structure, the lack of domestic educational opportunities, and discontent with Ewha Women's University encouraged Korean women to go overseas.

For the women who decided to study overseas, their journeys were widely reported in the press, not only in women's magazines, but also those aimed at a general audience like *Samch'ŏlli* (三千里) and *Pyŏlgŏgon* (別乾坤). In 1927, shortly before the foundation of the Alliance, *Pyŏlgŏngon* included a report on the female luminaries who studied in the U.S., China, and Japan. Such press coverage can be understood by the fact that these women were a curiosity to 1920s Seoulites – the *female* intelligentsia, luminary, social critic, and ideologue was a new semantic creation. Within the general press, terms like ideologue (思想家) or luminary (名士) invariably referred to men, thus authors coined a new titles to refer to this emergent class by adding explicitly gendered prefixes for women: *yŏryu* (女流) or *yŏcha* (女子).[59] Thus the media reported of *female* ideologues, *female* luminaries, and *female* intelligentsia as a new aberration from the norm (male), and by the time future Alliance leaders returned to Korea, many of them were already well known to the literate public.[60] In case the readership forgot, their academic affiliations were often provided

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[58] Pak Sŏnmi, "Chosŏn sahoe ŭi kŭndaechŏk suyong kwa yŏcha ilbon yuhak" in *Sarim* vol. 82 no. 4 (1999). Quoted in Song Yŏn'ok, "Chosŏn 'sinyŏsŏng' ŭi naesyŏnŏrichŭm kwa chendŏ" in *Sinyŏsŏng: Hanguk kwa Ilbon ŭi kŭndae yŏsŏngsang*, ed . Mun Ok-p'yo (Seoul: Ch'ŏngnyŏnsa, 2003), 84.

[59] Chang Ch'ungsik, "Sŏnbi sa" in *Hanguk hancha'ŏ sachŏn* vol. 1 (Seoul: Tanguk taehakkyo ch'ulpanbu, 1997), 992.

[60] One of the few instances where terms like "ideologue" encompassed both men and women, interestingly, is the colonial police records.

alongside their names as a reminders. Thus women faced a similar situation as men, facing a paucity of opportunity within Korea to pursue their educational ambitions.

Conclusion

As this chapter illustrates, the implementation of colonial education in Korea created asymmetries in education, which were instituted through both ideological and institutional means. The Governor General of Korea perpetuated a narrative about the academic backwardness of the colony to instill a "modern" curriculum, and this was carried through journals like *Korean Education* that helped to catalyze an allochronic othering that placed Korea within a disparate timeline of development. The rebirth of the Sŏng'gyun'gwan as a colonial apparatus funded through imperial purse and renamed the Keigakuin, is one of the most stark examples of this trend as the institution was transformed from a progressive academy teaching science and language to one tasked with providing lectures and performing *sekitensai,* an invented tradition aimed at instilling Confucian values within the colonial populace. The underlying irony, of course, was that the Sŏng'gyun'gwan was simultaneously paraded as an example of Korean educational underdevelopment.

While such educational asymmetries helped to catalyze both the People's University Establishment Movement and women's education in Korea, ultimately the impetus was for aspiring students and intellectuals to travel abroad to China, the United States, and Japan. The next two chapters cover the journeys of such students, which I term "comprador intellectuals." These colonials, whose scholarly development and identities were inherently shaped by this process, provide insight into the ways that asymmetries in education

between colony and metropole helped to shape cultural capital and the emergence of a modern colonial intelligentsia.

A Tale of Two Compradors: *Lux Scientia* and the *Asia Review*

Harbingers of Enlightenment to a Backwards Land: Lux Scientia and the Birth of Vanguard Nationalism

In the midst of the push for the establishment of a "civic university" (民立大学) in 1923, the Civic University Establishment Committee, which included well known figures like Yun Ch'i-ho and Kim Sŏng-su, released their prospectus which touted the inseparability of a university and Korea's future.

> How are we to pioneer our destiny? Shall it be through politics, diplomacy, or commerce? Of course, these are all necessary in varying degrees. However, it is undeniable that the most pressing, the most necessary, powerful, and foundational element that is in dire need of decision, is nothing other than education.[1]

Noting that "the university has a tremendous connection with the evolution of mankind, and the development of culture and the betterment of living can be planned and achieved through the university," this statement placed high hopes on this institution.[2] The media also espoused the idea of "evolution of mankind," turning this into a matter of life-and-death. Drawing from the discourse of social Darwinism, the *Sinhan minpo* went so far as to assert that within the evolutionary struggle for survival (生存競争) for people like the Koreans "who live within [a society] with a high level of civilization (文明), the sole weapon

[1] Chosŏn minnip taehak kisŏng chunbihoe, "Minnip taehak palgi ch'wijisŏ" 1923.

[2] Chosŏn minnip taehak kisŏng chunbihoe, "Minnip taehak palgi ch'wijisŏ" 1923.

(武器) that we can depend on to win [the struggle] with ease is nothing other than education."[3] Continuing to underline the direness of this movement, the author insists that a failure of education was the suicide of a people (国民), thus those who do not support the movement should be "prepared to assist in the suicide of your own offspring."[4]

Yet the failure of the Civic University Establishment Movement disarmed colonial Korea of the weapon of higher education, and increasing numbers of young Koreans made the crossing to Tokyo in search of a degree. Drawing from a report by Korean exchange students in Tokyo, Pak Ch'un-p'a noted that as of March, 1921, there were 902 Korean exchange students in Japan at the middle school level or higher.[5] Following the failure to establish the Civic University, by 1930 this number ballooned to 5,015.[6] The overwhelming majority of these students studied in Tokyo, and the most popular destinations at the university level were Meiji University, Waseda University, Chūo University, and Nihon University. Tokyo Imperial University remained elusory goal, usually enrolling a dozen or so Korean students.[7]

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[3] "Minnip taehak palgŭi rŭl tŭdgo" in Sinhan minpo 26 April 1923, 4.

[4] "Minnip taehak palgŭi rŭl tŭdgo" in Sinhan minpo 26 April 1923, 4.

[5] Pak Ch'un-p'a, "Ilbon Tonggyŏng e yuhakhanŭn uri hyŏngje ŭi hyŏnsang ŭl tŭl'ŏssŏ" in Kaebyŏk vol. 9 (March 1921): 80-83.

[6] Kim Pong-jun, Zai Nippon Chōsenjin yōran (Tokyo: Minbunsha, 1932), 2-3.

[7] Kim Pong-jun, Zai Nippon Chōsenjin yōran (Tokyo: Minbunsha, 1932), 2-3.

Yet even before the influx of Tokyo-based students in the 1920s, Korean students started organizing in the latter half of the first decade of the 1900s, ramping up throughout 1910s; they began to create a handful of publications to exchange and propagate their thoughts. Early Korean student publications included the *T'aegŭk hakbo* (太極學報), the *Taehan hŭnghakbo* (大韓興學報), and the *Taehan haksaneghoe hakbo* (大韓留學生學報).[8] Because of a complex cat-and-mouse game with censorship during the Military Rule Period which extended to Koreans in Tokyo, exchange students adopted various monikers for their associations, embracing statuses as social gatherings (親睦會), comrade societies (同志会), clubs (倶樂部), and even a seemingly innocuous tea chat society (茶話會).

However, in 1913 seven of the larger groups consolidated into the Korean Exchange Student Philomath Society (朝鮮留學生學友會).[9] The centralized Philomath Society drew in exchange students from the major universities throughout Tokyo, and launched *Lux Scientia* the following year as their official organ publication. This periodical, written in mixed Sino-Korean script, attracted major intellectual figures and tackled a broad range of topics: everything from Spartacus to Karl Marx. Thus by the time the "crossing to Japan" hit its peak, exchange students had already built a strong network.

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[8] Ku Chang-ryul, "'Hakjigwang,' Hanguk kŭndae chisik paerŏdaim ŭi yŏksa" in Kundae sŏji vol 2 (Dec 2010): 123.

[9] Ku Chang-ryul, "'Hakjigwang,' Hanguk kŭndae chisik paerŏdaim ŭi yŏksa" in Kundae sŏji vol 2 (Dec 2010): 123.

This Tokyo exchange student community also served as a foundation for political activism, and anchored by the *Lux Scientia,* Korean exchange students shaped the political landscape back home. The February 8th Independence Declaration in 1919, which became a major impetus for the March 1st Independence Movement, was penned by key figures within the Philomathean Society.[10] The Philomathean Society also continued to be active in Seoul, and in 1920 a lecture held in Seoul, sponsored by the *Tong'a ilbo*, was canceled due to police interference.[11] Thus *Lux Scientia,* despite its relatively meager publication figures which normally ranged from 600-1000 and peaking at 1,600, was nevertheless a crucial hub for aspiring intellectuals in Tokyo and their colony back home.[12]

Yet the focus of this section is on their role not as political activists, but as comprador intellectuals: agents of colonial power, driven by class aspirations. *Lux Scientia* provides a window into this phenomenon. Many aspiring Korean intellectuals in Tokyo inhabited a liminal space between coercion and seduction as they grappled with the issues of the self-representation of the colony, all the while envisioning themselves as "purveyors of cultural enlightenment and reform."[13] A prominent example comes from the representative intellectual of colonial Korea: Yi Kwang-su.

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[10] Ku Chang-ryul, "'Hakjigwang,' Hanguk kŭndae chisik paerŏdaim ŭi yŏksa" in Kundae sŏji vol 2 (Dec 2010): 135.

[11] "Kang'yŏn yejŏng chi'insa ŭigae t'ŭk'gok" in Tong'a ilbo 19 July 1920, 3.

[12] Pae Yŏng-mi, "Zasshi Ajia kōron to Chōsen" in Koria kenkyū vol. 4 (2013): 107.

[13] Leela Gandhi, Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction (New York: Columbia University Press), 14.

In July of 1917 *Lux Scientia* (學之光) ran one of their perennial issues celebrating new graduates. As usual, Meiji and Waseda Universities made up the largest proportions within the graduating members of the Philomath Society, which may be why the journal turned to one prominent Waseda student, the 25 year old Yi Kwang-su, to write a congratulatory letter for the exchange student community. Entitled "An Earnest Entreaty [懇告] for You Graduating Gentlemen," Yi's work provides a window into the psychology of the exchange community. He writes:

> Gentlemen, after suffering for many years, you have graduated with great joy. Yet upon graduating, why did you do so, and what shall you do now that you have graduated? In other words, I would like you to consider what are the duties and responsibilities for you, the graduates. How many thousands of wŏn (yen) do you believe it took for you to graduate? From the time you were born until this present moment, it must have taken several thousand wŏn, at least 4,500. Yet who was responsible for this money? Your parents? Of course, your parents were responsible for paying these fees. However, I believe that it is our compatriots throughout all of Korea who have bestowed this money to you via your parents.
>
> I cannot help but think that our compatriots, from throughout Korea, have shed their sweat to earn money, wanting to nurture you and send every one of you for foreign exchange studies. Thus when looking upon your illustrious diploma (榮光스러운卒業證書), be sure to offer a bow of appreciation to your fellow countrymen. Furthermore, be sure to make a pledge to them that 'from now on, I will devote my life to fulfilling your requests and your commands…'
>
> But what is it exactly that they ask of you? They are stupid (미련). Thus they are begging you to make them wiser. They are ignorant (無識). Thus they are begging you for knowledge. They are poor, thus you must teach them industry within the home, leading by example, and as you do so they will eventually disseminate this ideology to their neighbors

bit-by-bit, like grass growing or plowing down a mountain…[14]

Fittingly, *Lux Scientia* often exhorted recent graduates to ameliorate Korea's supposed underdevelopment. The following year, the graduating class of 1918 was told that they were part of a long tradition of exchange students that had its roots in the scholars from Paekche, Shilla, and Koryŏ that traveled to Tang Dynasty China (618-907). These students, the author notes, realized that the "future of their respective homelands rested on their backs" and that were tasked with the duty of "civilization and enlightenment" (開化文明 sic). Yet these exchange students in China endured insults and cold treatment, returning to their homelands and spreading their knowledge to every corner of the nation. Thus while "others were still using stone tools, the fact that our ancestors were using bronze and iron was no coincidence." Instead, the author asserts, it was the cunning, skill, and perseverance of these exchange students from more than millennia before that brought such blessings to the Three Kingdoms of Korea.[15]

The author obviously does not provide documentary evidence that Korean "exchange students" to 8th century Tang China had to endure "insults and cold treatment" from the Chinese, and is clearly tailoring his speech to show empathy with the contemporary struggles of Koreans studying in Tokyo. Yet the fact remains that this group was seen to be purveyors of enlightenment, dispatched to the new metaphorical "Tang Dynasty" in Tokyo and bring back technology – whether bronze and iron or early twentieth

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[14] Yi Kwang-su, "Chol'ŏpsaeng chaegun ege tŭl'i'nŭn kango" in *Hakjigwang* vol 13 (July 1917): 6-7.

[15] Chor'ŏbsaeng ŭl ponaem" in *Hakjigwang* vol. 17 (Aug 1918), 1-3.

century science – to a peoples that would otherwise be stuck with "stone tools." Exchange students, thus, were a vanguard class that was meant to bring back enlightenment and technology to their homeland. This was a common sentiment towards Korea in the pages of *Lux Scientia*, and Yi often refers to his fellow exchange students in Tokyo as those with sŏngak 先覚, which might be translated as pioneers, but literally means the "earlier awakened."

Such discourse about the new Korean elite, forged in the hearth of education in Japan, was ubiquitous throughout the 1910s, and the articles in *Lux Scientia* constantly reminded their readership of their positionality. Yi Kwang-su turned to Thomas Carlyle's Great Man historiography, asserting the need for a Korean native "genius," in an article entitled, "A Genius! [He's] a Genius!" He notes that

> Gold is a treasure. Silver is also a treasure. These days they say radium is also a treasure. A nation that can excavate enough becomes wealthy…. Yet there is a greater treasure than all of these… It is a genius, a great man, or as [Thomas] Carlyle notes, it is a "hero." It is… Raphael or Beethoven or Bismarck or Washington or Newton or Curie. For all the races throughout the world, a society must have [heroes] to have worth (価値), fortune, nobility, and happiness.[16]

Yi summarizes Carlyle's *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and The Heroic in History,* drawing from Great Men historiography to argue that "A nation's civilization is a collection of the work of their great men."[17] He asserts their invaluable existence, noting that "whether one

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[16] Yi Kwang-su, "Ch'onjae ya, Ch'onjae ya" in *Hakjigwang* vol. 12 (April 1917), 6-12.

[17] Yi Kwang-su, "Ch'onjae ya, Ch'onjae ya" in Hakjigwang vol. 12 (April 1917), 6-12.

of these men are born every ten years, or every hundred years, a society cannot stifle them... for a society to stifle these men is to destroy [the society's] own destiny."[18] Korea, Yi argues, must have had countless geniuses. Yet they had been stifled by the dual fetters of Confucianism and poor governance. He states "In Korea, for how long have these great men been stepped on, stifled, and blocked? ...Among these, there must have been great politicians, great educators, great religious leaders, great industrialists, great authors, and great artists. There must have been great scientists and great inventors… When I think about this great tragedy, my very bones ache."[19] He ends by promising that, "If we could have but ten true geniuses in ten years, Korean civilization will undoubtedly flourish. But woe to a Korea that does not… It is thus I cry, 'A genius! [He's] a genius!'"[20] The *Lux Scientia* student audience undoubtedly would have wondered if they were to become one of the ten true geniuses that Korea needed.

Furthermore, Yi argues that the greatness of these men transcended self-interest, even when they were working towards their own goals. Their very greatness was not merely profit, nor selfish happiness, but their accomplishments rather become a shared property of the race that they belong to.[21] This provides context to his earlier exhortation for exchange students that their countless [Korean] brethren shed their sweat and labored to send exchange students abroad, and while they offer a reverent bow to their diplomas in

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[18] Yi Kwang-su, "Ch'onjae ya, Ch'onjae ya" in Hakjigwang vol. 12 (April 1917), 6-12.

[19] Yi Kwang-su, "Ch'onjae ya, Ch'onjae ya" in Hakjigwang vol. 12 (April 1917), 6-12.

[20] Yi Kwang-su, "Ch'onjae ya, Ch'onjae ya" in Hakjigwang vol. 12 (April 1917), 6-12.

[21] Yi Kwang-su, "Ch'onjae ya, Ch'onjae ya" in Hakjigwang vol. 12 (April 1917), 6-12.

thanks for their countrymen, they must remember their concomitant duty on behalf of their nation.

Yet if Yi and his Tokyo cohort represented a new Korean elite, charged with bringing enlightenment back to the colony, Korea was portrayed as the global hinterlands in need of their uplift. Writing on Korea within the cultural history of the world for *Lux Scientia* entitled "Our Ideals," Yi notes that "The Han Chinese, the Indians, the Greeks, the Romans, the English, the French, the Germans, the Japanese, and others all exhibit a distinguished status within the cultural history of the world (世界의 文化史上에 榮光스러운 地位), yet it can be said that Korea has almost no status at all within global cultural history."[22] Yi goes farther, saying that "Korea has no worth in its existence," and that Korea contributed absolutely nothing by reading the Confucian "4 texts and 5 classics tens of thousands of times."[23] Such statements clearly struck a chord within the exchange student community. In a response aptly entitled "Upon Reading Yi Kwang-su's 'Our Ideals,'" Hyŏn Sang-jun admits that he found Korea lacking on the world stage. Using the Encyclopedia Brittanica (大英百科全書) as a teleological measuring tape, Hyŏn claims that the 1st edition contained only 24 words on Japan, while the 11th edition included an almost certainly exaggerated

[22] Yi Kwang-su, "Uri ŭi isang" in Hakjigwang vol 14 (December 1917): 3.

[23] Yi Kwang-su, "Uri ŭi isang" in Hakjigwang vol. 14 (December 1917): 1-3.

175,000 words – a clear sign of the extent of Japanese development. Korea, he noted, lacked an entry at all.[24]

Hyŏn admits that Yi's essay "was immensely valuable insofar as it indicated, for the Korean people, the global responsibility that they had."[25] He continues, "the reasons is that, on the international stage, the Korean people had no diplomacy (交涉) and no relations. To state it differently, we have not left anything within the Encyclopedia Britannica nor the cultural history of the world, and we have no special accomplishments to speak of."[26] While pained to admit it, Hyŏn's obvious respect for Yi Kwang-su permeates the article, and he acquiesces to Yi's view of Korea's developmental bankruptcy within the global stage.

Exchange students characterized Korean's supposed lack of cultural development through many different means. While Yi blamed poor governance and Confucianism for the lack of "Great Men," others approached the problem from different angles. One of the pioneers of socialism in Korea, Pak Chin-sun, provided his thoughts on Korea's missing intelligentsia his interpretation of Korea's bourgeoisie revolution. Born in 1897 in Yŏnhaeju in Noryŏng (now Vladivostok), he received a traditional education in classical Chinese before heading to Alexandrov near Moscow for higher education. Fluent in Russian, he had access to a wealth of books, and demonstrated a wide knowledge of

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[24] Hyŏn Sang-jun, "Yi Kwang-su-gun ŭi Uri ŭi isang ŭl tokham" in *Hakjigwang* vol 15 (March 1918): 56.

[25] Hyŏn Sang-jun, "Yi Kwang-su-gun ŭi Uri ŭi isang ŭl tokham" in *Hakjigwang* vol 15 (March 1918): 56.

[26] Hyŏn Sang-jun, "Yi Kwang-su-gun ŭi Uri ŭi isang ŭl tokham" in *Hakjigwang* vol 15 (March 1918): 56.

Russian intellectuals, including Alexander Herzen, Nikolay Chernyshevsky, Georgi Plekhanov, Mihail Bakhtin, and Peter Kropotkin.[27] He was dispatched to Soviet Moscow in April of 1919 as a representative for the Korean Socialist Party (韓人社會黨) formed in Khabarovsk, and this marked the beginning of his diplomatic activities with Soviet Russia. Unfortunately, he fell out of Stalin's favor later in his life, eventually losing his life as a victim of Stalin's purges sometime during the 1930s.

Writing under the pen-name Pak Ch'un-u,[28] he gave his own interpretation of the weakness of the development of Korea's intellectual class in a Marxist vein. Penning the article "On the New Movement by the So-called Intellectual Class," he asserts that there was an active bourgeoisie-merchant intellectual class (*petit bourgeoisie*) leading the battle for class supremacy. Throughout the rest of the world, this class had found success. He gives several examples of revolutions by progressive bourgeoisie intelligentsia: in England, there was the "Cromwell Revolution" [English Revolution] which "lasted until 1840, in France it started with the Great Revolution [French Revolution] and lasted until 1848, in Germany it lasted from 1830 to 1875, in Italy [it lasted] until 1880, in Russia from 1880 to 1907, and in Japan it was the Meiji Period."[29]

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[27] Kwŏn Hŭi-yŏng, "Inmul pyŏngjŏn Koryŏ kongsangdang ironga Pak Chin-su ŭi saeng'ae wa sasang" in *Yŏksa pip'yŏng* (March 1989): 286.

[28] Im Kyŏng-sŏk, "Singminji sidae minjok t'ong'il chŏnsŏn undongsa yŏngu ŭi kweojŏk" in *Hanguksa yŏngu* vol. 149 (June 2010): 394.

[29] [Pak] Ch'un-u, "Sowi 'chisik'in kyegŭp ŭi sin'undong" in *Kaebyŏk* vol 64 (Dec 1925): 45-51.

However, in his "genealogy of the intelligentsia class" for Korea, he notes the warped nature of Korea's development. During Korea's feudal period, there was a paucity of intellectuals. Yet the normal path of the development of modern capitalism necessitates modern intellectuals. As Pak notes, in the standard narrative of the bourgeoisie revolution, the lower nobility (*petit bourgeoisie)* suffers the most during this transition. As a means for survival, these lower nobility "arm themselves" with knowledge in an epic "battle for survival." By monopolizing knowledge, the lesser nobility could protect their superior social status, and gradually send more of their offspring to higher education.

However, Korea suffered from a type of feudal remnant. Although he does not use the term, Pak clearly sees the persistence of primitive accumulation through landownership in the *haute bourgeoisie*. Thus Korea had an incomplete revolution, and he notes that while the invasion of foreign capital broke down the social caste differences in Korea, it also helped the former Korean nobility to capitalize the land, and he asserts that "roughly 70 to 80 percent" of Korean bourgeoisie were stuck in their "historical duties" as landlords, living off of landlordism rather than becoming a modern intellectual class through industry. Sharing both Marx and Lenin's disdain for the rentier, he blames landlords for not engaging in capitalist production but simply continuing a parasitic existence and stifling the formation of an indigenous intelligentsia.[30]

Whether through the rhetoric of social Darwinism, Marxist development, or Carlyle's historiography, the Tokyo exchange students in *Lux Scientia* built a narrative of their own status as elites vis-à-vis their interpretations of Korean development. By offering

[30] [Pak] Ch'un-u, "Sowi 'chisik'in kyegŭp ŭi sin'undong" in *Kaebyŏk* vol 64 (Dec 1925): 45.

their own interpretations of Korea's historical failures – whether rooted in Confucianism or feudal remnants – this coterie in Tokyo positioned themselves as vanguard nationalists, ready to forge a path for the future. Furthermore, such narratives conveniently harmonized the exchange student's class ambitions with their nationalist zeal, as Great Men's accomplishments served as a shared racial commodity, and the *petit bourgeoisie* intelligentsia could usher in the much needed revolution over parasitic landlordism.

Yet such sentiment did not go without critique. Cho Chae-ho, a graduate from Tokyo Normal University Cho, lambasted the nature of the so called "educational fever" (*hyanghak*) in a *Lux Scientia* editorial "Have Hope for the World of Academia in Korea." Noting the widespread sentiment that an "uneducated race is a dead race," he nevertheless excoriates the public for poor choices in pursuing education – he asserts that the so-called thirst for education (*hyanghak*) is nothing more than the ideology of reverence for bureaucrats (官尊思想). The ubiquitous desire to go into the humanities, Cho notes, is one example. The preference of the humanities over the sciences is firm proof that people want to become the revered bureaucrat – the administratively oriented political science and law departments make up 70-80% of common school graduates.[31] Even worse, he notes, these days anyone who graduated from higher schools all of a sudden fancied himself a scholar. Those who "write a few words in a third tier newspaper fancy themselves as a paragon of literature. Those who write minor articles fancy themselves a social leader."[32] In other

[31] Cho Chae-ho, "Choson kyoyukkae e sokmang hanora" in *Hakjigwang* vol. 27 (May 1926): 40-43.

[32] Cho Chae-ho, "Choson kyoyukkae e sokmang hanora" in *Hakjigwang* vol. 27 (May 1926): 40-43.

words, not-so-great-men were portraying themselves as Great Men, and their goals were self-serving.

As further proof that people are interested in education for superficial reasons, Cho mentions the common phrase "You graduated from regular school but you're farming?" to show how people merely embark on their studies to avoid physical labor – this itself is a holdover of the Confucian ideal.[33] Korean newspapers in Seoul echoed similar sentiments. The *Chungwoe ilbo* stated how newly minted higher education graduates held dearly to their class pretentions, noting that at one time, only successful college graduates carried around business cards, but he asserts that "nowadays, even the class of 40-yen-ers or 50-yen-ers [monthly salary] (사십원 오십원 원급쨍이)" had the gall to carry cards, even as middle school and technical school graduates were stifled by salaries of 25 won or 30 won per month.[34]

Yet such critiques notwithstanding, *Lux Scientia* was crucial in the formation of vanguard nationalism. Whether it was through Marx, Carlyle, or even social Darwinism, *Lux Scientia* portrayed their readership, the exchange students, as an elite vanguard class responsible for the enlightenment of the colony. For Carlyle, they were Great Men, geniuses whose accomplishments were not selfish, but the shared property of their respective race. For Marx, they were the next stage of teleological development that could get past the impasse of landlordism. For social Darwinists, they were the equipped with the tool to fight

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[33] Cho Chae-ho, "Choson kyoyukkae e sokmang hanora" in *Hakjigwang* vol. 27 (May 1926): 40-43.

[34] "Nyŏn'nyŏn i kyŏkjŭng hanŭn chisik kyegŭp ŭi siljiggun, paekmyŏng man kyŏu ch'wijik, kujech'aekdo pyŏlmu hyokwa" in *Chungwoe ilbo* 4 Oct 1929: 1.

the struggle of (racial) survival. Whether such zeal for Korea's development was true or affected, *Lux Scientia* helped to create a discourse for intellectuals to tout their superiority in a manner that stressed the primacy of Japanese education and created an ideological space to make their class ambitions a nationalist goal. Yet at the same time, it also opened up a space for legitimizing Japanese imperialism.

This narrative of Korean development was so amiable for colonial rule that it was adopted by actual colonial bureaucrats. In the November 1926 edition of *Education for Korea (Bunkyō no Chōsen),* the head of the Governor General of Korea Educational Affairs Committee (*Chōsen sōtokufu gakumuka*) and author of the *Korean Reader* (*Chōsen dokuhon*) and *From the World to Korea* (*Sekai yori Chōsen he*), Hirai Mitsuo, penned an article on the greatest goals of education in Korea in a similar vein. Hirai writes that "as the result of several centuries of failed governance, the daily lives of the Korean citizenry today has truly reached its lowest point – their living conditions have hit such a nadir that even if one were to look across the globe, one would most likely be unable to find [such a situation] anywhere else upon this earth."[35] Furthermore, he writes that such physical woes were accompanied by psychological ones, which was rooted in Korea's five thousand year old history that simply could not serve to "buttress their civic faith (*kokuminteki shinkō*)." This history was marked by a sycophant government that operated under the principle of "serving the great," and thus "when a great force came from the north, [the government] would comply; if a force from the south came and defeated the north, [the government]

[35] Hirai Mitsuo, "Chōsen kyōiku no daimokuhyō" in *Bunkyō no Chōsen* (1926 November): 4.

would ingratiate themselves to them, and this government, which drifted aimlessly, amounted to nothing more than a kowtow administration."[36]

Koreans, in short, suffered from the twofold issues from a physically demanding daily living and a psychological lack of faith or belief (*shinnen* or *shinkō*) – both the result of millennia of faulty government. Hirai proposed a "living curriculum" that would solve both by instilling a type of "civic faith" (*kokuminteki shinkō*). Thus a curriculum that could not provide the Koreans with civic faith was education without life (*seimei no nai kyōiku*), and Hirai emphasizes that "no matter if our educational methods are devoted to the good and the beautiful, no matter how lofty and precise our intellectual knowledge, if education does not build upon the very foundations of national faith, this education is dead."[37]

Hirai provides a concrete example of the transformative power of such civic faith and "living education" through Nitobe Inazō (1862-1933), one of Meiji's most prominent educators and bureaucrats. He notes that when Nitobe was a student, he suffered from extremely "weak nerves," yet what had saved him when "he could no longer see any light in the path ahead of him in his life" was Thomas Carlyle's treatise on hero worship.[38] Thus this work on Napoleon, Shakespeare, Mohammed, and Dante, whose inspiration Hirai insists would undoubtedly "endow our youth with great liveliness," is attributed as the means by which Nitobe overcame his psychological distress.[39] Yet Korea, Hirai notes, lacks

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[36] Hirai Mitsuo, "Chōsen kyōiku no daimokuhyō," 5.

[37] Hirai Mitsuo, "Chōsen kyōiku no daimokuhyō," 4.

[38] Hirai Mitsuo, "Chōsen kyōiku no daimokuhyō," 6.

[39] Hirai Mitsuo, "Chōsen kyōiku no daimokuhyō," 5-6.

such heroes and inspiration. This narrative of Korea's position, and even his choice of examples, mirrors Yi Kwang-su's writings for *Lux Scientia,* and given Yi's prominence as one of the representative colonial intellectuals, it is not a stretch to believe that Hirai would have been familiar with his writings.

Thus such vanguard nationalism is a clear manifestation of colonial power. Leela Gandhi has written on the subject, stating that

> While the logic of power… is fundamentally coercive, its campaign is frequently seductive. We could say that power traverses the imponderable chasm between coercion and seduction through a variety of baffling self-representations. While it may manifest itself in a show and application of force, it is equally likely to appear as the disinterested purveyor of cultural enlightenment and reform... If power is at once the qualitative difference or gap between those who have it and those who must suffer it, it also designates an imaginative space that can be occupied, a cultural model that might be imitated and replicated."[40]

As an avenue for vanguard nationalism, the *Lux Scientia* was crucial in creating this imaginative space of colonial power, where exchange students could represent themselves as "disinterested purveyors of cultural enlightenment and reform," built on a "cultural model that might be imitated and replicated." Yet as agents of colonial power, in the end they served as a type of comprador, paradoxically legitimizing imperialism even as they professed nationalistic goals. *Lux Scientia,* as a Korean language publication in Tokyo written for and by exchange students, thus provides crucial insight into the phenomenon of vanguard nationalism. The next chapter, Chapter 3, traces the collapse of the vanguard nationalist ideal by turning to cultural representations of exchange student returnees in

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[40] Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Columbia University Press), 14.

Seoul. While early 1920s depictions of Tokyo-based university graduates showed glamorous depictions of Japanese-speaking returnees gallivanting with Japanese-speaking Korean waitresses while listening to jazz in cafes, the glitz of the vanguard quickly collapsed as increasing numbers of students returned to Seoul and were unable to find employment. The media quickly latched onto the image of these hapless graduates and their professed abundance of "culture," dubbing them the "Cultural Reserve Army," and their plight illustrates the failure of vanguard nationalism and the "colonial promise of capitalist development." Yet before that, it is crucial to examine another exchange student publication in Tokyo at the time – the *Asia Review* – which provides another window into the relationship between imperialism, coloniality, and exchange students.

The *Asia Review*: Pan-Asianisms and its Discontents

While the *Lux Scientia* embraced a form of vanguard nationalism, for all its patriotic rhetoric it ultimately ended up inadvertently reinforcing imperialism. However, the *Asia Review*, another Tokyo publication based around exchange students, took a vastly different approach. The *Asia Review* was built around the dual pillars of pan-Asianism and humanism. Yet the very malleability of pan-Asianist rhetoric opened up a discursive arena for Koreans, Chinese, Taiwanese, and Japanese writers to challenge the ideological premises that enabled imperialism and offer counter-hegemonic visions of Asian development. To understand this phenomenon, we must first turn to the journal's chief editor and founder, Yu T'ae-gyŏng.

Yu T'ae-gyŏng was born on August 25, 1892 in North P'yong'an Province in the northern half of Korea, located roughly halfway between Pyongyang and the border with China. While a student at Peking University in China, he became involved with the Three Oceans Association (三海會), an independence activist group before launching the *Asia Review*.[41] After the periodical was dissolved, Yu sought asylum in the United States. Upon returning he briefly served as the assistant to the Vice Minister of Dongbei, but was forced again to flee to Beijing because of Japanese colonial surveillance. Additionally, he participated in independence activities in Henan and Shaanxi.

His connections in China proved fruitful, and with the backing of the Chinese military in Chongqing, he vowed to fight in life or death with the militant Korean independence activist Kim Ku. From 1932 onwards he was involved as the secretary deputy of what became northern Manchukuo (previously Dongfeng) [東省區 行政長官公署 諮議]. After liberation he became the head of the Sacheon Welfare Association (泗川郡厚生協會會長) and the Adult Education Association of Sacheon (成人教育協會會長). His biography illustrates an interest in traversing throughout East Asia that would become a salient aspect of *Asia Review,* which he launched in 1922.

[41] Kang Chin-hwa, *Taehan minguk insa-rok* (Seoul: Naewoe hongbo-sa, 1950), 100.

The *Asia Review* was the first Japanese language periodical created by a Korean, and it was remarkable in many ways.[42] The journal explicitly sought submissions in Japanese, Korean, and Chinese, particularly from exchange students in Tokyo, on the topics of diplomacy, education, religion, society, labor, women's issues, and literature.[43] The periodical also listed more concrete forms of activism, laying out plans to assist East Asian exchange students by establishing a dormitory for self-funded students, to provide an "outlet for their grief through concerts, lectures, speeches, exhibitions, and photo exhibits," and to even offer legal counsel for those facing issues with the police.[44] This activism was built on the idea of a pan-Asianist solidarity, and Yu was successful in gaining support from a surprisingly diverse group of intellectuals: the inauguration of this periodical was celebrated by the likes of Tōyama Mitsuru and Nakano Seigō, who were known for their right wing nationalistic views, while at the same time drawing submissions liberal public intellectuals like Ishibashi Tanzan.

Furthermore, the *Asia Review* reached a large audience for an eclectic publication at the time. Japanese records from the Special Higher Police provide insight into the extent that the *Asia Review* was circulated. A report entitled "The current situation for publication materials operated by Koreans from January to November of Taisho Year 11 (1922)", reports that publication numbers averaged around two thousand five hundred copies, from

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[42] Note: the journal also included Korean and Chinese language submissions, but majority of articles were in Japanese.

[43] "Shakoku" in *Ajia kōron* vol 1 (May 1922): introduction.

[44] "Honsha no sagyō" in *Ajia kōron* (May 1922): introduction.

a low of two thousand for the first issue to a high of three thousand for the third. Comparatively, the *Lux Scientia* averaged 600~1000 copies, with the largest run being 1,600.[45]

Furthermore, it is unclear whether the police records included copies sold overseas, and the total figure may have been higher. The article "From the editorial board" in the second edition of *Asia Review* in June of 1922 reports that people were lining up in bookstores to pick up the first issue (which cost 50 sen), and a flood of subscription requests were pouring in from Korea, China, and Taiwan.[46] Thus by the fourth edition, the *Asia Review* was carried in five bookstores in Tokyo, one in Kyoto, two in Seoul (Hoedong sŏgwan and Kwang'ik sŏgwan), and one in Pyongyang (Kwangmyŏng sŏgwan). In fact, by December of the same year, the demand was high enough in Pyongyang that another bookstore, the Christian Book Institute (Kidok sŏwŏn) also started carrying issues. Finally, the overall market in Korea was enough to warrant the establishment of a regional office, which was built in the Sŏdaemun area (Ahyŏnni) of Seoul and head by Oh Ilsang.[47] Oh, in fact, would go on to become the chief of the Mukden branch of *Dong'a ilbo* – one of Korea's largest newspapers – after the *Asia Review* was dissolved.

