

KOREAN ENGLISHES, UNEVEN ASIAs, AND GLOBAL CIRCULATION, 1895-1945

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This dissertation investigates the role of English as a global mediatory language and English literature as a global reading material for a group of Korean writers during the Japanese colonization of Korea, roughly from 1895 to 1945. The primary argument of this dissertation is that Korean intellectuals of the colonial period appropriated the privilege accorded to the English language, and to Anglophone literature, as an anti-colonial tool against the Japanese rule, incorporating their anti-colonial aspirations into their own Anglophone literary practices.

First, “Korean Englishes” traces the complex and unexplored local history of English and its intersection with other local languages under Japanese colonial rule. Colonial Korea was a symbolic translingual zone. English, a secondary but global language, was positioned within the multivalent linguistic conflicts: English, as a language of modernity, gradually subverted the dominance of classical Chinese, the learned language of pre-modern Korea, while disturbing the new imperial imposition of Japanese language education. These four languages, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and English, were all in contact and conflict in multi-sited ways. As a result of this positioning, the political power of English provided Koreans with a voice situated within multiple colonial legacies.

Second, “Korean Englishes” examines the local reception and production of English-language literature and how Korean writers borrowed the cultural capital of English-language literature for their own literary practices. During the Japanese colonial era, Korean writers

indirectly translated a variety of English literary works, from Victorian sensation novels to the poetry of Yeats, via Japanese translations, and produced their Anglophone writings. These translators and writers constantly discovered and created new meanings of the texts and utilized their interpretations as a resources for the self-expression of the colonized, at a time when their own language and literature were censored under Japanese colonial policies. By examining English-based, anti-colonial linguistic and literary practices in colonial Korea, this project argues that Korean Englishes were a product of the triangular interplay between the local, the regional, and the global, changing existing postcolonial studies' perception of English.

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PREFACE

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

It is the age of English in East Asia. Some people think that Japan is successful because of their powerful navy. Others think it is because of their immaculate law system. I, however, attribute it to the education, and the core of their education is English. Given that Japanese Imperial universities conduct teaching in English and other schools emphasize English education, it is not an exaggeration to say that Japanese schools are English schools. . . We Koreans must emulate Japan and encourage English education. When Koreans master English better than other East Asians, our freedom will be won. . . When I visited Japan for the first time, Japanese people did not respect me for speaking their language but for speaking fluent English. (“Kyoyukkye chekongüige kwönhanora” [“A Suggestion for Education”], *Taehanwölbo*, 1908, 14-15)¹

On May, 25, 1908, one anonymous Korean intellectual voiced his concern for the future of English education in Korea. The above address was a response to Japan’s new educational policy, the 1906 Foreign Language School Act, designed to scale back English language education in Korean public schools. The essay denotes the troubling status of the English language, positioned between the colonizer and the colonized—both living within “the age of English” (14). Not only does English become the measurement of Japan’s success as a modern state, but

¹ All English translations of Korean and Japanese materials are mine, unless otherwise noted.

English also motivates Koreans to voluntarily accept the Japanese educational system as a model. The author believed that the mastery of English is a direct road to Korean liberation, more than a modernized army or legal system. English disturbs the hierarchy between the colonizer and the colonized; when the colonial subject speaks in English, not the colonizer's language, he gains respect from the colonizers and his inferior status is temporarily erased. English in this context is not just a linguistic medium, but also powerful cultural capital for delivering Western knowledge, as well as an anti-colonial weapon against Japan.

“Korean Englishes” investigates the role of English as a global mediatory language and English literature as a global reading material for a group of colonial Korean writers during the Japanese colonization of Korea, roughly from 1895 to 1945. The primary argument of this dissertation is that Korean intellectuals of the colonial period appropriated the privilege accorded to the English language, and to Anglophone literature, as an anti-colonial tool against Japanese colonial rule, incorporating their anti-colonial aspirations into their own Anglophone literary practices. Hence Korean intellectuals differently contextualized the Anglo-colonial representation of English, prior to 1945 when the American imperial structures and Cold War exigencies were established in Korea. To examine how these intellectuals used English during the Japanese colonial period, this project has two aims.

First, “Korean Englishes” traces the complex and unexplored local history of English and its intersection with other local languages under Japanese colonial rule. Colonial Korea was a symbolic translingual zone. English, a secondary but global language, was positioned within the multivalent linguistic conflicts: English, as a language of modernity, gradually subverted the dominance of classical Chinese, the learned language of pre-modern Korea, while disturbing the new imperial imposition of Japanese language education in Korea. Four languages, such as

Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and English, are all in contact and conflict in multi-sited ways. As a result of this positioning, the political power of English provided Koreans with a voice situated within multiple colonial legacies.

Second, “Korean Englishes” examines the local reception of English literature and how Korean writers borrowed the cultural capital of English-language literature for their own literary practices. During the Japanese colonial era, Korean writers indirectly translated a variety of English literary works, from Victorian sensation novels to the poetry of Yeats, via Japanese translations. However, these translations do not imply that Korean writers and translators passively subscribed to a Japanese understanding of those texts. Rather, the translators and writers constantly discovered and created new meanings of the texts and utilized their interpretations as a resources for the self-expression of the colonized, at a time when their own language and literature were censored under Japanese colonial policies.

Korean literary history, therefore, participates in global literary circulation through these translingual and transcultural practices from the margin, complicating a canonical circulation history of English literature. By examining English-based, anti-colonial linguistic and literary practices in colonial Korea, this project argues that Korean Englishes were a product of the triangular interplay between the local, the regional, and the global, changing the existing postcolonial studies’ perception of English.

The timeline of this project is the period between 1895 (the end of Sino-Japanese War) and 1945 (the end of World War II), roughly corresponding to the Japanese colonial period in Korea. I chose these two historical events not only because they are critical moments for Korea in East Asian geopolitics, but also because they manifest the complex role English played in the region. As a result of Japan’s victory over China in the Sino-Japanese War of 1895, the Qing

Empire recognized Korea's independence, ending all the ritual ceremonies that symbolized Korean subordination to the Central Kingdom. It was the first issue of the bilingual newspaper *The Independent (Toknipsinmun)* which proclaimed the political and cultural divorce of Korea from China, providing the news in both Korean and English. Similarly, as a result of the Allied victory in World War II, the Japanese empire surrendered to the United State Army Forces and relinquished Korea. The news of liberation was delivered through General McArthur's "Proclamation to the People of Korea," also written in English and translated into Korean. Thus, Korea's fleeting liberation was immediately followed by the arrival of a new colonizer. My project is situated between these two important historical events, a period of dynamic political, economic, and cultural upheaval in East Asia.

"Korean Englishes" shows that between 1895 and 1945 new routes of global literary circulation emerged along with hierarchies of languages, based on the reorganization of political powers. A new literary circulation system replaced the Sino-centric system, thereby connecting English and Japanese as mediating languages of circulation. English was a global mediating language whereas Japanese was a local mediating language. Therefore, the global circulation of books in East Asia was made possible through the collaboration of English and Japanese literary systems. Japan, for example, retranslated (into Japanese) a tremendous amount of non-English European texts through English editions. Korea, meanwhile, obtained secondary representations of the West through these Japanese translations. Positioned at the bottom of the hierarchy, Korean intellectuals desperately looked for alternative ways to access Western cultural capital and overcome their colonial obstacles.

However, I do not believe that this new hierarchy of global circulation and colonial dependency dominated or controlled literary practices within colonial Korea. Cultural practices

are multidirectional and unpredictable. Books, letters, and public imagination constantly travel beyond national borders, national languages, and colonial censorship. In this sense, this project sees Korea as a useful translingual and transcultural “small” place. Due to the experience of colonization, sometimes by multiple forces at once, Korean literary practices reveal the extreme vulnerability of a small place. Its extreme vulnerability, I argue, is what makes Korea an important place from which to investigate global literary circulation and creative literary practices. I use the word “small” to refer to the collective consciousness of a people in one location, who are constantly aware of their vulnerable status between big and powerful countries. The extreme vulnerability to cultural, political, and lingual intrusion, makes colonial Korea a transcultural zone and Koreans themselves multilinguals. In large part, this project aims to investigate the translingualism of colonial Korean intellectuals and the dynamic conflicts between their languages, colonial repression, and literary practices.

By focusing on Korean translingualism, this project also considers English as a language of modernity and investigates the reception of English literature in relation to the literary modernization in Korea. When I refer to “modernity” in this project, I mean “co-eval modernity,” the term that I borrowed from Harry Harootunian. It is widely known that modernity is generally created by an injection of a larger global process from Western modernity. However, “co-eval modernity” does not see a marginal modernity as inferior or less developed version of Western modernity, yet shares the same historical temporality of Western modernity (Harootunian x). Modernity has been associated with European enlightenment projects of emancipation, social reform, and progress. Yet it would be wrong to identify that modernity exclusively Western; modernization and Westernization are not identical. A local agent, in his/her attempt to emulate the West, constantly changes and recreates Western modernity,

differentiating marginal modernity from Western modernity. Co-eval modernity thus enables one to see marginal modernity neither as an imitation of Western modernity, nor part of a linear developmental model. Co-eval modernity rather emphasizes the agency of a local subject in the modernizing process, for it does not draw a clear line between Western modernity and marginal modernity but focuses on the interplay between the two. In this sense, I am using “modernization” as the process of creating co-eval modernity that includes local interpretation and execution of Western modernity. Therefore, I define modernity as both a condition (that one is situated) and a representation (that one creates), as a site “where people ‘make’ themselves modern, as opposed to being ‘made’ modern by alien and impersonal forces” (Gaonkar 18).