It was a remarkable feat for a journal to run articles in three languages, include submissions from throughout the political spectrum, and gain a readership in four

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[45] Ogino Fujio, ed. "Ji Taishō 11-nen 1-gatsu shi dō 11-gatsu zaikyō Senjin keiei kankōbutsu hakkō jōkyō" in *Tokkō keisatsu kankei shiryō-shū* vol. 18, reprint (Tokyo: Fuji shuppan, 1992), 93.

[46] "Henshūkyoku yori" in *Ajia kōron* vol. 2 (June 1922): i.

[47] "Shakoku" in *Ajia kōron* vol. 9 (December 1922): ii.

countries. Even more so is the fact that the chief editor and founder was a colonial Korean. Yet Yu was able to exploit the discourse of pan-Asianism to these ends. From the journal's inception, Yu used the nebulousness of the idea to incorporate a motley crew of supporters, and this was crucial as he sought backers for his journal. Thus in a conference in September of 1921, Yu reached out to Ōkuma Shigenobu, who had been advocating an "Asian Alliance" (*Ajia renmei)* of Japanese, Koreans, Chinese, Indians, and other Asians to cooperate against the West. This gained the approval of a diverse range of figures spanning the ideological spectrum, including right wing nationalist Tōyama Mitsuru.[48] Yet Yu also drew support for his pan-Asianist journal from another unexpected source: the adventuring Hungarian anthropologist Benedek Barthosi Balough.

Born in Transylvania to the Hungarian Magyar nobility class, Balough (1870-1945) was no stranger to East Asia. After studying in Budapest, he traveled to Vladivostok and made his way to Japan, conducting research on Japanese history, culture, and language. His first academic interest, however, was not in pan-Asianism but rather the Ainu. He commenced his studies of the Ainu in 1903 while traveling to Sapporo. With the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, however, he was suspected of being a Russian spy until a local newspaper, the *Niroku Shinpō*, published an explanation of his scholarly motives in late February of 1904.[49]

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[48] "Ōkuma Shigenobu wo itadaite Ajia renmei: Senjin shishi to Yu Tae-gyŏng no shigoto, 'Tsuran' no heigō-dan kyozetsu" in *Kokumin shinbun* September 19, 1921.

[49] Imre Galambos, "A Hungarian Visitor Among the Ainu: A Translation of Benedek Barathosi-Balough's Travels of Sakhalin and Hokkaido" in *Japanese Religions* vol. 33 issue 1 & 2 (2008): 56.

Balough's interests in Korea also drove him to visit the nation twice, arriving in 1907 and staying longer in the early 1920s before publishing *Korea, a hajnalpír országa* (Korea: The Land of the Quiet Dawn) in 1929, which included his observations on Korean culture, history, language, cuisine, and lifestyle. While in Vladivostok, he met a Korean merchant with whom he agreed to travel to Korea. Although originally planning to travel to Wonsan, he ended up in an unidentified river, meeting a nearby Buddhist monk who agreed to take him to Seoul.

Throughout his travels across East Asia, Balough championed his vision of pan-Asianism based on the idea of a common heritage that included Japanese, Koreans, Chinese, Mongolians, Magyars, and other "yellow races." The so-called Turan Race (Tsuran-zoku), a now obsolete term in both anthropology and linguistics, held currency at the time in both fields, referring to a South Siberian race which combined Caucasian and Mongoloid traits (or The Ural and Altaic languages). Based around a supposed common ancestry, with strong pro-Hungarian nationalistic overtones, his racial theories reflect more the nascent nationalistic needs of a Hungary separated from Austria than any historical bonds.

Thus Balough wrote prolifically in Hungarian, authoring twenty books on his idea of Turan race and Turan nationalism. His works are marked by racial theories and pseudo-scientific explanations, and have received little attention – in fact, none of them have been translated save a book on Korea which was recently translated into Korean.[50] Balough was keen to find similarities in language, culture, and racial phenotypes, but his advocacy

[50] Imre Galambos, "A Hungarian Visitor Among the Ainu: A Translation of Benedek Barathosi-Balough's Travels of Sakhalin and Hokkaido" in *Japanese Religions* vol. 33 issue 1 & 2 (2008): 59.

extended even to the innocuous, including hairstyle. In stating his reasons for his research, he explicitly notes that academically, it is clear that the "Han [Korean] people are unambiguously affiliated with the Turan Race."[51]

His advocacy for a Turan race based pan-Asianism in Tokyo included printing pamphlets, one of which was entitled "The pan-Turan Alliance" (*Han-Tsuran minzoku dōmei*). In it, he entreats the reader that

> Brothers, I am one of the Hungarians who have faced a massacre. I am screaming at you in regards to the future of my brethren. The history of the past few hundred years have been under the Aryan Race. I have toured the countries of the yellow peoples to research the roots of this problem. I warned my brethren that we cannot rely on the whites, rather we should turn to the brothers of the yellow race… No one turned an ear to my outcries. However, some said that I was exaggerating, others said it was an empty theory, others said it was dangerous that it should not be taken up.[52]

Balough continues by proposing the importance of Turan pan-Asianism, stating that

> How are we to escape the attacks of the white Aryan Race? Is this possible or not? I believe it to be possible. There definitely must be a way. No, we must create a way. It is a pan-Turanian alliance… If you put all the Aryans across the world together, it makes 850 million. However, in comparison the Turans make 680 million, but comparatively, the majority in terms of culture, and in terms of influence, are considerably inferior (to the Aryans). Those who live in civilized lives comparable to those of whites is no more than 120 million. Before anything else, to save the yellow race from drowning (dekishi) in the "flood" (kōzui) of the Aryans, the alliance is necessary.[53]

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[51] Benedek Barathosi Balough, *Koria, choyonghan achim ui nara* (Seoul: Chimmundang, 2005 [In Hungarian, 1929]), 14.

[52] Benedek Barathosi-Balough, *Han-Tsuran minzoku dōmei* (Tokyo: Sekai panfuretto tsūshin, 1921), 3.

[53] Benedek Barathosi-Balough, *Han-Tsuran minzoku dōmei* (Tokyo: Sekai panfuretto tsūshin, 1921), 4.

While the pamphlet was aimed at a generalist audience, some of Balough's work also took a more scholastic tone. His descriptions of Korean history and culture are steeped in [pseudo]-scientific discourse, and he even notes that did primary research and was able to "come in contact with a trove of specialist historical sources," while working with Shiratori Kurakichi, professor of Oriental History at Tokyo Imperial University (1904-1925).[54] Unfortunately, Shiratori did not share Balough's fondness for Turanism as a historiographical framework for Asia, and Balough notes that upon sharing his theory, "the professor suddenly began to laugh loudly."[55]

At once such lecture on the topic in 1921, given at Hotel Sakura near Tokyo Station, Yu T'ae-gyŏng met with Balough but decided not join his Turan alliance, instead agreeing to have his own proposed organization "join in his movement side-by-side." Rather than critiquing the specter of the Aryan invasion, Yu noted instead that "it is clear that in the end the ones who control Asia are the Japanese, thus I believe it is important to first correct the mistaken ideas held by the Japanese. For the time being we have much work – we must build branches for each of the nations in Tokyo, publish newspapers in Japanese, Chinese, and Korean, while at the same time creating free dormitories for students from nations throughout Asia, and creating clubs to promote fraternization between people of these

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[54] Benedek Barathosi Balough, *Koria, choyonghan achim ui nara*, 14.

[55] Benedek Barathosi Balough, *Koria, choyonghan achim ui nara*, 76.

various nations."[56] Thus Yu would go on to launch the *Asia Review,* while Balough would eventually create the Turan Alliance separately the next year, although Balough's would continue his support throughout; the *Asia Review* also published a brief synopsis of Balough's Turan theory also.[57]

Balough's Turan-based pan-Asianism was but one narrative in the *Asia Review,* and other contributors offered their own competing visions. Nagai Ryūtarō, a Waseda University professor who later became Minister of Colonial affairs and a key member of the Minseitō party, provided his own input on the necessity of pan-Asiatic solidarity in the face of Western encroachment. His article for the *Asia Review,* "On Asia amidst Reconstruction" argues that

> Asia is in the midst of a great earthquake. The old Asia (kyū-Ajia) is crumbling and a new Asia is being born. Looking at the past three centuries, Asia already resembled a slave of Europe. Columbus's crossing of the Atlantic was also the result of the Europeans' dreams of reaching the gilded land of Japan. Vasco de Gama's voyages also aimed at India. In other words, Asia already represented the goal of subjugation for the Europeans. Asia had already become a sacrifice to European imperialism.[58]

Nagai also entreats the *Asia Review* readership to consider the relationship between race, capitalism, and imperialism. He argues that laborer so across Europe were "in the midst of a battle to escape from the pressures of capitalists," having become aware that they were being treated "as a commodity like coal" at the hands of capitalists everywhere. The Asiatic

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[56] "Ōkuma Shigenobu wo itadaite Ajia renmei: Senjin shishi to Yu T'ae-gyŏng no shigoto, 'Tsuran' no heigō-dan kyozetsu" in *Kokumin shinbun* September 19, 1921.

[57] "Iwayuru Tsuran renmei to wa nanzoya" in *Ajia kōron* vol n (year): 109-110.

[58] Nagai Ryūtarō, "Kaizō tojō no Ajia" in *Ajia kōron* vol 1 (May 1922), 38-41.

race, Nagai argues, was similarly a commodity at the hands of White Despotism (Hyakujin sensei shugi), and he states how

> … capitalists in most of the Asian countries are members of the white race, thus the fight to destroy capitalism is aligned with the battle to destroy whites. The people of India, China, and Persia the administration of the railways, harbors, and factories lie in the hands of the whites capitalists, and thus Asians are sacrifices to the white capitalists.[59]

While Peter Duus has written on Nagai and how his pan-Asianist rhetoric of the "white peril" was useful for Japanese diplomacy, Yu used such rhetoric from a different angle, appropriating it to provide a platform for Taiwanese and Korean colonials to speak out. This unique positionality is particularly evident when contrasting how the *Asia Review* was described in Japanese and Korean press. In May of 1922, the Tokyo Asahi reported on the *Asia Review*, noting how it was the "first periodical published by a Korean in Japan." The periodical was touted as an exemplar of humanism, and stressed the necessity for Japan, especially vis-a-vis Asia, to "shake hands with the races throughout the world." The paper reports it was built upon the idea of *dōbun dōshū* (same culture/script, same race), the idea that Japan shared cultural and lexicographical commonalities with Korea, and thus represented a racial bond. The ultimate issue, as reported, was that "Japanese policy must distance itself from 'subjugation-ism' (seifuku shugi) and instead turn towards Japanese affinity-ism' (shin-Wa shugi), or Asia cannot be saved."[60]

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[59] Nagai Ryūtarō, "Kaizō tojō no Ajia" in *Ajia kōron* vol 1 (May 1922), 38-41.

[60] "Nihon de dasu Chōsenjin saisho no zasshi," in *Tokyo Asahi shinbun* (11 May 1922), 3.

A few months later in Seoul, the July 27, 1922 issue of *Tong'a ilbo* noted that "Under editor-in-chief Yu T'ae-gyŏng, a Korean youth, the *Asia Review* is managed by China, Taiwan, Korea, Japan, and other nations; the central point is to encourage the 'awakening' of the various races of Asia, which is necessary in the pursuit of the liberation of the weak and smaller ethnic groups." It also states that the 3rd issue was being published late, in July, because its sale had initially been prohibited, and lists among the possible articles of interest: "England's Sins and the Ireland Issue," "Police Violence and Korean Governance," "The Current Status of the Chinese Media World," and "The Korean Inspection Committee and the [Tokyo] Peace Exhibition."[61]

The Tokyo Asahi decision to foreground the *Asia Review*'s "*dōbun dōshū"* (same-script/culture, same race) ideology would have doubtlessly surprised Yu's Korean audiences. The phrase *dōbun dōshū* was an ideologically loaded term, commonly used as an ideological premise for Japanese colonization of Korea. Kanezawa Shōzaburō, for example, published a laundry list of words that were similar in Korean and Japanese for his work *Nikkan ryōkokugo dōkeiron* (The Common Origin of the Japanese and Korean Languages), and he concludes his work by stating, "my object in writing… has been to show the language spoken by the people of our [Korean] protectorate is a branch of our own, and they are therefore people related to us, at least linguistically," while expressing hope that such similarities suggest "mutual assimilation is possible as it was in olden times."[62] Others,

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[61] "Asea kongnon ch'ilwŏlho" in *Tong'a ilbo* (27 July 1922), 4.

[62] Kanezawa Shōzaburō, *Nikkan ryōkokugo dōkeiron* (Tokyo: Sanseidō shoten, 1910), 39-40.

like Ogura Shinpei, expanded on the idea into the 1920s.[63] Instead, the *Tong'a ilbo* focused on the *Asia Review's* potential towards the "liberation of the weak and smaller ethnic groups."[64] Pan-Asianism became a short of chimera, open to appropriation and exploitation. Yet this very mutability of the idea of pan-Asianism helped it serve as a "weapon of the weak."

Within this malleable pan-Asianist space, Koreans gained an outlet to express their various discontents with imperialism. Yu himself used the *Asia Review* to admonish Korean exchange students to rethink of their own status vis-à-vis Korea's history of development. While *Lux Scientia* compared Koreans in Tokyo to Korean emissaries sent to Tang Dynasty China to unilaterally bring back advanced civilization, Yu argues that Tokyo bound Korean students were actually a historical anomaly in the long history between the two nations. Thus he speaks of how during the Three Kingdoms Period (57 BC – 668 AD), Japan sent several hundred "exchange students" to Silla, Paekche, and Koguryŏ to learn the products of civilization from Korea. Quoting a passage from the classic *Nihon shoki*, he notes that during the 13th century a delegation from the Silla Dynasty was sent to Japan, and other Koreans like Kang U-sŏng traveled to Kyoto during the Bunroku period, but they were merely studying Japanese, not bringing back knowledge. Thus he reminds the reader that Japan at the time was still largely a feudal state known to the greater world as the derogatory "nation of Wae," and insists that Japan would not become civilized outside of Korea's exchange students *to* Japan. In short, unlike the vanguard nationalists of *Lux*

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[63] Ogura Shinpei, *Kokugo oyobi Chōsengo no tame* (Tokyo: Utsuboya, 1920).

[64] "Asea kongnon ch'ilwŏlho" in *Tong'a ilbo* (27 July 1922): 4.

Scientia, Yu historicizes the phenomenon of Korean exchange students in Japan into a narrative of bilateral exchange.

Furthermore, the *Asia Review* served as a rare outlet where colonials could vent their frustrations to a receptive Japanese audience. One writer from Pyongyang wrote an editorial under the tongue-in-cheek sobriquet "Troublemaker in Pyongyang" [Heijō/Pyongyang futei]. The term "troublesome" [futei] was one commonly applied to Korean colonials, and the image of "troublesome Koreans" (futei Senjin) was a major trope. Yet Troublemaker in Pyongyang questions the term "troublesome," and proposes that it was much more fitting to describe Sŏn Uyŏm, a Korean inspector for the colonial Police Board, who he accused of exercising a heavy hand in cracking down on his fellow Koreans.[65]

However, the *Asia Review* was not a pristine space free from discrimination, and there were limits to colonial agency even under the umbrella of pan-Asianism. In one case, an author adopting the penname "Japan's ABC" wrote on the "Direction of Nations," which was addressed to his "yet unknown friends from Korea." In this critique of his Korean "friends," Japan's ABC describes their nostalgia for the past days of a strong, independent homeland like "someone standing upon a high hill, watching the sunset and thinking of their lover." While he expresses appreciation for such patriotism, he nevertheless asks, "Will you persist in thinking about the past all the time?" Noting that only the elderly reminisce on past times, he states that in an age of global competition, Koreans cannot simply turn back the clock, and professes that "I cry alongside you, but when evolution is

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[65] Heijō futei [pseudonym], "Dokusha to kisha" in *Ajia kōron* vol. 7 (November 1922):

the law of the land, and has the greatest authority," there was no way to avoid this stark reality.[66]

Another similar article by Iwasa Sakurtarō, a noted anarchist, denoted the limitations of ethnic identity and the bankruptcy of the idea of race, which drew the ire of Hwang Yang-u. Penning the article "On behalf of my Friends in the World of Thought [Shisōkai]," Hwang responds to Iwasa's assertion that nationalism is dead, stating that it is a tragedy that twenty million Koreans inhabit a status as dead ghosts, deprived of their liberties, facing treatment much like "a type of dog or pig."[67] Accusing Iwasa of the same "invasiveness" (shinryakusei) that propped up Japanese imperialism, Hwang proposes that rather than seeing race or nationality as a dead issue, the resolution of the Korean issue should be seen as a "preliminary movement" (yobi undō) before embarking on any "doctrine" (shugi). Such critiques were not limited to Koreans, either, and Ishibashi Tanzan also provided his vision of small Japan-ism for the *Review,* challenging the long held notions that Japanese imperialism was necessary for economic development and national defense.[68] The pan-Asianist rhetoric in *Asia Review* was by no means a coherent narrative, and Ishibashi's small-Japanism was incompatible with Nagai's article on the impending white peril, for example. Nevertheless, even Balough's theory of a Turan race that conjoined Mongolian, Korean, Japanese, Chinese, and even Magyar alike opened up

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[66] Nihon no ABC, "Kokka no ikumuki? Chōsen no macchi? no tomo he" in *Ajia kōron* vol. 2 (June 1922): 51-61.

[67] Hwang Yang-u, "Nihon no shisōkai no tomo ni ataete" in *Ajia kōron* vol 1 (May 1922): 34.

[68] Ishibashi Tanzan, "Nihon ha Dainippon shugi wo hōki subeshi" in *Ajia kōron* vol 1 (May 1922): 42-46.

counter-hegemonic spaces for a motley gang of exchange students and public intellectuals to speak out for a wide audience, and even Balough's Turan ideal was used to express his desire for Chinese and Japanese harmony: albeit in the wake of the Aryan threat. While one might be beset by a Whiggish impulse to set aside such theories to the dustbin of history, this was nevertheless a salient source of agency of colonials like Yu, Hwang, and others. Furthermore, the debates within the *Asia Review* had tangible and unexpected ramifications, one of which was the attempted arson of the Korea pavilion at the 1922 Tokyo Peace Exhibition.

The 1922 Tokyo Peace Exhibition, which ran from March 10th until July 31st, celebrated the fifth anniversary of the end of the First World War, and was held in Ueno Park in Tokyo. Although ostensibly a peace commemoration, the exhibition was largely designed to tout Japan's emergence as an economic powerhouse. In fitting with its duty for pecuniary flamboyance, the exhibition received a huge influx of investment reportedly totaling nearly two million yen. At the time, it would be Japan's largest exhibition by the total number of visitors at over 11 million, the second largest in terms of area at over 4 million square feet (the 1914 Tokyo Taisho Exhibition was larger), and housed a total of 75,000 exhibits overall.[69]

Furthermore, the Governor General of Korea commissioned trips for Korean intellectuals to view the exhibit, and these voyages themselves became noteworthy. For example, the *Tong'a ilbo* started reporting on those who were chosen to travel to Japan as

[69] Hashizume Shin'ya and Nakatani Sakuji, *Hakurankai kenbutsu* (Kyoto: Gakugei shuppan, 1990), 122-130.

spectators. The Tokyo Peace Exhibition (abbreviated 東京平博, or Tokyo Pea-Ex) and noted the number of "viewership groups" (*shisatsudan* or *sach'aldan* 視察団) who were sent to Tokyo. As of February 9th it was reported at 19 associations from 11 provinces totaling 370-odd people.[70] Unsurprisingly, the Korean language government organ paper *Maeil sinbo* touted the promises of seeing the exhibit, noting that for colonials it could "promote the advancement of culture by allowing the firsthand tour of advanced/developed lands (先進地)."[71] In their study of these groups, Han Kyu-mu and No Ki-ok estimate that over five thousand people may have been dispatched from Korea to see the exhibit.[72]

Furthermore, the Tokyo Peace Exhibition included a Korea Pavilion (Chōsen-kan) for display. However, the Korean Pavilion did not escape without critique, and the *Asia Review* would too become involved in the fight over Korean representation. The *Tong'a ilbo* was quick to criticize the Korea Pavilion in a somewhat sensationally titled article, "I Curse You! The Peace Exhibition – The Peace Exhibition and the Intense Public Indignation of the Koreans – The Unsightly Korean Pavilion and the Viewing Party Member with Tears Falling from His Eyes." The article notes how the exhibition was a failure on many fronts. Less than half of the projected visitors ended up coming although two million yen had been invested,

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[70] "Tonggyŏng pyŏngbak sich'aldan" in *Tong'a ilbo* 9 February 1922, 2.

[71] "Pŏnch'ang han p'yŏnghwabak kwa Chosŏn misi sikdang" in *Maeil sinbo* 17 May 1922, 3.

[72] Han Kyu-mu and No Ki-ok, "1922-nyŏn p'yŏnghwa kinyŏm Tonggyŏng paknamhoe wa Chosŏn'in sach'aldang" in *Hanguk minjok undongsa yŏngu* (December 2010): 44.

and was a disappointment. In speaking of the Korea exhibit itself, the author did not call it the Korea Pavilion, but rather the "so-called 'Korea' Pavilion" (所謂朝鮮館).[73]

The article goes on in detail about this monstrosity. It was the "ugliest exhibit on display within the whole exhibition," and describes that the Korea Pavilion was built in the shape of an M (as per traditional architecture), but because of the shabbiness of its construction, general visitors were not allowed nearby, and even for those who had special invitational ticket (招待券), more than ten people were not allowed on at a time because of the high danger that the whole building would collapse in its entirety.[74] The "so-called *tanch'ŏng*" painting, which refers to a highly intricate traditional architectural painting style, which normally called upon the skills of a skilled practitioner (*tanch'ŏngjang*), was done in a haphazard manner by those unskilled, and the author notes that the police were worried that some kind of incident would occur so they spent all night guarding the exhibit. The author goes on to say that there was something worse than this shoddy piece of worksmanship being viewed every day by forty to fifty thousand people, and that was the sight of Koreans being pointed at and ridiculed. He argues that the majority of the "Korea viewer teams" sent to Tokyo were from the countryside and were easy targets for ridicule. Thus he notes that "the Korean residents in Tokyo deeply desire that Koreans [from Korea] refrain from visiting the exhibition that aims at advertising shame in oneself."[75]

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[73] "Chŏju hara! Pyŏnghwa pangnamhoe" in *Tong'a ilbo* 4 May 1922, 3.

[74] "Chŏju hara! Pyŏnghwa pangnamhoe" in *Tong'a ilbo* 4 May 1922, 3.

[75] "Chŏju hara! Pyŏnghwa pangnamhoe" in *Tong'a ilbo* 4 May 1922, 3.

The journal *Kaebyŏk* also chipped in, calling it the "Insult Issue" (侮辱問題) surrounding the display at the Chosŏn-kwan, and noted that Korean residents in Tokyo were told that they must submit "a request to the Peace Exhibition authorities if they desired the exhibit to be canceled."[76] And Korean students were not alone. The *Tong'a ilbo* notes that Korean and Chinese students expressed their reservations with the "Degrading Exhibits (侮辱的陣列品)" at the exhibition. The Korean residents in Japan appealed to Peace Exhibition authorities to take down the Korean display as the models of the houses and pictures of alleged Korean customs were designed to encourage distaste for Korea and "disgrace Korea among all the nations of the world."[77] The Chinese students, however, took issue with the fact that Man-mong (Manchuria and Mongolia) exhibit was designed to make both nations seem auxiliary nations (属国) of Japan, and they placed a complaint to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.[78]

The incendiary nature of the Korea Pavilion reached a breaking point with the announcement of a special visitor to the exhibition, however. In mid-April, the prince of England (Wales), Edward VIII was slated to visit Tokyo as a goodwill ambassador and flyers began to announce his arrival, and the city was busy in preparations for his royal visit.[79] However, Korea residents in Tokyo noted how the Korea Pavilion was not

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[76] "Sahoe ilji" in *Kaebyŏk* May 1 1922, 128.

[77] "Moyok-chŏk ŭi chinyŏlpum ŭl" in *Tong'a ilbo* 18 April 1922, 3.

[78] "Moyok-chŏk ŭi chinyŏlpum ŭl" in *Tong'a ilbo* 18 April 1922, 3.

[79] "Chosŏn-gwan sogak ŭl kyŏl'ŭi" in *Tong'a ilbo* 19 April, 1922, 3.

representative of modern Korean architecture, but rather represented something ancient (*kodae*), and would be a "disgrace" (치욕恥辱) to Koreans in front of England's crown prince. Thus some allegedly reached a decision to burn the pavilion down and the police were placed on high alert throughout the night, forming a protective barrier around the shoddy piece of architecture, the source of such ire.[80] We can only assume that they did not stand inside the actual exhibit, because it purportedly only supported the weight of ten people.

Surrounded by police protection and angry colonials, the Korea Pavilion occupied a curious place but clearly was a battleground of great import. Furthermore, the fact that it was to be viewed by England's crown prince exacerbated the whole situation. This is clear when one considers the role the exhibitionary complex. Tony Bennett notes that "The institutions comprising 'the exhibitionary complex'… were involved in the transfer of objects and bodies from the enclosed and private domains in which they had previously been displayed (but to a restricted public) into progressively more open and public arenas where, through the representations to which they were subjected, they formed vehicles for inscribing and broadcasting the messages of power (but of a different type) throughout society."[81] Here the power dynamic was the stark contrast of the "ancient" Korean architectural style placed against the sprawling 4 million square foot Peace Exhibition, open for viewing by the crown prince of England. Yet for the Japanese case, this was a clear governmentally backed endeavor, and newspapers like the *Tong'a ilbo* and journals like

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[80] "Chosŏn-gwan sogak ŭl kyŏl'ŭi" in *Tong'a ilbo* 19 April, 1922, 3.

[81] Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex" in *new formations* (Spring 1988): 74.

Kaebyŏk were not shy to inform the public of this. It is fitting that the Japanese governmental policy after the March 1st Movement was called "Cultural Rule."

This combination of coloniality and representation would be covered in the *Asia Review* in July of 1922 by an author going by the name Shōkai (笑海) for the article "Concerning the Viewing Parties for the Peace Exhibition: A Critique of the Injustice of Japanese Planners." In the article, the Sohae notes that the Peace Exhibition had opened in Ueno Park, and no matter where he went, he could see that the number of his fellow Koreans was increasing throughout Tokyo. What stood out most about these visitors, however, was their hairstyle – Sohae states that what is most noticeable about the Koreans around him is their topknots or "chonmage." Although Sohae used the Japanese term *chonmage,* the Korean topknot (*sangtu*) combined with their white clothing served as an ethnic and cultural marker for these visitors, and had a historical lineage. The topknot was first banned under the Short Hair Edict (断髪令) during the Kabo Reforms, which attempted to modernize Korea similar to the Japanese methods. However, after the assassination of Empress Myŏngsŏng and the conservative backlash against these reforms, the Short Hair Edict was repealed and the topknot again served as a sign of the Confucian exhortation that "the body, the hair, and the skin are inheritances from your parents, and keeping these from harm is the beginning of filial piety."[82] The combination of clothing and hairstyle served as both temporal and ethnic markers of the "undeveloped," thus when

[82] Sohae, "Heiwa-haku Chōsen shisatsudan ni tsuite: muhō na Nihonjin shikisha wo nanzu" in Ajia kōron vol. 3 (July 1922): 30.

Sohae sees his compatriots in topknots he notes that part of him was hit by nostalgia, and that he felt that it was akin to "being transported to his former native land," but more than anything else, he was "first hit by a sense of embarrassment."[83]

Furthermore, he complains that the Governor General of Korea sent only old people from the countryside, referring to these visitors in somewhat disparaging terms like *renchū* (mob), and notes that the sight of young Korean visitors was "rarer than the shadows of the stars at dawn" (*akatsuki no hoshi no kage yori sukunai*). When these older tourists saw the trains running, they were overwhelmed and exclaimed "it is like the trains from Chŏnggamnok are running!" The Chŏnggamnok was a book of geomancy that predicted the fall of the Chosŏn Dynasty, and he notes parenthetically that it was a book of prophecy from Korea. Furthermore these visitors seemed awestruck by the sites of the exhibition, noting that in comparison, "they just made the Honmachi avenue a tiny bit pretty."[84]

As another indictment of the "lawless Japanese," Sohae notes how colonial officials were apt to send the Peace Exhibition Visitor Groups to see military sites. The groups were shown an artillery manufacturing facility on their tour, and he expresses bafflement that the tourists were given "extremely elaborate tours" (*hijō ni chimitsu ni kengaku*) of weapons manufacturing. Thus he notes "inexplicably at some point the Peace Exhibition tour became a tour of the might of weapons manufacturing in the mainland [*naichi*]. You

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[83] Sohae, "Heiwa-haku Chōsen shisatsudan ni tsuite: muhō na Nihonjin shikisha wo nanzu" in *Ajia kōron* vol. 3 (July 1922): 30.

[84] Sohae, "Heiwa-haku Chōsen shisatsudan ni tsuite: muhō na Nihonjin shikisha wo nanzu" in *Ajia kōron* vol. 3 (July 1922): 31. Note: Honmachi, the Japanese business district in Seoul, is a crucial comparison as it was a case of colonial mimicry of the more affluent Tokyo business district of Ginza.

don't mean to tell me that they are plotting to ..."[85] The portion that follows immediately notes that nine words were removed by censorship. Yet this omission paradoxically adds to the strength of the critique by the way it is worded, starting with *masaka* (you don't mean to tell me…) and signifying that the following was threatening enough to be removed. Although these trips were offered to colonials for "free," he notes that in the end it was being paid through taxes and was a waste of time and money. Thus he calls on officials to end these trips to the Peace Exhibition "for the sake of amicable relations between Korea and Japan, and for the sake of protecting Korean culture."[86]

In this battle over Korean representation at the Tokyo Peace Exhibition, Sohae and his fellow intellectuals were able to make statements that were taken seriously in Japan. Despite his status as a colonial, Sohae was able to speak in the public sphere and be read by audiences in Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and China, and offer harsh, even dangerous critique that incited action – even arson. Thus *Asia Review* and its smorgasbord of pan-Asianisms, while lacking any semblance of internal consistency, nevertheless enabled colonial Koreans, Taiwanese, and mainland Chinese to vent their discontents for a receptive, although not always agreeing, audience.

Furthermore, while *Lux Scientia'*s vanguard nationalism exhorted exchange students to develop and uplift Korea as an elitist class, the writers for *Asia Review* were much more skeptical of capitalism. Whether it was Ishibashi's small Japan-ism or Nagai Ryūtarō's

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[85] Sohae, "Heiwa-haku Chōsen shisatsudan ni tsuite: muhō na Nihonjin shikisha wo nanzu" in *Ajia kōron* vol. 3 (July 1922): 31.

[86] Sohae, "Heiwa-haku Chōsen shisatsudan ni tsuite: muhō na Nihonjin shikisha wo nanzu" in *Ajia kōron* vol. 3 (July 1922): 31-32.

discourse on capitalist subjugation by the white race, the pan-Asianisms of *Asia Review* provided a more potent platform for the critique of imperialism from both Japan and abroad. Thus the irony is that the Korean language *Lux Scientia* set out to be a nationalist journal, and its exchange student contributors filled its pages with rhetoric of saving the nation. However, the contributors drank the kool-aid of the colonial capitalist promise – that development within a capitalist mold would guarantee Korea's national sovereignty and economic independence. Yet adopting this teleological measuring tape also justified the colony's present and continued subjugation. The next chapter traces the collapse of the colonial capitalist promise, as growing numbers of Japanese-educated Korean graduates returned to Seoul and were unable to find jobs. Dubbed the "cultural reserve army" (文化予備軍) for their supposed abundance of culture (or cultural capital), these ironic, hapless figures became a cultural and literary phenomenon. However, a closer look at the cultural reserve army also illuminates how exchange students were central in connecting colony and empire.

CHAPTER 3
A Tale of Fireflies and Snow: The Rise and Fall of Korea's Cultural Reserve Army

> The first phase of the domination of the economy over social life brought into the definition of all human realization the obvious degradation of being into having. The present phase of total occupation of social life by the accumulated results of the economy leads to a generalized sliding of having into appearing, from which all actual "having" must draw its immediate prestige and its ultimate function. At the same time all individual reality has become social reality directly dependent on social power and shaped by it. It is allowed to appear only to the extent that it is not.
>
> Guy Debord – The Society of the Spectacle[1]

Introduction: A Tale of Fireflies and Snow

The 7th century classical Chinese history, the *Book of Jin,* contains a story of incredible studiousness. Che Yin, the son of a poor family, could not afford oil for his lamp which limited his study to the daylight hours. However, in his own ingenuity he caught fireflies and placed them into a silk bag, and by using the light of these fireflies, he was able to study late after the sun had gone down, eventually making his way into a senior official position. In a similar tale, the aspiring official Sun Kang found that he could read by the light reflected from snowflakes under the moonlight, and he spent long hours studying outside, at night, in the cold. His perseverance paid off as he attained the position of chief censorate.

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[1] Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle* (Kalamazoo: Black & Red, 1977), thesis 17.

These two hagiographies spawned the phrase "success by fireflies and snow" (螢雪의 功) which referred to the promised social success that followed diligent study and promotion through bureaucratic exams. It was a clear expression of an entrenched path towards social success and prestige through a standardized examination system, harkening back over a millennium. It may then be unsurprising that the phrase "success by fireflies and snow" came to encapsulate the exchange student experience in colonial Korea. The *Tong'a ilbo,* in fact, used the term in the late 1920s when announcing each year's Korean graduates from Japanese universities, providing comprehensive lists of the college graduates under triumphant headings like "Tokyo Graduates: Success by Fireflies and Snow!"[2]

Yet by 1933, the term "success by fireflies and snow," became an ironic symbol, one that epitomized the emptiness of the educational system. Rather than pointing to a heroic narrative of academic success, the writers used the term satirically to denote how increasing numbers of students went through the ordeal of "fireflies and snow," and rather than reaping the promised rewards, they became part of a "cultured," arrogant, and destitute unemployed labor force. This chapter traces the spectacular rise and fall of Korean graduates from Japanese universities – the so-called return of the comprador intellectuals. From the mid-1920s, members of this group served as aspirational figures, touting the possibilities of upward mobility and middle class life accessible through

[2] "Hyŏngsŏl ŭi kong! Tong'gyŏng kakkyo chol'ŏpsaeng" in *Tong'a ilbo* 28 Feb 1928, 5; "Hyŏngsŏl ŭi kong – Tong'gyŏng yuhaksaeng ibaek-myŏng chol'ŏp" in *Tong'a ilbo* 21 Feb 1929, 5.

education in Tokyo. They also served as emblems of the pleasures of modern consumerism, omnipresent in movies, magazines, and other forms of mass media. Yet both of these phenomena were heavily steeped in the of colonial assimilation and the ideology of colonial modernity. Thus their trajectory illustrates the complex intersection of asymmetries of development and the socialization of an intelligentsia class.

The Return of the Comprador: Bringing "Culture" to the Colony

As the numbers of Korean students in Japan increased five-fold between 1920 and 1930, many made their way back to Korea, particularly Seoul.[3] As outlined in Chapter 2 through *Lux Scientia* and *The Asia Review,* the whole phenomenon of the Japanese educated Korean "comprador intellectual" was an unstable and contested category. Whether through vanguard nationalism or pan-Asianist rhetoric, these exchange students in Japan used a variety of premises to claim themselves as the true exemplars of this group, advocating their own visions as the future of Korea's "modern intelligentsia" tasked with the duties of economic and cultural progress. Moreover, while the term remained under debate, it nevertheless had social, institutional, and cultural repercussions.

Furthermore, vanguard nationalism was not merely an academic debate, but rather was part of a constellation of ideas that laid the ideological foundations for Yi Kwang-su's *minjok kaejoron* (Treatise of National Reconstruction), inoculating some of the more militant challenges to colonial rule. The *Asia Review*'s Pan-Asianist rhetoric, however,

[3] Pak Ch'un-p'a, "Ilbon Tonggyŏng e yuhakhanŭn uri hyŏngje ŭi hyŏnsang ŭl tŭl'ŏssŏ" in *Kaebyŏk* vol. 9 (March 1921): 80-83; Kim Pong-jun, *Zai Nippon Chōsenjin yōran* (Tokyo: Minbunsha, 1932), 2-3.

opened up a discursive space to challenge many of the core principles bolstering colonialism even as it had its shortcomings. For both of these groups of exchange students, one of the key differentiating factors was the stance towards capitalism – whether one accepted the ideology and "common sense" nature of capitalist development shaped how one envisioned the naturalness or inevitability of imperial rule.

Yet at the same time, the growth of global capitalism also had repercussions on Korean graduates from Japanese universities, and this chapter first turns its lens on two overlapping phenomena – how the idea of an "intelligentsia" was bolstered by class ambitions, and how these very class ambitions were used to further colonize not only the "intelligentsia," but also the broader literate Korean public. The whole image of comprador intellectuals remained salient within the public sphere, and lied at the nexus of class and coloniality, as many who could proclaim to be a part of this elite class were innately defined by their exchange student education in Tokyo. This first section looks at so-called "comprador intellectuals" as a cultural phenomenon, as growing numbers of Korean exchange students returned to Seoul and became a salient part of the cultural landscape.

Many of these exchange student kin returned to a Korea in the midst of a both a cultural and political renaissance, one that that was fittingly called Cultural Rule (*bunka seiji*). After the March 1st Independence Movement, the Governor General of Korea enacted a widespread system of policy changes that addressed the complaints of the citizens within its beleaguered colony. This new policy was dubbed "Cultural Rule" to distinguish it from the stern "Military Rule" (1910-1919) that had been the source of such onus. The slew of policy changes was far-reaching, effecting everything from elementary teacher's equipping of swords to new Korean language publications. The emergence of popular culture, the

opening of a native publishing industry, and the related sentiments surrounding the contested "renaissance" known as cultural rule also elucidate the links between class aspiration and cultural assimilation. Yet the overall ideology of Cultural Rule has been the source of historical debate.

In *Primitive Selves: Koreana in the Japanese Colonial Gaze 1910-1945,* E. Taylor Atkins gives an overview of this period, which reached full force during the latter half of the 1920s. Atkins asks the question, "Did *bunka seiji* mean governance *by* culture, or governance *of* culture?"[4] He posits several possibilities; one is that cultural rule refers to the rule *by* Japanese culture through the "practices in Euro-American colonial administration" styles, which emphasized "scientific rationality, cosmopolitan sensibility, and liberal benevolence."[5] Yet he also posits the possibility that cultural rule could refer to the rule *by Korean* culture, as the 1920s marked a period of cultural renaissance as intellectuals "continued the interrupted work of the so-called Enlightenment (Kaehwa, ca. 1895-1910)."[6]

Rather than pinpoint whether the "culture" of cultural rule was "Japanese" or "Korean," this chapter posits another possibility; precisely that cultural rule was rule by culture in the form of cultural capital. Class aspiration and cultural capital combined to create an assimilative pressure, mediated not only through language textbooks, forced

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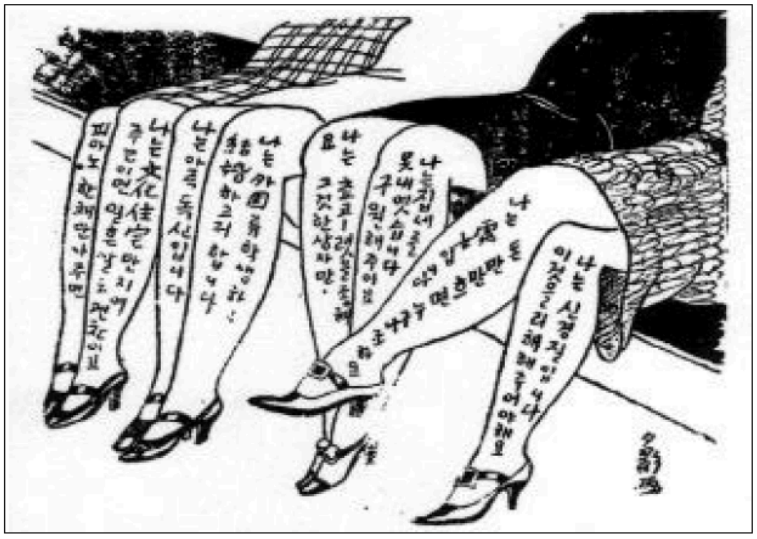
[4] E. Taylor Atkins, *Primitive Selves: Koreana in the Japanese Colonial Gaze, 1910-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 36.

[5] E. Taylor Atkins, *Primitive Selves: Koreana in the Japanese Colonial Gaze, 1910-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 35.

[6] E. Taylor Atkins, *Primitive Selves: Koreana in the Japanese Colonial Gaze, 1910-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 35.

name changes, and shrine visits, but through glamorous depictions of café waitresses and entrepreneurs. At the center of this was the comprador intellectual, bourgeois sexuality, and the assimilative power of class aspiration.

Comprador Intellectuals and the Education of Desire



Culture, Intellectuals, and the Female Commodity Combined: Advertising Legs[7]

An Sŏk-yŏng, an illustrator for the *Chosŏn ilbo* well known for his social satire, drew for the January 1930 edition of the paper, offering a critique of the vanity of Korea's so-called "new women." This drawing, likely situated in the ubiquitous Kyŏngsŏng trams, shows “modern women” using their legs as advertising space. Yet the desires of these women are illustrative: one women’s short dress reveals a high-heeled left leg that

[7] An Sŏk-yŏng, “Yŏsŏng sŏnjŏn sidae ka omyŏn” *Chosŏn ilbo* 12 January 1930.

advertises, “I want to marry a [Korean] exchange student who studied overseas,” while her right leg assures such men that “I am still single.” Similarly, the women to her right (left in the image) professes that she “wants to live in a cultural home,” while asking potential suitors – presumably also foreign trained Korean intellectuals – that she wants them to buy her a piano, another emblem of cultural capital in colonial Korea.[8]

Such images of intellectuals underline how the exchange student journey, particularly to Japan, was glamorized in a way that native education was not, and idealized images of returnees as bastions of commodified cultural capital were rampant in the media. An Sŏk-yŏng’s image of female fetishization of the exchange study journey, while clearly satirical, underlines how this journey to Japan and back cemented their positions as a separate class.

However, the fetishization of male exchange students by women was not a unilateral process. In her study of female consumers and the “economics of desire” in 1920s and 1930s colonial Seoul, Sŏ Chiyŏng argues that the disciplinary nature of capitalism played as central a role in pacifying Korea as the use of brute force, as the ideology of consumption reinforced imperial rule. Within this narrative, the department store played as much a role in placating the populace as the Governor General of Korea (GGK)’s headquarters, as people's desires for autonomy were sublimated into the libidinal need to consume, and to attain the status of a consuming subject.

Thus Sŏ outlines what she calls the “Mobius strip” of colonial modernity, in which “the female desire for material goods and consumption, and the male desire for women,

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[8] An Sŏk-yŏng, “Yŏsŏng sŏnjŏn sidae ka omyŏn” *Chosŏn ilbo* 12 January 1930.

were inextricably linked: much like a Mobius strip. The circuit of desire extended from men to women and from women to products, and sexual relations were closely entangled with the struggle for economic power between women and men, and between women and commodities."[9] Moreover, the exchange student journey became part of this process, and An Sŏk-yŏng's image illustrates the capitalist triumvirate of men, women, and goods. Such sentiments were a natural progression of the *Lux Scientia's* narrative, harmonizing well with both the idea of Korean backwardness and the promise of progress built around capitalist development. Thus the image of legs and exchange student intellectuals illuminates how capitalism both creates and reinforces colonial difference. In particular, sexual desire and erotic practices helped to mold the creation of a colonial bourgeoisie order, which Ann Laura Stoler describes as "the education of desire." One salient site of this phenomenon was the newly emergent café.

Comprador Intellectuals, Café Waitresses, and the Spectacle of Bourgeoisie Sexuality

The newly emerging cafes was a widely publicized stomping grounds for returnees where comprador intellectuals, women, and conspicuous consumption. These locales, where hyper-commodified modern girls sold their company and often their bodies, attracted many a successful exchange student, and returnee intellectuals became notorious for their dalliances with café waitresses. Throughout Kyŏngsŏng (Keijō/Seoul) in places like Café Paradise, which had branches both in the Korea-centric Chong-no district and the Japanese Honmachi district, former exchange students from Tokyo could share a cup of

[9] Sŏ Chiyŏng, "Sobi hanŭn yŏsŏngdŭl: 1920-1930nyŏndae Kyŏngsŏng kwa yongmang ŭi kyŏngjaehak" in *Hanguk yŏsŏnghak* vol. 27 no. 1 (2010): 137.

coffee, have a beer, enjoy good conversation, and with the right amount of tips, possibly proceed into something more salacious.[10] In fact, intellectual-waitress dalliances were widespread enough to become a social issue, and newspapers often ran lurid articles on the illegitimate children that resulted from these pairings, reportedly leading even as far as infanticide.[11] GGK policy reflects some of these social concerns, and prostitution within cafes became enough of an issue that the GGK revised regulations to require cafes to have brighter lighting and smaller booth partitions.[12]

Additionally, periodicals like *Sinyŏsŏng* and *Hyesŏng* informed their readerships of the meetings of the waitress and the Tokyo-trained graduate, and the common trope was one of the returnee student, burdened by the yoke of his knowledge of nihilistic philosophy, turning to the embrace of empathetic waitresses who could be both a "consolation for his youth" and also a congruous conversation partner, as many waitresses themselves were educated.[13] An article in *Samch'ŏlli* looks at this phenomena in 1932, which is entitled "Intelligentsia – The Tragic History of Waitresses – Despite Finishing Higher Education, Why Did They Become Waitresses?"[14]

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[10] "Tonpŏli hanŭn yŏchachikŏpt'ampangki," Tong'a ilbo 4 March 1928.

[11] "Paengnyŏnbangmaengsup'o chŏngnanggyŏrhonhajaŭmdok—Nakwŏnhoekwan k'ap'eŭi yŏkŭp hongtŭngŭi pomŭl tŭngchiko," *Tong'a ilbo*, 15 April 1934.; "Yŏkŭpi ŭmtok," *Tong'a ilbo*, 8 April 1934.; "Chasaleto kyŏngchaeng," *Tong'a ilbo*, 14 November 1933.

[12] "Kafe eigyō torishime naiki hyōjun ni kansuru ken [Matters pertaining to the standard rules and regulations in the operation of cafés]" *Keimu ihō* 342 (1934).

[13] Chang Yŏngsun, "Naeka yŏkŭpŭlo toekikkachi—I chikŏpŭl myŏlsimasio," *Sinyŏsŏng* 57 (1933): 80-85.; Ungch'o, "Kyŏngsŏng aptwigol p'unggyŏng," *Hyesŏng* 1 (1931): 11.

[14] "Int'eri – yŏgŭp aesa yŏja kobo mach'igo ŏcchae yŏgŭp toeŏtno?" in *Samch'ŏlli* vol 4 no 9 (September 1932): 72-78.

> "The café! The café is a place where alcohol, wenches (게집 [sic]), and bizarre curiosities (獵奇) reside. The sound of footsteps, the swish of women's skirts, the smoke from cigarettes, and the smell of alcohol; young men and women dancing to the beat of boisterous jazz, the punctuated spurts of laughter, and thrilled expressions of people's faces, all underneath the blue and crimson lights and the dim chandelier! Here they can completely forget their worldly cares and the bitterness of life, instead frolicking with joy."[15]

For many returnees, it appears that educated waitresses, particularly in Japan, were one of the preferences for a partner to forget about their worldly cares and frolic. In fact, certain cafes actually became famous for their educated waitresses, who often adopted Japanese names, and would even making this a selling point. Angel Café in Seoul, for example, was known for waitresses from foreign language schools, and these Korean so called "intellectual-cum-waitresses" (*int'eri yŏgŭp*) adopted feminine Japanese names like Setsuko, Yuriko, and Aiko, making them fitting conversational partners for male Korean graduates from Tokyo.[16] Angel Café's location in the Chong-no district also made it more accessible for colonial citizens as it was located in the "Korean district" of Seoul (Kyŏngsŏng). Yet cafes in the Japanese Honmachi district of Seoul adopted similar practices; in an early incident in 1927, a reporter for the *Chosŏn ilbo* wrote about a visit to a café in the Honmachi district[17] and meeting a kimono-clad, fluent Japanese speaking

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[15] "Int'eri – yŏgŭp aesa yŏja kobo mach'igo ŏcchae yŏgŭp toeŏtno?" in *Samch'ŏlli* vol 4 no 9 (September 1932): 72.

[16] "Int'eri – yŏgŭp aesa yŏja kobo mach'igo ŏcchae yŏgŭp toeŏtno?" in *Samch'ŏlli* vol 4 no 9 (September 1932): 75.

[17] The Honmachi district (now Ch'ungmuro) was the center of the Japanese district of Seoul. The police headquarters, unsurprisingly, sat at the heart of Chong'no, the Korean district.

waitress; he expresses shock at the end of his interview once she discloses that she is actually Korean.[18] Although the article is not explicit about her educational pedigree, her Japanese fluency strongly hints at study either in Japan or at a language school in Korea. By the early 1930s, this seemed to be less of a curiosity.

However, the popularity of Japanese speaking café waitresses cannot simply be explained by stating that they focused on Japanese clientele; while the cafes around the Japanese Honmachi in Seoul did indeed draw inspiration from Tokyo cafes and featured waitresses in kimono or Western dress, cafes around the Korean Chong-no district (where Angel Café was located) tended to feature bilingual waitresses clad in *hanbok* and attracted a Korean customer base.[19] Instead, the overrepresented image of comprador intellectual-café waitress dalliance is indicative of the formation of a bourgeoisie identity through sexual and erotic practice.

In *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things,* Ann Laura Stoler undertakes a colonial reading of Foucault's canonical text. Tracing colonial encounters through the Dutch East Indies, she notes how the bourgeois identity was constructed through sexual behaviors "in the proliferating discourses around pedagogy, parenting, children's sexuality, servants, and tropical hygiene." Yet these "micro-sites where designations of racial membership were subject to gendered appraisals" did "more than prescribe suitable behavior; they locate how fundamentally bourgeois identity

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[18] "Saektarŭn chigŏp romansŭ: chŏnp'a ttara nabukkinŭn aengmu kat'ŭn annaesŏng" in *Chosŏn ilbo* (Jan 7, 1927): 2.

[19] Suh Jiyŏng, "Singminji Chosŏn ŭi modŏn gŏl— 1920-30nyŏndae Kyŏngsŏng kŏriŭi yŏsŏng sanch'aekcha," *Korean Women Studies* 22 (2006): 202-203.

has been tied to notions of being 'European' and being 'white' and how sexual prescriptions served to secure and delineate the authentic, first-class citizens of the nation-state."[20] Both bourgeois sexual preferences and constraints were an important means of self-identity as an expression of class boundaries.

For Korean students who attended Tokyo universities in the 1920s and 1930s, the café waitress would have been a dominant image during their sojourn in Japan. Following the establishment of Puratan Café in 1911 and Café Lion soon afterwards, café waitresses in Japan quickly grew to become emblematic of the cosmopolitan splendor of the "modern." Some waitresses became celebrities, filling the Japanese mediascape from women's magazines to more high-brow journals like the *Chūo kōron*. During the mid 1930s, there may have been as many as 112,000 waitresses and 37,000 cafes.[21] As Miriam Silverberg notes, "these young women were spectacularized in the print media, in the movies, and in movie song lyrics. Some *jokyū* [waitresses] became celebrities, comparable to screen and stage idols…"[22]

In this context, it may be little surprise that class aspirations would be expressed through explicitly ethnically defined erotic practices – in this case Korean returnees from Tokyo, dalliances of Japanese-speaking Korean waitresses. As Stoler notes, erotic practices

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[20] Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 10-11.

[21] Miriam Silverberg, "The Café Waitress Serving Modern Japan" in Stephen Vlastos, ed. *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 211-214.

[22] Miriam Silverberg, "The Café Waitress Serving Modern Japan" in Stephen Vlastos, ed. *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 213.

were a core element of the formation of the colonizer's bourgeois identity, and it is fitting that Korean graduates from Tokyo universities would bring back their socialized sexual predilections to Seoul as a symbol of cultural capital, and as a form of colonial mimicry. As Homi Bhabha noted, such "colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as *a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite.* Which is to say that the discourse of mimicry is constructed around an *ambivalence;* in order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference."[23]

Yet at the same time, Bhabha notes that "the reforming, civilizing mission is threatened by the displacing gaze of its disciplinary double," and thus "mimicry is at once resemblance and menace."[24] The menace of café waitresses was not lost on the Korean public, and many noted the irony of receiving a higher education for the sole purpose of providing men with company. One article provided a glimpse into the seedy underside of all the glitz by noting that many waitresses, despite their higher education, were pitiful beings – just another "commodity of the bourgeoisie" that would "even go so far as to [censored]" with their customers (카페-여급은 ○○○녀라고 까지한다), and states that their

[23] Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse" in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds. *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 153.

[24] Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse" in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds. *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 153-154.

lives were “chock full of the specter of eroticism” and that the waitresses lived “altogether too dismal lives.”[25]

Some waitresses also spoke of their own experiences. One waitress, writing a memoir under the pen-name “Lily of the Valley” (*Yŏngnan*), provides further insight into their "altogether too dismal lives." A former actress, Lily notes that although she is doubtful of her “artistic contribution” to the “cultural movement” through acting, she took some comfort in the fact that through performance, both she and her audience could share moments of both anger and laughter. Yet this differed greatly from her experience as a waitress, where she was “mired within bitterness” and “surrounded by the indecencies of life.”[26] In particular, she notes expresses a deep concern over how her body has become a type of commodity for conspicuous consumption:

> “From time to time, the self-professed nobles, the wealthy, and the gentlemen wake up from their drunken stupor for ‘carnal solicitation’ [play on words, 肉을 肉迫]… and my desire for the tips that they toss my way makes me roll my eyes, my laughter mixing with tears. Yet from time to time, the exorbitant waste and braggadocio (いばる) of these same men makes it seem like they are just throwing me their own patheticness [as opposed to tips].
>
> But as I set out for home after 2 a.m. when everyone is deep asleep, dragging my body along, I run across countless beggar children. Clothed in nothing but rags to cover their naked bodies, there are times where I hear the child beggar’s pleas for one penny (푼) mix with the sounds of countless futile yet heartrending cries.
>
> It is at these times, when I compare them with the environment until just a few moments before – the echoes of the erotic records, the drunken

[25] “Int’eri – yŏgŭp aesa yŏja kobo mach’igo ŏcchae yŏgŭp toeŏtno?” in *Samch’ŏlli* vol 4 no 9 (September 1932): 72-73.

[26] Yŏngnan, “Int’eri yŏgŭp sugi” in *Samch’ŏlli* vol 6 no 5 (May 1934): 175.

> humming, and the reverberating sounds of debauchery (酒池肉林) – and when I compare them with my face reflected in my cocktail drinks, I let out a feeble sigh, wanting to forget it all. My abnormal means of living – on top of this body which is *becoming more and more of a commodity* – when I think of these things, I want to give up on living, but the restless winds in this clingy life block my courage to do so."[27]

The Mobius strip of colonial capitalist desire is evident here, but Lily of the Valley shows herself remarkably cognizant of how it operates. Although not explicitly a Marxist memoir, her usage of terms like "commodified" suggest at least a passing familiarity with socialist ideas. Furthermore, Lily is familiar with some Japanese, and revealingly she uses Japanese to describe the boastful "self-professed nobility" (自稱貴族). The *hiragana* term「いばる」[to boast] is set aside in brackets for emphasis, and the satire of her customer's pretentiousness is palpable through the abrupt introduction of Japanese, which leaps from the page – certainly a conscious choice lampooning the self-importance of these customers based on their Japanese "culture."[28] Whether the "self-professed nobility" Lily speaks of were actually Japanese-trained returnees or merely putting on airs, the fact is that for the public, the connection between returnees, braggadocio, and their diglossic snobbery was well understood enough to be source of readily palpable sarcasm.

Therefore mass media images of the café grabbed the public imagination as they portrayed the meeting the Japanese-trained Korean exchange student and the café waitress. Moreover, the café served as one of the most visceral sites of spectacle in its

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[27] Yŏngnan, "Int'eri yŏgŭp sugi" in *Samch'ŏlli* vol 6 no 5 (May 1934): 175. Bracketed notes and italics are my inclusions.

[28] Yŏngnan, "Int'eri yŏgŭp sugi" in *Samch'ŏlli* vol 6 no 5 (May 1934): 175.

purest sense. As Debord outlines in *The Society of the Spectacle,* the café became the epitome of this phenomenon – the reification of social nature of relationships through image – ultimately becoming the nexus of class alienation, cultural homogenization, and mass media. Through the café, Japanese university degrees, sexual tastes, and social behaviors entered a new level of abstraction, where the representation itself had become the ends, not the means.

Images of Japanese educated graduates were not limited to the prurient realm of cafes, however, and their activities were reported in detail for the Korean public as part a larger spectacle. Even the magazine *Pyŏlgŏngon*, which normally dealt with leisure and consumption, carried tidings of recent PhD recipients from Japan, detailing their academic histories and the contents of their theses. For example, *Pyŏlgŏngon* noted how a Ch'oe Il-mun graduated from Seoul Medical Technical College (京城醫學專門學校) before going to Tokyo Imperial University's medical school and specializing in external medicine and microbiology. Nearly two pages are devoted to an explanation of his doctoral dissertation.[29]

Periodicals were filled with success stories that combined the cosmopolitanism of university degrees with new avenues of business. *Samch'ŏlli* ran a series on successful entrepreneurs from Tokyo trained Korean intelligentsia (*int'eri*). Reporting from Myŏngdong, at the heart of the Japanese Honmachi district in Seoul, the reporter Pak Ok-hwa shared stories about a Hitotsubashi graduate who used his network with the Russian delegation to bring vodka to Korea, selling 20 boxes a day. Another graduate-turned-entrepreneur from Tokyo Art School opened a successful café, selling tea and food "sets"

[29] "Paksa nonmun kong'gae ki'i" in Pyŏlgŏngon vol. 11 (Feb 1928): 43-46.

with Japanese names that evoked Europe, like "Beneath a Rooftop in Paris" (*Pari no yane no shita*).[30]

Other periodicals were explicit in informing the public of the precise fungibility of a degree. As *Samch'ŏlli* noted, the salary for a bank employee with a degree from a higher institution in commerce was 50 yen or more a month, while a graduate from a top tier regular commerce school was 40 yen. If one were to make it to a newspaper section chief, one could expect a salary of 80 to 85 yen. A starting employee for *Tong'a ilbo* with a university degree began at 70 yen per month, while those from a technical school started at 50 yen a month.[31]

Thus the exchange student journey occupied a prominent space with the social imaginary that was perpetuated by mass media. The reading public was constantly bombarded with images that valorized the exchange student journey to Japan, and returnees were given a prestige status that promised both economic riches and social favor. Entangled within the formulation of a simultaneously colonizing and colonized identity expressed through sexual preference, linguistic practices, and social behaviors, these representations could tout the promises of cultural assimilation in a way that the GGK policy could not. Yet by the late 1920s, the supposed glamor of returnees from Tokyo would face a new challenge: higher nomads and the cultural reserve army.

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[30] Pak Ok-hwa, "Int'eri ch'ŏngnyŏn chigŏp" in *Samch'ŏlli* vol 5 no 10 (Oct 1933).

[31] Quoted in Chŏng Sŏn-i, "Iljae kangjŏmgi kodŭng kyoyuk cholŏpja ŭi yangsang kwa t'ŭksŏng" in *Sahoe wa yŏksa* vol. 77 (March 2008): 21.

The Not-so-roaring 20s: Late 1920s Seoul and the Cultural Reserve Army

If a Tokyo-educated Korean returnee hoped to come back from the Japanese educational cornucopia to Kyŏngsŏng and enjoy a comfortable 85 yen salary, have enough money to frequent cafes, and maybe even start a relationship with one of the tram riding, high heeled, Japanese-speaking, leggy modern women in short dresses, the reality of the market in the late 1920s was starkly different than these glamorized portrayals. As noted in Chapter 2, the wave of Japanese exchange students ramped up in the early 1920s, returning to Korea in the latter half of the decade.[32] Yet they faced a vastly more competitive market. While in 1923 roughly 80% went on to find employment; by 1929 this went down to 50%, and fell precipitously to 36% in 1931.[33]

The other 50% or 64% became a social issue that was encompassed through the term "employment struggles" (就職難). An article in *Pyŏlgŏngon* listed both school entrance and employment as two of the "five great struggles" in life (人生의五大難), which included the struggles of marriage, housing, employment, school entrance, and time [management]. Interestingly, the segments on school entrance and employment were censored in their entirety (58 lines on employment, 56 lines on school entrance), suggesting that these were a topic that the GGK did not want to handle.[34] The *Tong'a ilbo*

[32] Pak Ch'un-p'a, "Ilbon Tonggyŏng e yuhakhanŭn uri hyŏngje ŭi hyŏnsang ŭl tŭl'ŏssŏ" in *Kaebyŏk* vol. 9 (March 1921): 80-83.

[33] Amano Ikuo, *Kindai Nihon kōtō kyōiku kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tamagawa daigaku shuppan-sha, 1989), 315-316.

[34] Ch'angsŏk, "Insaeng ŭi odaenan" in *Pyŏlgŏngon* vol 14 (July 1928): 52-55.

noted the common sentiment through a sensationalized article, “Passing through the Hell of Entrance Exams only to Face the Demon’s Door (Bad Luck 鬼門)”[35]

In an article for *Kaebyŏk* magazine, Yi Ton-hwa (writing under the pseudonym Ch’anghae kŏsa 滄海居士), gave his vision for how to ameliorate the unemployment problem, or the ever-present ch’wijiknan (就職難) issue.[36] The *Chungwoe ilbo* also echoed these sentiments, noting that “Every time a new machine is invented, it results in a flood of unemployment. Similarly, colonial Korea is facing a similar flood. Similarly, even the expanding capitalist metropolis (膨脹하는 資本主義都市) cannot accommodate the growing numbers of intelligentsia class.”[37] Other newspapers started to report on the strange mismatch between graduation rates and employment. One reporter notes the strange curiosity when comparing the similar struggles during both entrance exam and matriculation seasons, noting that it was a “huge paradox” (大矛盾), and traces employment struggles are the result the the domination of finance capital, which stretched to every move (掌握하고一擧手一投足).”[38]

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[35] “Iphak’nan chiok chinani u’bu ch’wijiknan ŭi kwimun" in *Tong’a ilbo* 6 Feb 1930, 2.

[36] Ch’anghae kŏsa, “Ch’wijiknan ŭl yŏhahi haegyŏl halga” in *Kaebyŏk* 8 (Feb 1921): 34.

[37] “Nyŏn’nyŏn i kyŏkjŭng hanŭn chisik kyegŭp ŭi siljiggun, paekmyŏng man kyŏu ch’wijik, kujech’aekdo pyŏlmu hyokwa” in *Chungwoe ilbo* 4 Oct 1929: 1.

[38] “Ch’wihaknan kwa ch’wijiknan” in *Tong’a ilbo* 11 Feb 1927, 6.

Thus the aspiring student crowds that left Korea in the early 1920s came home to a Kyŏngsŏng that was unrecognizable from the more glitzy portrayals, and eventually the "failed" intellectuals became a class into their own – the so-called "higher nomads" 高等遊民, the "cultural reserve army" 文化予備軍, or the "intellectual labor candidacy crowd" 知能労働候補群.

The term "higher nomads" was actually an import from Japan, as Japan had faced a similar phenomenon. Referring to the hapless graduates who could not find employment, the term "higher nomad" accompanied the proliferation of the modern educational system in Japan. The term can be seen as early as 1913 in a book by Meiji period educator Nishiyama Tetsuji who wrote a monograph on the pitfalls to avoid in education, which he termed "evil education" (*akukyōiku*). One of these was the pitfall of higher nomadism. As Nishiyama notes, recent graduates had been displaying a remarkable amount of greed. The traditional East Asian rejection of money (*haikin shisō* 排金思想) had become the worship of money (also pronounced *haikin shisō* 拝金思想). Thus Japan, he notes, had lost the elegant and refined character of the samurai, who even if faced with starvation, would put an after-meal toothpick in his mouth as if his stomach was full.[39]

Yet this differed from Japan's recent higher nomads. Nishiyama states that the higher one's educational attainment, the higher the expectations became for jobs. Thus many were not finding employment, leading to the phenomenon of "higher nomadism,"

[39] Nishiyama Tetsuji, *Aku kyōiku no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kōgakukan, 1913), 380.

which he defines as “those who have graduated from middle school or higher and who have not found employment.” The fact that he had to define this term explicitly for the reader suggests that it was not in wide usage at the time. Furthermore, his solution for this problem was quite straightforward, albeit a bit ungainly – he encouraged educators to make sure to prepare their graduates for unglamorous jobs.[40]

Other writers in Japan covered this phenomenon of higher nomadism. Tsuboya Senshirō, a publicist and public intellectual, also wrote on the issue for a monograph *The Intelligentsia Class and Employment*. Writing as a policy wonk, he notes how these higher nomads had an incredible amount of investment "poured into" them, but if they remain unproductive they become both a personal and national drain, as they waste state investments in buildings and personnel. Thus he states how a single student can even have as much as 5,000 yen invested in them, and looks at recent government reports, like one from 1924 where 1,066 students either died or dropped out of the five Imperial Universities (not including Keijō), as an example of governmental waste.[41]

Similarly, Maeda Hajime, the author largely responsible for introducing the now ubiquitous term “salaryman” to Japan, wrote about higher nomadism in the book *Tales of a Salaryman*. In this work, he acquaints readers with the moniker "Mr. Koshiben" (koshiben-san), which refers to the small lunch boxes that salarymen tied around their waists to bring to work – a decidedly non-glamorous image. After passing through examination hell while accoutred with "headache headbands," these pitiful figures end up facing employment

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[40] Nishiyama Tetsuji, *Aku kyōiku no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kōgakukan, 1913), 380-382.

[41] Tsuboya Senshirō, *Chishiki kaikyū to shūshoku* (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku shuppanbu, 1929), 9-10.

agony immediately afterwards.[42] Maeda notes that this was a far cry from times past, when the student's countryside parents would sell their fields, their forestlands, all their possessions and real estate, thinking that if their son could only graduate he would become a great person who would return their investment several times, or even several dozens of times. Maeda notes that "such stories are a dream of the past."[43] Instead, he paints a bleak picture of five or six eager graduates showing up at a company's doors, their cries of "*Yoroshiku onegai-shimasu*" audible, and notes that visits by five or six years every single day quickly add up to where there are 30 times or even 50 times as many applicants as open positions. The chosen few who are able to make it through the whole process treat their employment letters "like a love letter from a crush."[44]

Such images of the unsuccessful higher nomad were not uncommon in Japan, and occupied a prominent space within the public consciousness. There was a prevailing sense that these people were a failed public good despite being the recipients of national investment and tasked with building the nation – a sentiment that was wholly embraced by Korean intellectuals like Yi Kwangsu. The term higher nomad also traversed the Sea of Japan (Eastern Sea) and made its way into the colony. Like graduates in Japan, higher nomads in Korea also faced the specter of unemployment, even despite their class ambitions and careful academic pedigrees.

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[42] Maeda Hajime, *Sarariman monogatari* (Tokyo: Tōyō keizai shuppansha, 1928), 8.

[43] Maeda Hajime, *Sarariman monogatari* (Tokyo: Tōyō keizai shuppansha, 1928), 8-9.

[44] Maeda Hajime, *Sarariman monogatari* (Tokyo: Tōyō keizai shuppansha, 1928), 9-12.

However, higher nomadism in Seoul was further complicated by the colony-metropole relationship. The failure of higher nomads in Japan to find employment represented a failure of the implicit promises of colonial modernity. It highlighted inconsistencies in education vis-à-vis the labor theory of value – labor and investments were "poured into" students, yet they were still unable turn this investment into economically productive work. The failure of higher nomads in Korea, however, was a breach of the contract that the pilgrimage to Tokyo, the Mecca of cultural capital, would imbue aspiring intellectuals with the promised boons of education.

The cultural reserve army was thus a doubly broken promise. It not only undermined the implicit understanding that education would come to fruition through economically productive work – the "success by fireflies and snow" – but it also broke the unspoken sense that concatenated assimilative behavior and the bourgeoisie ideal. For vanguard nationalists, social relations were forged through their education in Tokyo, and these relations were centered around Japanese cultural capital. Yet the failure of exchange students to become the social class of the "intelligentsia," that was so glamorized through spectacles like the café actually highlighted the absurdity of social relations under colonialism.

Yet at the same time, the image of the cultural reserve army also served as a salient point of critique against images of the comprador intellectuals' class pretentions, cultural capital, and social practices, opening up a discursive space for critique. Thus in Korea, Ewha Womans High School teacher Kim Ch'ang-je was not so empathetic to the plight of the cultural reserve army, writing in the journal *Tong'gwang* in 1926 of the phenomena in Korea, and was highly critical of this group, noting that "youth these days do not think

about their own agency, instead imitating others," and asserted that they "try to live a life of vapid enjoyment despite having no money." He even asserts that "these unproductive 'higher nomads' (in reality they are inferior nomads) are the traitors to modernity and the dregs of society [社會의 贅物]." Furthermore, he notes the irony of how their class ambitions had paradoxically become their fetters, noting how they "had all become slaves, unable to throw away their ruling class identities – is this not pitiful?"[45]

Kim Ch'ang-je's statement about the ruling class identities gets at the heart of the irony of social relations under modern capitalist development. It was precisely the failure of these higher nomads that accentuated the problems. The common sense naturalness of ruling identity came into stark relief through these students' failure to find work. Thus it was the very act of failing that accentuated the fact that they were "slaves." This was furthermore underlined by the very "fakeness" of their class identity, as they are portrayed enjoying the supposed rewards of the elite class without actually having money. This was spectacle in its purist form - the degradation of "being into having... and from having into appearing."[46]

Yet the whole phenomenon of representation and appearance remained salient within mass media. Other papers also echoed how nomads held onto such identities. For example, the *Chungwoe ilbo* claimed that newly minted higher education graduates still held dearly to their class pretentions despite their inability to find lucrative employment,

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[45] "Man'il naega 20-sal ŭi ch'ŏngnyŏn i toel su itta hamyŏn" in *Tong'gwang* vol 8 (December 1926): page needed. Parenthetical note in the original.

[46] Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle* (Athens?: Red & Black, 2000), 17.

noting that at one time, only successful college graduates carried around business cards, but he asserts that "nowadays, even the class of 40-wŏn'ers or 50-wŏn'ers (사십원 오십원 원급쨍이)" had the gall to carry them, even as middle school and technical school graduates were stifled by salaries of 25 won or 30 won per month.[47] This alleged arrogance, manifest through class aspiration, would not go unchallenged, however, and the writers used one of the most potent weapons in their arsenal: satire.

Satirizing the Cultural Reserve Army: Ch'ae Man-sik, Yi Kwang-su, and the Deculturalization of Capital

Seoulites were bombarded with the conflicting images of the supposed glamour of successful university graduates from Tokyo with the reality of their unemployment. Therefore, these hapless graduates would capture the public imagination, and gained the moniker "cultural reserve army," which hearkened both to the supposed "cultured" nature of these people, and contained Marxist overtones of the "reserve army." Yet this paradox between representation and reality also opened up a unique discursive space for writers to undermine the implicit promise that colonial development would allow citizens to participate in the spectacle of consumption and to destabilize the naturalness of social relations. Drawing from the rhetoric of ready-made art, one of colonial Korea's most celebrated satirists penned a tale of the cultural reserve army, characterizing these people as living "ready-made lives."

[47] "Nyŏn'nyŏn i kyŏkjŭng hanŭn chisik kyegŭp ŭi siljiggun, paekmyŏng man kyŏu ch'wijik, kujech'aekdo pyŏlmu hyokwa" in *Chungwoe ilbo* 4 Oct 1929: 1.