The concept of co-eval modernity nicely connects the Korean reception of the English language and Korea’s literary modernity by emphasizing the presence of a local agent in appropriating Western modernity. English obtains the status of a global language through the dissemination of Western modernity in imperial civilizing projects, in particular as the primary vehicle for the civilizing discourse of the British Empire. An important marker of such dissemination in East Asia is the dissolving of a traditional *lingua franca*, namely classical Chinese, and the instatement of English as a new *lingua franca*. Because of modernizing language projects, English became the makeshift intermediary language in East Asia and a channel for new knowledge and literary capital. At the same time, Koreans appropriated English, as a language of the modern, in a number of creative ways. The emergence of new intellectual groups in the early 20th century contributed to locating English in Korean contexts. These new intellectuals, the main focus of my project, were often cosmopolitan, multi-lingual, young men who experienced a separation from the older generation as well as the upheaval of East Asian geopolitics under globalization. They often envisioned themselves as the universal community of

world citizens of letters. They thus intensely read or translated Western “civilization” (*munmyong*), including social science, philosophy, and literature. Translation as a mediatory practice enabled them to fashion themselves as ardent students of Western modernity and modernization as a learning practice. To this end, many of them studied English to access the world republic and gain the status of a “global citizen” (*sekye simin*). For instance, the reform-minded editors of *The Independent* (chapter 1), the translators of British sensation novel (chapter 2), the local English literary scholars (chapter 3), and Korean Anglophone writers in America (chapter 4), all sought to attain this cosmopolitan status via their use of English.

I argue that such a self-fashioning and appropriation of Western literary modernity became possible for Koreans through two circumstances: One, unlike British colonial subjects, English was not imposed on Korean subjects by coercion, and therefore they believed they were “independently” choosing the language. Secondly, there was significant political and cultural distance from Western nations. This “territorially independent” (Chow 7) status from European imperialism allowed Koreans to reduce the ideological connection between Europe’s brutal colonialism and the English language. One example of Korean interest in English language and literary practice can be found in the genre of the new novel (*sin sosŏl*). The new novel, as an emerging genre in Korea emulating the style and form of the Western novel in the late nineteenth century, demonstrates Koreans’ recognition of English as a source of cultural capital and modernization without the negative connotations English had acquired in British colonies. For instance, Yi Injik’s *Hyŏllŭinu* (*Tears of Blood*, 1906) and *Unsegye* (*Silver World*, 1908); Yi Haecho’s *Moranbyŏng* (*A Picture of Peony*, 1911); Yi Kwangsu’s *Muchŏng* (*The Heartless*, 1917) and *Chaesaeng* (*The Revival*, 1924), all have characters who are students studying English or teachers of English.

As the above novels indicate, many Koreans of this era began to conceptualize the social and cultural implication of English language. Although only a few privileged men could actually use English at that time in Korea, most Koreans were aware of the importance of English as a language of modernity.² The motivation to learn English was felt early, even when most Koreans thought of English as nothing but “ba-ba sounds” (Yi, *Hyŏlhūinu* 53). English was an ideological space onto which Koreans projected their own imagination of modernity. Thus they were making their own “English”:

Mr. Paek is a nice and modest man. How ‘jentŭl’ (gentle) and ‘delikit’ (delicate) he looks! Sunki is ugly, Yun is secretive, Ch’ae is manly but too much, and Kim is skinny and disgusting, making pass at every woman. But Mr. Paek is ‘raund’ (round), ‘sŭmusŭ’ (smooth), truly ‘earistokŭraetik’ (aristocratic). He is even ‘milliŏneŏ’ (millionaire). He has a nice house and loves me. (Yi, *Chaesaeŋ* 21)

This passage illustrates what “English” might look like in early twentieth century Korea. In the original text, every English word is transliterated into the Korean vernacular script, followed by the word’s meaning in Korean. Even though Yi was relatively fluent in English, most of his readers could not have understood a single English word used in the passage. Yet he spares no effort in translating the complex meanings of each term. In the usage of transliterated English and Korean vernacular script, the hierarchy between the two languages cannot go unnoticed. Not only does transliterated English appear before Korean, but also only English words are used to describe Mr. Paek, a man desired by the female heroine. Her other male wooer, by contrast, is described in vernacular Korean words. Yi even put single quotation marks around English words,

² Even for the privileged, English education began only after 1882, which is relatively late compared to other East Asian countries. A treaty between Korea and the United States, for instance, had to be negotiated with the help of a Chinese-English translator because no one in Korea in 1882 was fluent enough in English (Yongch’ol Kim 87-89).

calling for readers to pay special attention. Meanwhile, the passage illustrates two different “Korean” translations of “English”: phonetic (e.g. “jentŭl”) and semantic (e.g. “gentle”). Thereby it demonstrates the gap between spoken and written language, even within one language system. When English words were broken down into sounds and written in Korean scripts, English obtained local value through the local writer’s localizing process and became a part of modern Korean language. The diffusion of Western modernity represented in the global language makes the relationship between the local and the global all the more complex.

The title “Korean Englishes” reveals my methodological frame for reading Korean literary practices in relation to English. Firstly, by using the term *Korean Englishes*, I claim Koreans’ ownership of the English language from the position of non-native users. In this sense, the project not only deals with actual English writing by Korean people, but also deals with discourses and imaginations of English produced by Korean people who do not even speak or read the language. This project considers English as an imagined place onto which people constantly project their desire and evaluation as well as considers English a physical material represented in the daily practices of Koreans. This project seeks to elucidate the sense of continuum within translingual practices —combining thinking, reading, translating, and writing about/in English that blurs the line between reception and production. “Korean Englishes” examines largely unexplored local archives in Korea and then utilizes derivative, secondary, or non-conventional literary forms in order to investigate the literary modernity of English in colonial Korea. For example, this project includes diaries, legal provisions, newspaper articles, magazines, travelogues, advertisements, indirect translations, and adaptations that contain the various thoughts on and practices of English in colonial Korea. These documents participate in making English a true global/local language.

Secondly, I define Korean *Englishes* as a plural form. Postcolonial studies have theorized the creative power of colonized people's appropriation and reconstitution of English as an imperial language. In this context, the notion of a standardized English, the singular authoritative form of the language, has been challenged. World Englishes (or englishes) consist of versions of Englishes from all over the world, including Indian Englishes, African Englishes, English-based pidgins and creoles, and Irish English. Second or third language writing, however, still needs more attention from postcolonial studies. Korean Anglophone writings in this project are unique because they describe the experience of non-British colonialism in English, mostly for Anglophone readership. This adds a new dynamic in existing postcolonial studies, in thinking about the role of English as a language to describe the global experience of non-Anglo colonialism. The English works of Jaepil Seo (chapter 1 and 4), Yun Ch'ih'o (chapter 1), Younghill Kang (chapter 4) are good examples of these Korean Englishes.³

While locating English as an imagined territory and practice of modernity, this study seeks to answer some important questions about Korean colonial experience in relation to English: how and when were Korean Englishes used as an anti-colonial medium? How did they relate to the formation of Japanese colonialism? How do they explain Korean postcoloniality?

Historically speaking, colonization has resulted in intensive translingual imposition and cultural translations, in a relatively short amounts of time. Postcolonial theories, resulting from this circumstance, have theorized the global circulation of the imperial language and the colonies' responses. In many British colonies, the history of Anglophone reading and writing

³ Jaepil Seo, one of the founders of *The Independent*, could obtain American citizenship right before the Immigrant Law in 1924 and became the first Korean American, even though he remained the most passionate supporter of Korean Independence for the rest of his life in America. In this dissertation, I refer to him as "Jaepil Seo," (his Korean name in a reversed order) as a way to point out his double identity, rather than "Seo Jaepil" (Korean name), "Philip Jaisohn" (American legal name) or N. H. Osia (pseudonym).

began with the institutionalization of colonial education. For example, Gauri Viswanathan's *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India* (1989) shows how the institutionalization of English studies served the administrative imperatives of British rule in colonial India. She argues, "English literature appeared as a subject in the curriculum of the colonies long before it was institutionalized in the home country" (3). She convincingly argues that English literature and language served as administrative tools for maintaining control and subordination of the natives. They also allow us to see colonialism as a place or period for lingual practice and exchange.

Meanwhile, critics within East Asian studies have pointed out the dominance of Anglophone perspectives in postcolonial studies and have looked for a different model for analyzing non-British colonies in Asia. Kuan-Hsing Chen in *Asia as Method: Toward Deimperialization* (1996), for instance, criticizes postcolonial scholarship's "obsessive critique of the West" (1). He adds, "if modern colonialism has been initiated and shaped by the West, then the postcolonial enterprise is still operating within the limits of colonial history and has not yet gone beyond a parasitic form of critique" (2). Many other scholars working on postcolonial perspectives in East Asian Studies share Chen's perspective. These scholars, such as Naoki Sakai, Leo Ching, and Rey Chow, continuously point out the incompleteness of current Anglophone postcolonial scholarship in East Asian contexts. Japanese colonialism as a non-European, non-white form of colonialism, operated differently from its Western counterparts.

It is difficult to define how Japanese colonialism differs from European colonialism. All colonialisms are unique and are practiced in specific social and political contexts. This project avoids essentializing Japanese colonialism as completely different from European colonialisms, but focuses on the intra-colonial network between Japan and her European counterparts as a local

colonialism operating within global imperial structure. Japan's colonialism certainly fits Hobson's model, if colonialism is an economic state of affairs, such as the capitalist expansion of markets, that forms "the taproot of imperialism" (Hobson 81). Like European countries, Japan turned expansion into a systematic goal for more resources for industrialization and bigger markets for manufactured goods through their colonization.⁴

I suggest that John Halliday's definition of Japanese colonialism, as "imperialism without capital" (10), is more applicable to Japanese cultural dimensions and ideological practices of empire building rather than its political and economic dimensions. This is because the sense of deficiency was being imagined in the minds of the Japanese. A preoccupation with underdevelopment was characteristic of the mentality of Japanese intellectuals with "a consciousness that oscillated furiously between recognizing the peril of being overcome by modernity and the impossible imperative of overcoming it" (Harootunian xi). By internalizing Western racism and social Darwinism, Japan created for itself the impossible task of emulating Western modernity and simultaneously overcoming it.⁵

Japan's ambiguous relation to the West enabled Korean English speakers to question the legitimacy of Japanese colonialism through their English writings. Korean Anglophone writings, such as Jaepil Seo's *Hansu's Journey: A Korean Story* (1922) and Younghill Kang's *The Grass Roof* (1931) address such a tendency. Due to its inferior status in the traditionally China-centered

⁴ For instance, Akira Iriye in *Power and Culture: The Japanese-American War, 1941-1945* explains Japan's ambiguous yet cooperative position with the West, which caused "the uncertainty" in Japanese colonial practice. In the 1920s, Japan avidly accepted the framework of international cooperation embodied in the League of Nations and the Washington Conference treaties and led by the United States and Great Britain. The Japanese economy was also "fully integrated into the world capitalist system, and the framework of cooperation through economic interdependence with the other industrial nations provided the stable point of reference for Japanese diplomacy" (1-2).

⁵ Naoki Sakai similarly argues that the desire of "Japanese thought" could be imagined through the comparative framework of Japan and the West, as "the insistence on Japan's originality. . . would have to be mediated by the mimetic desire for the West" (51).

cultural sphere, Japan could not easily gain cultural authority in its colonies even after annexation except in its mediatory role as a translator of the West. While Japan was struggling to find viable self-justification for empire building, Koreans, despite their jealousy of Japan's development, constantly undermined the originality of Japanese modernization by viewing it as a mere imitation of the West. In particular, Korean English speakers—those people who did not need Japanese mediatory work in order to access the original sources for “true” civilization—provide some of the most critical voices responding to Japanese colonialism. According to them, Japan's authority did not come from its own tradition but from a borrowed makeshift tradition from the West. This imaginary gap between the secondary (Japan) and the original (the West) provided these Koreans with a reason to resist Japanese domination, even when they were using Japanese resources and translations in order to learn the West. For example, several Korean students participated in the protests against English classes taught by Japanese teachers in Korea in the 1920s. The newspaper article “Posŏnghakkyo tubŏnjae paŏp” (“Second Strike at Posŏng School”) describes forty-five senior students refusing to take classes, claiming that “the English we learn at this school is Japanese English, not the British one” (*Donga ilbo*, May 12, 1920, 3). The newspaper writes that the students even requested the replacement of their Japanese English teacher, Mr. Tanaka Ryusou, because he “can't pronounce the proper pronunciations of English words” (*Donga ilbo*, May 12, 1920, 3).

English education during the Japanese colonial period is a direct indicator of the ambiguous position of the Japanese empire: in conflict with Korean anti-colonial resistance through English, while teaching that same language in schools. Even though the institutionalization of English language and literature in the colony is not the primary focus of this project, I found that Koreans' literary practice of English loosely resonated with Japanese

English-language education policies. English education was an ideological battlefield between the colonizer and the colonized in colonial Korea. Each group appropriated the power of the global language for their advantages. On the one hand, Japan used it as an ideological medium of empire-building, by controlling Korean's access to Western knowledge. On the other hand, Koreans used it as an anti-colonial medium and an opportunity for modernization and winning back independence. In this sense, English education in the colony was a place where colonial policies were closely intertwined with the native resistance. English was a place into which the novice colonizer projected their anxiety about controlling the colony, as well as a place where the frustrated colonized located a means to regain sovereignty.

Japanese interference with the linguistic practices of the colonized could be found both in the English and Korean language education policies in colonial Korea. Japan in particular was interested in controlling the foreign (mostly English) language education as well as the native language in the colony. Although it is common for colonial education systems to install a standard version of the metropolitan language as the norm, Japan used two different strategies to achieve this: controlling an internal language practice as well as an external language practice of Koreans. As a result, while Japan persistently mandated Japanese-language education, policy regarding Korean and English changed over time according to Japan's assimilation policies and international relations.

After official annexation in 1910, Japan promulgated four educational ordinances for the colony, in 1911, 1922, 1938 and 1943, to reorganize existing educational systems in accordance with Japanese goals for the colony: 1) During the early colonial era known as the Military-Police Reign Era (1910-1919), the Japanese colonial government banned or severely reduced English language education in the public schools, and restricted English education in missionary private

schools. 2) During the mid-colonial period known as Cultural Policy Era (1919-1937), Japan re-established foreign language education and English was offered as a required subject in secondary schools. University departments of English language and literature were established. 3) In the late colonial period since the second Sino-Japanese war in 1937 (1937-1945), a change of policy led to a serious decline, when Japan defined English as “the language of the enemy” (“chōkkukūi ōnō”; *Chosŏn ilbo*, Aug. 3, 1940). During this period, Japan completely eliminated English education in Korean schools.

The more English education was restricted, the more Koreans looked for the alternative ways to learn English, inside and outside the system. Despite official restrictions on English education during the colonial period, English education in Korea was maintained through various channels. For example, American missionary schools, local night schools, public lectures, and the YMCA were alternative channels for Koreans to learn English outside the Japanese colonial institution (Naehee Kang 277). On the other hand, there were some people who studied English inside the system by attending Japanese educational institutions in Japan. Interestingly, according to the statistics on Korean students in Japan in *Donga ilbo*, English was the most popular major among Korean students in 1926: out of 2021 students, 486 were English majors. The next most popular majors were Law (351), Sociology (112), and Politics and Economy (84) (Jan. 29, 1926, 5). If one excludes the number of students at elementary and middle school who do not claim a specific major (approximately 760 students), almost forty percent of the Korean students studied at Japanese higher educational institutions and majored in English in 1926. This indicates that English was the most popular reason for Koreans to study in Japan, in an attempt to gain Western cultural capital even from their colonial status. In this context, the disparity

between the official colonial policy and the actual linguistic practice of the native illustrates the complex status of English between the empire and the colony.

The last question that this project poses is how the U.S. as an emerging global power interacted with East Asian geopolitics and influenced Korean appropriation of English language and literature through transpacific exchange at the turn of the century. The project interprets the U.S. both as a newly emerging semi-periphery of a transpacific circulation and the symbol of liberation. Thus I argue that the U.S. could rise as a new global power which benefited from British cultural capital, but could avoid charges of imperialism. Furthermore, by looking at the influence of the U.S. in colonial Korea, I will consider the continuity between the legacy of Japanese colonialism and the imposition of U.S. Cold War politics in post-liberation Korea. As pointed out earlier, “Korean Englishes” is an attempt to read the circulation of English literature and language in colonial Korea as more than British imperial dissemination. By investigating the special role of the U.S., this project complicates a homogeneous notion of “the West” or “Anglo-American influence” through consideration of Korean colonial intellectuals’ reception of the language and literature.

Even though the notion of “the West” was a vaguely intermingled conceptualization of different Western countries, which the majority of colonial Koreans could not distinguish between clearly, the U.S. had obtained a special place in Korea as the “imaginary figure of modernity” (Chen 177). Firstly, American missionaries were one of the primary resources of English education in colonial Korea, and the U.S. educational institutions were the main places where privileged Korean elites were educated. Therefore, the U.S. offered Koreans an alternative to the Japanese colonial education system. Secondly, many Koreans considered America as a voice for liberation and democracy, distinguishing America from European imperialist countries.

Yi Wanyong, for example, in *The Independent* stated that, “world history presents two examples to us: Koreans can choose either to be an independent and rich country like America, or to be a perishing country like Poland. I wish for Koreans to want to be the former” (“Nonsŏl” [“Editorial”] Nov. 24, 1896, 1). These reform-minded Korean intellectuals, who perceived America as a successful role model, are the main focus of this project, showing how their English literary practice was deeply influenced by their imagined America.

Korean emphasis on America stood in contrast to Japan’s ambivalent attitude towards the U.S. Japan had a very complicated relation with America both as a competitor and as a friend of modernity. The Japanese empire, as a new empire, was also interested in the emulating British imperial structure and colonial policies. Some Japanese intellectuals understood English language and literature as imperial tools that Japan could use. English educator Okikura Yoshiburo declared that Japan was the England of Asia in his English language text book *The Global Readers* (1907). He encouraged Japanese young men to study the English spirit through English literature, as a responsibility to future generations of the Japanese empire. Japan as an emerging global power was interested in reproducing the ideological framework of European imperialism while enjoying the exceptional privilege among Asian countries in the early twentieth century.

Looking at different Japanese and Korean appropriations of America, this project investigates the transpacific circulation of books and intellectual minds. Koreans, under colonial rule, idealized and identified with the imagined America as a positive example of independence and economic success. This special attention to America encouraged some Korean writers to publish in English for American readers, which makes the transpacific route a new channel for Korean postcolonial voices to the Western world. I argue that these English writings of the

Korean colonial intellectuals in America reveal two important characteristics of American literary market: First, they illustrate what Jenny Sharpe calls the “internal colonialism” of Americans towards ethnic and racial minorities, when their writings were largely considered as ethnic stories and the historicity of Koreans’ postcolonial experience was erased by American publishers and readers. Second, these writings demonstrate how America became a transnational literary place for publishing postcolonial voices. These diasporic writings were aimed at neither the colonizer (Japan) nor the colonized (Korea) but the global literary community, represented as America through the global language, even though these attempts tended to fail as a result of Orientalist readings by American readers. This suggests, I argue, a new formation of postcolonial writing beyond the dichotomy of colonizer/colonized. This approach has continued throughout contemporary ethnic literature wherein the diasporic experience of imagined homeland and colonial history described is in English and published in the American literary marketplace. Thus this project re-thinks the implications of English in relation to the role of America in Korean literary practice.