The Korean satirist Ch'ae Man-sik wrote his dire portrayal of the cultural reserve army in his serialized short story for the journal *Sindong'a.* Entitled "A Ready-made Life,"[48] this piece follows the misadventures of a group of cultural reserve army youth, relying heavily on black humor to depict their plight. The third person omniscient narrator follows these youth as they waste their time away, devoid of any hopes of joining the workforce – and by extension – the colonial bourgeoisie. They are disaffected with education, and in an early scene the characters plot to spend their time in activism through a unique demonstration – they want to stage a protest *against* those who inspired them to receive a higher education (in Japan). In one scene, the characters named P, H, and M, discuss receiving colonial police authorization for their protest:

> "So the first thing is that we're gonna go to the police bureau and tell them our target isn't the Governor General of Korea. We're after Korea's so-called civilian supporters, so back off."
> "So we're gonna go with an officially sanctioned May Day demonstration then?"
> "Yeah, we'll go the sanctioned route. We'll get a banner, and we'll put on it 'Who the hell are the bastards who inspired us with this educational fever?' What do you think?"
> "Hell yeah!"[49]

Such rhetoric is a far cry from Yi Kwang-su's sanguine speech to recent Tokyo graduates, covered in the previous chapter, that exhorted how students' uncouth compatriots throughout Korea had shed their sweat to place their futures in the hands of aspiring

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[48] The use of a hyphen is intentional, as Ch'ae's use of the term seems to draws from the Marcel Duchamp and Dadaist's use of ready-made art. Others contemporaries used the term in a similar vein around the same time. See Yi Kwang-su, "Minjok undong ŭi sam kich'o sagyo" in *Tong'gwang* vol. 30 (25 Jan 1932), 13-14.

[49] Ch'ae Man-sik, "Redimaeidŭ insaeng" in *Sindong'a* (1934)

intellectuals, and marked the mood of the late 1920s and early 1930s – the era of the cultural reserve army. A far cry from Yi's heroic sources of "4500 yen of investment," Ch'ae Man-sik's omniscient narrator uses an aside to describe them: "They were unemployed intellectuals, with shoulders drooping, a powerless cultural reserve army who were like dogs who could only manage a single breath at their house in mourning at their master's death. Theirs was a ready-made life."[50]

Furthermore, Ch'ae's narrator satirizes the disjunct between the supposed nationalist goals that Korean students in Tokyo championed with the reality of their return to Korea. In another scene, rather than engage in any social movements, the trio of P, H, and M set out to find cheap drinks to waste away their time, and the narrator gives an aside on their situation:

> "They were people without a use. In the (socialist movement), their own subjectivity within the (popular front) was too weak. It's hard to avoid this conclusion – a good number of them, while they were students in Tokyo, were actively and consistently involved in the socialist movements, but once they returned to Korea, they quit. Yet they also could not find a place within the existing bourgeoisie cultural apparatus. Theirs was a ready-made existence, bought at whim only when needed."[51]

Stripped of the optimism of their student days in Tokyo, P, H, and M instead get drinks and encounter a cheap prostitute from the Korean countryside. Having sold her body from 16, she pushes herself upon M, who expresses disgust both at her and himself before throwing her a handful of yen and running away. M undergoes an epiphany, realizing the absurdity of

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[50] Ch'ae Man-sik, "Redimaeidŭ insaeng" in *Sindong'a* (1934).

[51] Ch'ae Man-sik, "Redimaeidŭ insaeng" in *Sindong'a* (1934).

his life. While M attempts to engage in the capitalist consumption that was so glamorized through the colonial promise, in this moment of awakening M realizes that it was all a farce – his Japanese education through the "educational fever" was empty, and he instead was living a "ready-made life," only able to grasp at a cheap imitation of the successful returnee's life. Moreover, Ch'ae depicts M as the glamorized returnee's polar opposite: instead of an educated, Japanese-speaking Korean waitress with a Japanese name serving him beer, he drinks alcohol described as "tasting like dishwater" and is accosted by a cheap, countryside whore.[52] Ch'ae's female character underlines the ridiculousness of defining one's bourgeoisie identity through cavorting with Japanese-speaking waitresses by presenting their antithesis in the whore.

His use of "ready-made" to describe these figures is also telling, as it invokes Marcel Duchamp and later Dadaist forays in ready-made art. A pioneer of using common, everyday objects and presenting them as art, Duchamp has been characterized by "indifference in opposition to… the proponents of supposed 'good taste.'"[53] As someone who challenged the supposed "good taste" of comprador intellectuals who returned to Seoul as paragons of "refined tastes," the image is fitting.

Other writers adopted the figure of the cultural reserve army to underline the dual failures of colonial mimicry and capitalist collusion. Writing nearly contemporaneously with Ch'ae, Yi Kwangsu penned a serial short story for the *Tong'a ilbo* called "The Revolutionary's Wife" (革命家의 안내), which also painted a dismal picture of Japanese

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[52] Ch'ae Man-sik, "Redimaeidŭ insaeng" in *Sindong'a* (1934).

[53] Janine Mileaf, *Please Touch: Dada and Surrealist Objects after the Readymade* (Hanover: Dartmouth College Press, 2010), 22.

educated returnees in Seoul. *The Revolutionary's Wife* was one of Yi's most unabashedly anti-socialist pieces, and he creates a caricature of a socialist revolutionary intellectual and his "liberated" wife. Yet this story also provides further insight into the difficulties faced by Korean intellectuals who brought ideas of socialist revolution back to Korea.

The protagonist is given the name Kong-sang. The third-person omniscient narrator states tongue-in-cheek that "his name was Kong-sang, but of course this is not his real name. If you ask me his real name, I would have to say that I could not tell you as it's a secret. Keeping this secret is the narrator's only integrity, and the narrator has no other integrity."[54] Yet this mystic "secret name" itself was a pun on the “communal” in communism (共産 *kongsang*), written using the alternative homophonous characters for “empty production (孔産 *kongsang*).”[55]

In Yi's story, the protagonist Kong-sang is a Tokyo educated self-professed socialist revolutionary residing in Seoul, and follows his eventual demise to tuberculosis. Kong was once married to a feeble but fair-skinned woman described as "a Chosŏn-era beauty" who was "wise and virtuous (賢明)," which immediately clues readers that she would fit the into the much maligned mold of "wise mother, good wife."[56] However, this would change once he met Chŏng-hŭi - the characters for her name meaning "chaste princess."

Chŏng-hŭi, however, was neither chaste nor a princess. The narrator describes her as dark skinned and the "type of high school girl you could see in the inner room/bourdoir

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[54] Yi Kwangsu, “Hyŏkmyŏngga ŭi anae” in *Tong’a ilbo* 1 January – 4 February 1933: 3.

[55] Yi Kwangsu, “Hyŏkmyŏngga ŭi anae” in *Tong’a ilbo* 1 January – 4 February 1933: 3.

[56] Yi Kwangsu, “Hyŏkmyŏngga ŭi anae” in *Tong’a ilbo* 1 January – 4 February 1933: 4.

of any house." An avid player of the "modern" sport of tennis, Chŏng-hŭi was "bigger in frame and stature than Kong-sang. She was a bit dark, but her skin was quite good and she had a great body in particular. In short, she was a sensuous woman who could draw out a feeling of affection from men."[57] After cohabitating with Kong for a period, he shared his "revolutionary ideologies" with her, and she developed an equal relationship with her husband, and felt "no need to worship him." As the narrator states, "shall we call them colleagues, or even comrades? Either way, it became a completely egalitarian (at least from the wife's point of view) relationship."[58]

The narrator describes how Chŏng-hŭi's "slender eyes are shaped in an appropriate way to glare at people as if giving them sarcastic remarks," and this carried on to her relationship with Kong. As Kong is in bed from his chronic tuberculosis, Chŏng-hŭi constantly nags him: "How long are you planning on just lying there?... It's so tiring. Either live or die, but whatever you do just draw things to a close." In frustration, she kicks his medicine bottle, which then opens and spills across the floor while Kong reflects on how precious its contents are to him.

Yet while Kong was involved in the socialist movement, Chŏng was not involved in anything particular. Furthermore, as a revolutionary's wife, she fancies herself to be a revolutionary. Yet while Kong was involved in the socialist movement, Chŏng was not involved in anything particular. Her main accomplishments seem to be revolting against

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[57] Yi Kwangsu, "Hyŏkmyŏng'ga ŭi anae" in *Yi Kwangsu chŏnjip* vol. 2 (Seoul: Nurimidia, 2011), 467.

[58] Yi Kwangsu, "Hyŏkmyŏng'ga ŭi anae" in *Yi Kwangsu chŏnjip* vol. 2 (Seoul: Nurimidia, 2011), 466. Narrator aside in the original.

Korean women who listen to their husbands and practice modesty. Wanting to throw away the vestiges of her bourgeoisie consciousness, Chŏng fully immerses herself her own "revolution" by sleeping with a decidedly non-socialist (bourgeoisie) medical student Kwŏn Osŏng, who lives next door.[59]

Kong's illness eventually "became the greatest catalyst (媒介) for Chŏng-hŭi and Kwŏn's pleasures. When [Kong] was awake, they would nurse him, and at night they stated that they were exhausted from nursing him, and slept side-by-side."[60] Similar to Jun'ichirō Tanizaki's *A Fool's Love* written a decade earlier, the protagonist had molded his spouse into his own ideological desires, only to find himself totally dominated by her. His own physical wellbeing declines even as Chŏng-hŭi gains power, and before he passes away to tuberculosis, he gives a long-winded, confused lament. He switches between languages, writes some Japanese using Korean script, some Japanese in *kana,* English in both the alphabet and in *hangŭl.*

> He thought, *I just want someone's kind hand* (Japanese written in Japanese). But I am a revolutionary, he thought, continuing to ponder this in a state of half-sleep and half-awake consciousness. Aren't revolutionaries people too? My body hurts so much and *when it seems like I can't take anymore, I just want a kind hand more than anything else* [Japanese written in Japanese]…
>
> Why has my body become so weak? Are there old vestiges [of feudalism] left within my blood vessels? Reduce [*rityusŭ* – English written in Korean] my chronic illness. Revolutionaries [Korean], true human nature [Japanese] - reduce human nature [English]. Revolutionaries are people too. Being a revolutionary is something that humans also do, right? Chŏnghŭi – Kwŏn – Ŏmŏm – my comrades in prison – chronic illness *brings out the true character* [Japanese

[59] Yi Kwangsu, "Hyŏkmyŏng'ga ŭi anae" in *Yi Kwangsu chŏnjip* vol. 2 (Seoul: Nurimidia, 2011), 467.

[60] Yi Kwangsu, "Hyŏkmyŏng'ga ŭi anae" in *Yi Kwangsu chŏnjip* vol. 2 (Seoul: Nurimidia, 2011), 481.

> written in Korean] of the revolutionary – *reduce* [English written in English] – *reduce* [English written in Korean] – *soft-soft-tender-tender-tender-hand*… [English written in English].
>
> In a state halfway between sleep and awakening, Kong kept fantasizing."

The scene is one of black humor, and "empty" Kong's empty ideology is on full display here. Half-delirious on his deathbed, the omniscient narrator presents his voice in a linguistic muddle. English phrases are written in both the Latin alphabet and Hangul, while his Japanese language thoughts are written both in *kana* and Hangul. Facing his imminent demise, Kong must confront the confused nature of his own identity and ideology. Yet at the same time, the scene is meant to be a farce, as Kong goes so far as blaming the "vestiges of feudalism" within his blood vessels for his chronic illness. In Marxist soteriology, it is feudalism, not sin, that causes a revolutionary's untimely death.

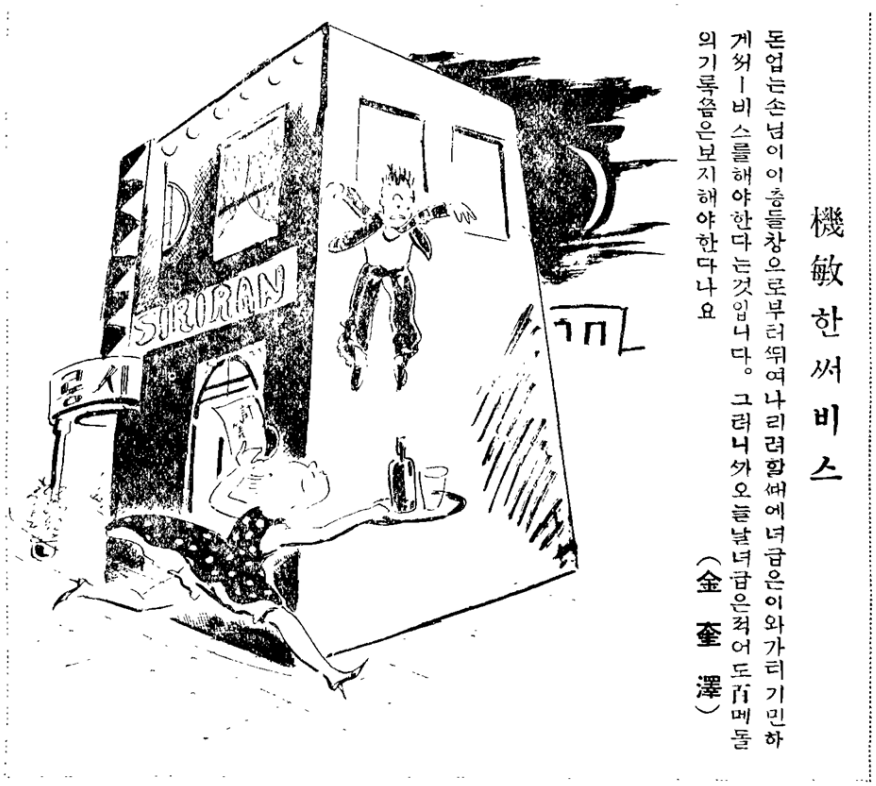
Yet implicit throughout this critique is an uneasiness with the status of the intellectual. Yi critiques not only the sexually exploitative rhetoric from "socialist" intellectuals, but also their grasp on the status within intelligentsia itself. Thus although by the 1930 the tropes of the money-loving "bourgeoisie intellectual" and populist "socialist intellectual" had emerged in Korea, both of these categories were contested.

Thus *The Revolutionary's Wife* was a farcical moment intended as social satire. Kong, like Ch'ae's P, H, and M, capitalized on his social standing and used the discourse of female liberation, complete with his knowledge of Japanese, to seduce a high school girl and shape her into his revolutionary wife. Yet at the same time, this ended in irony as his liberated wife, so enamored by him spouting socialist phrases, instead commits adultery with the most bourgeoisie of bourgeoisie - an aspiring doctor with no interest in the socialist

movement. Furthermore, his death scene itself is pitiful, and the man who once took such pride in his polyglot ability in the end cannot express himself properly, but rather spits out a jumbled stream-of-consciousness that mixes Korean, Japanese, English, the alphabet, kana, and Hangul into a jumble of anguish. In the end, all the cultural capital and colonial mimicry that Kong had embraced was revealed to be meaningless. Thus *The Revolutionary's Wife* captures a common sentiment about the nature of returnee intellectuals. Kong notes that it was in times of tribulation - sickness or imprisonment - that the true nature of socialist intellectuals came out. On his deathbed, he obsesses over the idea of true nature, calling it *jigane* in kana and Hangul, while writing it as human nature in English.

In Ch'ae's tale, the Tokyo educated activists were the flip side of this story. Unlike the tragicomic death of the loyal but empty Kong, P, H, and M were more naked in their pursuit to turn their status into hedonic pleasures. As two tales at the dawn of the 1930s, these stories are attempts to come to grips with what was happening with the breakdown of the colonial capitalist promise. In the end, the ready-made life displaced the naïve narrative of vanguard elitism of the late 1910s and early 1920s, which assumed a steady progression through the teleology of capitalism, and both Ch'ae and Yi's works express a widespread disillusionment with the vanguard elitism as well as a realization of the emptiness behind the spectacle of glamorized returnee-intelligentsia. Fittingly, images of intellectual-waitress dalliances in the early 1930s took a satirical turn, as the successful intellectual finding "consolation for his youth" at the café with Japanese named female graduates was replaced by images of his more dubious counterpart – the ostentatious intellectual who received the waitresses' attentions but ran out without paying. Social satirist and manhwa artist Kim Kyu-t'aek portrayed one such incident where a penniless

customer is seen trying to dine-and-dash by jumping out of a second story window. The caption notes that the waitress quickly realizes that this customer is need of "agile service," and she is shown quickly running to catch the customer with the bill in her hand. The manwha notes that such a performance could set a new record for the 100 meters.[61]



Kim Kyu-t'aek, "Agile Service"[62]

Such images of intellectuals emphasize the disjunct between the expected glamor and the reality. Other similar incidents bordered on the bizarre. The aforementioned Angel

[61] Kim Kyu-t'aek, "Kimin han ssŏbisŭ" in *Pyŏlgŏngon* no. 58 (Dec 1932): 42.

[62] Kim Kyu-t'aek, "Kimin han ssŏbisŭ" in *Pyŏlgŏngon* no. 58 (Dec 1932): 42.

Café (앤젤 카페) of the Korean Chong-no district, home of the Japanese-named Korean waitresses, was hit by a strange incident where a gun-touting alleged "communist" intellectual threatened the waitress into providing service and then ran away. The incident was under investigation by a man named Nakamura,[63] who concluded that the gun was a toy, and it is unclear whether he was eventually apprehended.[64] This incident is scant on details, so it could easily be relegated to the dustbin of history. Yet it matches so well with Ch'ae Man-sik's description of returnee angst. Why go through all the trouble of planning a criminal invasion just to be serviced by a waitress? And why spout socialist theory during this process? Was this man a returnee turned member of the cultural reserve army, one who joined socialist movements in Tokyo and returned with bourgeoisie expectations? As his name is not given, we may never know. The journal *Pyŏlgŏngon,* however, did make a note of how "as the warmer weather comes around, we see the rapid increase of mental diseases. The majority of these are young men and women of the intelligentsia class." Specifically referring to the cultural reserve army, the article notes links the two by stating that "insanity (發狂) results when people are subjected to extreme anguish (煩惱)."[65]

The issue of the cultural reserve army because a large enough worry that the periodical *Che'ilsŏn* even devoted an issue to the problem on the theme of "An SOS from the Battle Lines of Culture" in 1931 which invited several authors to opine on the issue of the

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[63] Pronunciation of his first name is unknown, but could be: Norikazu, Suetaka, or Suenobu. In Japanese: 中村某

[64] "Ka-kwŏnch'ong ch'ŏngnyŏn yŏgŭp hyŏppak ch'wisik" in *Tong'a ilbo* 8 January 1934, 2.

[65] "Sisang manhwa" in *Pyŏlgŏngon* vol 29 (June 1930): 27-28.

cultural reserve army. Pak Yŏng-'chun, in describing the cultural reserve army, notes that "They had the grace of being born to comparatively rich households, and unlike those who were only able to attend primary school, they spent dozens of years in school, spending enormous amounts on tuition, and as their only remuneration for 'studying by the light of fireflies and reflections from the snow' was a diploma… Yet once they leave the school gates, they see the nude statue of Korea in all her nakedness, and for the first time they experience true pain and agony."[66] While the prose might be overstated, Pak sentiment is clear – the professed "cultured" nature of comprador intellectuals, their diaglossic snobbery, and their assimilative behavior was ultimately "naked," and they clearly deserved to suffer from both unemployment and social stigma.

Conclusion

Cultural assimilation takes many forms, and during the mid 1920s to early 1930s, the comprador intellectual in mass media exerted a major assimilative force within the Korean public. As images of Korean, Japanese university graduates cavorting with Korean, Japanese speaking waitresses proliferated within mass media, this spectacle helped to reinforce how education in Japan was the fount of both "enlightenment" and social mobility. Furthermore, as Ann Laura Stoler notes, such behavior helped to reinforce comprador intellectuals' own self-image as a separate class.

Yet as economic reality did not match the class pretentions of Japanese university graduates in the early 1930s, both writers and the mass media adopted the image of the

[66] Pak Yŏng-ch'un, "Munhwa yebigun ŭi kot'ong" in *Che'ilsŏn* (1931): 11-12.

cultural reserve army to critique the ideology of assimilation and the class pretense implicit within such images. As writers like Ch'ae Man-sik and Yi Kwang-su adopted a critical stance against this group, they challenged the legitimacy of colonial modernity from within.

Part II: Introduction

Behind the Discourse of Intellectuals

What constituted an “intellectual” in 1920s colonial Korea? Did it include the technical intelligentsia, including those in medicine or engineering? What about the cultural intelligentsia, such as poets and novelists? And what of those who were part of the emerging colonial bureaucracy? The term intellectual is so broad it risks obfuscating as much as it illuminates.

Part I illustrates how the term was as ubiquitous and potent as it was vague. From the great demotion of Korean institutions covered in the first chapter during the 1910s to the tepid return of Tokyo trained intellectuals as the “cultural reserve army” during the 1930s in the third chapter, the concept of the "intellectual" clearly held clout in the Korean public sphere. Comprador intellectuals were the subject of widespread discourse, and representations of this group were intertwined with ideals of academic prestige, middle class success, modern consumption, and cosmopolitan glamor.

At the same time, the representation of “intellectuals” in newspapers, journals, and literature clearly lacked materiality and was more about representation than any sort of lived experience. The concrete experience of a GGK bureaucrat was markedly different than the everyday life of a poet, yet both fell under the broad umbrella of "intellectual." However, Part I illuminates how there was a consistency the representations of this group that warrants treating such disparate individuals as a social unit, imagined as it may be.

"Intellectuals" encompassed several different terms in Korean. These included words like “intellectual” *chisik'in* (知識人), “thinker/sophist/ideologue” *sasanga* (思想家),

"community activists" *yuji* (有志), and for women included terms like "female luminary/notable" *yŏryu myŏngsa* (女流名士). Yet in practice, these terms included a wide range of professions. For example, the *Singanhoe,* a prominent association and "united front" for colonial intellectuals working towards national independence from 1927-1931, consisted of leaders that were Ch'ŏndogyo religionists, journalists, linguists, and educators who majored in political science, law, literature, education, and other fields. Yet despite the diversity of their own academic training and vocational histories, as "intellectuals" in the *Singanhoe*, they banded together in a single association to tackle what Michael Robinson termed the "Intellectual Crisis in Colonial Korea."[1] As a social category, the idea of "comprador intellectual" merits analysis.

Part II of this dissertation delves into the concrete experiences of comprador intellectuals by looking at two communities of comprador intellectuals: socialist feminists and Proletarian authors. Chapter 4, "From Compradors to Feminists: The Rose of Sharon Alliance and Socialist Feminism" looks at the Rose of Sharon Alliance (*Kunŭhoe*) to investigate how the social networks and advocacy of colonial Korea's largest feminist group was inherently shaped by their experience as comprador intellectuals. Chapter 5, "Proletarian Authors and the Search for Colonial Subjectivity" focuses on Chang Hyŏk-ju and his interactions with the Japanese Proletarian literature establishment to illuminate the complex relationship between colonial representation and the goals of the proletarian movement.

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[1] Michael Edson Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920-1925* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988), 151-156.

Chapter 4: From Compradors to Feminists: The Rose of Sharon Alliance and Socialist Feminism

Introduction

As Part I outlines, comprador intellectuals – Korean graduates from Japanese universities – occupied a unique place in the public imaginary. As the Governor General of Korea policy stymied attempts for the establishment of an independent native tertiary educational system, increasing numbers of aspiring students went to Japan in search of college diplomas. The Korean exchange student populace in Tokyo struggled with cementing their own roles within Korea's development, with some seeing themselves as a vanguard class, while others were more suspicious of the whole project of capitalist development. While in the early 1920s they were represented both as symbols of the glamor of assimilation, middle class life, and cultural capital, by the late 1920s and 1930s, many portrayals showed this group as hapless victims of the changing tides of capitalist development. Yet these portrayals, for the most part, were overwhelmingly male. This chapter turns to a group of female comprador intellectuals through the Rose of Sharon Alliance.

The Rose of Sharon Alliance (槿友會, henceforth Alliance) was colonial Korea's largest feminist organization, active from 1927 to 1931. Although the Alliance was short lived, it accomplished much within its four years of activity. The Alliance drew members from across Korea and beyond, and established branches through Korea, Japan, and Manchuria.[1] The Alliance leadership – an assortment of social workers, literary critics,

[1] Chŏng Yo-sŏp, *Hanguk yŏsŏng undongsa: ilchaeha ŭi minjok undong ŭl chungsim ŭro* (Seoul: Ilhogak, 1984), 147.

newspaper reporters, teachers, and doctors – advocated greater employment opportunities for women, the establishment of child care facilities, the abolishment of prostitution, and other women's issues.

In the Alliance's four years of activity, leaders of the organization published a journal, planned a nationwide lecture circuit, and attracted a total membership of nearly ten thousand women, spread across seventy local branches spanning Korea, Japan and Manchuria.[2] When reflecting on such rapid success, many historians foreground nationalism's role in providing legitimacy for their activism, citing incidents like the Rose of Sharon Alliance's participation in the Kwangju Student Movement.

This chapter aims to broaden the scope of the Alliance's history by focusing on three prominent members of the Alliance: Hwang Sindŏk, Chŏng Ch'ilsŏng, and Hŏ Chŏngsuk. Hwang Sindŏk and Hŏ Chŏngsuk authored most of the Alliance's printed material, making them a rich target of inquiry.[3] Chŏng Ch'ilsŏng served as the president of the Alliance's central branch in Seoul and as the main speaker for the Alliance on several nationwide lecture circuits. Thus she also played a major role in shaping the movement's ideological foundations. In addition, these three women were prolific writers, penning articles in Korean and Japanese publications ranging from the *Tong'a ilbo,* a Korean newspaper, to *Chōsen oyobi Chōsen minzoku,* a Japanese magazine. These three women's scholarly and

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[2] Chŏng Yo-sŏp, *Hanguk yŏsŏng undongsa*, 147.

[3] Ch'osa [Kim Tonghwan], "Hyŏndae yŏryu sasang'ga dŭl 3, pulgŭn yŏn'ae ŭi chuin'gong" in *Samch'ŏlli* no. 17 (July 1931), 13-14.

activist efforts show how their independent intellectual contributions, shaped by overseas education, were the platform for the Alliance's enunciative legitimacy.[4]

Claiming the Podium: The Rose of Sharon Alliance and Enunciative Legitimacy in Colonial Korea

It may be wise to first critically consider legitimacy. Drawing from Foucault's conception of the role of the "statement" (Fr. *enoncé*), this chapter focuses on *enunciative* authority: the ability to create discursive statements, particularly vis-à-vis definitions of Korean womanhood.[5] The idea of enunciative legitimacy, then, refers simply to the ability to contribute to the discourse on womanhood in the public sphere – newspapers, magazines, speeches, and lecture circuits – as equals. As Slavoj Zizek notes, "the political struggle proper is… never simply a rational debate between multiple interests but, simultaneously, the struggle for one's voice to be heard and recognized as the voice of a legitimate partner."[6]

In his work elaborating the historical formation of the public sphere, Jurgen Habermas argues that before the Enlightenment, civil discourse was derived from royal

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[4] Some historians may take issue with my omission of Kim Hwallan. I have decided not to include Kim for two reasons. She left the Alliance the year after it was established because of ideological conflicts (she was a strong Protestant and had issues with much of the socialist rhetoric), and did not represent a significant voice while the Alliance was active. Additionally, Insook Kwon has already written a fascinating study in English on Kim. See Insook Kwon, "Feminists Navigating the Shoals of Nationalism and Collaboration: The Post-Colonial Debate over How to Remember Kim Hwallan" in *Frontiers* vol. 27 no. 1 (2006): 39-66.

[5] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971), 79-126.

[6] Slavoj Zizek, "Carl Schmitt in the Age of Post-Politics" in *The Challenge of Carl Schmitt* (London: Verso Books, 1999), ed. Chantal Mouffe, 28.

jurisdiction, and the voice of authority in the public was based on power bestowed by the monarch. However, after the Enlightenment, the basis for legitimacy shifted away from regal power and towards the use of reason.[7] This shift was driven by several factors – a widespread growth in literacy among an emergent bourgeoisie class, the development of printing technologies that allowed greater accessibility to writing, intellectual trends toward evaluating rhetoric with universal laws, and a wider audience to witness and evaluate rational debate. Consequently, in this new public space, enunciative authority was based on one's ability to exercise logic, not on borrowed magisterial prestige.[8]

However, more recent scholarship by Nancy Fraser asserts that the public sphere was far from a neutral "space of zero degree culture" subject only to reason, and she is dubious of the assumption that participation in this sphere equates equality.[9] Fraser even questions "whether it is possible even in principle for interlocutors to deliberate *as if* they were social peers in specifically designated discursive arenas."[10] In a departure from Habermas's sanguine interpretation of the public sphere, Fraser highlights how nominally impartial discourse bracketed out various inequalities – especially those of gender.[11] For example, she notes how "rational," "virtuous," and "masculine" forms of rhetoric were

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[7] Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991), trans. Thomas Burger, 27-31.

[8] Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere,* 27-31.

[9] Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy" in *Cultural Studies Reader, 2nd ed.* (New York: Routledge, 1999), ed. Simon During, 525-527.

[10] Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere," 525-526. Emphasis in the original.

[11] Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere," 525.

lauded in the public sphere of republican France, while France's gynocentric salon culture was debased as "effeminate" and "artificial."[12]

While colonial Korea experienced many of the same issues,[13] some scholars like Chŏng Yosŏp circumvent this issue, stating succinctly that in contrast to the "antagonistic gender relations characterizing the women's movement in the West," the pressures of Japanese imperialism resulted in a "cooperative nationalist consciousness" in which the "independence of Korea was the primary goal."[14] Much of the academic treatment of the Rose of Sharon Alliance (1927-1931) places this group into a similar narrative. In associating the Alliance with the anti-Japanese struggle, Pak Yong'ok notes how this group was part of a tradition of feminist nationalism that stretched back to 1900. Thus he contextualizes the Alliance within the activism of women who supported armed resistance groups, known as the Righteous Army (義兵) and the 1907 National Debt Repayment Movement (國債報償運動), a movement which sought Korean economic autonomy through citizens' private donations.[15]

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[12] Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere," 521.

[13] For an overview of portrayals of women, see Theodore Jun Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health 1910-1945* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008). For a discussion of rational masculinity in the public sphere, see Sheila Miyoshi Jager, *Narratives of Nation Building in Korea: A Genealogy of Patriotism* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2003), especially the chapter "Resurrecting Manhood: Sin Ch'ae-ho," 3-19.

[14] Chŏng Yosŏp, *Hanguk yŏsong undongsa*, 6-8.

[15] Pak Yong'ok, "Kŭnuhoe ŭi yŏsŏng undong," 301-303. Many historians, including Pak, note how women's groups were prominent in this movement. Pak notes that more than thirty women's groups were mobilized to encourage donations, and one of the leading figures was a *kisaeng* entertainer named Aengmu.

Yet more recently, scholars have taken differing approaches to the relationship between nationalism and feminism. Work by Kyung-ai Kim,[16] Kenneth Wells,[17] Insook Kwon,[18] and by Janice C. H. Kim[19] have challenged the arbitrary coupling of women and the nation, showing how feminist histories have been shaped by the desire to place women within state-centered narratives. Thus in his explicit corrective to nationalist historiographies of the Rose of Sharon Alliance, Kenneth Wells expresses his "wish to save the history of Korean women from… [the] idea of the nation,"[20] and asserts that feminist activists in the Alliance had little choice but to embrace "the nation as long as women's activities that were not approved as 'patriotic' duties were deemed irrelevant, frivolous, or anti-male."[21] Wells posits that linking "women's liberation with nationalist and socialist liberation was perhaps the chief strategy adopted by women to gain recognition," and that members of Rose of Sharon Alliance may have sought national liberation as a basis for eventual women's liberation.[22] Nationalism, in short, was the "price of legitimacy" that the Alliance paid for their feminist advocacy in the public sphere.

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[16] Kyung-ai Kim, "Nationalism: An Advocate of, or a Barrier to, Feminism in South Korea," in *Women's Studies International Forum* 19, no. 1-2 (1996): 65-74.

[17] Kenneth M. Wells, "The Price of Legitimacy: Women and the Kŭnuhoe Movement, 1927-1931," in *Colonial Modernity in Korea* (Harvard University Asia Center), ed. Gi-Wook Shin, Michael Edson Robinson, 191-220.

[18] Insook Kwon, "'The New Women's Movement' in 1920s Korea: Rethinking the Relationship Between Imperialism and Women," in *Gender & History* vol. 10 no. 3 (1998): 381-405.

[19] Janice C. H. Kim, *To Live to Work: Factory Women in Colonial Korea, 1910-1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 4-26.

[20] Kenneth Wells, "The Price of Legitimacy," 195.

[21] Kenneth Wells, "The Price of Legitimacy," 218.

[22] Kenneth Wells, "The Price of Legitimacy," 219.

However, even as this study casts doubt on the sincerity of such "patriotic" zeal, it is shaped by the presupposition that nationalist sentiment and participation in the anti-Japanese struggle, whether genuine or affected, constituted important sources of the Alliance's authority.[23] The problem with regarding nationalism as the fountainhead of legitimacy is that it circumscribes agency and overlooks the independent scholastic achievements of the Alliance leadership. Consequently, the Alliance leadership is prone to being viewed as passive nationalist proselytizers, incapable of formulating independent, provocative, and intellectually challenging feminist theory that could withstand the rigors of rational debate within the public sphere.

It simply untenable to maintain that an organization that included graduates from the best colleges in Korea, Japan, and the United States, a future representative to the United Nations, and women that would go on to change the course of Korea – both North and South – were limited to nationalism as the sole source of their legitimacy. These women did not gain their enunciative authority merely by pandering to nationalism in Korea – in fact, intellectual currents in Russia, the United States, and Japan were as much a subject of debate as those in Korea.

Thus this chapter tracks how the Rose of Sharon Alliance's leadership was able to claim the podium for women's rights within a larger global milieu, shaped by student migration, international scholastic exchange, and border crossing feminist networks. In particular, the Alliance leadership's social capital and appropriation of translation enabled

[23] Furthermore, even while questioning nationalism such studies are still tacitly embedded within the resistance-collaboration framework.

them to shaped the discourse on Korean women's history and the development of the feminist movement.

Here I use Lydia Liu's term "translingual practice" to describe the ways that Alliance members translated, transcoded, and reappropriated their education on socialism in Japan. In *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900-1937,* Lydia Liu presents two competing visions of translation. One vision asserts that "the underlying structure of language is universal and common to all men," while the other vision exoticizes the Other, portraying language as being so embedded within its own culture that it cannot be translated.[24] However, drawing from Derrida and Benjamin, Liu notes how "translation is no longer a matter of transferring meaning between languages 'within the horizon of an absolutely pure, transparent, and unequivocal translatability.' The original and translation complement each other to produce meanings larger than mere copies or reproduction."[25] Thus Liu upends the traditional hierarchy that privileged the original while delegating the translation as a secondary, incomplete mimicry of the original. Instead, both the original author and the translator are partners in the creation of meaning, linked through "hypothetical equivalences," and she traces some of the nuances of such "translingual practices" by Chinese intellectuals while importing texts from the West. As comprador intellectuals, the Alliance leadership occupied an ideal position to be able to create such hypothetical equivalences, uses the prestige afforded to the "original socialists texts" while molding these to fit their own ideas for a Korean context.

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[24] Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900-1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 15.

[25] Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice*, 13.

Thus the first section, "The Rose of Sharon Alliance: From Exchange Student Club to Feminist Activism," follows the return of Korea's female graduates *qua* luminaries from Tokyo to Seoul, who met in Korea and launched the Alliance. The second section, "Enunciative Legitimacy between Diplomas, Cultural Literacy, and Social Networks," is an in-depth analysis of how Hwang Sindŏk gained enunciative legitimacy through her journey to Japan and back. Drawing from theories of Pierre Bourdieu, this section investigates the interplay between symbolic, cultural, and social capital. Hwang was able to appropriate her overseas diplomas from Waseda University and Nihon Women's University, returning to Korea as a reporter and part of the luminary class. Furthermore, her education also provided the cultural literacy (*cultural capital*) to speak commandingly about feminist theory ranging from Rosa Luxemburg to Karl Liebknecht. Finally, through her cooperation with Yamakawa Kikue, one of Japan's foremost proponents of women's rights, Hwang had access to *social capital* through cooperation with feminist advocates in Japan. Thus through this interplay of symbolic, cultural, and social capital, Hwang gained the enunciative legitimacy to advocate Alliance goals both in Korea and Japan.