On the one hand, the chapters of this dissertation follow the linear timeline of the development of Japanese colonization: the pre-colonial period (1895-1910), early colonial period (1910-1919), and mid-colonial period (1919-1937). These chapters, on the other hand, also shed light on the English literary practices of Korean writers outside Korea, particularly in America and the Anglophone literary market. In doing so, the project illustrates the dynamics of Korean Englishes within the interplay of the local and global, while emphasizing the complexity of the Japanese colonial period as a non-homogenous experience or a single imposition. In addition, the project points out that the variable status of English demonstrates the continuity or co-existence of colonial experiences in Korea, even when one colonial regime is replaced by another. In short,

this project argues that colonial Korean intellectuals appropriated English language and literature as a means of anti-colonial discourse and borrowed English linguistic and literary practices for the self-expression of the colonized. In doing so they were refracting English into Korean Englishes.

Chapter 1 starts with the pre-colonial period when English gradually began to represent an anti-colonial voice in Korea through the early public newspaper *The Independent* published in Korean and English. By interpreting *The Independent* as a decolonizing bilateral project, I argue that English as a language of modernity and newness played a role in negating and challenging the effectiveness of the traditional Sino-centric system in Korea. Reform-minded, multilingual editors of *The Independent*, such as Jaepil Seo and Yun Ch'ihō, believed that Western civilization, as represented in English, could help Koreans to liberate themselves from Chinese influence. In this sense, the bilingual policy of *The Independent* attempted to create a new circulation system between the vernacular and the global language that could replace the dominance of the classical Chinese system. Such a bilingual strategy, I argue, shaped the direction of certain anti-colonial movements in Korea during the upcoming Japanese colonial period.

Chapter 2 examines Yi Sanghyŏp's indirect translation of the British sensation novel *Diavola, or the Woman's Battle*, via the Japanese translation. This chapter investigates the global circulation history, textual changes, and reader responses of three texts, Mary Braddon's *Diavola, or the Woman's Battle* (1866), Kuroiwa Ruikō's *Suteobune* (1898), and Yi Sanghyŏp's *Chŏngpuwŏn* (1914). The three texts, the original (British), a direct translation (Japanese), and an indirect translation (Korean), reveal the reorganization of world hierarchy and a new travel route of modernity at the turn of the century. In this sense, indirect translation as a dominant form for

circulating transcultural literacy in the early colonial period indicates Korea's increasing reliance on Japanese mediation to access the cultural capital of the West. The chapter, however, demonstrates that translator Yi Sanghyŏp devised diverse editorial and literary devices to erase the Japanese mediatory practice from his translation. Yi aims to represent his translation, *Chŏngpuwŏn*, as a global reading experience to directly connect Korean readers to the global reading community.

Chapter 3 studies the Korean reception of Anglophone colonial literature, such as translations of Rabindranath Tagore, William Butler Yeats, and Sean O'Casey, in Korean literary magazines and newspapers. During the mid-colonial period, Indian and Irish authors were perceived as opponents of colonialism and enjoyed the great popularity among Korean readers. Ironically, it was colonial intervention, namely the authority of the Nobel Prize Committee and Japan's English scholars and educational institutions, that expedited the delivery of an anti-colonial message to a colonial Korean audience. It was local English literary scholars who led in the circulation of Indian and Irish literature in Korea, while resisting Japanese scholars' imperialistic interpretations of the same texts. In addition, local writers recreated these works as a self-expression of colonized Koreans based intercolonial similarity. Thus this chapter argues that the local appropriation of a global imperial system paradoxically fostered anti-colonial consciousness, even inter-colonial connections, in the English literary practice of Korean intellectuals.

In Chapter 4, I shift my geographical focus to transpacific exchange between Korea and the U.S. where Korean diasporic writers published their postcolonial voices in English during the Japanese colonial period. After leaving their homeland to escape Japanese colonization, Korean diasporic writers and political refugees continued to write in English in the U.S. Korean

Anglophone writers, such as Jaepil Seo and Younghill Kang, found American publishers were a more hospitable home for their anti-colonial prose. Focusing particularly on Younghill Kang's works, *The Grass Roof* (1931) and *East Goes West: The Making of an Oriental Yankee* (1937), my chapter examines how Kang navigates his postcolonial standing to both engage with and resist Japanese colonialism as he addresses an Anglophone readership. In addition, the chapter also examines how Kang's writing was received mostly as ethnic rather than postcolonial literature through the interruption of his editor and American readers. My project is uniquely situated to read Kang's transpacific exchange in order to illuminate a Korean postcoloniality that animates resistance against one colonial power, Japan, to mount a resistance against another, U.S.

2.0 DECOLONIZING THE CHINESE MIND: KOREAN ENGLISHES AND VERNACULAR SCRIPT IN *THE INDEPENDENT*, 1895-1899⁶

This chapter addresses an early moment when some Korean intellectuals began to imagine the English language as an anti-colonial medium. To that end, this chapter considers why the first public newspaper in Korea, *The Independent* (*Tokenpsinmun*)—the first privately managed modern daily newspaper in Korea—published each issue in both the modernized Korean and English alphabets, especially when classical Chinese was the dominant literary form in Korea in the late nineteenth century. I argue that *The Independent*, issued right after the Sino-Japanese war and China’s defeat in 1896, was a decolonizing project to cut off the previous semi-colonial relations to China, and the first step to do so was to abandon classic Chinese language and educational system that *The Independent* referred to as “mental slavery” (“Editorial” Aug. 8, 1896, 4).

The editorial board members of *The Independent*—radical reformers often educated at American universities and fluent in English—believed in establishing independent channels to adapt to Western knowledge that could replace the traditional Sino-centric system. They

⁶ I have adapted the term “decolonizing” from *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (1986), by Kenyan novelist and postcolonial theorist Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o. The book addresses the language problem of African authors and his abandonment of English language for a decolonization of a colonial subject. In some sense, *The Independent* shares Ngũgĩ’s anti-colonial strategy when it abandoned classic Chinese. However, I argue that their choice of English as a replacement adds more complexity to the issue of the postcolonial lingual practice of a colonial subject in Korea by showing that it was never a choice between imperial language and national language in Korea.

suggested that the goal could be achieved through the reinforcement of the nexus between English and the vernacular Korean script called *unmun* (literally meaning “vulgar language”) in opposition to classic Chinese script called *chinmun* (literally meaning “true language”). *The Independent* ardently supported *unmun* not simply to foster national consciousness, but to create the most suitable, efficient local substitute for translating English. English, or what it stands for, was a notable catalyst behind the language reformers’ transition from the traditional Chinese logographic system to the phonetic native Korean script system. The transition of written Korean from a logogram system to a phonetic one not only indicates a dramatic change in the local system of disseminating modernity but also shows how English became a global language or the language of modernity in a marginal place. In other words, the Korean language reformers wanted to minimize the loss of the signified during translation by readjusting the local signifier in order to pursue the path of modernity. To accomplish this, a phonetic writing system (like the one used by English) was necessary, even if it was “vulgar.”

By publishing the same materials in two different scripts, *The Independent* strove to even out the cultural and literal discords between the two languages and by extension between the two civilizations in the new world-system. In this context, the promotion of Korean and English editions as a decolonizing project illustrates how English interrupted the local geopolitics and further provided Korean intellectuals with an alternative voice for anti-colonial struggle. Such a bilingual strategy of *The Independent*, I argue, contributed to shape the direction of certain anti-colonial movements in Korea during the upcoming Japanese colonial period. Therefore, my chapter claims that the postcolonial implications of English had been continued on throughout the Japanese colonial period, even when the English writing quickly disappeared from the scene after the Japanese annexation in 1910. This chapter, as a starting point, investigates the origin of

Korean Englishes created by the decolonizing bilateral project of *The Independent* during the pre-colonial period.

2.1 THE INDEPENDENT AS A DECOLONIZING PROJECT

On April 7, 1896, the inaugural issue of *The Independent* was published. It was founded in 1896 by Korean intellectuals, including Jaepil Seo, Chu Sikyŏng, Yun Ch'ihŏ, and American Missionary Homer Bezaleel Hulbert. The primary purpose of the newspaper was to educate Koreans, and it dealt with various areas of interest in modern culture, such as commerce, politics, literature, history and art. When *The Independent* claimed its mission to be “in the interests of the Korean people,” it interpreted “Korean people” in a non-traditional way (“Editorial” Apr. 7, 1896, 4). The first editorial clarifies that “by the Korean people we do not mean merely the residents in Seoul and its vicinity, nor do we mean the more favored classes alone, but we include the whole people of every class and grade” (“Editorial” Apr. 7, 1896, 4).

The historical significance of the bilingual newspaper is twofold. First, it was the first English newspaper in Korea. Second, it used the *unmun* script, a “pure” vernacular alphabet, instead of Chinese characters or the mixture of Chinese and Korean. If *The Independent* aimed to enlighten and educate “the largest possible number” of Korean people, it is curious why they did not choose the prevalent written system, i.e. classic Chinese (“Editorial” Apr. 7, 1896, 4). In the 1890s, the majority of intellectuals and literati in Korea in fact were accustomed to classic Chinese script. In other words, the potential readers of the newspaper were classic Chinese users who may have felt alienated by the use of *unmun*. While a few educated women and the lower class used *unmun*, the majority of women and working class men were still illiterate. So, the



Figure 1: Korean and English pages of *The Independent*

unmun script was not yet marketable enough to be the national script for Koreans at that time.

The low *unmun* literacy then could have caused the newspaper to compromise its ambition from the beginning, given that even the Chinese-Korean mixed script, a result of the 1895 reforms, was relatively new to the public. Despite the risk, *The Independent* never compromised on the *unmun* script owing to the radical reformers' strong opposition to China and the Chinese language.

The anti-Chinese spirit of *The Independent* speaks to the fact that it was published right after the end of the Sino-Japanese War in 1895. The Sino-Japanese War was particularly important to Koreans because it dramatically changed the geopolitics of East Asia and provided Japan with decisive motivation to become an emerging empire. In a nutshell, the Sino-Japanese

War was fought between Qing Dynasty China and Meiji Japan primarily over the control of Korea and took place in Korean territory. Japan, as an advanced learner of the West, realized the potential economic benefits of Korea's coal and iron for the growing Japanese industrial base. Korea was also a gate to China and Russia. As a result of Japan's victory in the war, Korea, traditionally a tributary state of China, ended all old rituals of tribute.⁷ Japan, however, could not supplant the prestige of Confucian Chinese authority until its official annexation of Korea. In the meantime, Korea was politically and culturally a vacuum within which many other imperial powers competed against each other for Korea's natural resources and other industrial benefits. During the period from 1895 to 1905, there was no single governing power in Korea. Rather, the nation witnessed conflicts between different imperialist powers, such as China, Japan, the United States, and Russia, represented by foreign missionaries, diplomats, businessmen, and soldiers. Thus the transitional period could foster diversity and hybridity among different cultural legacies in Korea, under the common goal to find a replacement for the traditional Chinese hegemony.

The Independent was thus committed to decolonization; it was fully devoted to erasing any colonial legacies of the Middle Kingdom (China) within Korea. The name "Independent," implies the symbolic and physical separation of Korea from the control of the Middle Kingdom.

⁷ Andre Schmid in *Korea between Empires, 1895-1919* (2002) delineates Korea's modernization through the transition from the decentering of the Middle Kingdom (China) to the engagement with civilizing Japan. According to him, the victory of Japan over China in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895 quickly made Koreans believe in the power of Japan as a rising empire, which justified Japan's role as the provider of Western civilization in East Asia. As a result, Korea's access to Western modernity, he argues, relied heavily on Japan (41-43). Largely in line with Schmid, scholars have contextualized the emergence of a national language in Korea within Japanese colonialism. They have argued that the notion of a national language in Korea emerged from anti-colonial and nationalist resistance against Japan, or that the modern national language of Korea emulated the already-established Japanese national language system, adapting syntactic structures from the modernized Japanese language. See Choo (2009); Ko (2011); Tikhonov (2002). I find three problems with traditional views on this issue. First, they underestimate the role of English in the construction of the national language in Korea. Second, they exaggerate the influence of Japanese colonialism by quickly identifying it with the Western imperialism. Third, they do not distinguish the period between the first Sino-Japanese War (1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1905) from that of Japanese colonization (1910-1945).

And to the radical reformers of *The Independent*, the very first step was to abandon the Chinese language and look for an alternative. Thus the newspaper manifested the decentering of the colonial center of East Asia and the change of cultural hegemony in East Asia in its harsh criticism of Chinese language and education:

[Our] country is still wallowing in the Confucian slough, and the youth of the nation frittering away its time in the imperfect acquisition of Chinese. The nature of the Chinese language is such that all primary education having a knowledge of Chinese for its basis must consist of memorizing thousands of characters (ideographs) and the mechanical committing to memory of whole books. The object to be attained is not a thorough comprehension of the classics, but remembrance of words and phrases. . . It destroys all tendency to original force and makes all intellectual productions of one monotonous type. Chinese-education is mental slavery. ("Editorial" Aug. 8, 1896, 4)

This excerpt reveals the recurring tone of editorials about Chinese education and the Chinese language. The major problem, they thought, was that Chinese was not efficient enough for a modern language. As a result, the youth "sacrifice[d] the best years of life" only for "imperfect acquisition of Chinese," which indicates the failure of the Chinese education system to prepare the next generation. In addition, they believed that education in Chinese classics could not allow any room for the individuality of a modern subject, because the only method for such study was to imitate the old authority. This view was much more iconoclastic than that of their Japanese counterparts who "found it impossible, or at least unwise to ignore the study of the Chinese character" ("Editorial" Aug. 8, 1896, 4). The Chinese language and education were outdated in the rapidly changing world because they failed to digest the new knowledge from the West. The true decolonization of Korea thus could begin only by cutting off the chain of the Chinese mental

slavery, i.e. the colonial education and language. The solution was to use *unmun*, which *The Independent* editors referred to “the national script (“Editorial” Aug. 8, 1896, 4).⁸

In their inaugural issue, *The Independent* strategically highlighted the national identity of *unmun*, a script based on “the everyday speech of the populace,” while it emphasized the foreignness of Chinese by defining it as an “exotic language that is an unknown tongue to the vast majority of the people” (“Nonsöl” [“Editorial”] Apr. 7, 1896, 1). Such description, however, was not true at least in 1890s, because Chinese had been a language of Korea—though not acknowledged as “the Korean language”—for more than two centuries.⁹ By defining Chineseness as exotic, *The Independent* draws a newly imagined borderline between the former kingdom and its colony. It recognized China as a completely external place in order to establish the national identity of Korea as a modern state. However, if the foreignness of Chinese language created a conflict with the nationalist script and therefore it should be abandoned, then how could *The Independent* justify the publication of English editions? English, more than Chinese, was even more an exotic language that is an unknown tongue to the vast majority of the Korean people. The logical gap indicates that what really caused the displacement of Chinese in 1890s was not its foreignness itself, but the fact that the Chinese was no longer a “desirable” foreign

⁸ In the editorial notes on 27 July, a story of a fisherman deals with the problems of an elite group who only know classic Chinese. The fisherman complains about a corrupted local official who collects “nameless taxes” and is “stuck on the Chinese and they do not understand *unmun*, so they cannot read *The Independent* because it is all in *unmun*.” He adds, “We, the common folks, and women, like to read your paper because it is in *unmun*, but we don’t have to know all these things you write every day.”

⁹ One of the early moments that Koreans recognized Chinese as a part of Korean language was when they acknowledged its foreignness. King Sejong’s “*hunminchŏngŭm* [Teaching the People the Correct Sound]” (1459), for example, acknowledges the gap between the Korean spoken language and Chinese script, which became his primary reason for devising a phonetic script of twenty-eight letters. The book defines Chinese characters as “the language of China” (Hyun 167). Within the context of Korea as a tributary state of China, using Chinese characters had been a privilege of upper-class men. Moreover, proficiency in the Chinese language became a source of national pride within inter-Asian relationships. Knowledge of Chinese classics and fluency in Chinese characters distinguished Koreans from the “barbarous” Japanese who, Koreans thought, were below them.

language in Korea.¹⁰ In other words, it shows how the decolonizing/nationalist project of *The Independent* was in fact deeply incorporated with international politics. In the rest of this chapter, I will explain how Korean and English scripts could coexist in the same newspaper, and why such bilingualism of *The Independent* foreshadows the role of English that disturbs the local geopolitics during the upcoming Japanese colonial period.

2.2 NEW CIRCULAR SYSTEMS: KOREAN ENGLISH AND KOREAN VERNACULAR

The Independent has been a key subject of many Korean Studies scholars as the first modern newspaper adapting *unmun* system—the vernacular—and the early claims for modern nation-state. Based on Benedict Anderson’s emphasis on nations as imagined communities, previous studies have argued that *The Independent* illustrates the way in which Korea was created as an imagined community by print capitalism. Therefore, *The Independent* denotes the link between a national language and state building in the late nineteenth-century Korea.

While the nationalist aspects of *The Independent* have been stressed, few studies have paid attention to its bilingual aspect. The majority of studies exclusively examine the Korean edition while dismissing the English edition as a mere duplication of the Korean edition.¹¹ Only

¹⁰ The article on Dec. 15, 1898 describes that The Korean Independence Club, an affiliated organization of *The Independent*, has issued the first number of its bimonthly magazine. Betraying the Independent’s strict policy of abandoning Chinese language, the magazine was published in three languages, Korean, English and Chinese. It was the choice based on difficulties in reality as one can see that many contributed essays by Korean intellectuals were written in classic Chinese.

¹¹ This is simply not true. Even though two editions often shared similar interests, it was rare that both editions printed identical materials, to say nothing of the gap coming from translation. For example, the English edition

recently have researchers begun to read the English editions as having their own textual complexity rather than as auxiliaries to the Korean editions. Ch'ae Paek, for instance, compares the different tones of the English and Korean editions of *The Independent*. By demonstrating how the writers took different political stances in each edition, he argues that the English edition of *The Independent* criticized Japan's invasion of the Korean Palace in 1896 more harshly than the Korean edition did. Ch'ae attributes the disparity to the difference of audiences. The English edition, according to Ch'ae, aimed to appeal to foreigners in Korea by stressing the injustice of Japan, while the Korean edition tried to ameliorate Koreans' strong hatred of Japan in order to not hamper the economic relationship (17-18).