The third section, "Kollontai in Korea" turns to another Alliance leader, Chŏng Ch'ilsŏng, and follows her as a commentator on the works of Russian author Alexandra Kollontai. Kollontai's writings were translated into Korean amidst a cultural milieu saturated with titillating images of the Modern Girl, and Kollontai attracted similar prurient interest. However, in her role as luminary, Chŏng appropriated this curiosity and used her familiarity with literature to propose greater opportunities for women's employment.

The fourth section, "Friedrich Engels as Cultural Capital: Hŏ Chŏngsuk and the Korean Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State" tracks the writings of Hŏ

Chŏngsuk as leader and lecturer within the Alliance. As a member of Korea's educated female luminaries, Hŏ appropriated many of Friedrich Engel's theories about the historical construction of women's inferior status. Furthermore, she translated Engels in a dialectical conversation with its Japanese counterpart, seeking to harmonized her received knowledge about the "universal" processes outlined in Engels with the local nuances of Korea's history. Her writings led the Alliance to adopt Korea's past within this framework, from the Three Kingdoms Period to the Chosŏn Dynasty, to argue that Korean patriarchy was a historical anomaly that was neither natural nor immutable. Yet Hŏ and other Alliance leaders wrote in a highly reflexive mode, articulating Engels as a form of cultural capital to cement their positions as part of the intellectual elite while at the same time arguing for women's rights.

Thus by foregrounding the Alliance leadership's own intellectual feminist contributions, this chapter traces how these women used the experience of overseas education, tapped into currents of feminist exchange, and drew from an diverse international canvas to create an enunciative space, propose robust and independent conceptions of women, and claim the podium for women's rights throughout Korea.

The Rose of Sharon Alliance: From Exchange Student Club to Feminist Activism

As outlined in Chapter 1, the numbers of Korean female students traveling to Tokyo blossomed during the early to mid-1920s, and many graduates returned to Seoul after their education. Amongst this emerging class of female intelligentsia, Yu Yŏngjun and several other former exchange students gathered in Yu's home in the Sŏdaemun district of Seoul on April 14, 1927 and discussed ways "to actualize their hope of organizing a general

gathering for female exchange students."[26] They set April 16 as a date to hold this gathering, and a public notice placed in the *Tong'a ilbo* on the day of the meeting makes mention of their "desire for the widespread participation of women who have studied overseas."[27]

This gathering, entitled the "Women's Overseas Exchange Student Symposium" (女子海外留學生 懇談會), was held in the offices of the newspaper company *Chosŏn ilbo*. Intended as a general forum for students who had studied in the United States, Japan, China, and various other countries, the topics of discussion included the exchange student environment abroad and personal introductions, but the themes of women's rights or the women's movement were not listed on the agenda.[28] However, nearly sixty women attended the symposium, and the participants raised the need for a comprehensive and united women's organization that encouraged the participation of Korean women of all classes.[29] As a result of this deliberation, attendees appointed Chŏng Ch'ilsŏng, Yu Yŏngjun, Kim Hwallan, Yu Kaggyŏng, Hyŏn Tŏksin, and several others as members of a proposal committee to create an organization that could unite the women's front behind a larger

[26] "[N]yŏcha [r]yuhaksaeng ch'inmokhoe chunbi," *Tong'a ilbo,* 16 April 1927, 3.

[27] "[N]yŏcha [r]yuhaksaeng ch'inmokhoe chunbi," *Tong'a ilbo,* 16 April 1927, 3.

[28] "[N]yŏcha [r]yuhaksaeng ch'inmokhoe chunbi," *Tong'a ilbo,* 16 April 1927, 3.

[29] Note: In Chŏng Yosŏp's *Hanguk yŏsong undongsa*, 147, Chŏng mistakenly dates this event as April 26, 1927. The *Tong'a ilbo* reports the date as April 16. "[N]yŏcha [r]yuhaksaeng ch'inmokhoe chunbi," *Tong'a ilbo,* 16 April 1927, 3. Additionally, Kim Chŏng'yŏn, *Kŭnuhoe yŏngu* (MA diss: Ewha Womans University, 1996), 23; Pak Yong'ok, *Hanguk yŏsŏng hang'il undongsa*, 314; Sin Yŏngsuk, *Kŭnuhoe e kwanhan ilyŏngu* (MA diss: Ewha Womans University, 1978), 26; et. al agree on April 16, 1927 as the date.

umbrella organization.[30] The committee envisioned an organization of grand scale, professing to "bear the misfortunes of ten million women upon our two shoulders,"[31] and thus Kim Hwallan and the other members held a series of meetings in April and May to prepare for the grand opening.

The first of these meetings was held in Seoul on April 26, 1927. Gathering in the Insadong Central Kindergarten in Seoul, the participants dubbed their proposed women's federation as the "Rose of Sharon Alliance" after a flower associated with Korea[32] and adopted a twofold platform which resolved to "unite Korea's ten million women" and "raise the status of women who experienced social, economic, political and domestic discrimination" – sentiments that would be echoed in the organization's official journal two years later.[33] The participants set a target date of mid-May for the grand opening. Additionally, several women including Chŏng Ch'ilsŏng, Hwang Sindŏk, Yi Hyŏngyŏng, Kim Hwallan, and Pang Sin'yŏng were chosen as part of an action committee to handle the logistics of the Rose of Sharon Alliance's launch, and two days later this event was featured prominently on page three of the *Tong'a ilbo,* with the title expressing optimism: "The Rose of Sharon Alliance Joint Proposal Meeting: Uniting Women of all Classes: proceeding

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[30] Chŏng Yosŏp, *Hanguk yŏsong undongsa,* 147; Kim Chŏng'yŏn, *Kŭnuhoe Yŏngu* (MA diss: Ewha Womans University, 1996), 23.

[31] Kŭnuhoe, "Kwŏnduŏn" in *Kŭnu* 1 (1929): 1.

[32] The Kŭn (槿) in Kŭnuhoe (槿友會) is the Chinese character for the flower known more commonly as *mugunghwa* or *Hibiscus syriacus.* The *mugunghwa* would later become South Korea's national flower.

[33] "Kakgye [n]yŏsong ŭl mangna han Kŭnuhoe palg[ŭ]i ch'onghoe," *Tong'a ilbo* , 28 April 1927, 3.

cordially, grand opening set for mid-May."[34] Additionally, in the week leading up to the May opening, the inaugural commission canvassed the city of Seoul, distributed one thousand copies of the Alliance's public statement to women's organizations throughout the city, and prepared five hundred admission tickets to the grand opening.[35]

Finally, after these exhaustive preparations, the Rose of Sharon Alliance held the Grand Opening in the meeting hall of the YMCA in Seoul on May 27, 1927. The inaugural committee's weeks of meticulous planning, distribution of literature throughout Seoul, and notices in newspapers bore fruit; the *Chosŏn ilbo* recounts one thousand in attendance, and though the *Tong'a ilbo* does not mention a specific attendance figure, it notes that the YMCA's meeting hall was filled to capacity.[36] Formerly classified handwritten police records of the event record eighty-eight Alliance members, two hundred male ideologues (主義者), one hundred female ideologues, and an assortment of other listeners in attendance.[37]

Late in the meeting, at Cho Wŏnsuk's suggestion, the inaugural speeches turned to the issue of careers for women, but once representatives from the left-leaning Center for Women's Employment (女子職業紹介所) presented on "the abolishment of traditional

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[34] "Kakgye [n]yŏsong ŭl mangna han Kŭnuhoe palg[ŭ]i ch'onghoe," *Tong'a ilbo* , 28 April 1927, 3.

[35] Pak Yong'ok, *Hanguk yŏsŏng hang'il undongsa yŏngu* (Seoul: Chisik san'ŏpsa, 1996), 316-317.

[36] "Kagbangmyŏn mangna Kŭnuhoe ch'agnip," *Tong'a ilbo* 29 May 1927, 2.

[37] Keijō chihō hōin kenjisei, "Kinyūkai [Kr. Kŭnuhoe] sōritsu sōkai ni kansuru ken," in *Keishōkeikouhi* [Keijō shōrō keisatsu kōtō himitsu bunsho] (April 28, 1927), unpaginated resource.

morality and customs," the meeting was interrupted by Japanese police in attendance.[38] As a result, a planned presentation by the United Labor and Peasants Union (勞農總同盟) was canceled and the meeting came to an early close.[39] Thus in April of 1927, a small group of foreign educated women established the Rose of Sharon Alliance in the cramped hall of the YMCA in Seoul, amidst the din of hundreds of observers and a few angry police.

Although the Rose of Sharon Alliance's inaugural meeting in May of 1927 was shut down by police intervention, the leadership continued to spread awareness about their organization and recruit new members. To accomplish these goals, the executive board decided on July 15, 1927 as the first of a monthly series of "Publicity Days," gathering both the leadership and general membership in Seoul to discuss two issues: greater publicity for the Alliance and the adjustment of the organization's finances.[40] Thus on August 14, 1927 Alliance leaders posted a notice in the *Tong'a ilbo*, informing readers that the action committee would be selling a self-published leaflet the following evening in several locations throughout Seoul, including the Chongno intersection, the post office at Sŏtaemun, and the Seoul Station, for the price of five sen (Kr. chŏn) each.[41] These leaflets were to be sent to branches of the Alliance throughout Korea,[42] and the leadership often personally visited member's homes to discuss its contents.[43]

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[38] "Kagbangmyŏn mangna Kŭnuhoe ch'agnip," *Tong'a ilbo* 29 May 1927, 2.

[39] Quoted in Pak Yong'ok, *Hanguk yŏsŏng hang'il undongsa*, 319.

[40] "Kŭnuhoe [d]che'ilhoe sŏnjŏn'il" in *Tong'a ilbo* 7 July 1927, 3.

[41] "Kŭnuhoe [d]che'ihoe sŏn'ŏn'il" *Tong'a ilbo,* 14 August 1927, 3.

[42] "Kŭnuhoe [d]che'ihoe sŏn'ŏn'il" *Tong'a ilbo,* 14 August 1927, 3.

[43] "Kŭnuhoe [d]chae i'hoe sŏn[d]chŏn'il" in *Tong'a ilbo* 18 Sept 1927, 3.

This leaflet, written by Yi Hyŏngyŏng,[44] was one of the few pieces of the organization's official literature until 1929 when the Alliance's journal, *Kŭnu* (槿友) was published. A graduate of Xiéhé Women's College (協和女子專門學校) in Beijing, Yi also brought international experience to the group, and she places an emphasis on Korean women's place within the global community of women:

> We are women. Speaking generally, we are women of the world; speaking specifically, we are women of Korea. The origins of modern society were formed with men at the center, and regardless of the nation, women were always faced with unequal treatment… In particular, women of Korea, when compared to the typical situation [of the world], have been subject to the lengthy influence of Confucianism, and the current situation is even harsher than the restrictions faced [by other women]. Well, let's take a good look at exactly what the status and conditions of women are in our society these days. Women do not have the right to inherit property, and whether a woman has a husband or children, she cannot possess property. It is difficult [for women] to find employment, and in particular, [a woman] who gives birth once is usually forced to leave her work. [Women] have few opportunities to receive an education, and even if they do have such a chance, this education is often of the so-called "wise mother, good wife ideology," and thus [women] only receive education aimed at supporting men.[45]

Furthermore, she disputes this secondary role with assertions about the capability of women as a whole, stating that

> Some people respond by saying, "but this is something that can't be helped!" When asked, they say that by nature, women are weak, and from a biological standpoint, not only is the female physical constitution different than the male's, it is much weaker and

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[44] Ch'oe Ŭnhui, *Hanguk kŭndae yŏsŏngsa ha : 1905-1945, choguk ŭl ch'atki kkachi* (Seoul: Chosŏn ilbosa: 1991) series *Ch'ugye Choi Ŭnhui chŏnjib*, 231.

[45] Reprinted in Ch'oe Ŭnhŭi, *Hanguk kŭndae*, 231-234.

> intellectually less capable. Of course, there may be some cases where this is warranted. In our current society, if one compares men with women, it may be true that women are physically and intellectually inferior.
>
> However, let us consider this issue further – namely, where the origin [of this discrepancy] stems from. As you may have noticed, even though they are all male, depending on their jobs and lifestyles, men have considerable differences in their physiques and intellectual prowess. Doesn't a soldier have a soldier's physique and temperament, a factory employee the traits of a factory worker, a teacher have a teacher's, and a scholar have a scholar's? These women – who have been stepped on by men, who have lived in their *boudoir* for thousands of years – how ridiculous is it to conclude that because their physical and intellectual abilities may be slightly inferior, there can never be a day of [gender] equality? … Is this not the inevitable result from receiving unequal education and living in a social environment that has been unequal for thousands of years? It is not the case that [women] are innately inferior to men; this is an inequality shaped by social contradictions.[46]

To further emphasize her point, Yi mentions the *haenyŏ* (海女), or the female divers of Cheju Island, to challenge assumptions about both the physical and intellectual inferiority of women. She notes how these women were unique not only in their ability to hold their breath and dive in dangerous environments, but also because they were the main wage earners of the household and developed a distinct matriarchal household and culture. Yi notes that *haenyŏ* had strength on par with men, and cites these divers as a counterexample to the immutable inferiority of women.[47]

The pamphlet stresses that the female subordinate status was a social and cultural construction that obfuscated the innate abilities of women. Built on this platform, the

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[46] Choi Ŭnhui, *Hanguk kŭndae*, 231-234.

[47] Choi Ŭnhui, *Hanguk kŭndae*, 231-234.

Alliance adopted policy goals which included ending discrimination against women, establishing child care facilities, ceasing feudal practices and misogynist superstition, instituting women's choice in marriage, abolishing slavery and prostitution, and raising the status of rural women.

Although Nancy Fraser questions "whether it is possible even in principle for interlocutors to deliberate *as if* they were social peers in specifically designated discursive arenas," on the level of discourse, the Rose of Sharon Alliance's inaugural meeting and subsequent publicity campaign illustrates that this organization was taken seriously.[48] The meeting attracted a large mixed gender audience in the central lecture hall of the YMCA, a popular outlet for public dialogue, and police records note that male ideologues outnumbered female ideologues by two to one in the audience.[49] Clearly, the Rose of Sharon Alliance emerged as a legitimate voice on women's rights in 1927. How did this happen?

The next section investigates this question by tracing the birth of an Alliance luminary and leader, Hwang Sindŏk. Hwang's journey from Korea to Japan and back demonstrates the interaction between the symbolic capital of college diplomas, the cultural capital of overseas education, and the social capital of transnational feminist networks in cementing an Alliance leader's position as luminary, ideologue, and leader in colonial Korea.

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[48] Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere," 525-526. Emphasis in the original.

[49] Keijō chihō hōin kenjisei, "Kinyūkai sōritsu sōkai," unpaginated resource.

Rose of Sharon Alliance Comprador Routes

Name	Rose of Sharon Alliance Position	Overseas Study Experience
Kim Hwallan (Helen Kim) 金活蘭	Proposal Committee Leadership (槿友發起總會綱領部) Inauguration Investigative Committee (槿友會創立大會調查部)	Ohio Wesleyan University (BA 1924) Columbia University (PhD 1931)*
Hwang Sindŏk 黃信德	Proposal Committee Leadership (槿友發起總會綱領部) Inauguration Education Committee (槿友會創立大會敎養部)	Waseda University (1921) Nihon Women's University (1926)
Yi Hyŏn'gyŏng 李賢卿	Proposal Committee Leadership (槿友發起總會綱領部) Author of Rose of Sharon Alliance Leaflet (槿友會래프리트)	Xiéhé Women's College (1910)
Ch'oe Ŭnhŭi 崔恩喜	Proposal General Affairs Committee (槿友發起總會庶務部)	Nihon Women's University (1925)†
Pang Sin'yŏng 方信榮	Proposal Financial Affairs Committee (槿友發起總會財務部) Inauguration Financial Affairs (槿友會創立大會財務部)	Tokyo School of Nutrition (1925)
Yu Yŏngjun 劉英俊	Proposal Financial Affairs Committee (槿友發起總會財務部) Inauguration Political Investigative Committee (槿友會創立大會政治研究部)	Beijing Women's School (1910) Tokyo Women's Medical Vocational School (1919)
Hŏ Chŏngsuk 許貞淑	Central Branch Committee (槿友會中央委員) Author of "The Historical Status and Responsibilities Confronting the Rose of Sharon Movement" (槿友會運動의 歷史的 地位와 當面任務)	Kwansai Gakuin University (1920, 1924)†
Chŏng Ch'ilsŏng 丁七星	Inaugural Publicity Team (槿友會創立大會宣傳組織部) Central Branch Executive President (槿友會中央執行委員長)	Tokyo Women's Art School (1925)
Yu Kaggyŏng 兪珏卿	Inaugural Publicity Team (槿友會創立大會宣傳組織部)	Xiéhé Women's College (1910)
Hwang Esidŏk (Esther Hwang) 黃愛施德	Inaugural Investigative Team (槿友會創立大會調查部)	Tokyo Women's Medical School (1918) Columbia University (MA 1925)

** After leaving the Rose of Sharon Alliance*
† Did not graduate

Enunciative Legitimacy between Diplomas, Cultural Literacy, and Social Networks: Hwang Sindŏk, Yamakawa Kikue, and the Birth of An Alliance Luminary

Hwang Sindŏk's travels to Japan and return to Korea provides a case study for one Alliance leader's journey to claim the podium and speak out on women's rights. Hwang was a leader in the Alliance, active from its inception in 1927. She served first as a planning committee member, then as part of the inauguration committee as a member of the education board.[50] Additionally, Hwang was a prolific writer and penned most of the Alliance's official literature along with Hŏ Chŏngsuk.[51] Born in Pyongyang in 1898, she traveled to Japan following the footsteps of her sister, Esther Hwang (Hwang Aedŏk) after graduating from Sung'ŭi Women's School in Pyongyang.[52] In Japan, she studied at Chiyoda Women's High School, graduated from Waseda University in 1921, and completed an advanced degree in social work at Nihon Women's University in 1926.

Many scholars who have written on the women's movement in Korea, like Chŏng Yosŏp, are cognizant of the democratizing potential of nationalist discourse.[53] In fact, Hwang herself also noted that the nationalist sentiment following the March 1st Movement played a role in giving women a greater voice, although she also mentioned its

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[50] Kim Chŏng'yŏn, *Kŭnuhoe yŏngu*, 25.

[51] Ch'osa [Kim Tonghwan], "Hyŏndae yŏryu sasang'ga dŭl 3," 13-14.

[52] Esther Hwang was born Aedŏk, but added a third syllable (rare in Korean given names) to sound like her English name (黃愛[施]德).

[53] Chŏng Yo-sŏp, *Hanguk yŏsong undongsa*, 6-8.

limitations.[54] However, she had access to another source of legitimacy – the symbolic capital associated with an overseas diploma.

Pierre Bourdieu notes that "the educational system fulfils a function of legitimization which is more and more necessary to the perpetuation of the 'social order' as the evolution of the power relationship between classes tends… to exclude the imposition of a hierarchy based upon the crude and ruthless affirmation of the power relationship."[55] He also asserts that symbolic capital "is most intense in the case of diplomas consecrating the cultural élite,"[56] and argues that "the diploma (*titre scolaire*) is more like a patent of nobility (*titre de noblesse*) than the title to property (*titre de propriété*) which strictly technical definitions make of it."[57]

One can catch a glimpse of such academic *noblesse* through media descriptions of Hwang. As early as 1927, popular magazines like *Pyŏlgŏngon* began to refer to her as *myŏngsa* (名士), a "luminary" or "notable," which was a term that had historically been the purview of men.[58] Other periodicals used similar terms to describe Hwang and her fellow

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[54] Hwang Sindŏk, "Chōsen fujin undō no kako, genzai oyobi shōrai," in *Chōsen oyobi Chōsen minzoku* no. 1 (1927): 172.

[55] Pierre Bourdieu, "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction," in *Power and Ideology in Education,* ed. Jerome Karabel and A. H. Halsey (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 496.

[56] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), trans. Richard Nice, 25.

[57] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste,* 142.

[58] Anonymous, "Mikuk, Chungguk, Ilbon e tanyŏ'on yŏryu inmul p'yŏngpangi, haewoe esŏ muŏsŭl paewŏssŭmyŏ torawasŏ muŏsŭl hanŭnga?" in *Pyŏlgŏngon* no. 4 (February 1927): 20-25. Hwang Sindŏk, "Yŏryu myŏngsa ŭi tongsŏng yŏn'ae ki" in *Pyŏlgŏngon* no. 34 (November 1930): 120-124. "Myŏngsa sungnyŏ kyŏlhon ch'oya ŭi ch'ŏt putak, ch'ŏt nal bam e muŏs ŭl mal haetna" in *Pyŏlgŏngon* no. 16-17 (December 1928): 60-65.

foreign trained intellectuals, like *sasangga* (思想家), which refers to an "ideologue" or "theorist" – and these terms had no relation with whether or not the women were participants in national liberation movements.[59] Thus Hwang's twin diplomas from Waseda and Nihon Women's University held great symbolic capital, and opened doors for employment as a newspaper reporter for the *Sidae ilbo* (時代日報) and *Chungwoe ilbo* (中外日報) from 1926, and the *Tong'a ilbo* from 1930.[60]

Beyond her luminary status, Hwang's studies overseas also provided her access to cultural and social capital through transnational intellectual exchange, particularly with Yamakawa Kikue (1890-1980 *née* Morita), a prominent socialist feminist within Japan. Soon after graduating from Joshi Eigaku Juku (now Tsuda College) in 1915, Yamakawa was invited to attend a lecture by anarchist Ōsugi Sakae. Yamakawa subsequently developed a lifelong passion for socialism, and she became an activist supporting various causes, from Koreans residents in Japan to *hisabetsu burakumin,* one of Japan's ethnic minority groups.

Yamakawa made her debut as a social critic in Hiratsuka Raichō's famed feminist journal, *Bluestockings* (青鞜) towards the end of its publication run. In 1916, she debated Itō Noe on feminist stances towards prostitution.[61] It was also this year that she married Yamakawa Hitoshi, who was also active within Japan's socialist circles. In 1921, she helped found the Red Wave Society (Sekirankai), an anarcho-Marxist feminist group aimed at

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[59] Ch'osa [Kim Tonghwan], "Hyŏndae yŏryu sasangga dŭl 3, pulgŭn yŏn'ae ŭi chuingongdŭl" in *Samch'ŏlli* no. 17 (July 1931): 13-18, 51.

[60] Chung'ang yŏja chungkodŭng hakkyo tongch'anghoe, *Uri Hwang Sindŏk sŏnsaeng* (Seoul: Chukyŏphoe, 1971), 4-29.

[61] Yamakawa Kikue, *Onna nidai no ki,* Tōyō bunko 203 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1972), 165-167.

inviting mass participation beyond the intelligentsia class,[62] and she was crucial in integrating socialism within the greater struggle for women's rights.[63]

Thus by the time Hwang met Yamakawa Kikue at Nihon Women's University, Yamakawa was already a veteran within feminist and socialist circles.[64] Their initial meeting left mutually strong impressions, and in her autobiography *A Record of Two Generations of Women* (おんな二代の記), Yamakawa writes vividly of this encounter. In the chapter "Mrs. Pak Sunch'ŏn and Mrs. Hwang Sindŏk: Over Forty Years of Memories," she recalls:

> Built sometime [in ages past], directly in front of the hill where one descends from the Kudan district to Kōjimachi, there was a small red brick church, [old enough] to be commemorated as a monument from the Meiji Period. It was a tiny, almost stereotypical church – a church so small it seemed to fit in one's palm, with stained glass windows set amongst the fading red brick; it also had a small column, and was like something one would see on a Christmas card or an illustration from an 19th century English domestic novel; where one might expect a glimpse of an old women among the faithful going to-and-fro, wearing a long sleeved, hemmed traditional dress, full of pleats, from the Victorian age, long before World War I. It must have been the beginning of summer in 1923. In a small, bright room behind the sanctuary of this church, four or five young female exchange students were bunched around a table, talking. They were Korean students, and among them… [sat] the round-faced, always quiet

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[62] Vera Mackie, *Creating Socialist Women in Japan: Gender, Labour, and Activism, 1900-1937* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 102-104

[63] Hayashi Yōko, "'Seikatsu' to 'rekishi' wo musubu mono: Yamakawa Kikue ron" in *Dōshisha hōgakukai* vol. 50 no. 4 (1999): 145-151.

[64] Yi Sun'ae, "Yamakawa Kikue wo tōshite mita Chōsen to Nihon," in *Nihon fujin mondai konwakai kaihō* vol. 51 (1991): 61.

and ever gentle Hwang Sindŏk.[65]

Hwang visited Yamakawa's house regularly to discuss feminist issues, but the two also covered topics like their shared distaste for the Kenpeitai, Japan's secret police force, and the persecution of Koreans after the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923; in one section of her autobiography, Yamakawa chronicles this tragedy that befell Koreans in Japan in detail.[66] Hwang also mentions that these meetings left a strong impression throughout her life, particularly Yamakawa's lectures on Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, leading her to translate these lectures into Korean in a pamphlet aptly titled "Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg."[67]

After graduating from Nihon Women's University with a degree in social work, Hwang returned to Korea and attempted to smuggle her translation of Yamakawa's lectures, but was promptly arrested and the tracts confiscated.[68] Although colonial police seized Hwang's tracts, she retained the knowledge contained within, and upon returning to Korea, she immediately joined a socialist-feminist organization, the Korean Women's Coalition (朝鮮女性同友會) in 1926 as part of the leadership. The anxiety surrounding these women is palpable; in the first meeting, Korean Women's Coalition members were outnumbered two to one by Japanese police and Korean men.[69]

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[65] Yamakawa Kikue, *Onna nidai no ki,* Tōyō bunko 203 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1972), 315-316.

[66] Yamakawa Kikue, *Onna nidai no ki,* 257-264.

[67] Yi Sun'ae, "Yamakawa Kikue wo tōshite," 61.

[68] Yi Sun'ae, "Yamakawa Kikue wo tōshite," 61.

[69] Kenneth Wells, "The Price of Legitimacy," 206.

Hwang made the most of her mentorship with Yamakawa. Accoutered with cultural literacy of Marxist theories, Hwang wrote on topics ranging from the status of female factory workers[70] to the future of morals in male-female relations.[71] However, she also harbored greater ambitions and strove to use the Alliance and the Korean women's movement to make an impact in Japan. As a result, she continued the intellectual exchange with the host nation of her alma mater, publishing a article in Japanese entitled "The Past, Present, and Future of Korea's Women's Movement" in *Korea and the Korean People* (朝鮮及朝鮮民族). *Korea and the Korean People* was published by the Society for Exchange of Korean Ideology (朝鮮思想通信社). The organization's president, Itō Kandō (伊藤韓堂), expressed his goal for this organization as presenting the "Koreans' Korea" for a broader Japanese readership. He notes that after the March 1st Movement (which he calls the "banzai riots" 万歳騒擾), there had been an abundance of debate regarding the governance of Korea, but strangely Koreans had not been able to contribute to the debate.[72] This journal drew the attention of some of Korea's intellectual heavyweights, including historian Ch'oe Namsŏn and folklorist Son Chintae. Hwang's contribution, however, was on the past, present, and future of the Korean women's movement.

Itō made a conscious decision not to make any editorial revisions to the Japanese prose of the Korean writers, hoping to present Korean writers in their authentic voices,

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[70] Hwang Sindŏk, "Kongjang kamdok kwa taekyŏkt'u, mongmongmong" in *Pyŏlgŏngon* no. 24 (December 1929): 56-57.

[71] Hwang Sindŏk, "Sin[r]yangsŏng totŏk ŭi chech'ang" in *Samch'ŏlli* no. 6 (May 1930): 50-55.

[72] Itō Kandō, "Honsho no kankō ni tsuite," in *Chōsen oyobi Chōsen minzoku* no. 1 (1927): i.

flaws and all. Yet such considerations were unneeded for Hwang; as one might expect, Hwang wrote in fluent and natural Japanese, something Yamakawa also noted when Hwang was in Tokyo.[73] In her article, Hwang first presents a modern history of the development of the Korean women's movement. She notes that "from ages past, foreigners were treated as barbarians, and that all religions outside of Confucianism were treated as heresy. However, this [idea] weakened with the introduction of Western civilization, but at the same time, the Korean people had to deal with the uneasiness and insecurities wrought by the Russo-Japanese and Sino-Japanese wars."[74] She notes that during this period, Christianity accompanied the influx of Western civilization and "calmed the worries that Koreans were facing," and that "one must pay heed to the fact that the majority of [Christian] believers were women."[75]

Hwang admits that Korean women, who had been "lifelong custodians of the kitchen," could be liberated from the various chores within their households by going to church, they could listen to news from the world that they had never heard before, and they were counted as a full-fledged member of society.[76] This mirrors similar statements by Yi Kwangsu, who noted that "it is the blessings of Christianity that has induced her to attend

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[73] Yamakawa Kikue, *Onna nidai no ki,* 316.

[74] Hwang Sindŏk, "Chōsen fujin undō no kako, genzai oyobi shōrai," in *Chōsen oyobi Chōsen minzoku* no. 1 (1927): 170.

[75] Hwang Sindŏk, "Chōsen fujin undō," 170.

[76] Hwang Sindŏk, "Chōsen fujin undō," 171.

church services and to engage in acts of worship along with men, giving her the conception that men and women are sons and daughters of God on equal terms."[77]

However, Hwang argues that "Christianity is a mixture of Judaism and Greek philosophy. At the same time, the more ancient civilizations of India, Babylon, and Egypt were also a source of its origins… Because these civilizations had already destroyed the established matriarchal order, they were strongly affected by male-centered thought, and could not avoid adopting Christian female subjectivity, which came from this thought."[78] Of Christianity's views towards women, she argues that women are treated as beasts of burden. In a selective rephrasing of 1 Corinthians 11:3 and 14:34-35, she states: "the head of a woman is her husband. Within the church, a woman must sit quietly in the corner. This is the will of God, and people must obey with joy."[79] Hwang notes, in short, the church provided a greater platform for social action than the kitchen, but for Korean women on the path to true liberation, Christianity was "a poison akin to opium (阿片如き毒素)."[80]

The next paragraph had one and a half lines removed by censors, but Hwang concludes that "because national liberation did not necessarily mean women's liberation,

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[77] Yi Kwangsu, "The Benefits Which Christianity Has Conferred on Korea," in *Korea Mission Field* 14, no. 2 (1918): 34.

[78] Hwang Sindŏk, "Chōsen fujin undō," 171. Hwang's conclusions on Christianity and the women's movement have also been espoused recent scholars. See Hyaeweol Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009). The statement about the destruction of the matriarchal order is drawn from Friedrich Engels, and is discussed in detail in a later section.

[79] Hwang Sindŏk, "Chōsen fujin undō," 171.

[80] Hwang Sindŏk, "Chōsen fujin undō," 171.

the political movement was not the same as the women's movement."[81] Yet she acknowledges that when considering the fact that it was Korean women's first experience in wider social activism, and that the movement was successful in raising women's status at the time, this participation in the political movement of independence was not totally without merit.[82]

Her article builds up to her vision for Korean women in the future, but by the end of the piece she had tried the patience of the censors and the last section was entirely removed. From the title of the lost section, which is about the future of the Rose of Sharon Alliance and the women's movement in Korea, it seems that Hwang regarded the Alliance as the beginning of a new epoch for feminism, much like the introduction of Christianity in Korea. Unfortunately, without access to the conclusion of this text, it is hard to tell. What is apparent, however, is that she had grand aspirations for the Alliance, and that she aimed at maintaining ties with Japan, hoping to write back and elaborate about the future of the Alliance and Korea's women's movement for a Japanese speaking audience.

Hwang was not the only one who aimed at greater dialogue with feminists in Japan. In February of 1928, Pak Hwasŏng and a handful of other leaders held the inaugural meeting for an Alliance branch at Tokyo Imperial University's YMCA.[83] At this meeting, one of the chief topics of discussion was the opening of a cooperative relationship with the women's movement in Japan.[84] Pak, a student at Nihon Women's University in English

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[81] Hwang Sindŏk, "Chōsen fujin undō," 172.

[82] Hwang Sindŏk, "Chōsen fujin undō," 172.

[83] "Kŭnu Tonggyŏng [Tokyo] chihoe sŏllip taehoe," in *Tong'a ilbo* 1 February 1928, 3.

[84] "Kŭnu Tonggyŏng [Tokyo] chihoe sŏllip taehoe," in *Tong'a ilbo* 1 February 1928, 3.

literature, may have foreseen possibilities for a collaborative relationship with Japanese feminist socialists, much like that between Hwang and Yamakawa.[85] Thus for many within the Alliance leadership, study in Japan provided an avenue for transnational feminist networks that they were quick to pursue.[86]

Hwang Sindŏk's higher education in Tokyo, cooperation with Yamakawa Kikue, and eventual return to Korea as a female luminary illustrate the need to remap the topography of feminism in colonial Korea. Like many of the Alliance's leaders, she left Korea in search of higher education in Japan. After graduating from Waseda and Nihon Women's University, Hwang gained the symbolic capital associated with her diplomas, becoming a noted luminary and member of the press. Yet this experience came with additional benefits, as she obtained cultural capital through literacy with Marxist theory through her cooperation with Yamakawa Kikue. Finally, Hwang was also able to acquire social capital through this network, and her ties with Yamakawa remained throughout her life – she continued to frequent Japan and visit Yamakawa after Korea's liberation in 1945.[87] Thus through this interplay of symbolic, cultural, and social capital, Hwang was able to gain prominence within the public sphere as a feminist luminary on her own terms, not merely as a female representative of Korean nationalism.

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[85] Pyŏn Sinwŏn, "Pak Hwasŏng, kyekŭp ŭisik kwa chuch'echŏk yŏsŏng ŭisik," 358.

[86] Note: Pak did not finish her degree. By her junior year, the demands of raising two children while attending school proved too strenuous, and she returned to Mokpo, her hometown. Pyŏn Sinwŏn, "Pak Hwasŏng, kyekŭp ŭisik kwa chuch'echŏk yŏsŏng ŭisik," 358.

[87] Yi Sun'ae, "Yamakawa Kikue wo tōshite," 61-62.

In addition to Hwang, other Alliance leaders also used their status as female luminaries to promote the organization's feminist goals. Chŏng Ch'ilsŏng, a graduate of Tokyo Women's Art Art School, would combine her educational symbolic capital, experience with socialist ideas, and knowledge of feminist literature to advocate female employment during colonial Korea's "Kollontai Craze," the debate over Alexandra Kollontai's novels which depicted the relationship between socialist sexuality and women's economic independence.[88]

Kollontai in Korea: Chŏng Ch'ilsŏng and the "Kollontai Craze"

Translators, authors, and intellectuals introduced the writings of Alexandra Kollontai – novelist, socialist revolutionary, and women's rights advocate – to Korea during the mid 1920s. Alexandra Kollontai was the only woman in Russia's first Communist government, a member of Lenin's Central Committee during the 1917 Revolution, and her concern for women and children earned her the moniker "conscience of the Revolution."[89] In 1917, as Commissar of Public Welfare and one of the few women in the upper echelons of the Bolshevik government, she strived to embolden Russian women to see themselves as active agents capable of revolution within the social sphere, if not the political one.[90]

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[88] Anonymous, "Yŏryu myŏngsa ŭi namp'yŏn chosa sang," in *Samch'ŏlli* vol. 7 no. 1 (January 1935): 118.

[89] Beatrice Farnsworth, *Aleksandra Kollontai: Socialism, Feminism, and the Bolshevik Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980), xi.

[90] Beatrice Farnsworth, *Aleksandra Kollontai,* 129-130.

Despite such achievements, in Korea, Kollontai became known foremost for her ideas on love and sexuality, particularly through her novel *Red Love.*

Kollontai's writings caused an uproar, being reported periodicals ranging from the Modern Girl-esque *Sinyŏsŏng* (新女性) to the general audience monthly *Samch'ŏlli.*[91] During this craze, writers coined a term "Kollontai-ism"[92] and her works even caught the eye of prominent intellectuals like Kim Ansŏ (Kim Ŏk),[93] a social critic who was also described as "Korea's first modern poet."[94] Yet in many ways, Kollontai was penumbra, both eclipsed and defined by the silhouette of another import: the Modern Girl.

The press first reported on the image of the Modern Girl in the 1920s as the handmaiden to the growth of a culture of consumption.[95] As Kim Paek'yŏng argues, throughout the 1920s, the Governor General of Korea (GGK) shifted its colonial modernization policy in Korea towards the development of consumer culture. He asserts that throughout this period, the GGK exercised control through the hegemonic culture of consumption, rather than the structural power of disciplinary force, and the urban citizen was transformed into a "desiring subject."[96] Thus in the short space of a decade spanning the late 1920s and early 1930s, central Seoul's most conspicuous centers for consumption

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[91] Kim Hasŏng, "Rŏsia ŭi Alleksandŏ Kolont'ai puin" in *Sinyŏsŏng* (December 1931): 48-51.

[92] Yun Hyŏngsik, "P'uroret'aria yŏnaeron" in *Samch'ŏlli* vol. 4 no. 4 (1932): 57.

[93] "Yŏn'ae ŭi kil ŭl ilkkosŏ, Kollont'ai yŏsa ŭi chak," in *Samch'ŏlli* vol. 4 no. 2 (1932): 101-103.

[94] Kim Yongjik, *Hanguk hyŏndae si'in yŏngu, ha* (Seoul: Sŏul taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu, 2000): 371-417.

[95] Kim Kyŏng'il, "Sŏul ŭi sobimunhwa wa sinyŏsŏng: 1920-1930nyŏndae rŭl chungsim ŭro," in *Sŏul hak yŏngu* vol. 19 (August 2009): 227-228.

[96] Kim Paek'yŏng, "Cheguk ŭi sŭp'ekt'ŏk'ŭl hyokwa wa sikminji taejung ŭi tosikyŏnghŏm: 1930nyŏndae Sŏul ŭi paekhwajŏm kwa sobimunhwa" in *Sahoe wa yŏksa* (August 2007): 78-79.

were erected: the Kyŏsŏng Electric Company headquarters, the Products Display Center (商品陳列館), Meiji Confectionary (明治製菓 賣店), the Bank of Kyŏngsŏng, the Minakai Department Store, the Mitsukoshi Department Store, the Chiyoda Life Insurance Company, the Asahi Building, and the Kanebo Korean Service Center.[97]

Within this milieu, the image of the Modern Girl was linked with spending, and the Korean media depicted young women with cigarettes in hand, wearing Western outercoats and pantyhose, their necks draped with fox fur scarves as they frequented department stores in Seoul.[98] Yet this image was also a highly eroticized one, as the Modern Girl was viewed simultaneously as a woman with loose morals but also as object of desire. Sŏ Chiyŏng notes that in portrayals of the Modern Girl, "the female desire for material goods and consumption, and the male desire for women were inextricably linked, much like a Mobius strip. The circuit of desire extended from men to women and from women to products, and sexual relations were closely entangled with the struggle for economic power between women and men, and between women and goods."[99] One can catch a glimpse of this modern "circuit of desire" at work in *Samch'ŏlli,* where an unnamed author claims to have found a shopping center for marriages: Seoul's large department stores like Mitsukoshi, Hirata, and Minakai, which were a veritable "market of beauties."[100]

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[97] Kim Paek'yŏng, "Cheguk ŭi sŭp'ekt'ŏk'ŭl," 88.

[98] Kim Namch'ŏn, "Hyŏndae yŏsŏngmi" in *Inmul p'yŏngnon* (January 1940). Quoted in Sŏ Chiyŏng, "Sobi hanŭn yŏsŏngdŭl: 1920-1930nyŏndae Kyŏngsŏng kwa yongmang ŭi kyŏngjaehak" in *Hanguk yŏsŏnghak* vol. 26 no. 1 (2010): 128.

[99] Sŏ Chiyŏng, "Sobi hanŭn yŏsŏngdŭl: 1920-1930nyŏndae Kyŏngsŏng kwa yongmang ŭi kyŏngjaehak" in *Hanguk yŏsŏnghak* vol. 27 no. 1 (2010): 137.

[100] Anonymous, "Kyŏllon sijang ŭl ch'ajŏsŏ, paekhwajŏm ŭi mi'insijang," in *Samch'ŏlli* vol. 6 no. 5 (May 1934): 156-157.

In this cultural milieu, it may have been inevitable that the literate public would pay most heed to Kollontai's ideas of love rather than her advocacy of women's empowerment. In fact, such sentiments were popular enough that an author writing for *Samch'ŏlli* coined the term "Kollontai-ism" (콜론타이즘) to refer to a school of thought that advocated the unrestrained indulgence of sexual desire.[101] Even more shockingly, she was described as a "Modern Girl" because her advocacy of "new sexual mores."[102] Ironically, Kollontai would have doubtlessly rejected this moniker, and she often described fur clad, high-heel wearing New Women as "doll-parasites."[103] Such statements suggest that the media's interest in her work was superficial at best, prurient at worst. A major source of such interest, whatever it may be, was Kollontai's novel *Red Love.*

In 1923, Alexandra Kollontai wrote *Vassalissa Malygina,* a novel which would capture the public imagination in Korea and embroil the Rose of Alliance's leadership in a debate over the relationship between their movement and sexual mores. *Vassalissa Malygina* was most likely introduced to Korea through the Japanese edition which were translated as *Red Love* in 1927, as the story became known in Korea as *Chŏk'yŏn* (*Red*

[101] Yun Hyŏngsik, "P'uroret'aria yŏnaeron" in *Samch'ŏlli* vol. 4 no. 4 (1932): 57.

[102] Yun Hyŏngsik, "P'uroret'aria yŏnaeron" in *Samch'ŏlli* vol. 4 no. 4 (1932): 56.

[103] Elizabeth Wood, *The Baba and the Comrade: Gender and Politics in Revolutionary Russia* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1997), 176-178.

Love 赤戀) similar to the Japanese title,[104] and an abridged version was published under this title in *Sin kachŏng* (新家庭).[105]

Red Love or *Vassalissa Malygina* is story about the eponymous protagonist, a twenty-eight year old woman at the turn of the First World War. As was the case with much proletarian literature, the novel contains few artistic pretentions, aiming instead at teaching an unambiguous moral lessons; the plot is largely a platform for the author's doctrinal views on marriage and female employment. Thus the narrative follows the love life of Vassalissa (Kr. *Wasiritsya*) in the backdrop of the communist revolution, as she journeys towards an epiphany about the meaning of sexual and economic freedom.

Kollontai opens the tale in a familiar trope: Vassalissa is an awkward tomboy who falls in love with a suave Russian-American named Vladimir, an active member of the Russian revolution. Vladimir professes to have seen "many beautiful Americans," but notes that they are all too "fast," and he has his heart is set on a "pure girl."[106] As things become more intimate between the pair, Vassalissa professes to have had previous lovers, stating, "No, don't kiss me. You're keeping your heart for a 'pure girl.' And I'm not a virgin any more, Volodya [familiar form of Vladimir]."[107] To this Vladimir responds, "What do I care for your lovers? You belong to me. No one can be purer than you, Vasya [familiar form of

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[104] Eric Naiman, *Sex in Public: The Incarnation of Early Soviet Ideology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 208. Henryk Lenczyc, "Alexandra Kollontai. Essai bibliographique," 229.

[105] Theresa Hyun, *Writing Women in Korea: Translation and Feminism in the Colonial Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), 54.

[106] Alexandra Kollontay, *Red Love* (Westport, Hyperion Press, Inc., 1973), 50.

[107] Alexandra Kollontay, *Red Love,* 56.

Vassalissa]; your soul is pure."[108] The chapter ends with an implied consummation of their relationship.

Yet the romance quickly turns sour. In the following chapter, Vladimir has an affair with a red-lipped, full bosomed nurse; Vassalissa forgives him, saying, "After all, men were like that. What could he do when that hussy threw herself on his neck? Act like a monk?"[109] At a later point, as Vladamir's wife, she becomes too busy and tired to be affectionate with her husband, and he turns his red-blooded attentions outward, attempting to sexually assault a Housing Bureau employee. Again Vassalissa comes to understand him, and expresses a sense of responsibility for not being aware of his sexual needs.

However, Vassalissa's husband eventually takes up a mistress, and she finds herself in a dilemma. While she considers what to do about their marriage, she befriends a younger woman named Dora, who is also a mistress of a communist official. As Dora explains her love for the official and the futility of his existing marriage, Vassalissa has an epiphany, realizing that her marriage is also fruitless and that she must give her husband up: Dora loves the official the way her husband's mistress loves him. Thus in the final chapter, entitled "Freedom," Vassalissa realizes that she is pregnant with Vladmir's child, but still acknowledges the love him and his mistress. In closing, Vassalissa takes a train out of the city, and the novels ends with her departure, as she tells a friend "I'm going to my work tomorrow. Back to work… do you realize the joy of that?"[110]

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[108] Alexandra Kollontay, *Red Love,* 56.

[109] Alexandra Kollontay, *Red Love,* 73.

[110] Alexandra Kollontay, *Red Love,* 286.

Because its plot includes love, sex, and infidelity, it is unsurprising that *Red Love* became a source of prurient interest. However, interest in the Alliance advocacy, and even in the Alliance leaders themselves was also far from platonic. Hwang Sindŏk, mentioned in the previous section, was asked what she said on her first night of her nuptial bed by an author for *Pyŏlgŏngon.*[111] Another article in *Samch'ŏlli* reported on the dating and marital statuses of various female luminaries, and Hŏ Chŏngsuk was included with two other Alliance leaders whose names ended in *suk*: the "three famed *suk* beauties of the Alliance" consisted of Hŏ Chŏng-*suk,* Cho Wŏn-*suk,* and Shim Ŭn-*suk.*[112] Even the president of the Alliance's central branch was not free from such attention, and Chong Ch'ilsŏng was described as a "beauty with a willowy face."[113] Thus in the midst of this Kollontai craze, the media turned Chŏng, the willowy-faced beauty, to elaborate on the novel.

Chŏng, a graduate of Tokyo Women's Art School, served as a member of the Rose of Sharon Preparatory Committee and Publicity Team during its inauguration in 1927, and later as the president of the Rose of Sharon Central Branch in Seoul.[114] In addition to her role as president, she also acted as the public face of the Alliance, and was elected as the speaker for the Alliance's lecture circuit (槿友巡講) in 1929. She visited various cities

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[111] "Myŏngsa sungnyŏ kyŏlhon ch'oya ŭi ch'ŏt putak, ch'ŏt nal bam e muŏs ŭl mal haetna" in *Pyŏlgŏngon* no. 16-17 (December 1928): 60-65.

[112] "Yŏryu myŏngsa ŭi namp'yŏn chosa sang," in *Samch'ŏlli* vol. 7 no. 1 (January 1935): 118.

[113] "Yŏryu myŏngsa ŭi namp'yŏn chosa sang," in *Samch'ŏlli* vol. 7 no. 1 (January 1935): 118.

[114] Kim Chŏng'yŏn, *Kŭnuhoe yŏngu*, 25.

across the country giving lectures this year, speaking in Pyongyang[115] and Nampo[116] on "The Significance of the Rose of Sharon Alliance," and in Inchon on "The Significance of Korea's Women's Movement."[117] These actions earned her a perennial spot in the Governor General of Korea's police's "ideological watch list," and she was a frequent guest of colonial Korea's jails.[118] Additionally, she wrote an article for the Alliance journal the same year entitled "The Status of the Women's Movement Inside and Outside of Korea" which was removed by censors, but handwritten notes in the police summary of censored materials, *Chōsen shuppan keisatsu geppō* (朝鮮出版警察月報), note that she advocated a revolution in the social structures which blocked the "total liberation" of women.[119]

In this dual role as nascent female intelligentsia and Alliance leader, she was asked about the issues of "new morality in male and female relations" raised by Kollontai's novel in an interview for *Samch'ŏlli.* The interviewer notes that "it is unfortunate that feminist intellectuals have kept their silence concerning the problem of the new morality of sexual

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[115] "Kŭnuhoe sungang sŏnghwang: P'yŏngyang" in *Tong'a ilbo* 1 June 1929, 5.

[116] "Kŭnuhoe sungang sŏnghwang: Kŭnuhoe ŭi ŭiŭi" in *Tong'a ilbo* 1 June 1929, 5.

[117] "Kŭnuhoe sungang sŏnghwang: Chosŏn yŏsŏng undong ŭi ŭiŭi" in *Tong'a ilbo* 19 June 1929, 3.

[118] An abbreviated list of police reports as a member of KWC: Keijō chihō kenjisei dairi, "Kaku dantai rengō sōdankai ni kansuru ken" in *Chikenhi* no. 633 (June 9, 1924). As a member of Alliance: Keijō Shōro [Kr. Kyŏngsŏng Chongno] keisatsusho, "Shisō mondai ni kansuru chōsa shorui" in *Keishō keikōhi* no. 8038 (July 18, 1927); Keijō Shōro [Kr. Kyŏngsŏng Chongno] keisatsusho, "Kinyūkai [Kr. Kŭnuhoe] rinji zenkoku daikai kaisai jōkyō" in *Keishō keikōhi* no. 4055 (July 21, 1927). *Keishō* is an abbreviation of Keijō shōro (京城鍾路). Shōro is the Japanese pronunciation of Chongno, one of the major thoroughfares in central Seoul. *Keikōhi* is an abbreviation of 警察署高等係秘密文書 or "police office highly classified documents."

[119] Anonymous, "Fukyoka sashiosae oyobi sakujo shuppanbutsu kiji yōshi: Naigaikoku fujin undō no jōsei," in *Chōsen shuppan keisatsu geppō* no. 8 (April 1929): unpaginated publication.

relations in Kollontai's feminist novel *Red Love*, which has shaken the world of literary critique and realm of ideas."[120]

The interviewer seems most interested in the steamier aspects of the novel, and asks Chŏng whether she believed that "romance is a private affair, so it is one's personal [issue] and anything goes."[121] Chŏng sidesteps the sexual overtones of the question, and answers by foregrounding the social importance of the women's movement and class struggle. She explains, "I am not sure about 'romance,' but there are many cases where this phenomenon of love has repercussions in society. Even when looking at our Rose of Sharon Alliance, there are ardent activists who, once married, remain within their homes and quit the women's movement. This is a stark example of how an individual's love life can weaken the overall class struggle… Therefore one's individual romance is not a personal affair at all."[122]

The interviewer presses further, noting how Kollontai shouted "Love and sexual desire are separate issues. Love takes a long time, but these days between participating in social movements together, studying, and joining in the revolution, how on earth is it possible for people without any free time to talk of love? Finding a way to satisfy our biological impulses from time to time is more important!" and asks whether, by supporting Kollontai, Chŏng is implying that a woman's virginity can be ignored.[123] Chŏng responds, "It

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[120] Chŏng Ch'ilsŏng, "'Chŏk[r]yŏn' pip'an, Kkorontai ŭi sŏngdodŏk ae tae haya" in *Samch'ŏlli* no. 2 (November 1929): 4.

[121] Chŏng Ch'ilsŏng, "'Chŏk[r]yŏn' pip'an," 4-5.

[122] Chŏng Ch'ilsŏng, "'Chŏk[r]yŏn' pip'an," 5-6.

[123] Chŏng Ch'ilsŏng, "'Chŏk[r]yŏn' pip'an," 5-6.

would be awkward for me to answer that question, because even if I answered, our Korean society would still not approve."[124] Similarly, when asked a question about marital infidelity, Chŏng again answers, "Well, it looks that Korean society would not approve what I have to say after all, so it is better for me to keep my mouth shut."[125]

This was not the first time the Alliance leadership had to deal with criticism over female sexuality. Shortly after the Alliance's grand opening, which proposed women's liberation from patriarchal oppression, the Korean poet and social critic Kim Ansŏ proposed a men's organization for a new kind of liberation – liberation for men from the tyrannies of women. Kim, who had also written about Kollontai, penned a four part satirical piece for the *Tong'a ilbo* which outlined his vision for a "Male Liberation League" (男性解放聯盟) that could counteract the tyranny of sexually and economically liberated women.[126]

Although the main target of Kim's ire is the Modern Girl, his critique encompasses several aspects of the Alliance movement. He asserts that "despotic women" have launched a campaign against men that resembled the medieval crusades.[127] These dictatorial women were out to demand rights for themselves, and Kim insists that they avoided taking on any of their own duties or responsibilities, enabled by the economic freedom provided by their

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[124] Chŏng Ch'ilsŏng, "'Chŏk[r]yŏn' pip'an," 7. Emphasis is mine.

[125] Chŏng Ch'ilsŏng, "'Chŏk[r]yŏn' pip'an," 7-8. Emphasis is mine.

[126] Kim Ansŏ [Kim Ŏk], "Modan kkŏl kwa Namsŏng Haebang Yŏnmaeng," in *Tong'a ilbo,* 3.

[127] Kim Ansŏ [Kim Ŏk], "Modan kkŏl kwa Namsŏng Haebang Yŏnmaeng (2)," in *Tong'a ilbo* 23 August 1927, 3.

parents.[128] Furthermore, these women viewed men as slaves – sources of economic exploitation – and quotes women's demands for financial compensation after divorce as clear proof.[129] As a result, Kim describes the Male Liberation League goals: he demands the emancipation of men and the "total abolishment of unequal treatment," which is a near verbatim reversal of the Rose of Sharon Alliance's own statement of purpose.[130]

Furthermore, Kim is critical of how such activism reflected a inversion of gender roles, and recounts how "in countless events, feminine men are clearly being subjugated by masculine women."[131] Because of this situation, many single men joined the alliance, but most married men, whom he labels "wimps," have not.[132] Kim also mentions he has "relatives and friends who have even forgotten the meaning of freedom under such servitude to their wives."[133] Thus these married men suffer from the lack of freedom under women throughout the country.[134]

Incredibly, in the final installment of his treatise on the Male Liberation League, Kim notes that not only were men threatened by the phantasm of enslavement to women, but their very lives were at risk. He notes that a famous actor from Vienna's opera house, Mr.

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[128] Kim Ansŏ [Kim Ŏk], "Namsŏng Haebang Yŏnmaeng (2)," in *Tong'a ilbo* 23 August 1927, 3.

[129] Kim Ansŏ [Kim Ŏk], "Namsŏng Haebang Yŏnmaeng (2)," in *Tong'a ilbo* 23 August 1927, 3.

[130] Kim Ansŏ [Kim Ŏk], "Namsŏng Haebang Yŏnmaeng (2)," in *Tong'a ilbo* 23 August 1927, 3.

[131] Kim Ansŏ [Kim Ŏk], "Namsŏng Haebang Yŏnmaeng (2)," in *Tong'a ilbo* 23 August 1927, 3.

[132] Kim Ansŏ [Kim Ŏk], "Namsŏng Haebang Yŏnmaeng (2)," in *Tong'a ilbo* 23 August 1927, 3.

[133] Kim Ansŏ [Kim Ŏk], "Namsŏng Haebang Yŏnmaeng (2)," in *Tong'a ilbo* 23 August 1927, 3.

[134] Kim Ansŏ [Kim Ŏk], "Namsŏng Haebang Yŏnmaeng (2)," in *Tong'a ilbo* 23 August 1927, 3.

Grosabesk, had been shot and killed by his wife.[135] Similarly, he notes how the *Mainichi shinbun* also reported on a husband murdered by his wife, and how she was released some time afterwards because of leniency towards women under the law.[136] As a result, Kim asserts the Male Liberation League is not merely a matter of freedom from female tyranny, but also a grave matter of life and death. Again borrowing rhetoric from the Rose of Sharon Alliance, he ends poignantly: "Men must no longer live as women's slaves. Awaken to the fact that the power over your very lives rests in their hands! Let us unite!"[137]

Chŏng also faced similar anxieties in the guise of satire. In a humor column called "Luminary Mental Test" (名士멘탈테스트) in *Samch'ŏlli,* Chŏng was the featured guest for one issue, and the interviewer quizzed Chŏng, asking "What do you call it when a woman kicks out her mother and father, goes to her husband's house and kicks him out, and then as a widow goes and kicks out her children?" When Chŏng professes not to know, the interviewer answers, "the three subordinations and the five bonds (三綱五倫). Rather, five bonds minus the three subordinations," which refers to the Confucian idea of a woman's subordination to her father, husband, and son, along with the duties between ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, elder brother and younger, and between friends.[138]

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[135] Kim Ansŏ [Kim Ŏk], "Modan kkŏl kwa Namsŏng Haebang Yŏnmaeng (4)," in *Tong'a ilbo* 25August 1927, 3.

[136] Kim Ansŏ [Kim Ŏk], "Namsŏng Haebang Yŏnmaeng (4)," in *Tong'a ilbo* 25August 1927, 3.

[137] Kim Ansŏ [Kim Ŏk], "Namsŏng Haebang Yŏnmaeng (4)," in *Tong'a ilbo* 25August 1927, 3.

[138] Unnamed interviewer and Chŏng Ch'ilsŏng, "Myŏngsa ŭi ment'al t'esŭtŭ, Kŭnuhoe chung'ang wiwŏnjang Chŏng Ch'ilsŏng ssi," in *Samch'ŏlli* no. 2 (November 1929): 7.

In this satirical work, Chŏng's advocacy is taken *ad absurdum,* and the author uses wordplay to equate the rejection of Confucian subordinations with women kicking people out left and right. The interviewer continues, "In her novel, Kollontai says that a women's chastity is not important… Also, Kollontai says that even if a husband has sexual relations with another women while his wife is gone, this is a biologically inevitable phenomenon so she must forgive him. She [Kollontai] says that this is 'new women's morality.'"[139] Chŏng states, reportedly in good humor, that she is unaware that Kollontai had said such a thing, and in the end she aces this "mental test" with a score of nine points out of ten.[140]

Despite this widespread preoccupation with female sexuality in the novel, Chŏng was able to steer the conversation towards the necessity of women's rights. In her interview about *Red Love,* Chŏng alludes to Henrik Ibsen's famous play, and explains that "in ages past, women were expected to sit quietly in their doll's house like a bird pictured on a painted folding screen (屛風), doing nothing but sleeping and eating, and women had no greater duties outside the home or outside her husband. This was the entirety of a women's role."[141] However, Chŏng contrasts *A Doll's House* with *Red Love*, and notes that "Nora [the protagonist of *A Doll's House*] was awakened to [the merits of] individualism. Therefore on a blustery, snowy night she left the lawyer's house. Yet how and where is she to make a living? The freedom to die on the side of the road is not freedom at all. Without

[139] Chŏng Ch'ilsŏng, "Myŏngsa ŭi ment'al t'esŭtŭ," 7.

[140] Chŏng Ch'ilsŏng, "Myŏngsa ŭi ment'al t'esŭtŭ," 7.

[141] Chŏng Ch'ilsŏng, "'Chŏk[r]yŏn' pip'an," 4.

gaining economic freedom, it is all meaningless."[142] In *Red Love,* Vassalissa's closing words expressed her appreciation for the available vocational opportunities, and Chŏng stresses that this economic freedom was the consummation of the individual freedom that Ibsen's Nora was searching for, and the freedom that Korean women too should seek.

Chŏng's insistence that women's rights were predicated on the economic freedom provided by working independently, without relying on a spouse, also resonated with other members of the Alliance leadership. Yet there were several barriers to women in the workplace, and in the Alliance leaflet, Yi Hyŏn'gyŏng noted that, "it is difficult [for women] to find employment, and in particular, [a woman] who gives birth once is usually forced to leave her work."[143] The leadership proposed a straightforward solution: the establishment of childcare facilities (託兒所). Thus the importance of childcare facilities became a perennial topic at Alliance meetings, and was frequently mentioned on the agenda throughout branches in Korea and Japan from Ung'gi in northern Korea[144] to Kyoto, Japan.[145]

Yu Yŏngjun, a graduate of Beijing Women's School and Tokyo Women's Medical Vocational School, also contributed an editorial in the *Tong'a ilbo* that publicized the need for childcare facilities. Yu wrote "Establish Childcare Facilities Now!" shortly after the Alliance's Grand Opening in 1927. In this piece, she notes that nursery schools (幼稚園) had

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[142] Chŏng Ch'ilsŏng, "'Chŏk[r]yŏn' pip'an," 8.

[143] Reprinted in Ch'oe Ŭnhŭi, *Hanguk kŭndae*, 231-234.

[144] "Kŭnuhoe Ung'gi chihoe" in *Tong'a ilbo* 24 April 1928, 3

[145] "Kŭnuhoe ŭi Kyŏngdo [Kyōto] chihoe" in *Tong'a ilbo* 22 February, 1928, 3.

been growing in popularity, but child care facilities (託兒所) had not. Yu places this into the framework of class – *nursery schools* were for the benefit of rich women who do not work, while *child care facilities* were for regular women who need the freedom to work.[146] Thus she insists that "we we must emphasize the necessity for child care facilities and women's employment. Therefore we must provide an opportunity for women to be independent as we obliterate the backwards notion that women are an attached accessory of her husband and do not need a separate job."[147]

However, previous scholarly works by Pak Yong'ok[148] and the Research Center for Korean Women[149] have decoded phrases like "economic liberation" as an indirect statement of a hidden agenda of national liberation, crafted to escape Japanese censorship. Yet one must take care in contextualizing this phrase. Chŏng Ch'ilsŏng presents "economic liberation" as the ability for a woman to have the financial means to realize her personal awakening as a full-fledged member of society, much like the protagonist of *Red Love*. The polysemic value of economic liberation is lost in a monolithic reading of the national, and Chŏng expresses her desire for the personal liberty afforded through female employment through her comparison of Ibsen's Nora and Kollontai's Vassalissa. Nora had personal freedom but lacked economic opportunity, while Vassalissa gained both.

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[146] Yu Yŏngjun, "T'ak'aso rŭr sŏlch'i hara" in *Tong'a ilbo* 24 June 1927, 3. Emphasis is mine.

[147] Yu Yŏngjun, "T'ak'aso rŭr sŏlch'i hara" in *Tong'a ilbo* 24 June 1927, 3.

[148] Pak Yong'ok, *Han'guk ŭiošong hangil undongsa*, 317-318.

[149] Quoted in Kyung-ai Kim, "Nationalism: An Advocate of, or a Barrier to, Feminism in South Korea," 70.

The Kollontai Craze in colonial Korea was inexorably linked with concerns over female sexuality, and Alliance members had to balance calls for women's rights while addressing the issue of male titillation. The leadership dealt with this in many ways – in *Kŭnu*, the Alliance's official journal, Kim Chŏngwŏn lambasts the Modern Girl periodical *Sinyŏsŏng* (新女性) for posing as a "women's magazine" while merely providing cheap entertainment for curious men, and likens the publication to Kodansha's magazine *Kingu*.[150] However, in her role as Alliance leader and foreign trained female luminary, Chŏng navigated these concerns, steering the discourse from sexual mores to female employment. As a result, she was able to appropriate the prurient interest in Kollontai and argue for greater opportunities for women to work. Finally, this activism was not a veiled argument for national liberation, as Chŏng uses "economic liberation" to mean immediate opportunities for the financial independence of women, not symbolic liberation from Japanese imperialism.

While Chŏng used Russian literature and the Kollontai Craze to argue for economic self-sufficiency, her fellow Alliance leader Hŏ Chŏngsuk turned to another source: German history and Marxist teleology. The following section investigates how Hŏ, who became known as the "Kollontai of Korea," used Marxist rhetoric by Friedrich Engels as a form of cultural capital.[151] In doing so, Alliance leaders were able to incorporate Korea's past into

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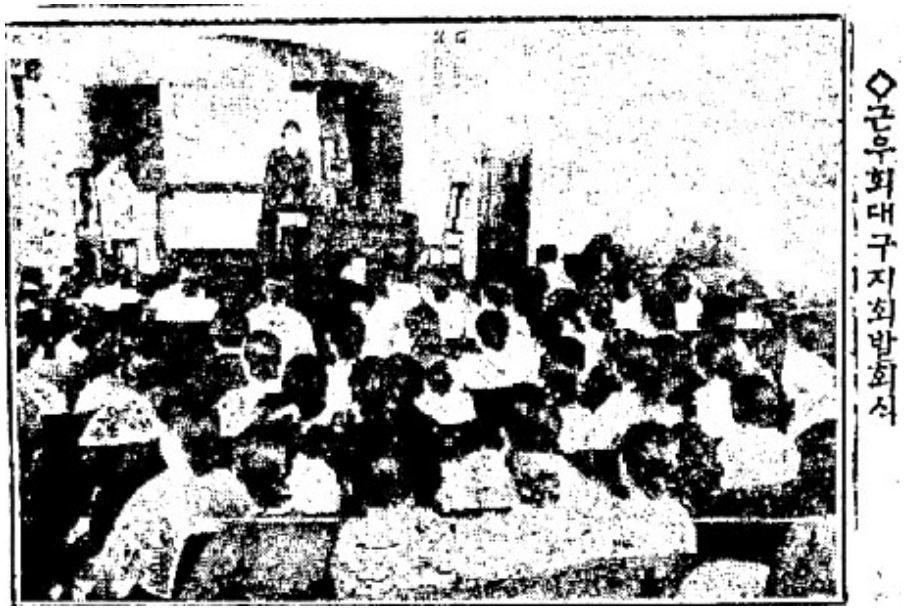
[150] Kim Chŏngwŏn, "Kyemong undong esŏ put'ŏ" in *Kŭnu* 1 (1929): 60.

[151] Anonymous, "Munjae inmul ŭi munjae – Chosŏn ŭi Kolont'aisŭtŭ, Hŏ Chŏngsuk," in *Cheilsŏn* vol. 2 no. 6 (July 1932); Sin Yŏngsuk, "Sahoe chuŭi yŏsŏng undongga, 'Chosŏn ŭi Kollont'ai' Hŏ Chŏngsuk," in *Naeil ŭl yŏnŭn yŏksa* vol. 23 (March 2006): 166; Kwŏn Suhyŏn, "Hŏ Chŏngsuk ŭi yŏsŏngnon chaekusŏng," 251. Kwŏn mistakenly attributes the 1932 article to *Kaepyŏk* instead of *Cheilsŏn* on page 281.

the historical framework of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State,* and used the force of Marxist teleology to advocate women's rights.

The Rose of Sharon Alliance Daegu Branch Inaugural Meeting (Figure 4)



A photo from the inauguration of an Alliance branch in Daegu in 1928. Chŏng Ch'ilsŏng visited from Seoul as a representative of the main branch.

Source: *Tong'a ilbo*[152]

Friedrich Engels as Cultural Capital: Hŏ Chŏngsuk and the Korean Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State

In his work on feminism and socialism in the 1920s and 1930s Korea, Kim Kyŏng'il asserts that during the 1920s and 1930s, socialist feminists "interpreted the liberalist women's [campaign against] feudal views of morality as a micro-level and isolated *modus*

[152] "Kŭnuhoe Taegu chihoe palhoesik" in *Tong'a ilbo* 1 March, 1928, 3. Used under Fair Use Provisions.

operandi, while in contrast socialist women grasped the greater process of the macro-historical development of society."[153] Thus he states that "one must understand Hŏ Chŏngsuk within this context," particularly her belief that misogynist feudalist morality was rooted in Korea's "unique colonial reality, caused by the underdevelopment of the socioeconomic sphere."[154] As a result, Kim traces how women like Hŏ appropriated Marxist-Leninist theories and adjusted them to fit their dual subjectivities, both as women and as colonial citizens.

This study offers historical insight by looking at the *function* of Marxism in colonial Korea. However, such intellectual histories treat Marxism divorced from its contextual social and cultural terrain, ignoring the way in which women yielded such rhetoric. Thus this section investigates both the *form* and the *function* of feminist articulations of Marxism, particularly the theories of Friedrich Engels, by Hŏ Chŏngsuk. Hŏ and other Alliance leaders' writings show how Engels was deployed as a form of cultural capital, cemented through technical vocabulary, foreign-derived neologisms, and Chinese characters. Although these writings were not accessible to the Alliance outside of the educated leadership, Hŏ and other leaders' usage of Engels as cultural capital reflexively bolstered their own enunciative legitimacy within the public sphere while simultaneously arguing for women's rights.

Hŏ Chŏngsuk (1908-1991), the "Kollontai of Korea" and aforementioned critic of America's "female dolls," was born in Seoul as Hŏ Chŏngja. She studied at Kwansai Gakuin

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[153] Kim Kyŏng'il, "1920-30nyŏndae Hanguk ŭi Sinyŏsŏng kwa sahoe chuŭi" in *Hanguk munhwa* vol. 36 (2005): 264.

[154] Kim Kyŏng'il, "1920-30nyŏndae Hanguk ŭi Sinyŏsŏng kwa sahoe chuŭi," 264-265.

University in Kobe from 1915, majoring in English literature, but did not graduate and returned to Korea in 1920.[155] In 1921, she left to China to attend the University of Nanking (*Jinling Daxue*), but was forced to change her plans after a bout of pleuritis.[156] Nonetheless, she became involved with the socialist movement in China, and joined a group of Korean students in Shanghai, who formed the Shanghai Resident Korean's Communist Party (在上海共産黨). Although her half sister's memoir mentions that Hŏ also studied at Columbia University for one year in 1926,[157] and many other scholars have adopted this assertion,[158] legal records make no mention of her enrollment, and Kwŏn Suhyŏn asserts that she tried to enter school in the United States, but because the limitations of her travel visa status was unable to and had to settle for private tutoring in English.[159]

Nevertheless, Hŏ became the first female reporter for the *Tong'a ilbo* in 1925 and joined the editorial board of *Sinyŏsŏng* (新女性) magazine in October of the same year.[160] She also became active within socialist circles in Korea, served as a leader in the Korean Women's Coalition (朝鮮女性同友會) alongside Hwang Sindŏk, and was elected as a member of the Rose of Sharon Alliance central committee. Hŏ also penned much of the

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[155] Kwŏn Suhyŏn, "Hŏ Chŏngsuk ŭi yŏsŏngnon chaekusŏng," 253.

[156] Kwŏn Suhyŏn, "Hŏ Chŏngsuk ŭi yŏsŏngnon chaekusŏng," 253.

[157] Hŏ Kŭn'uk, "Na ŭi apŏchi Hŏ Hŏn kwa ŏnni Hŏ Chŏngsuk," in *Yŏksa pip'yŏng* no. 28 (August 1994): 223.

[158] Sin Yŏngsuk, "Sahoe chuŭi yŏsŏng undongga, 'Chosŏn ŭi Kollont'ai' Hŏ Chŏngsuk," 168.

[159] Kwŏn Suhyŏn, "Hŏ Chŏngsuk ŭi yŏsŏngnon chaekusŏng," 253.

[160] Kwŏn Suhyŏn, "Hŏ Chŏngsuk ŭi yŏsŏngnon chaekusŏng," 254.

Alliance's literature with Hwang,[161] was listed as a luminary alongside the Alliance's three beautiful "suk,"[162] went on lecture circuits throughout the Alliance's regional branches, and served as editor for the Alliance's official journal, *Kŭnu.*[163] She contributed to the first (and only) issue of this publication in 1929, writing on the "The Historical Position of the Rose of Sharon Alliance and Confronted Duties."

In this article, Hŏ insists that "if one retraces the history of women, women were humans that did not have any material differences with men."[164] Hŏ gives this statement scientific imprimatur, insisting that "based on the research by ethnologists and biologists," one can see that historically, "women's intellect, physique, social standing, and political rights were not inferior to men's, and [women] were equal persons."[165] Thus she asserts the only gender difference was merely one of biological function, not of human rights or personality.[166]

Hŏ also introduces other rudiments of Marxism: that for every human society, the economic base provides the motive force for the superstructure, and that culture is also determined by the economic base.[167] She also presents the stages of human development:

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[161] Ch'osa [Kim Tonghwan], "Hyŏndae yŏryu sasang'ga dŭl 3, pulgŭn yŏn'ae ŭi chuin'gong" in *Samch'ŏlli* no. 17 (July 1931), 13-14.

[162] "Yŏryu myŏngsa ŭi namp'yŏn chosa sang," in *Samch'ŏlli* vol. 7 no. 1 (January 1935): 118.

[163] Kwŏn Suhyŏn, "Hŏ Chŏngsuk ŭi yŏsŏngnon chaekusŏng," 254.

[164] Hŏ Chŏngsuk, "Kŭnuhoe undong ŭi yŏksachŏk chiwi wa tangmyŏn immu," in *Kŭnu* no. 1 (1929): 6-7.

[165] Hŏ Chŏngsuk, "Kŭnuhoe undong ŭi yŏksachŏk chiwi," 7.