However, it is too hasty to conclude that the English edition was not for Koreans, because such a view precludes the possibility of cross-lingual readers. Challenging this division of readership along the lines of language, I attempt to shed light on the local value that English established through *The Independent* rather than focus on it as a tool to communicate with the West. *The Independent* was not the first Anglophone newspaper in East Asia. Japan and China have longer histories of English newspapers, such as *The Kobe Chronicle* and the *North China Herald*. Yet what distinguishes *The Independent* from other East Asian Anglophone newspapers is that it was exclusively founded and written by bilingual Koreans, not by Western missionaries or journalists, and the editor in chief was a Korean. The first editor in chief was Jaepil Seo from 1896 to 1897 until Yun Ch'ihŏ took over his position in 1897. Both of them were educated at American universities and fluent in English. This demonstrates how the Korean radical reformers imagined the role of English in their project called *munmyŏng kaehwa* (civilization and enlightenment) and how they negotiated their cosmopolitan vision for global citizenship within

was often used as the network by which missionaries reported their schedules. Likewise, accusations of corruption in the Korean government appeared mostly in the Korean edition.

the context of modern nation-building. In short, they created new values for English in Korean contexts rather than simply increase its global value via passive consumption. This first editorial of *The Independent*'s English edition clarifies its *raison d'être*:

The time seems to have come for the publication of a periodical in the interests of the Korean people. . . . To this end three things are necessary; first, that it shall be written in a character intelligible to the largest possible number; second, that it shall be put on the market at such a price that it shall be within the reach of the largest possible number; third, that it shall contain such matter as shall be for the best interests of the largest possible number. . . . We make it biliteral because this will act as an incentive to English speaking Koreans to push their knowledge of English for its own sake. An English page may also commend the paper to the patronage of those who have no other means of gaining accurate information in regard to the events which are transpiring in Korea.

(“Editorial” Apr. 7, 1896. 4)

The editor articulates that the periodical, either in English or Korean, served the interests of the Korean people. More specifically, the reason for making the newspaper biliteral is for “English speaking Koreans” to “push their knowledge of English for its own sake” in addition to delivering accurate local news to foreigners. This quote makes it clear that the original purpose of the English edition of *The Independent* was to educate elite Koreans and improve their English. An increase in the number of English users in Korea was important, according to the editors, to, speed translation of foreign books into Korean as well as to cultivate Korean Anglophone writers who can directly talk to foreigners “who have no other means of gaining accurate information” about Korea. *The Independent* proposed a new model of distribution and

reproduction of knowledge and modernity through Korean Englishes, that the outdated Chinese language could not achieve.

The necessity of *unmun* becomes apparent in the separate visions that the radical reformers had in their minds; they encouraged elite education without ignoring public education regardless of gender and class. What the radical reformers most prioritized was the efficient distribution of western knowledge, as the editorial repeatedly mentions the phrase, “to the largest possible number.” The editorial in May 16, 1896, for instance, emphasizes that education is one of “civilizing agencies” that requires “a full set of educational works translated into the Korean.” In this context, the similarity of *unmun* to phonologically written English was what makes it a better script for a faithful translation of English over Chinese as “the merits of *unmun* as an alphabet surpass the multitudinous Chinese characters both in convenience and practicability” (Aug. 14, 1897. 4). It contrasts phonogram *unmun* to ideogram Chinese to claim that adapting *unmun* takes “little time and labor” to be an equivalent to other “useful and practical alphabets of the world” (“Editorial” Aug. 14, 1897). The scientific efficiency of *unmun* was often mentioned in the newspaper and they claimed that “it is a script that everyone can learn over a night” (“Nonsŏl” [“Editorial”] May 20, 1899). Spaces were even added between words in an effort to make *unmun* more like English script. The civilizing project of *The Independent* was based on simultaneously building two different distribution systems of modernity in Korea through English and Korean vernacular—one for elites and the other for the public—and ultimately connecting these two through translation. *The Independent* imagined *unmun* as an important local substitute for English, the role that classic Chinese could fail to fulfill.

The relation of *unmun* and English is more specifically shown in *Yun Ch’iho’s Diary*. The second chief-editor of *The Independent* Yun Ch’iho wrote a diary for almost sixty years

from 1883 to 1943—published into eleven volumes later—until he allegedly committed suicide after the 1945 liberation. Yun studied at various educational institutions in Japan, China, and America—Vanderbilt University and later Emory University—and served as an early leader of the Korean YMCA and the Independent Club. *Yun Ch'ih'o's Diary*, comprising sixty-years of colonial memories, demonstrates the complex mentality of a colonial intellectual addressing how his constant frustration had transformed him from a radical activist into a despicable collaborator with Japan.¹² While his diary has been treated by scholars as autobiography with historical information, I am more interested in his diary as a literary text, particularly in terms of this colonial intellectual's multilingualism.

Yun changed his primary writing language three times over sixty years: classical Chinese (1883-1887), Korean vernacular *unmun* (1887-1889), and English (1889-1943). His transition from classical Chinese to Korean vernacular reflects the development of the national consciousness similar to other contemporary publications and writings. Yun simply writes in diary, “from now on, I will write in the national script” (Feb. 11, 1889). Yet his choice of English seems odd, given that the diary is about private and inner thoughts that does not invite an external reader. English as a foreign language let him express candid opinions about current political events and helped him to avoid the colonial censorship on the colonial native (notably, he never wrote in Japanese despite being fluent). Here English as both a marker of cultural privilege and an anti-colonial weapon reveals the divided self of the Korean intellectual who has to choose this global language in order to express nationalistic thoughts. English implies, besides

¹² Yun Ch'ih'o has been a controversial figure and negatively evaluated in the history of Korea because of his notorious collaborative actions with the Japanese imperial government during the colonial period and his strong criticism of local independent movements, like the 1919 Samil Movement, based on his faith that Korea did not yet deserve its own sovereignty. Yet the fact that he was one of the most powerful activists of patriotic and nationalist movements in the early years was often forgotten and ignored. For more on Yun, see Kim Sangtae's introduction in *Yun Ch'ih'o's Diary*.

its universal role for communication with foreigners, the local value and usage in relation to local geopolitics in colonial Korea where the locality was often shaped and invented in a global medium. Yoon explains the reason why he decided to write in English on December 7, 1889:

My Diary has hitherto been kept in Korean [sic]. But the vocabulary [of Korean] is not as yet rich enough to express all what I want to say. Have therefore, determined to keep the Dairy in English.

Yun believes the Korean vernacular *unmun* is not yet fully developed enough to describe the contemporary situation because it does not have the equivalent vocabulary of English language.¹³ The vernacular script's inability to express modernity ("what I want to say") explains the bilingual project of *The Independent* that encourages *unmun* in terms of the local supplement of English. Both *The Independent* and *Yun Ch'ih'o's Diary* aim to construct the maximum transfer of knowledge that does not lose its original meaning in the process and reduce the gap between the global and local inequality of cultural capital for the public.

The case suggests a different way to perceive the development of a national language that has been often connected solely to nation-building. Rebecca Karl rightly points out in *Staging the World* that the formation of nationalism in Asian places must be seen as "part of the general global problematic in which it was embedded" or "as a part of a global historical problematic" within the "newly articulated relationships between global and national space" (5, 7). Here she rejects both the perspective of considering marginal nationalism as a duplication of western nationalism, and the perspective of seeing it as completely different from the western model, but

¹³ Yun also wrote his motivation for English writing in his last diary written in Korean vernacular on the same day he started to write in English. "From today, I decided to write in English. There are several reasons for this. First, it is hard to describe the current events in detail in our language. Second, such difficulty in writing causes me to skip important events and makes the diary a mere record of date and weather. Third, it does not require to change ink and pen. Fourth, it improves my English" (Dec. 7, 1889).

focuses on the linkage between the two. Karl's argument explains well the hidden linkage between Korean vernacular and English writing in *The Independent* that could seem like a contradictory desire on surface and shows how the transnational passion contributes to the emergence of national consciousness in colonial Korea.

2.3 AMERICAN MISSIONARIES, AMERICAN ENGLISH

In this section, I will show that American missionaries were the major supporters of *unmun* through their translation work, and missionaries' close connection to the radical reformers of *The Independent*—many of them were educated in America with the help of missionaries—influenced the development of the relationship between *unmun* and English. I argue that Korean Englishes had a direct relation to America in terms of their social, political, and cultural conditions of linguistic practice and educational agencies rather than to the British empire. In doing so, I shed light on the presence of the U.S. both as a competitor and collaborator of global British imperialism; the U.S. had established the route of transpacific circulation and gradually emerged as a new global power during the Japanese colonial period. Therefore, the case of *unmun* and Korean Englishes allows us to understand the international career of English beyond the colonial practice of the British empire.

The privileging of English over other European foreign languages in East Asia continued beyond the nineteenth century. British diplomat George Curzon in *Problems of the Far East: Japan, Korea, China* observed this tendency in his report to the mother nation:

Above all will this task [of Great Britain in the Far East] be facilitated by the increasing diffusion of the English tongue? Already spoken in every store from Yokohama to

Rangoon; already taught in the military and naval colleges of China, and in the school of Japan and of Siam; already employed on the telegraphic services of Japan, China, and Korea, and stamped upon the silver coins that issue from the mints of Osaka and Canton; already used by Chinamen themselves as a means of communication between subjects from different provinces of their mighty Empire—[English] is destined with absolute certainty to be the language of the Far East. Its sounds will go out into all lands, and its words unto the ends of the world. (Curzon 234)

Curzon's passionate speech describes the historical moment in which English began to establish local currency in East Asia, not only as a means of communication with the West, but also as a catalyst of modern nation building. English was systematically critical to various areas of the modernizing project, such as commerce, the military, schooling, technology, and administrative affairs. However, when Curzon declared that English was destined to be the language of the Far East, the patriotic aspirations for his mother tongue failed to become wholly true. English became the language of the Far East, but not the only language of the Far East. More importantly, it was not the work of Great Britain at least in Korea that made English a global language.