[166] Hŏ Chŏngsuk, "Kŭnuhoe undong ŭi yŏksachŏk chiwi," 7.

[167] Hŏ Chŏngsuk, "Kŭnuhoe undong ŭi yŏksachŏk chiwi," 7-8.

the era of a primitive [censored, probably communism], the era of slavery, the era of serf feudalism, and the era of capitalism.[168] In this process, the inferior conditions for women started with changes in the means of production and system of property ownership.[169] Hŏ notes that in primitive communism, women were producers on equal footing with men, but with establishment of private property, women became non-productive laborers, had their rights stripped from them, and "started to be treated as non-humans and men's private possessions: household slaves and playthings."[170] Hŏ insists that Korean women's experiences in this process were more miserable than those faced by women of other nations because East Asian ethics lauded submissiveness and passivity as upright.[171] However, she does not elaborate on Korean women's historical experience with the deprivation of rights.

As a Marxist feminist, Hŏ focused on the loss of independence that followed the development of private property. August Bebel's *Women Under Socialism* and Friedrich Engel's *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* were ideological primers for socialist visions of women's liberation in Korea, and many Alliance members drew heavily on these works.[172] In this treatise, *The Origins of the Family,* Engels notes that "the more in the course of economic development, undermining the old communism and increasing the

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[168] Hŏ Chŏngsuk, "Kŭnuhoe undong ŭi yŏksachŏk chiwi," 8. The censored portion was replaced by two X's as 原始 XX 制時代, but can be discerned from context. The most fitting translation is "era of primitive communism."

[169] Hŏ Chŏngsuk, "Kŭnuhoe undong ŭi yŏksachŏk chiwi," 8.

[170] Hŏ Chŏngsuk, "Kŭnuhoe undong ŭi yŏksachŏk chiwi," 8-9.

[171] Hŏ Chŏngsuk, "Kŭnuhoe undong ŭi yŏksachŏk chiwi," 9-10.

[172] Kim Kyŏng'il, "1920-30nyŏndae Hanguk ŭi sinyŏsŏng," 275.

density of population, the traditional sexual relations lost their innocent character suited to the primitive forest, the more debasing and oppressive they naturally appeared to women."[173] Although humanity had been universally matrilineal, the patrilineal revolution, which Engels calls "one of the most radical ever experienced by humanity," followed the accumulation of private property.[174] The oppression of women coincided with the development of private wealth, through the domestication of animals and private ownership of flocks, reshaped social relations.[175]

Engels asserts that this process was based out of necessity, and is connected with the transition to primogeniture. While human societies remained communal, they followed a matrilineal system of descent, thus the father was an outsider of the *gens* (clan or tribe). As such, the father's children could not inherit his property under maternal law, as they were members of their mother's *gens*.[176] This was not an issue as long as private possessions were meager. However, with the accumulation of private property, the father's inability to pass his earnings to his children became a pressing issue.

This problem was resolved by placing male offspring under their fathers' *gens,* with females remaining under their father's *gens* even after marriage. Women had to be included in their fathers' *gens* after marriage to prevent them from having a stake in their

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[173] Friedrich Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 1902), trans. Ernest Untermann, 65.

[174] Friedrich Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State,* 68.

[175] Friedrich Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State,* 66-67.

[176] Friedrich Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State,* 66-68.

husbands' possessions upon his death.[177] As a result, maternal law fell by the wayside and was replaced by male primogeniture, and women were deprived of the basis of their livelihood.

This framework is also evident in the inaugural edition of the Alliance's official publication, *Kŭnu.* An author, writing under the pseudonym H *saeng* (H 生),[178] adopted Engel's historical materialist narrative and stressed the teleological inevitability of women's rights, noting that "Currently, everything from women's enlightenment to the Rose of Sharon Alliance is being misconstrued. The Rose of Sharon Society is an organization born from Korean women's unique condition within society. Of women in the past, Korean women in particular had the most pitiful lives as human beings. Alongside changes within the economic base based upon historical inevitabilities, women's status will change once again."[179] Echoing Engels, she also notes that "It was when the economic base entered the system of [private] property that all the societal structures unfavorable to women came into being.[180]

H *saeng* notes that "Korean women are currently freeing themselves from the sorrows of the oppressive confinement of women, a vestige from the feudal past, and the

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[177] Friedrich Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State,* 69.

[178] H *saeng* may be a pseudonym for Hŏ, as the author writing under this name stops penning articles for *Tong'a ilbo* shortly after Hŏ was incarcerated for her involvement in the Rose of Sharon Alliance Incident. In this case, the "H" probably stands for "Hŏ." In this case, Hŏ may have written once under her own name and once under a pseudonym in an effort to skirt censorship. Another possibility is that it is a student writing anonymously, and H *saeng* stands for *Hak-saeng* (學生) or "student."

[179] H saeng, "P'yŏngnon: Kŭnuhoe e taehan insik ch'ako" in *Kŭnu* no. 1 (1929): 50.

[180] H saeng, "P'yŏngnon: Kŭnuhoe e taehan insik ch'ako," 50. The term "system of private property" was partially censored as XX 財産制度, but can be construed from context.

spread of civilization based upon finance capitalism. The women's liberation movement means throwing away these fetters."[181] Furthermore, she asserts that "within the sphere called the household, women – as lifelong unproductive laborers, as unpaid and indefinitely indentured slaves, and as the playthings of men – were a throng of miserable human beings who lost any obtainable rights or [censored] character, [faced] insults to their character, the dispossession of human rights, the deprivation of social standing, who lost all legal and political freedoms."[182] If this English translation seems unwieldy and pretentious, the Korean text is even more so, and H *saeng* seems to have adopted Engel's pedantic prose along with his theory:

> 女性은 家庭이라는 圈內에서 一平生의 不生産勞動者로 無賃無期의 奴隸로서 男性의 娛樂物로서 人格上 侮辱과 人權의 剝奪, 社會的인 地位喪失, 政治上, 法律의 自由等을 일호버린 人間으로서의 가질 만한 權利나 X 人格을 일허버린 悲慘한 人間의 무리 이엿섯다.[183]

Such prose stands in stark contrast to the demographic makeup of the Alliance membership. While the leadership was made up of the upper strata of academic elite, the greater membership drew heavily from housewives and manual laborers. In fact, many of the general Alliance members were illiterate, leading the leadership advocated night schools to help eradicate female illiteracy. Thus in short, Alliance leaders like Hŏ and H *saeng* were writing in a form inaccessible to many of the Alliance's own constituents.

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[181] H saeng, "P'yŏngnon: Kŭnuhoe e taehan insik ch'ako," 50-51.

[182] H saeng, "P'yŏngnon: Kŭnuhoe e taehan insik ch'ako," 50.

[183] H saeng, "P'yŏngnon: Kŭnuhoe e taehan insik ch'ako," 50. The "X" is included in the original as a censored portion. The text is provided as published, including the use of mixed Sino-Korean script and two differing spellings for the word "lost."

This paradox can be understood through the lens of language prestige, translingual practice, and enunciative legitimacy. The Sino-Korean script used by Hŏ and H *saeng* was a sign of prestige, and JaHyun Kim Haboush has gone so far as to call Chosŏn era Sino-Korean a form of diglossia.[184] During the colonial period, many female students went to great lengths to learn Sino-Korean, and in her study of missionary education, Hyaeweol Choi notes that missionary educators at Ewha Academy were shocked by their female students' desire to learn Chinese. Choi notes that:

> Although [missionary educators] had begun with mixed opinions about the value of Chinese instruction… missionaries eventually accommodated Korean girls' strong desire to learn Chinese because they continued to consider it the prestige language of the country. No longer monopolized by boys and men of the upper class, Chinese instruction became a central subject of learning for girls and henceforth began to break the longstanding prejudice against the intellectual capacity of women.[185]

Therefore Hŏ and H *saeng*'s writings must be seen as an articulation of their cultural literacy, not merely as a neutral vehicle for spreading Marxist ideas.

Beyond the usage of Sino-Korean, the unique translingual lexicon also set apart these writings as a form of cultural capital, aimed at fortifying the authors' enunciative legitimacy. In her work on translation and modernity, Lydia Liu looks at the introduction of neologisms based upon translated Western concepts, and she notes that "broadly defined, the study of translingual practice examines the process by which new words, meanings,

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[184] JaHyun Kim Haboush, "Gender and the Politics of Language in Choson Korea." In *Rethinking Confucianism: Past and Present in China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam,* eds. Benjamin A. Elman, John B. Duncan, and Herman Ooms (Los Angeles: Asia Institute, University of California Los Angeles, 2002), 240-241.

[185] Hyaeweol Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009), 111.

discourses, and modes of representation arise, circulate, and acquire legitimacy within the host language."[186] Quoting Talal Asad, she also notes the Foucauldian power dynamics at play, in which "Western languages produce and deploy *desired* knowledge more readily than Third World languages do."[187]

It should be unsurprising, then, that many of the terms favored by Hŏ and H *saeng* were recently translated imports which contained a sense of authority. In fact, many of the Alliance leaders' favorite "buzzwords" were relatively new translations, formulated largely by Japanese intelligentsia and transmitted to China and Korea. In tracking these, Liu's appendices, which trace linguistic translation routes is useful. Pet terms like "feudal society,"[188] "inevitability"[189] "primitive communist society,"[190] "individualism,"[191] "capital"[192] and "propertied class"[193] were part of a translated lexicon that suggested one's experience with translated, modern knowledge.

Yet it would be amiss to argue that such rhetoric was entirely reflexive, aimed only at cementing the leadership's own enunciative credentials, and Hŏ and H *saeng* were able to incorporate this historical materialist argument about the loss of women's rights into the

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[186] Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity – China 1900-1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 26. Emphasis is mine.

[187] Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice,* 3.

[188] Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice,* 349.

[189] Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice,* 348.

[190] Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice,* 349.

[191] Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice,* 344.

[192] Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice,* 307.

[193] Lydia Liu, *Translingual Practice,* 343.

Alliance journal in 1929. Furthermore, Alliance leaders went beyond merely reiterating Engel's theory and incorporated Korea's historical development into the larger Marxist teleological narrative.

Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi provides a glimpse at this process in an article in *Samch'ŏlli* about the Alliance and the development of the women's movement in Korea. Although not a member of the Alliance herself, Ch'oe reported on the organization's socialist activism as an observer, and summarizes the group's activism and socialist feminist position. She notes that the leadership argued that Korean society had been built around women during prehistoric times.[194] Repeating Hŏ's assertions, Ch'oe describes that the gynocentric society had been destroyed in the process of historical development, and women became nothing but men's playthings.[195] Incorporating Korean history into this process, she notes how after the ancient times, specifically during the "Three Kingdoms Period [57 C.E. – 668 C. E] (meaning Kokuryŏ, Paekche, and Shilla), which had undergone cultural development to some extent, some elements of gynocentric society remained."[196]

These long lost women-friendly relations could be seen in Koryŏ era (918–1392 C.E.) *p'ungsokhwa* (風俗畵), or scenic brush paintings. The scenes depict that if a woman got married, on the day of her marriage the groom had to go to the bride's house, and could

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[194] Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi, "Chosŏn yŏsŏng undong ŭi palchŏn kwachŏng," in *Samch'ŏlli* vol. 3 no. 11 (November 1931): 94.

[195] Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi, "Chosŏn yŏsŏng undong ŭi palchŏn kwachŏng," 94.

[196] Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi, "Chosŏn yŏsŏng undong ŭi palchŏn kwachŏng," 94-95. Parenthetical note in the original.

not enter until he took a knee outside the door and shouted his own name three times.[197] Afterwards, if the bride's household approved of him, he could enter the home and make a promise with the bride's parents.[198] At this point, the man stayed with the bride's parents and helped his wife with *all* her chores.[199] Only after the wife bore children could the groom finally return to his own household.[200] This began to change in the Unified Silla period (668 C.E-935 C.E), in the Koryŏ period, women's status fell significantly, and by the Yi Chosŏn period, women were not even thought of as human, but rather as consumables.[201]

Hŏ and H *saeng* illustrate how both the form and function of Marxism were intertwined in the Alliance leadership's activism. Hŏ and H *saeng* adopted a rhetoric form that was not accessible to their general membership, but rather focused on exhibiting their cultural literacy. However, even within this process they were able to appropriate Engel's narrative, questioning the ontology of gender difference and arguing for the absolute equality between men and women. Thus Hŏ and other Alliance leaders were able to appropriate the teleology of Marxist progress in their search for women's rights, and incorporated Korean women's unique history within this process.

Translingual Practice, Enunciative Legitimacy, and the Rose of Sharon Alliance

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[197] Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi, "Chosŏn yŏsŏng undong ŭi palchŏn kwachŏng," 95.

[198] Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi, "Chosŏn yŏsŏng undong ŭi palchŏn kwachŏng," 95.

[199] Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi, "Chosŏn yŏsŏng undong ŭi palchŏn kwachŏng," 95. Emphasis is in the original: 모–든.

[200] Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi, "Chosŏn yŏsŏng undong ŭi palchŏn kwachŏng," 95.

[201] Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi, "Chosŏn yŏsŏng undong ŭi palchŏn kwachŏng," 95.

As comprador intellectuals, the leadership of the Rose of Sharon Alliance enjoyed many of the social and intellectual networks that they could capitalize on to pursure their own goals. Thus by looking at Hwang Sindŏk, Chŏng Ch'ilsŏng, and Hŏ Chŏngsuk, one can see how this group of overseas students utilized the cultural capital of foreign college degrees, transnational feminist networks, and international currents of feminist theory to promote women's rights in colonial Korea. Furthermore, their translingual practices enabled unique interpretations of socialist theory that allowed them to adopt it to the unique history of Korean women. Hwang Sindŏk is one example, traveling to Japan and capitalizing on the prestige afforded to an institution of higher learning like Waseda while forming intellectual bonds with a veteran of Japan's feminist movement, Yamakawa Kikue. In doing so, she was able to speak out on feminist issues not only for Korean audiences, but for Japanese ones also. Chŏng Ch'ilsŏng also used her education and familiarity with literature to appropriate the public's salacious interests in Alexandra Kollontai and address the need for women's economic independence. Hŏ Chŏngsuk also used her knowledge of Friedrich Engels, writing on his works in a manner that emphasized her mastery of Sino-Korean and recently imported academic neologisms. In doing so, she also helped to incorporate Korean history into a Marxist framework to stress how the patriarchal system in Korea was unnatural – a historical anomaly wrought by capitalism. Thus these three leaders of the Rose of Sharon Alliance seized legitimacy with their own hands and led a group of ten thousand in the struggle for women's rights.

Chapter 5: Proletarian Authors and the Search for Colonial Subjectivity

> In these terms, victimization is a commodity worth getting because of its emphasis on sufferers' purity.[1]

For the leaders of the Rose of Sharon Alliance, their academic routes to Tokyo and back, combined with the prestige granted their degrees and ability to leverage their social networks helped them create a new feminist narrative of Korean history and lay out a path to challenge the immutability of female inferiority and even the biology of gender difference. The process of theorizing gender through a socialist lens were inseparable from with the leadership's transnational migrations. Yet socialism took many forms as it took hold in the Korean colony, and this chapter turns its attentions towards proletarian literature in both Korea and Japan, and how it was shaped by translation and asymmetries between colony and empire.

Constructing an Iconography of Suffering: Depicting Koreans for Socialist Japan

> "No 'we' should be taken for granted when the subject is looking at other people's pain… That 'we' would include not just the sympathizers of a smallish nation or a stateless people fighting for its life, but – a far larger constituency – those only nominally concerned about some nasty war taking place in another country… a means of making 'real' (or 'more real') matters that the privileged and the merely safe might prefer to ignore."[2]

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[1] Victoria Kuttainen*, Unsettling Stories: Settler Postcolonialism and the Short Story Composite* (Cambridge, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 298-299.

[2] Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Picador, 2003), 7.

As socialism took these various routes through Japan to Korea, it also opened both a new framework and a renewed urgency to depict colonial Koreans for Japanese speaking audiences. This was a far cry from earlier depictions of the colony. Meiji representations of Koreans before colonization were often ham-fisted and crude. Fitting with discourses about the purported lower "level of civilization" (*mindō*) of the peninsula, Diet member Arakawa Gōro went so far as to write about the Korean propensity to use urine as a cleaning liquid, a cosmetic, and even a "fortifying tonic."[3]

Yet during the Taisho Period, other authors took up the mantle of writing on Korea in a different vein. In 1924, for example, Akutagawa Ryūnosuke wrote *Kin shōgun* (General Kim) for the February edition of *Shin shōsetsu* (The New Novel). In this short story, Akutagawa tells the tale of the general Kim Ŭng-sŏ (better known in Korean as Kim Kyŏng-sŏ) during Hideyoshi's invasions of Korea. Written with General Kim as the protagonist, the short story follows his heroic exploits as he resists the Japanese invasion by assassinating one of Hideyoshi's generals, Konishi Yukinaga, murdering a Korean *kisaeng* named Kyewŏlhyang who is carrying Konishi's child, and then proceeding to kill their yet unborn child.

Throughout the tale, Akutagawa pours lavish praise on the "successful" exploits of General Kim while depicting his vicious deeds. Referring to General Kim, Akutagawa writes that "Heroes are monsters those who crush the sentimentalism of yore under their feet. General Kim promptly killed Kyewŏlhyang, ripping out the child within her womb. The child, illuminated by the morning vestiges of the waning moon, was nothing more than a

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[3] Peter Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 403-404.

clump of flesh. Yet that clump of flesh shivered and gave a distinctly adult-like scream: 'You bastard! [To do this] to someone who, after just three more months, could have [taken] revenge for his father!'"[4] The shocking image clashes with the jubilant tone of the tale.

Thus Akutagawa writes this tale of the "triumphant" victory of the Korean General Kim over Hideyoshi's general, the general's *kisaeng* (courtesan), and her unborn child to accentuate the disjunct between heroic tone of the tale and the savagery of the deed. In the end, although the tale is written with a colonial protagonist, it should be read as a work of mock-heroism, intended not to encourage empathy with the protagonist, but rather use the protagonist as a heel, where the reader's distaste for the antihero forces the reader to reexamine their own presuppositions on the correctness of standard narratives of Japanese heroism. Akutagawa cements this lessons through his somewhat pedantic closing, in which he notes that "regardless of the nation, its people have a glorious history,"[5] which is a statement intended to have readers reconsider the "glory" of Japanese narratives of their own history.

Akutagawa's tale tackles the laudable task of addressing jingoistic narratives of military victories through this tale, and is a far cry from the overtly imperialistic overtones of Arakawa Gōro. Akutagawa's more well-known anti-imperialist work, Momotaro, was written in the same year as *Kin Shōgun*, and serves as a companion piece of satire through

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[4] Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, "Kin shōgun" in *Aozora bunko* (http://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/000879/files/78_15185.html). Originally published in *Shin shosetsu* (February 1924).

[5] Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, "Kin shōgun" in *Aozora bunko* (http://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/000879/files/78_15185.html). Originally published in *Shin shosetsu* (February 1924).

the classical Japanese tale. Yet the tale lacks any interiority, as the Korean protagonist exists not to provide the readership with a deeper understanding of Korean history, nor empathize with the plight of military aggression, but simply act as a one-dimensional mirror for Japanese readers to reexamine their own imperialistic sentiment.[6]

Alongside the growing fervor for proletarian literature, publishers like Tettō shoin, Senki-sha, and even Chūo kōron capitalized on the debates by putting out articles, novels, and poems. Hakuyosha and Tettō shoin printed yearly compilations of proletarian poetry, in which writers – even Koreans – could share their own contributions. At the same time, the proletarian movement brought new approaches to tackling not only the issue of worker exploitation, but also shed light on the plight of imperialism's victims, and socialist proponents vocally debated over the stakes of socialism and the depiction of coloniality.

In 1931, for example, Murayama Tomoyoshi, Kobayashi Takiji, Tokunaga Sunao, and a few other prominent writers and playwrights co-published a volume on *Producing Proletarian Novels and Plays* (Puroretaria shōsetsu gigyoku sahou). In one chapter, Tokunaga Sunao, a proletarian author who was deeply vested in writing about coloniality, penned "Writing Methods for Proletarian Novels" outlining his vision for now this might work.

Tokunaga opens with a broad overview of the development of Japanese literature and its many –isms, noting the contributions of the Kenyusha. Yet proletarian literature, as

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[6] Interestingly, Akutagawa's rendition of this tale actually sparked Korean public interest, and authors adopted the tragic figure of Kyewŏlhyang. In subsequent renditions, Kyewŏlhyang was not a willing concubine for Hideyoshi's general, but rather the victim of rape. Thus she is put in the tragic situation of being raped by the Japanese general, bearing his child, and being killed by a Korean "patriot."

he asserts, plays a different role which he elaborates. He notes the distinction between having proletarian "contents" and proletarian "structure." As Tokunaga argues, proletarianism played a unique role within literature unlike romanticism, naturalism, neo-impressionism – grouped under the umbrella term bourgeois literature. Real proletarian literature, he argues, was marked by both its content and its structure, and he outlines his thoughts within these two broad categories.[7]

For proletarian literature's contents, it is not sufficient to simply adopt workers or farmers as the subject matter; just having a "labor-like" (rōdōteki) narrative does not differ from bourgeois literature. Rather, Tokunaga foregrounds the importance of conveying the phenomenology of poverty and the lived experience of exploitation. Thus the author must build his plot through "communist eyes" and provide "scientific and dynamic" analysis.[8]

At the same time, by illustrating poverty and exploitation through scientific means, Tokunaga foregrounds how proletarian literature had an affective goal, which he refers to as the "combustion" within the "cauldron of emotions."[9] In writing, he suggests using an "emotional blueprint," mapping out character's feelings and sentiments to maximize the affective response within the reader.[10] All of these fell under the rubric of proletarian literature's "content."

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[7] Tokunaga Sunao, "Puroretaria shōsetsu no kakikata" in Murayama Tomoyoshi, Hashimoto Eikichi, Kobayashi Takiji et al. *Puroretaria shōsetsu gigyoku sahou* (Tokyo: Naigaisha, 1931), 81-82.

[8] Tokunaga Sunao, "Puroretaria shōsetsu no kakikata," 83-84.

[9] Tokunaga Sunao, "Puroretaria shōsetsu no kakikata," 85.

[10] Tokunaga Sunao, "Puroretaria shōsetsu no kakikata," 85, 86.

The other facet he addresses is the structure of fiction, to which he takes a straightforward approach. Providing a convoluted excerpt from Ryūtanji Yū's *The Mermaid with Soapstone Legs,* in which the narrator praises the beauty of a mermaid in extravagant and mock-erotic terms, he asks the readership "Do you believe that workers and farmers can understand this text? Can you unravel the meaning of this text, which almost seems as like [a situation where] three plus three equals sixteen? If by chance there is a worker or farmer among you who can understand [this text], by all means raise your hand!"[11] He asserts that such works are nothing more than the crude indulgence in bourgeois sexuality.

As Ryūtanji was both a representative the anti-Marxist New Art School and a champion of using "nonsense" in literature, Tokunaga's critique of his work may be unfair.[12] Nevertheless, Tokunaga advocated the use of straightforward prose and diction to best reach the audience. Ultimately, proletarian literature had to be the most "scientific, realistic, simple, and clear."[13] As exemplars of such principles, he lists Kobayashi Takiji's *Cells of a Factory*, Kishi Yamaji's *The Commemorative Plaque,* or his own *City of the Unemployed – Tokyo,* his work *Red Sports,* or his newest work *Military Transportation Corps, Advance!*[14] Because of such sentiments, Tokunaga penned a criticism of Kurahara

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[11] Tokunaga Sunao, "Puroretaria shōsetsu no kakikata," 90.

[12] Alisa Freedman, "Street Nonsense: Ryutanji Yu and the Fascination with Interwar Tokyo Absurdity" in *Japan Forum* vol. 21 no. 1 (March 2009): 11-13.

[13] Tokunaga Sunao, "Puroretaria shōsetsu no kakikata," 89.

[14] Tokunaga Sunao, "Puroretaria shōsetsu no kakikata," 83-84.

Korehito two years later and announced his departure from NAPF (Nippona Artista Proleta Federacio).[15]

Tokunaga provides a glimpse at the stakes of the relationship between coloniality and proletarian literature, in which colonial characters played an affective role in conveying the phenomenology of poverty and the lived experience of exploitation. Colonial protagonists were designed to create the "combustion of emotion" that Tokunaga sought. Furthermore, such works were to be written with straightforward and simple prose to reach audiences educated and uneducated alike.

It should come as little surprise, then, that the plight of colonial Korea was portrayed in this vein for Japanese reading audiences. Kim Hŭi-myŏng's poem "The Sorrow of a Foreigner" (*Ihō aishū*) was one of the first poems depicting Korean coloniality penned by a Korean in Japanese. A graduate of Nihon University's affiliated technical school (*Nihon daigaku senmonbu*) in social science, his literature did not garner much attention in Japan and is nearly unknown in Korea. Nevertheless, he wrote consistently about the despair that befell victims of imperialism for socialist readers. His poem captures this sentiment:

> "A flophouse residence (*kichinyado*)
> A Korean child who dwells there
> When her father has gone to work, she is all alone
> …..
> She has no mother, nor has any friends
> Her room, devoid of toys, is pitch black

[15] Tokunaga Sunao, "Sōsaku hōhō jō no shintenkan" in *Chūō kōron* (Sept 1933). Reprinted in *Nihon puroretaria bungaku hyōron shū* vol. 7 (Tokyo: Shinnippon shuppansha, 1990), 264-274.

….."[16]

Senki-sha's 1929 issue of *Collection of Japanese Proletarian Literature* included a similar poem by Kim Pyŏng-ho for the collection. A middle school graduate of Fukuoka, Kim was by no means a noted author.[17] Furthermore, his poetry stands out from the others not for its quality, but rather the lack thereof. His poem had the direct title, "I am a Korean!" and reads:

> I – I am a Korean!
> I have no nation, nor money
> Of course, there is nothing fun
> I have already thrown away my pity and tears.
>
> To hell with morals! (*dōtoku ga nanda!*)
> What is this Japan-Korean annexation,
> We [Koreans] are being fooled way too much…
>
> Japanese people are our enemies
> Yet all of Japan's proletariat are our friends
> Also, the ones who are saving us with their affection (*itsukushimi tasukete kureru mono*)
> Are all of Japan's proletariat
>
> Your thoughts are our thoughts
> Your endeavors are also what we endeavor towards
> Comrades, let us hold hands

[16] Kim Hŭi-myŏng, "Ihō aishū" in *Bungei sensen* (March 1926). From *Kindai Chōsen bungaku Nihongo sakuhin shū: 1908-1945* vol. 4, 116. Note: The gender of child is ambiguous in the poem. Ellipses in the original.

[17] *Taehan kyoyuk yŏn'gam 4288nyŏnp'an,* 647.

I ask you to do your best with the task [ahead]![18]

Kim Hŭi-myŏng's work presents a lachrymose scene. While we do not know whether he used an "emotional blueprint" as Tokunaga Sunao suggested, the individual elements of the brief poem – a motherless child and Korean victim – are aimed at eliciting a straightforward emotional response. Like Kim Hŭi-Myŏng's work, the overall structure and tone of Kim Pyŏng-ho's poem also fits Tokunaga's theory on the affective goals of proletarian literature. The opening stanza was designed to do elicit an affective response within the reader – the "combustion of emotion" – and rally the readership against capitalist exploitation and disenfranchisement. Such colonial proletarian images – written in Japanese by both Korean and Japanese authors – constituted an iconography of suffering that coincided with the goals of proletarian literature. Kim Pyŏng-ho's poetry carefully draws a distinction between the "bad" Japanese and the "good" Japanese, with the line being simply one's affiliation with the proletarian movement.

Yet like Akutagawa's Korean protagonist in the aforementioned *Kin Shōgun*, such characters lacked an interiority and instead served as affective props for the author's extra-literary goals – for Akutagawa, this was for the readership to question jingoistic Japanese historical narratives while for Tokunaga, Kim Hŭi-myŏng, Kim Pyŏng-ho, and others, this was to parade Koreans as emblems of unjust suffering and catalysts for self-righteous anger.

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[18] Kim Pyŏng-ho, "Oriya Chōsenjin da" in *Nenkan Nihon puroretaria shishū* (Tokyo: Senkisha, 1929): 97.

Representations of Koreans held a key place in the iconography of suffering. As John Frow notes, "every act of reading, and hence every act of ascribing value, is specific to the particular regime that organizes it. Texts and readers are not separable elements with fixed properties but 'variable functions within a discursively ordered set of relations… no object, no text, no cultural practice has an intrinsic or necessary meaning or value or function; and that meaning, value, and function are always the effect of specific (and changing, changeable) social relations and mechanisms of signification."[19] Thus proletarian authors found themselves in the role of gatekeepers of colonial representation as the representations of Koreans became entrenched within the signification of imperial victimhood, for which is was valued.

Writers like Tokunaga Sunao and Nakanishi Inosuke became known for their works on portraying imperialism's victims. For example, Nakanishi's *Akatsuchi ni Megumu mono* chronicles the struggles of an earnest Korean man, Kim Ki-ho, who suffered under Japanese rule. Kim's land is commandeered by the colonial authorities, his wife dies, his new love interest is forced into a brothel through poverty, and his efforts to rescue her fail when he is robbed. In a Shakespearean tragic turn, Kim eventually ends up killing the target of his affections and is imprisoned for murder.

In the affective goal of creating indignation through icons of colonial victimization, one of the salient aspect of such images is the creation of a "we." Susan Sontag notes that the creation of an affective "we" is the creation of an empathetic bond between the viewer and the creator. For images of Korea within proletarian literature, the creation of a "we"

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[19] John Frow, *Cultural Studies and Cultural Value* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 145.

was crucial as the author strove to build a bond between the himself and the reader through representations of Korea. This "we" became an imagined rapport. At the same time, the goal was, as in Sontag's words, a "means of making 'real' (or 'more real') matters that the privileged and the merely safe might prefer to ignore."[20]

Yet the literary act of making imperialism's Korean victims more real for Japanese audiences also came with its own unforeseen consequences. Gayatri Spivak notes that "the categorical imperative can justify the imperialist project by producing the following formula: make the heathen into a human so that he can be treated as an end in himself."[21] Thus she describes a phenomenon of the "terrorism of the categorical imperative" in which victimhood is wielded as a weapon of critique and used as a platform for "righteous" indignation.[22] Within the framework of proletarian literature, Korean victimhood's imagined affective "we" turned "heathen" protagonists into humans to be treated as an ends.

In this case, we see this through the appropriation of the victimization narrative surrounding Koreans, as their victimization is placed at the short end of Kant's categorical imperative, and Korean suffering becomes a trope through which authors can "terrorize" the wrongdoer – the capital seeking imperialist. The affective goals of proletarian literature, the need for righteous indignation, and the appetite for a powerless victim all combined to create a market ripe for icons of imperial victimhood, and representations of

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[20] Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Picador, 2003), 7.

[21] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism," 311.

[22] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism," 311.

colonial suffering – particularly of the Korean vein – became popular in what some have described as the 1930s Japanese language Korean literature boom (*Chōsen bungaku būmu*).[23]

Yet as effective as the victimization narrative may be in mobilizing anti-imperialist sentiment, it did not come without its problems. In her writing on the women's movement, bell hooks notes that tales of victimhood perpetuated the image of female ineptitude and left no room for "assertive, self-affirming women."[24] Similarly, such Japanese tales of Korean suffering reinforced images of Korean powerlessness and vulnerability even as they critiqued colonial rule. Kim Hŭi-myŏng's child victim is not the subject of a single transitive verb. Kim Pyŏng-ho's poetry, while it may have furthered the proletarian cause and built camaraderie with "all of Japan's proletariat" who were "saving us with their affection," it also foregrounds the narrator's impotence and Koreans' propensity to be "fooled way too much."[25]

Furthermore, colonial depictions had trouble dealing with the allochronic othering innate in dialectical materialism. Thus despite Nakanishi's goals in illustrating colonialism's Korean victims, the work cannot escape vestiges of the imperial gaze. Kim is described as being "deeply burnt by the sunlight and the deep copper tint of the skin on his fingers,

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[23] Yun Kŏn-ch'a, "Zainichi Chōsenjin no bungaku: shokuminchi jidai to kaihōgo, minzoku wo meguru kattō" in *Jinbungaku kenkyūsho hō* vol. 52 (August 2014): 119.

[24] bell hooks, *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* (London: Pluto Press, 2000), 45-46; 87.

[25] Kim Pyŏng-ho, "Oriya Chōsenjin da" in *Nenkan Nihon puroretaria shishū* (Tokyo: Senkisha, 1929): 97.

[and] it is clear that he does not belong among his usually indolent peoples."[26] His love interest's town is described by stating "It was as if they had not taken even a few steps in progressing beyond the era of cave-dwelling."[27] Such allochronic descriptions of the Korean colony dot the work, othering the Korean characters even as he aims to build sympathy for them.

Nakanishi's Kim Ki-ho is also equal parts tragic and quixotic, and his eventual mistaken murder of his lover is an indictment of imperialism but also of his own ineptitude. Thus much like the "noble savage" trope in Western Imperialism, Japanese images of the "noble victim" also tangentially provided an underlying justification for continued colonial rule while staying palatable to the liberal spirit of the Taisho period. Furthermore, the innate inequalities of the Korean and Japanese literary spheres presented hurdles to for the colonial production of literature. One author in particular found illustrates this phenomenon in the representation of colonial Koreans for a Japanese audience: Chang Hyŏk-ju.

Outsourcing Representation: Chang Hyŏk-ju and the Production of Coloniality for the Cultural Metropole

Chang Hyŏk-ju was born in Daegu in 1905 to a concubine. Unlike many of the other public Korean intellectuals, he had a relatively modest education, graduating from Daegu Higher Common school in 1926 before working at an elementary school in Daegu. He also

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[26] Nakanishi Inosuke, "Akatsuchi ni megumu mono" in *Nakanishi Inosuke shū* (Tokyo: Shin Nippon shuppan-sha, 1985), 5.

[27] Nakanishi Inosuke, "Akatsuchi ni megumu mono," 51.

showed interest in anarcho-Marxism during this period, becoming a member of the anarchist True Friends Alliance. Throughout this period, he struggled to make it as a writer. In his own words, he could hardly afford to balance both his basic living necessities and the manuscript fee for submitting his work to journals. Thus he lived a lifestyle "more frugal than that of a Buddhist monk (僧侶보다도 더 儉素한 生活)."[28]

However, his fortunes changed radically with his Japanese language work *Gakidō,* published in April of 1932 for *Kaizō*. Described as "a piece of literature, full of rage, that aims at directly indicting Japanese imperialism and the exploitative propertied class who ruthlessly fleece the farmers of colonial Korea," it fit clearly into the iconography of suffering.[29] *Gakidō* was almost tailor-made for this framework. A tale of Korean farmer-workers employed on a dam construction project, they are paid a measly 25 sen for their work, which is "not even enough to buy a single bentō." Their labor increases into "300 times more capital" for the owners, despite working from eight in the morning until four in the evening. Fed up with their plight, in the end the laborers drag the foreman off and the reader is left with an ambiguous but foreboding ending.[30]

Chang foregrounds their Koreanness throughout their speech – the laborers speak in Kansai dialect, which elicits images of the indigent Korean laborer population in Osaka (despite the plot taking place in Kyŏngsan province in southeastern part of the peninsula),

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[28] Yŏm Sang-sŏp, Chang Hyŏk-ju, et al., "Munp'il saenghwal ki" in *Samch'ŏlli* vol. 7 no. 5 (June 1935): 272-274.

[29] Quoted in No Sangnae, "Chang Hyŏk-ju ŭi 'Chosŏn'ŏ changp'yŏn sosŏl yŏngu" in *Kuk'ŏ munhak* no. 129 (Dec 2001): 415.

[30] Chang Hyŏk-ju, *Chang Hyŏk-ju sosŏl sŏnjip,* ed. Hotei Toshihiro (Seoul: T'aehaksa, 2002), 12-18.

and puts a *katakana* "i" after Korean characters' names to approximate the Korean practice of adding "i" as a term of endearment after names, much like the diminutive Japanese ending –chan.[31] The independent katakana "i" is striking throughout the prose as it is a jarring departure from the *kanji* and *hiragana* that makes up the rest of the prose, and serves as a constant orthographical marker of ethnicity. Thus as a work of explicitly colonial Korean victimhood, it fit his audience's tastes through its constant linkage of suffering and ethnicity.

Gakidō, with its unique trio of rugged exploited Korean protagonists and "realistic" dialog, was a hit. Chang became famous overnight. Within a year of the publication of *Gakidō*, he wrote how his house in Daegu was flooded with letters from both detractors and fans from Korea and Japan.[32] He was invited to join Yasutaka Tokuzō's literary coterie, with Yasutaka even penning an account of Chang in an article entitled "My chingu from the Peninsula," with the Korean term for friend (*chingu*) written in katakana (Yasutaka kindly teaches the audience the meaning of this term).[33] Yasutaka praises Chang's work *Gakidō,* noting that "without a person who had a humble, human (*hyūmen na*) heart focusing on the wretched, pitiful real conditions of these [Korean] people, true empathy would not easily ensue."[34] Thus he lavishes acclaim on this work, written with characters from a Korean

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[31] Chang Hyŏk-ju, *Chang Hyŏk-ju sosŏl sŏnjip,* ed. Hotei Toshihiro (Seoul: T'aehaksa, 2002), 5-6.

[32] Chang Hyŏk-ju, "Munhak ŭi pesŭtŭgyun" in *Samch'ŏlli* vol. 7 no. 9 (October 1934): 250

[33] Yasutaka Kikuzō, "Hantō no chingu" in *Tokyo Asahi shinbun* (12 March 1936): 4.

[34] Yasutaka Kikuzō, "Hantō no chingu" in *Tokyo Asahi shinbun* (12 March 1936): 4.

point-of-view and submitted to the Japanese literary world, which had a larger international reach and could let a wider audience know the suffering of these peoples.[35]

Chang's fame also drew the attention of other prominent figures. Kawabata Yasunari spoke on his work, albeit critically, in an article about the "Beauty of Humanity (*ninjō*)" – he notes how Chang's post-*Gakidō* work *Roji* was supposed to cover the "poverty of the Korean masses (*naichijin no gun*) and express it as a problem," but was instead a surprisingly "flimsy (*usute*) work."[36] Thus with *Gakidō* Chang found himself as the center of attention as a colonial representative for the Japanese market.

His fame carried over to Korea also, and his celebrity in Japan translated to popularity back in the colony. In 1934 Pak Myŏng-hwan was dispatched to Daegu to write a special on Chang for *Samch'ŏlli,* and Pak compared Chang's linguistic flexibility with Noguchi Yonejirō, who wrote *American Diary of a Japanese Girl* and several collections of poetry in English for American markets under the name Yone Noguchi.[37] Chang was invited as a guest to in 1936 with various authors including Kim Ŏk, the "father of modern Korean poetry," to speak on whether fascism would ever make an impact on Korean literature. (Chang said absolutely not).[38]

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[35] Yasutaka Kikuzō, "Hantō no chingu" in *Tokyo Asahi shinbun* (12 March 1936): 4.

[36] Yasunari Kawabata, "Ninjō no utsukushisa" in *Tokyo Asahi shinbun* (2 October 1938): 7.

[37] Pak Myŏng-hwan, "Chakka insanggi: Mujige ŭi Chang Hyŏk-ju ssi" in *Samch'ŏlli* vol. 6 no. 7 (June 1934): 252.

[38] "Kin'gŭp t'oŭi Chosŏn mundan e p'asisŭm munhak i sŏjigaetnŭnga" in *Samch'ŏlli* (June 1936): 242.

Thus *Gakidō* helped turn Chang into one of the colony's premier representatives of Korean culture abroad. *Samch'ŏlli* even interviewed Chang in Tokyo to speak as one of two famous artists representing Korea abroad, alongside Choi Seung-hee (Ch'oe Sŭng-hŭi), the internationally famed dancer, actress, and singer who toured Japan, Europe, and the United States. In the interview, entitled in an "A Duet of [Two] Artists: Author Mister Chang Hyŏk-ju and Dancer Miss Choi Seung-hee, in a Tokyo Location," Chang is palpably starstruck by Choi, telling her that her graceful dances were wasted on places like "Paris" as they were too metropolitan, encouraging her to perform in places like Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia instead.[39] (I don't believe he had ever been to those places). Interestingly, he also questions Choi about whether she ever felt "ashamed of being Korean" and notes the vitriol he had received for his literature.[40] Thus Chang's Japanese acclaim netted him a level of popularity normally reserved for musicians and actresses.

This overnight success also netted Chang a tidy sum; after all, what is fame without a little fortune? His Japanese language collection, *A Man named Ken* (*Ken to iu otoko*) was published by Kaizō in 1934, and was completely sold out in Japan. Of the sales, Chang received roughly a 15% royalty on the 3,000 copies that it had sold by November of that year, netting him 5-600 yen.[41] This figure was disclosed publically, plastered across the pages of *Samch'ŏlli.* Yet Chang would not have been able to enjoy such fortune had he

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[39] "Yesulga ŭi ssang-gokju: munsa Chang Hyŏk-ju wa muyongga Ch'oe Sŭng-hŭi yŏsi, changsong Tonggyŏng esŏ" in *Samch'ŏlli* vol. 8 no. 12 (December 1936): 104-105.

[40] "Yesulga ŭi ssang-gokju: munsa Chang Hyŏk-ju wa muyongga Ch'oe Sŭng-hŭi yŏsi, changsong Tonggyŏng esŏ" in *Samch'ŏlli* vol. 8 no. 12 (December 1936): 103-106.

[41] "Mundan chapsa" in *Samch'ŏlli* vol. 6 no. 11 (November 1934): 243.

chosen to publish only in Korean. For example, he gave a strikingly transparent interview on "Literature and Genius" alongside some of Korean literature's largest figures, including Yŏm Sang-sŏp and Kim An-sŏ. He notes that for the Korean literary sphere, "it takes at least two or three months to publish a single short story. However, the meagerness of the pay has no equal (짝) anywhere. Whenever I think of the livelihood of the authors writing within the *Korean* literary establishment, I cannot help but feel a sense of wretchedness (悽慘한 느낌)."[42] One is left wondering how Yŏm Sang-sŏp and Kim An-sŏ would have felt in the same room, being pitied for their meager income by Chang, who was making more in the Japanese market.

For colonial writers like Chang, the conundrum that they faced was tied with the innate economic inequalities of the literary market, which had ramifications for the colony. Simply put, Chang would have had an easier time writing as a colonial representative for Japan than as an author for Korean readership, and he was painfully cognizant of this disparity. Thus the reality of Chang's situation was that he was inherently a colonial author tasked with representing Korean coloniality for the cultural metropole of Tokyo, and what the literary market thirsted for was images of colonial impoverishment.

To become successful as an exporter of colonial representation for Tokyo also required a thorough expertise with the colonizer's language, Chang's unique cultural bilingualism helped him tailor his narratives for his audience's tastes. In *Gakidō,* for instance, his use of Kansai dialect for the Korean workers was a brilliant move that

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[42] Yŏm Sang-sŏp, Chang Hyŏk-ju, et al., "Munp'il saenghwal ki" in *Samch'ŏlli* vol. 7 no. 5 (June 1935): 272-274. Emphasis is mine.

capitalized on preexisting stereotypes revolving around the dialect. For someone without a college degree from Tokyo, such cultural familiarity came only through deliberate and concentrated effort.

Shortly after the war, the *Minshū Chōsen* ran a series of articles on Korean authors who published in Japanese and several authors reflected back upon Chang's Japanese abilities. The Chang's "chingu" Yasutaka noted that he was so determined to become proficient in Japanese that he studied ancient texts including the *Manyōshu*, *Tales of Genji,* and even *rakugo*.[43] The *Manyōshu,* as a circa 8th century text, is notoriously difficult even for native Japanese speakers, and *rakugo* is a heavily cultural embedded drama form which takes careful study to decipher. In the same volume, Ishizuka Tomoji claimed that because Chang did not have the same opportunities to learn Japanese as many others, when he would come across two or more Japanese on the streets of rural Daegu, he would quietly follow them around, studying their pronunciation while holding his breath to avoid being detected.[44] Whether apocryphal or not, such statements speak to the extent to which Chang represented his zeal towards the Japanese language.

Thus the iconography of suffering set the boundaries for how coloniality was represented for the cultural metropole of Tokyo. Because the necessity for proletarian literature to realize the affective goal of "righteous indignation," Chang's production of *Gakidō,* which tied together coloniality, ethnicity, and the wretchedness of Korean life

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[43] Yasutaka Tokuzō, "Nihon de katsuyaku shita futari no sakka" in *Minshū Chōsen* vol 4 (July 1946): 68-72. The Japanese language *Minshū Chōsen* should not be confused with the Korean language newspaper *Minju Chosŏn* (same Chinese characters) which was published at the same time and became the North Korean state organ paper.

[44] Ishizuka Tomoji, "Kōyū kankei kara" in *Minshū Chōsen* vol 4 (July 1946): 74-77.

brought Chang both fame and fortune. Yet at the same time, the inequalities of the Korean and Japanese literary market shaped a systematic imbalance, as Korean language literature was simply not as lucrative.

Finally, as the imperial node for knowledge production, Japanese language literature was also more apt to be translated. Addressing complaints that Chang wrote in Japanese, he states that "regardless of how one approaches the true situation of the tragic people of Korea – [a people] so tragic that it would be difficult to find a similar example elsewhere in the world – one wants to make an appeal to the world. Yet in the Korean language the range [of Korean speakers] would be too narrow and hard to make the actual circumstances known, so [my work] was submitted to the Japanese literary world, where it would have many chances to be translated to [other] foreign languages."[45]

Thus Chang was caught in between the market demands of the iconography of suffering, the linguistic demands of the cultural metropole, and his own need to make a name for himself. However, Chang would struggle with escaping this framework with his work from 1934.

[45] Chang Hyŏk-ju, "Munhak ŭi pesŭtŭgyun" in *Samch'ŏlli* vol. 7 no. 9 (October 1934): 250-252.

Overcoming Suffering: Chang Hyŏk-ju and the Search for Colonial Agency

> "When the curtain rises, the future is already present, since eternity."[46]
>
> - Georg Lukacs[47]

Even as providing an authentic Korean imprimatur to the iconography of colonial suffering helped launch Chang's career and provided this media attention, his subsequent debut in the Korean language illustrates a struggle to move beyond the iconography of suffering. Departing from the strictures of proletarian literature, from 1933 he began the serial publication of *The Rainbow* (Mujige) in *Tong'a ilbo,* which was a work of realism, addressed the complications of romance in *Triple Curve* (Samgoksŏn) from 1934 to 1935, and even made an adaptation of the classic Korean tale Ch'unghyang-jŏn for the stage beside Murayama Tomoyoshi.

Yet Chang struggled to find a more positive vision of Korean agency outside of the iconography of suffering. *The Rainbow,* despite its saccharine title, had an immensely negative portrayal of Korean's innate "ethnic characteristics." In the story, a teacher at Daegu Common school Yi Nam-ch'ŏl is an idealist who aims at transforming the peninsula through education. However, he is arrested in Shanghai for involvement in a certain "censored movement" and imprisoned for several months. After being released, a woman asks him to find her daughter who was sold in Tokyo. After traveling to Tokyo and

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[46] Chang Hyŏk-ju, "Mujigae" in *Tong'a ilbo* (1 October 1933): 3.

[47] Patrice Pavis, *Dictionary of the Theatre: Terms, Concepts, and Analysis* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 415.

searching, he is unable to find her. He realizes that his dreams and ambitions were all empty, and he returns back to Daegu a broken man.

In one scene, Yi's beloved student Hye-yŏng expresses frustration at the colonial situation:

> "Teacher. Why are we [the Korean people] so weak and powerless? Why do keep dying out? Yes? Are we really a people that were formed like this from the beginning – lazy, weak, and perpetually full of petty jealousy? Are such ethnic characteristics (民族性) our [the Korean people's] only defining attributes? Teacher, if that is the case, I would rather just die."[48]

Nam-ch'ŏl's realization that all his dreams were empty in the end was an indictment of

Chang's subsequent work, *Samgoksŏn*, was a stark departure from the more lachrymose narratives of victimized farmers and laborers that garnered so much praise in the Japanese literary market. A tale of what could be defined as bourgeois sexuality, the story follows several protagonists: Yi Sang-su, a bourgeoisie who runs a book and stationary store; Yun Ch'ang-jin, a poet and Tokyo exchange student; Kim Chong-t'aek, an itinerant playboy in search of a concubine; Kim Sŏn-hŭi, sister to the playboy Chong-t'aek and a proud member of Korea's "modern girls;" Kang Chŏng-hŭi, a female teacher who had unrequited love for the playboy Yun Ch'ang-jin, but chooses the bourgeois Yi Sang-su to satisfy both her physical and economic lusts; and Sŏ Yŏng-ju, a female high school graduate

[48] Chang Hyŏk-ju, "Mujigae" in *Tong'a ilbo* (1 October 1933): 3.

who dates the playboy Ch'ang-jin and agrees to marry before he commits infidelity. After this incident, Yŏng-ju moves to rural Korea, working to educate the farming populace.[49]

The protagonists are all members of the emerging middle class, and there is a redeeming character through the figure of Yŏng-ju, who decides to work towards enlightening the rural populace, who embodies a sense of hope for the colony. Despite this development in his oeuvre, Chang's work became the subject of much criticism. In 1934, the author Tokunaga Sunao penned an editorial for the left wing literary journal *Kōdō* (*Mobilization*). Following his 1933 article "New Directions in the Methods of Creation" for the journal *Chūo kōron* in which he critiqued the political prioritization within the literature of authors like Kurahara Korehito, he turned his critique at the Korean author Chang Hyŏk-ju.

Mirroring his earlier work on the affective goals of proletarian literature, he chastizes Chang's literature; despite being one of the few "colonial representatives," his work did not sufficiently capture the "suffering" of the Korean victims, and Chang seemed more interested in protagonists that failed to capture the "scientific" reality of Korea's colonization. Like Tokunaga's other target Kurahara Korehito, Chang was also well known to the socialist public as a runner-up for *Kaizō*'s literary prize just a few years before. It was a public critique of one of the more popular Japanese language Korean authors, and elicited a response in the pages of *Mobilization*.

In 1935, Chang Hyŏk-ju penned his response to Tokunaga's criticism in an article entitled "To those who have expectations for me: a letter to Mister Tokunaga Sunao." In

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[49] Chang Hyŏk-ju, "Samgoksŏn" in *Tong'a ilbo* (26 September 1934-2 March 1935). Printed in entirety in 1937.

addition to Tokunaga's accusations that Chang's work was insufficiently proletarian, he also addressed similar critique by Sata Ineko in *Bungei* and Murayama Tomoyoshi, also in *Bungei*.[50] Tokunaga had pulled no punches when criticizing Chang's work – he calls Chang a "weak and easily agitable man," in thinly veiled sarcasm he describes Chang's fiction as "*interesting,* in several meanings of the term," and he goes so far to describe Chang as a coward compared to colonial writers in Taiwan, unbefitting of his status as a "representative of the Korean people."[51]

As a member of Japan's flourishing proletarian literature movement in the late 1920s and early 1930s, Tokunaga insisted that Chang's work should focus on how Koreans victims suffered under imperialism. Yet Chang responded in his letter by citing the examples of William Butler Yeats, George Bernard Shaw, and James Joyce – all Irish victims of English imperialism – and notes that alongside masterpieces like *Ulysses,* he has never heard anyone tell these Irishmen that "you bunch (*omae-tachi*) are colonials, so you can only depict your dreadful condition as an oppressed people." Instead, Chang repeatedly notes the need for *kosei,* which translates literally as individuality, but can also be understood as agency in context.[52]

Thus he tells Tokunaga that "you called me the 'representative of Korean literature' as if I was the only Korean author, but isn't this ridiculous? When did the Korean people

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[50] Chang Hyŏkju, "Watashi ni taibō suru hitobito he: Tokunaga Sunao-shi ni okuru tegami" in *Kōdō* no. 2 (1935): 188-190. Chang would later work together with Murayama Tomoyoshi on a play adaptation of *Ch'unghyang-jŏn*.

[51] Chang Hyŏkju, "Watashi ni taibō suru hitobito he: Tokunaga Sunao-shi ni okuru tegami" in *Kōdō* no. 2 (1935): 188-190.

[52] Chang Hyŏkju, "Watashi ni taibō suru hitobito he," 190.

elect me to be their representative? I don't think of myself as the representative of the Korean people, just as the individual known as Chang Hyŏk-ju."[53] Thus he vents his frustration at the seeming impossibility of writing through an independent voice facing the incessant demand for Korean victimhood in Japan while illustrating the need for individual, proactive characters that escape the stock characterization that permeated the iconography of suffering.

Furthermore, Chang shows a clear understanding of what bell hooks so succinctly asserted – that the victimization narrative, in which colonial Koreans were decoded as imperial victims, bracketed out the possibility of colonial agency. His response to criticism from Tokunaga illuminates the changes in his oeuvre starting in 1933, as his protagonists shifted from southern Kyŏngsang Province farmer-laborers to Tokyo exchange students, teachers, itinerant playboys, and modern girls. In his search for *kōsei* (individuality/agency) outside of the strictures of the iconography of suffering, he found it in characters that moved between Kyŏngsŏng (Seoul) and Tokyo.

Yet even as his work elicited critique in Japan, it was not well received in Korea either for his portrayal of flippant characters and negative portrayals of Korean characters. Song Kang was highly critical while writing in a column about recent literature for *Korean Literary World* (Chosŏn mundan),[54] while proletarian author and critic Hong Hyo-min also wrote unflatteringly of his work in *Sin Dong'a.*[55] The attacks were incessant enough that he

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[53] Chang Hyŏkju, "Watashi ni taibō suru hitobito he," 189-190.

[54] Song Kang, "Munye sip'yŏng" in *Chosŏn mundane* (May 1935):

[55] Hong Hyo-min, "Chakka Chang Hyŏk-ju-ssi ege" in *Sin Dong'a* (July 1936):

was compelled to respond to his Korean critics through an editorial entitled "The Plague of Korean Literature" in which he addressed those who were "jealous" of his use of Japanese and noted how the "life of the Korean people could actually be better expressed in foreign language works," so if they wanted the Korean people themselves to be able to read it, they had a duty to translate it themselves.[56]

Chang even felt obliged to respond to his critics in the introduction to the monograph publication of his serialized work *Samgoksŏn* in 1937, noting that:

> "When writing a Korean language (Chosŏnmun) novel, I take a totally different approach than when writing for Tokyo literary circles. All of the readers are Korean, thus I experience a strong desire. This desire stems from the longing for the Chosŏn race (minjok) to become a superior race. Yet I do not unveil this desire on the surface, but rather keep it hidden within my work. Thus this work was not able to garner much in the way of a good reputation. It was only successful in depicting the hideousness of reality. Or, some might say it is a work without ideals. Such words often fall upon my ears."[57]

Yet at the same time, if Chang truly hoped to turn the Korean people into an "superior race" (優秀한 民族), his desire is certainly hidden well within his Korean language works. His characters in *The Rainbow* and *Triple Curve* often complain about the supposed deficiencies of the Korean people – indolence, jealousy, and infighting. At the

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[56] Chang Hyŏk-ju, "Munhak ŭi pesŭtŭgyun" in *Samch'ŏlli* vol. 7 no. 9 (October 1934): 250-252.

[57] Chang Hyŏk-ju, *Hyŏndae Chosŏn changp'yŏn sosŏl chŏnjip – Samgoksŏn* (Kyŏngsŏng: Hansŏng tosŏ, 1937), ii.

same time, he champions agency/individuality, hoping to see depictions of Korean protagonists outside of the strictures of victimization.

Yet these contradictions are not unique to Chang, and reflect one of the contemporary debates that plagued socialist thinkers of the time. Of these, Georg Lukacs is the most illustrative. Sharing the goals of proletarian literature, Lukacs sought redemption from capitalist victimization through the proletariat's awakening to the reality of social relations and rejection of ideology. The proletariat's triumph over subjugation, their reinstatement of agency (individual or collective), and their reclamation of their position of actor (subject-object) of history could be accomplished by overcoming ideology. He notes:

> "For it is evident that however clearly we may have grasped the fact that society consists of processes, however thoroughly we may have unmasked the fiction of its rigid reification, this does not mean that we are able to annul the 'reality' of this fiction in capitalist society in practice. The moments in which this insight can really be converted into practice are determined by developments in society. Thus proletarian thought is in the first place merely a theory of praxis which only gradually (and indeed often spasmodically) transforms itself into a practical theory that overturns the real world. The individual stages of this process cannot be sketched in here. They alone would be able to show how proletarian class consciousness evolves dialectically (i.e. how the proletariat becomes a class). Only then would it be possible to throw light on the intimate dialectical process of interaction between the socio-historical situation and the class consciousness of the proletariat. Only then would the statement that the proletariat is the identical subject-object of the history of society become truly concrete."[58]

[58] Georg Lukacs, *History and Class Consciousness* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1972), 205-206.

Yet it is clear from Chang's oeuvre that he struggled with this view of history. In *The Rainbow,* Nam-ch'ŏl supports the socialist cause, only to end up disappointed in its failed promises, and notes that it was all an "illusion," while the title suggests it may have been a beautiful one. The only escape, it seems, was violence. This too, was something that Georg Lukacs addressed in "Bolshevism as an Ethical Problem," as he struggled over the ethical repercussions of the idea that for the proletariat to exercise agency as a "messianic class," it required non-democratic revolution through force.[59]

Chang's struggles to write colonial agency show a trajectory from an embrace of the iconography of suffering, aimed at awakening the public to the reality of social relations, but he eventually came to express reservations about such colonial depictions. While seeking agency outside of the socialist framework, he struggled with the broken promise of class awakening. Thus it may be of little surprise that he eventually turned to an active embrace of imperialism as the answer. From 1939 onwards, Chang began writing "pro-Japanese" literature, adopted the Japanese name Noguchi Minoru, and these actions led to eight of his works' inclusion on the list of pro-Japanese collaboration pieces by a special investigation by Korea's Congress in 2002.[60]

Given Chang's debates with Japanese proletarian authors, his emergence as a writer within the established "iconography of suffering" through proletarian literature, and the necessity to conform to the Japanese language demands, one can see the myriad ways in

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[59] Georg Lukacs, "Bolshevism as an Ethical Problem" in Arpad Kadarkay, *The Lukács Reader* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1995), 217-221.

[60] Kwŏn Yŏng-min, *Hanguk hyŏndae munhak taesajŏn* (Seoul: Sŏul taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu, 2004), 827.

which Chang, as a colonial writer, was caught between the rock of the Japanese literary establishment and a hard place – Korea's unforgiving literary critics. Furthermore, by writing colonial victimhood he became an overnight celebrity, seen as a cosmopolitan author, even included in interviews with the likes of the famed Choi Sung-hee. In trying to escape colonial victimhood and portray "kōsei" – individuality or agency – he ultimately collided with competing demands from the Korean and Japanese literary establishment, along with his own internalized reverence for the Japanese language.

Conclusion

In the end, Chang's literary career is a microcosm of his times and highlights the exigencies faced by colonial writers writing in Japanese. Both praised for his Japanese language contributions to the iconography of Korean suffering and criticized for not being "colonial" enough in the early 1930s, he moved into penning Korean language work before being forced to write in Japanese again – this time in support of wartime mobilization. One of his eight "collaborationist" pieces, in fact, was on Katō Kiyomasa during the Japanese Invasions of Korea, which is a strange mirror image of Akutagawa's own piece *Kin Shōgun.* As such, his literature, its reception, and his own writings reflect the impossible situation that Japanese language Korean writers faced.

At the same time, Chang, Tokugawa, Nakanishi, and others showed the complexities in representing coloniality. Anti-imperialist proletarian literature had liberational ambitions but also stifled colonial agency. Narratives which pit the anti-imperialism of proletarianism against the "collaborationist" nature of "capitalist bourgeois" literature fail

to capture the complexity of issues surrounding imperialism, colonialism, and representation.

In *Intimate Empire: Collaboration and Colonial Modernity in Korea and Japan,* Nayoung Aimee Kwon astute work foregrounds the tensions inherent for the production of colonial representations for the Japanese market. She outlines five paradoxes within representation: subjectivity, language, history, aesthetics, and recognition. In particular, she notes how Chang Hyŏk-ju was embroiled within these issues as he translated the Korean tale Ch'unghyang-jŏn for Japanese audiences as "colonial kitsch," and the complex ways he had to negotiate exoticizing Korean-ness and his ambivalence towards assimilation/differentiation.[61] She notes how many of these colonial representations were "significant only as a symbol of 'Korean-ness.'"[62]

Yet the socialist iconography of suffering shows how proletarian literature also had to deal with another paradox in colonial representation, and that was the challenge of balancing images of imperial victimhood and colonial agency. Although Chang Hyŏk-ju himself never seemed to find an answer, he was able to bring these issues to the forefront of the Japanese literary establishment – an accomplishment in itself.

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[61] Nayoung Aimee Kwon, *Intimate Empire: Collaboration and Colonial Modernity in Korea and Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 103-122.

[62] Nayoung Aimee Kwon, *Intimate Empire: Collaboration and Colonial Modernity in Korea and Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 29.

Conclusion: Comprador Intellectuals and the Colonial Order

> "During my leisure hours I improved myself by study, and acquired a large part of the knowledge which I now possess. Indeed, it was one of my books that first put me on the track of the invention, which I afterwards made. So you see, my lad, that my studious habits paid me in money, as well as in another way."
> "I'm awful ignorant," said Dick, soberly.
> "But you are young, and, I judge, a smart boy. If you try to learn, you can, and if you ever expect to do anything in the world, you must know something of books."
> "I will," said Dick, resolutely." I aint always goin' to black boots for a livin'."
>
> Horatio Alger, *Ragged Dick, Or, Street Life in New York with the Boot-Blacks*

Searching for Horatio Alger in Colonial Korea

Horatio Alger's tales were an inseparable part of America's Gilded Age. A combination of morality tale, blueprint for middle-class success, and propaganda touting morally tempered achievements over corrupt capitalistic excess, his tales shaped public narratives of social mobility. In these "Horatio Alger Myths," young boys from impoverished backgrounds found both middle-class economic stability and social respect through moral fortitude, education, hard work, and a dose of luck. The tales were both aspirational and prescriptive – this middle-class respectability was something that readers were encouraged to pursue, but at the same time they were a vision of how society should be, slightly anachronistic for the Gilded Age when the middle-class was becoming increasingly out-of-reach during an era that produced an indigent class and "seemed to

spawn millionaires as salmon spawn roe."[1] Nevertheless, Alger's books were immensely popular, and some estimates put his total sales at over 16 million by World War I.[2]

Yet as crucial as such tales were during the Gilded Age, colonial Korea had no Horatio Alger, and lacked similar narratives of social success. There was no similar trope of indigent boys who pulled themselves up by the bootstraps, relying solely on their moral compass, iron determination, and wit. The schoolboy with his *randoseru* backpack did not serve as the icon of middle-class modernity in Korea the same way that it did in late Meiji and Taisho Japan.[3] And this absence was not lost on GGK bureaucrats.

In the November 1926 edition of *Education for Korea (Bunkyō no Chōsen),* the head of the Governor General of Korea Educational Affairs Committee (*Chōsen sōtokufu gakumuka*) and author of the *Korean Reader* (*Chōsen dokuhon*) and *From the World to Korea* (*Sekai yori Chōsen he*), Hirai Mitsuo, penned an article on the issue. In the article, entitled "The broader goals of Korean education," he notes how Korea lacked the aspirational heroes that were so crucial for a comprehensive education – what he dubbed a "living curriculum."[4] In short, successful education could not to be limited to the institutional goals of merely creating an informed populace – which he called "education without life" (*seimei no nai kyōiku*) – but rather to provide a "civic faith" which included

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[1] Richard Weiss, *The American Myth of Success: From Horatio Alger to Norman Vincent Peale* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 49.

[2] Richard Weiss, *The American Myth of Success: From Horatio Alger to Norman Vincent Peale* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 63.

[3] Mark Jones, *Children as Treasures: Childhood and the Middle Class in Early Twentieth Century Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 1-20.

[4] Hirai Mitsuo, "Chōsen kyōiku no daimokuhyō" in *Bunkyō no Chōsen* (1926 November): 4.

aspirational figures. In the case of Japan, Nitobe Inazō (1862-1933), one of Meiji's most prominent educators and bureaucrats, was one example.[5] Thus he states, "no matter how lofty and precise our intellectual knowledge, if education does not build upon the very foundations of civic faith, this education is dead."[6]

However, that is not to say that colonial Korea lacked any narratives of success. Rather than the self-made moral exemplar in Horatio Alger tales, the comprador intellectual took his place as a troubled and contentious exemplar of social mobility and economic success. The comprador intellectual was a particularly colonial inflection of this phenomenon. Educated in Tokyo, fluent in Japanese, and privy to the transnational social networks that helped to build their public legitimacy, these controversial middlemen were heroes of the Horatio Alger tales, albeit in a colonial vein. Their tales of social success captured the public imagination, their fluency in Japanese and ability to traverse social networks in both Korea and Japan gave them the same plucky attitude that dominated the success narratives that helped to put a veneer of gold foil over the unsightly reality of imperial domination. As such, comprador intellectuals help to illuminate the period of cultural rule in Korea, particularly during the 1920s and 1930s.

A Cultural History of the Cultural Movement

Part I of the dissertation, which traced the demotion of native Korean educational institutions, the widespread migration of Korean students to Tokyo for higher education, and their return as public luminaries in Seoul, highlights how the "colonized Horatio Alger

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[5] Hirai Mitsuo, "Chōsen kyōiku no daimokuhyō," 6.

[6] Hirai Mitsuo, "Chōsen kyōiku no daimokuhyō," 4.

myth" of the comprador intellectual was constructed through newspapers, magazines, public speeches, and literature. One of the most salient contributions is that it questions assumptions about the nature of the "cultural movement" (*munhwa undong*). As Michael Edson Robinson has noted:

> [this] moderate nationalist group was united by several movements that emerged at this time and that came to be known collectively as the cultural movement (Munhwa undong). Supporters of the cultural movement believed that a gradual program of education and economic development was necessary to lay the basis for future national independence. Moreover, they advocated working within the political limits of the colony to take advantage of the post-March First reforms. The ideology behind the cultural movement appealed to reason and presented itself as a realistic alternative to conflict with the powerful Government General of Korea (GGK). In addition, the cultural movement, in many ways, represented a distillation of Korean nationalist thought since 1900, emphasizing as it did education, national consciousness-raising, and capitalist development.[7]

As Part I of the dissertation illustrates, the cultural movement, particularly at the hands of comprador intellectuals, was not simply about "education, national consciousness-raising, and capitalist development" that appealed to "reason" as a "realistic alternative to conflict."[8] This ideology was overdetermined with issues of class aspiration, desires to attain cultural capital, the quotidian realities of making a living, and the glamour of being depicted as a cosmopolitan public intellectual. Furthermore, this was forged through the constructed asymmetries in education between colony and empire, enacted through

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[7] Michael Edson Robinson, *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920-1925* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988), 6.

[8] ibid.

institutional policies in the 1910s that marginalized Korean educational institutions, placing severe limits to the possibility of academic and social success purely within Korea's borders, as seen through Sŏnggyungwan's transformation from educational institute to Confucian center.

Thus the figure of the comprador intellectual sheds light on how, ironically, histories of the cultural movement have overlooked cultural history. Korean students who traveled to Tokyo and returned were not only focused on the development of education, a national consciousness, and capitalist development, but also on cementing their position as a separate class.

Comprador Intellectuals and the Korea Problem in Japanese Historiography

In November of 2000, Andre Schmid penned an article on this issue entitled "Colonialism and the 'Korea Problem' in the Historiography of Modern Japan" that sparked a debate and several response articles. The crux of the problem, Schmid notes, is that for Japanese history "much of the literature is marked by a top-down, metrocentric approach that renders colonial history tangential to the main narratives of the modern Japanese nation."[9]

A few historians have been successful in answering Schmid's call. For example, histories by Samuel Pao-san Ho and Michael Schneider have noted how the forced wide scale exportation of Korean rice, at the great detriment to Korean farmers, was portrayed

[9] Andre Schmid, "Colonialism and the 'Korea Problem' in the Historiography of Modern Japan: A Review Article" in *The Journal of Asian Studies* vol. 59 no. 4 (November 2000): 952.

as a solution to the tensions between agriculture and industry within Japan.[10] Taking a cultural history approach, E. Taylor Atkins and Kim Brandt have traced the effects of popular cultural constructions of Korea within Japanese society, and note how images of the "innocent Koreans" became a means through which many Japanese citizens could articulate their nostalgia towards a simpler, premodern past.[11] What is missing in these studies, however, is the agency of Koreans within these changes – Koreans as actors within the very developments that were transforming Japan and Korea alike.

Part II of the dissertation addresses this challenge. While considering the unique circumstances of that helped create the comprador intellectual class, this segment emphasizes how these colonial citizens exercised their linguistic skills and appropriated their social networks to help shape representations of Koreans for colony and metropole alike. Within the socialist feminist movement, the leaders of the Rose of Sharon Alliance used their Tokyo education and transnational networks to help define a narrative of Korean women's history that challenged the biological innateness of gender roles, Marxist histories of Korean development, while garnering mention in the Japanese press.[12] Chang

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[10] Samuel Pao-san Ho, "Colonialism and Development: Korea, Taiwan, and Kwangtung" in *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 347-398; Michael Schneider, "The Limits of Cultural Rule: Internationalism and Identity in Japanese Responses to Korean Rice" in *Colonial Modernity in Korea,* ed. Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999), 97-127.

[11] E. Taylor Atkins, *Primitive Selves: Koreana in the Japanese Colonial Gaze* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010); Kim Brandt, *Kingdom of Beauty: Mingei and the Politics of Folk Art in Imperial Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

[12] Ex. Han Ch'ŏlyŏng, *Kankoku wo ugokasu hitotachi* (Tokyo: Yoshizawa Chūkoku kinen jigyō zaidan, 1953), 168-171.

Hyŏk-ju, similarly, brought up salient issues about the portrayal of Korean victimhood and the necessity of portraying colonial agency in proletarian literature, even as he was subject to his unique limitations as a colonial spokesperson for a Japanese audience. Thus these contributions help to fill out the narratives of Korean interventions in Japanese history, enabled through the unique voice given to comprador intellectuals.

After Liberation: Comprador Intellectuals, Collaboration, and Post-Colonial Memory

In 1976, Korean students at Waseda University in Tokyo published a short history of their Korean alumni in Japanese. Entitled *A History of the Korean Exchange Student Movement*, the monograph covers the *Uri Alumni Network,* which derives its title from the Korean word for "Us" (*Uri dōsōkai*). The work permeates with a sense of pride towards the elite graduates from the university, which was a hub of Korean exchange student activity throughout the colonial period. The history includes pictures of Yi Kwang-su,[13] traces exchange student involvement in the March 1st Movement, and includes various tales of nationalistic student activism.[14] The monograph exhibits a concerted attempt to show both the nationalistic credentials and elite pedigree of the Korean Waseda alumni. This narrative of comprador intellectuals, while contested, clearly persisted after the war, and remains embedded with post-colonial memory.

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[13] Ch'oe Kyŏng-t'ae, *Kankoku ryūgakusei undōshi: Waseda daigaku Uri dōsōkai 70-nen shi* (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku Uri dōsōkai shuppan, 1976), 12.

[14] For example, political scientist Tabuchi Toyokichi suggested placing Korea's royal house under the category of Japanese nobility (*kazoku*), and the students, including leader Ch'oe Namsŏn, protested this inclusion. Ch'oe Kyŏng-t'ae, *Kankoku ryūgakusei undōshi: Waseda daigaku Uri dōsōkai 70-nen shi* (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku Uri dōsōkai shuppan, 1976), 38-40.

However, the dissertation in its current form covers the period up to the late 1930s. The 1940s and the post-liberation period are radically different in nature than the periods of military and cultural rule, but nevertheless deserve further exploration. In particular, the life trajectories of comprador intellectuals after the war can serve as an insightful epilogue into the lives of several figures. Chang Hyŏk-ju, for example, married a Japanese woman, adopted a Japanese surname, and decided to live out his life as a naturalized Japanese citizen. Such details can help shed light into issues of collaboration and post-colonial memory. However, this epilogue lies outside the scope of this dissertation, and I plan to further investigate this facet as I edit my dissertation into a manuscript.

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