Even though English was gradually becoming the global language through the expansion of British colonies, global commercial trade, and telegraphic communication in the rest of the world, it was only in the late nineteenth century that it solidified its status as *the* global language in Korea. Until then, French, another global/imperial language through its Francophone colonies, had rivaled English in the local places, and French missionaries were the first foreign missionaries to arrive in Korea. For example, while other European countries had used English for diplomatic negotiations with Korea, France had insisted on using its own language to compose a treaty with Korea in 1886 (Yŏngch'ŏl Kim 32-34). In this vein, Ambassador Francois

Margot, in a report to the French government, expressed his concern about the rapid spread of the English language in Korea. He attributed it to American Presbyterian Churches' aggressive promotion of English education. Many young Korean students, he suggested, were willing to study English to get a better job or higher position in the government. As a result, he advised that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Alliance Française should pay more serious attention to French-language education for Korean youth and should found a French language school (Yŏngch'ŏl Kim 53).¹⁴ As such English and a few other languages were competing against each other for hegemony in late nineteenth-century Korea.

In 1882, “A Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce and Navigation” forged between the United States and the Korean government led to an important opportunity that enabled American missionaries to be the major force in Korea. It was the first international treaty between Korea and a Western country, emphasizing “perpetual peace and friendship” between the two countries (Article 1). The Korean government under the treaty began to support various missionary projects opening the door for more advanced civilization and knowledge. This inspired many American Methodist missionaries in Japan and China to consider Korea as a new mission field. As a result, from 1884 to 1910, 393 of the 449 foreign missionaries who resided in Korea were from America (Yŏngch'ŏl Kim 114).

American missionaries invested heavily in print culture in order to promote the idea of Christianity and local education. They immediately began to establish schools, translated the

¹⁴ François Margot's argument was not completely unrealistic, given that French missionaries came to Korea first in 1836—30 years earlier than Anglo missionaries. However, the timing never worked out for the French. In the 1830s, the Korean government saw foreign influences including Christianity as a threat to Confucianism, the political and moral principle in Korea for centuries. Korea maintained a closed-door policy towards foreign countries and rejected any commercial trade and legal entrance of foreigners when French missionaries came, and French missionaries were not able to perform their services in public. In 1864, three French missionaries and 10,000 Korean Catholics were captured and killed by the Korean government. As a result, the French government stopped dispatching missionaries to Korea and those missionaries in Korea had to keep their presence secret. See Ryu's study of early history of Christianity in Korea.

Bible in collaboration with natives, and printed books to teach Koreans about Christianity. This was accomplished with printing machines that missionaries brought into Korea. English was mostly used and taught by Americans as a part of their missionary work.

The linkage between *unmun* and English becomes apparent when one examines the writings of Western missionaries. The first Western book translated into Korean was the Bible which was translated by British missionary John Ross in 1876. Notably, this first Korean Bible, as well as other English textbooks, were translated into *unmun*, even though multiple Chinese editions of the Bible were already available. Choosing *unmun* as the language of translation over Chinese characters shows how the Confucian hierarchy was eroded in the most marginal and underprivileged place. The *unmun* translation suggested an alternative channel for new knowledge from the West. Lower-class people and women were the main readers of the *unmun* Bible, which promotes Christianity as the religion of equality. To some intellectuals who later became radical reformers, the *unmun* Bible also signified the potential of *unmun*. The translation of the Bible into *unmun* was a key turning point in the new script's evolution; the native vernacular gained cultural authority as a language of translation and modernity in collaboration with English. For instance, Canadian Presbyterian missionary James Gale—a Bible translator and writer of the Korean-English dictionary—writes in *Korea in Transition* (1909):

We think we see a providence in the matter of Korea's written and spoken language. . . . Korea's native script [*unmun*] is surely the simplest language in the world. Invented in 1445 A.D. it has come quietly down the dusty ages, waiting for, who knew what? Never used, it was looked on with contempt as being so easy. Why, yes, even women could learn it in a month or little more; of what use could such a cheap script be? By one of those mysterious providences it was made ready and kept waiting for the New Testament

and other Christian literature. This perhaps is the most remarkable providence of all, this language sleeping its long sleep of four hundred years, waiting till the hour should strike on the clock, that it might rise and tell of all Christ's wondrous words. (138)

Gale particularly favors *unmun* over the other two existing scripts, pure Chinese and the mixed script. In the preceding passage, he explains the challenge which Chinese logograms present to translators of the Bible, specifically the number of characters one must memorize. He also points out syntactic challenges between English and Chinese. He compares his Chinese translation of the Bible, "For-father-thing-do-one-son-also-do-father-love-son-so-already-everything-do-one-make-know" to his Korean translation, "For the thing the Father does, the Son does also; the Father loves the Son, and shows him all he does" and contrasts "labored and shadowy" Chinese picture writing to "simple and neat" *unmun* (136). The simplicity of *unmun* is interpreted as a providence of God, and its neglected status as its destiny to show how God's will works. The contempt of the upper class towards the "dirty language" only excites him more because it proves that God's love is always with the "humble thing of life" (139). For him, the neglected status of *unmun* suggests a revelation from God and indicates the revival of Christianity in the forgotten land where "the New Testament should be sold by millions of portions and whole copies" (139). Most Anglo missionaries in Korea shared Gale's preference for *unmun* due to its similarity to phonologically written English. They rarely used Chinese characters or mixed script in the records of their sermons or letters to Koreans.

Such a tendency strongly influenced decisions about which writing system should be taught in schools in the late nineteenth century Korea, because those missionaries themselves were the teachers and private tutors at Korean schools. Rev. H. B. Hulbert, the Dean of the Normal College in Seoul, stressed the importance of textbooks in *unmun* and favored teachers

who could teach these books as “the youth of Korea [should] be taught these texts in the vulgar tongue and not through the medium of the Chinese” (“Editorial Notes” June 12, 1897, 2). His remarks suggest that he did not see *unmun*’s connection to patriotic young Koreans but saw it as a pre-condition for the embracing of rapid-flow Western learning.

In addition to their investment in print culture and *unmun* translation, American missionaries helped the Korean elite pursue education at American universities. This was possible because the American universities, along with YMCA and YWCA, were the financial and spiritual patronage of American missionary works abroad as the Foreign Missionary Movement since 1900, and the college students were the main resources of missionary recruiting for their civilizing project.¹⁵ Therefore not only did they establish missionary schools in foreign countries, they also selected a few bright and devoted young natives and sent them to American universities. American universities were the cradle for fostering radical reformers and elites in Korea. During that time, American universities gradually admitted Asian students, beginning with Yung Wing, the first Chinese student to graduate from Yale College in 1854. Acting upon the Chinese Educational Mission, China sent a group of 120 Chinese students to the United States. Japan followed the trend, sending students abroad to the West.¹⁶ In the case of Korea, the young and ambitious accomplices of the failed 1884 Gabsin coup d’état, including *Independent* editors Jaepil Seo and Yun Ch’iho, could save their lives through the help of American missionaries who introduced them to American universities. It was not until 1895, when the

¹⁵ American universities were involved in the Foreign Missionary Movement as the dramatic growth of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (SVM) demonstrates. Over 13,000 young American college graduates sailed abroad as missionaries by the late 1920s Americans consisted about 40% of Christian missionaries worldwide. See Daniel H. Bays’ *The Foreign Missionary Enterprise at Home: Explorations in North American Cultural History* (2003).

¹⁶ For the studies about early Chinese students in America, see Wing’s *My Life in China and America* (1909) and Ning’s *Chinese Students Encounter America* (2002).

Gabo Reformation granted them amnesty, that they could return home in glory as the strongest advocates of the English language and American exceptionalism.

The Independent thus adopted positive images of America distinguished from other European imperial countries and paid attention to America's responsibility to build the transpacific exchange. For example, the first issue in the Korean edition and the second issue in the English edition of *The Independent* deal with the Cuba's independence movement against Spanish government and America's intervention in 1896 ("Oeguktongsin" ["Foreign Relations"] Apr. 7, 1896, 2: "Editorial" Apr. 9, 1896, 4). The editorial describes, "Americans sympathize with the Cuban insurgents," because "the love of fair play may [be] said to be the one thing that binds the Anglo-Saxon races together" in contrast to "the oppressiveness of [Spanish] rule" ("Editorial" Apr. 9, 1896, 4). Another example is the editorial about the Chinese Exclusion Act in the U.S. and Chinese laborers in Korea, published both in Korean and English editions in 1896. As noted above, the anti-Chinese sentiment exhibited in *The Independent* was grounded by Korea's former status as a semi-colony of the Middle Kingdom, and it rendered *The Independent* a decolonizing project from Chinese colonial legacies. In this context, the editorial boards welcomed the Chinese Exclusion Act prohibiting all immigration of Chinese laborers to America, without predicting the future that the law would be expanded to all other Asian immigration in 1926. The editorial writes:

It was a happy day for Korea when the Chinese merchants and coolies decided that things were getting too hot for them here and "folded their tents like the Arabs and as silently stole away." It is safe to say that Korea never missed them; that neither the commercial, social nor moral interests of the country suffered a bit because of their departure. . . . We are sorry to see a tendency on the part of the Chinese to come in here for their coming

will have the same influence only in less degree, that it did in America. (“Editorial” May 21, 1896, 4)

The passage perfectly mimics the racist discourses and anti-Chinese writings that flourished in American magazines and newspapers in the turn of the century to justify the deportation of Chinese “coolies” to protect their own workers. The rest of the passage reproduces the common prejudice and bias imposed on the Chinese, such as mocking the clothes (“He will wear clothes. . . which no Korean would wear even though he had to go naked”), eating habits (“He will eat anything that any creature will eat and grow fat on absolute garbage”), and the notorious habit of opium. The editorial concludes that the exclusion seemed predicted as “the result of a [Chinese] lapse toward barbarity rather than an evolution toward enlightenment.” The perplexing truth behind the scenes is that the anti-Chinese racist rhetoric of the passage was produced within the context of Korean decolonization, in mocking the Chinese kingdom. The exceptional status of America in the minds of Korean intellectuals enables the appropriation of the racist discourse as their own resource, because *The Independent* was strictly opposed to all sorts of colonial governance, as “this [Independent] arch means independence not from China alone but from Japan from Russia and from all European powers” (“Editorial” June 20, 1896, 4). The transpacific circulation of anti-Chinese discourse in *The Independent* implies that the postcolonial status of Korea was far from easy to define, where a global colonial voice resonates with a local postcolonial action across the borders in relation to even more problematic America.

American missionaries’ preference of *unmun* in their translations contributed to legitimizing the use of *unmun* as an efficient and authoritative medium, and such a tendency cooperated well with the bilateral publication policy of *The Independent*. In addition, the missionaries played an important role in bridging the local intellectuals and the American

educational institutions that created the transpacific route that circulated a variety of social and cultural discourses.

2.4 SCHOOLING IN MODERNITY: *THE INDEPENDENT* AND THE ROYAL ENGLISH SCHOOL

The radical reformers of *The Independent* believed that the enlightenment of Korean subjects could be achieved through the influx of new knowledge from the West. Modern schools, in this sense, were the symbol of transplanting Western education into Korea, as well as an experimental lab where English and *unmun* were tested for the project of enlightenment and practice of modernity. *The Independent*'s articles on schools meticulously printed the details of the success of such experiments. Diverse school events, such as entrance ceremonies, summer vacation, graduation, examinations, and even school picnics, were attentively described in the paper. Even though various missionary schools and foreign language schools occasionally appeared in the paper, the most frequently featured one in both English and Korean editions was the Royal English School. Some Anglo missionary schools, including Pai Chai School and Ehwa Girl's School, were mentioned, but *The Independent* preferred the Royal English School to other Anglophone educational institutions because the school received authorization from King Gojong in 1894 as a government school and therefore was the local institution to educate their own talents. The Royal English School also received better treatment, such as three times more funding from the government than any other foreign language school and was the most popular among applicants. In this sense, the Royal English School was the suitable case for *The Independent* for staging a visible example of modernity and the civilizing project for the public,

so that it facilitated a double education where the public could educate themselves through the articles describing the education of students at the Royal English School.

The editorial board of *The Independent* was keenly aware of the importance of visual culture in the selling of new knowledge in line with their philosophy. An editorial argues that the best way to reach the masses is through material channels which lead them directly to “their comfort and convenience” for “the price of a yard of cloth or a pound of tobacco means more to [people] than the emancipation of a nation” (“Editorial” Aug. 4, 1896, 4). Thus *The Independent* actively encouraged consumerism of new products, which indicates its reliance on an implicit understanding of capitalism as an integral part of modernization. The publication’s founders intended to benefit from “the most tangible way to show the superiority of things outside Korea” (“Editorial” Aug. 4, 1896, 4).

The emphasis on the visualization of modernity was also applicable to the two scripts of *The Independent*, as they believed that English and *unmun* were the best written systems for shaping modernity. Koreans in 1896 would have noticed immediately that the newspaper contained something new when they glanced at the *unmun* and English pages of *The Independent*. Regardless of their ability to read the pages, Koreans would have regarded those pages as completely different from what they usually saw in a written form in late nineteenth century Korea, for all other Korean newspapers at the time were written in Chinese characters. The advertisement section on the third page of *The Independent* displayed the distinct visual impact of the two new scripts side by side. For instance, advertisements for international trade companies and local shops selling foreign goods and new books were presented with descriptions in both English and Korean. *The Independent* publishing house itself produced items for sale. These included the *unmun* calendar as “a Christmas gift to Korean friends”

(“Advertisement” Dec. 22, 1896, 3), British and American cookbooks (“Advertisement” Feb. 18, 1897, 3), and imported stationaries (“Kwanggo” [“Advertisement”] Nov. 24, 1899, 4). They also printed name cards both in English and Korean, targeting Korean diplomats, interpreters, and students of the Royal Foreign Language Schools (“Kwanggo” [“Advertisement”] July. 8, 1899, 4).

This emphasis on the visual aspect explains why articles about the Royal English School focused on the physical activities or visual appearance of students as a bodily practice of everyday modernity. This is because English as phonetic sign is hard to be transferred into images in the newspaper. An editorial about the Government Schools for Foreign Language contains meticulous reports of the drill where students of English Royal School marched in front of guests, carrying rifles in their new khaki uniforms with red strips and facings (“The Government Schools for Foreign Languages” June 26, 1897). The vignette also includes the responses of the native and foreign spectators and long passages about a medal award ceremony designed to encourage “the spirit of loyalty and patriotism” among young students (“The Government Schools for Foreign Languages” June 26, 1897, 4). The editorial delineates an example of the bodily practice of modernity as represented by students of the Royal English School. It is a way of materializing English by attuning one’s body as a container of Western modernity. Such attunement is based on the assumption that the more they act like the Westerners, the purer civilization they can attain. A news brief on May 12, 1896 announced the request of the students of the Royal School for a school uniform. It adds a comment that “with Western garments they will also adopt some of the more useful Western ideas” (“Brief Notice” May 12, 1896, 4). The bodily practices of the students thus embodied the cultural and social implication of English and exhibited the material value of the Western language to the public.

English language competencies of these students, according to the newspaper's editors, should be developed with the goal of creating "a full set of educational works translated into the Korean" in various areas, such as general history, geography, and arithmetic ("Editorial" May 16, 1896, 4). The knowledge of *unmun* was required to speed up the translation and increase accuracy. Thus articles about the Royal English School often promoted the national project of translating texts from English to Korean.

The debate between Kisun Sin, the Minister of Education, and *The Independent* over the Royal English School in 1896 centered on the necessity of *unmun* in English education. On June 4, 1896, *The Independent* printed a series of editorials in which the Minister of Education determinedly criticized all attempts at foreign innovation in local schools. The writers saw the seriousness of the topic and printed serials of refutations in every June issue, pointing out the flaws of the Minister's arguments. The Minister's claim contained two important recommendations concerning the Royal English School: the students of the Government Foreign Language School should be prohibited from wearing foreign clothes—i.e., school uniform—and the use of *unmun* in class should likewise be forbidden ("Brief Notice" June 4, 1896, 4). The editorials responded that "the Minister is wrong; thoroughly, radically wrong, wrong from beginning to end" ("Editorial" June 11, 1896, 4).

Yet it is hasty to dismiss the Minister of Education's claim simply as "the best joke of the season" ("Editorial" June 6, 1896, 4), because his argument is worth serious consideration. First of all, the Minister did not deny the need for foreign language education in Korea; he problematized the way it was taught in Korea, namely, via *unmun*. He expressed his concern at the increasing use of *unmun*—"the act of a beast"—as a medium for education, replacing the traditional authority of the Chinese language in education ("Editorial" June 6, 1896, 4). He

issued an order for the mandatory use of *Sa Min Pil Chi*, a text written in Chinese in place of the history and geography written in Korean in the Government Foreign Language Schools (“Brief Notice” June 23, 1896, 4). He continued his decisive policy by making it mandatory for foreign-language teachers, often Western missionaries, to be accompanied by Korean teachers in class. His coercive actions provoked indignant responses among radical reformers in Korea, as one can see in reader responses of *The Independent*. These letters not only express readers’ anger and concern about the future of Korean education, but also reflect on the Minister of Education’s outrageous behaviors. One letter to the editor from a man who identifies himself as Choi Kak conveys an incident wherein the Minister of Education “tries to humiliate the students of French for not knowing Chinese” by ordering the students to recite old Chinese classics to him (“Brief Notice” June 18, 1896, 4).

The controversy over the Royal English School indicates that *unmun* was gradually accumulating authority as a script for foreign language translation, especially the translation of English in 1890s. The Minister of Education was looking for ways to maintain the privilege of Classical Chinese as a mediatory language. At the same time, *The Independent* insisted on establishing a direct linkage between the West and Korea as an independent nation through the use of English and *unmun*. Hence it was a debate over the method of channeling modernity in the local. The students of the Royal English School, in this context, demonstrate the execution of modernity through their bodily practice and displays the tangible modernity in the articles of *The Independent*.

2.5 THE DEMISE OF *THE INDEPENDENT* AND THE RISE OF THE JAPANESE EMPIRE

The Independent demonstrates how English established its exceptional status as a language of modernity in Korea around the end of the nineteenth century. One of the distinctive roles of English was that it interrupted the local dissemination of modernity by galvanizing language reformers into the use of the vernacular script. The English-*unmun* nexus in *The Independent* denotes the new developments of power dynamics in East Asia. The abandonment of classic Chinese characters implies that Koreans no longer depended on the Chinese mediation when importing the new knowledge into their country. The vernacular script gradually attained the new status of the national script, facilitating the taste for English as an international language. The radical reformers of *The Independent* in 1890s constantly insisted on the absolute sovereignty of Korea as an independent country and, at the same time, found a way of anti-colonial practice in their bilingual publication. These reformers believed that independence could only be achieved through a direct and independent channel to the West. In this sense, *The Independent* was a globalizing project of creating the uniformity between the local script and the global language. English served as a conjuncture where national consciousness converged with global consciousness, which shows that national histories and area studies about /of the modernization of Korea need to take fuller account of changes occurring in the wider world.

Despite its ambitious project of bilateral publication, *The Independent* stopped publishing in 1899 after four years of struggling. The editorial board confronted real problems in their dream of enlightening Koreans both in English and *unmun*. On the one hand, many Korean intellectuals realized that they were more comfortable using Chinese characters than learning the new script. In fact, many Korean newspapers after the termination of *The Independent* went back

to the mixed script of Chinese characters/vernacular Korean.¹⁷ On the other hand, there were only a handful of Koreans and Westerners who were fluent in English enough to write and read English newspapers. During the turn of the century, Anglophone print culture starting with *The Independent* exclusively separated from Korean editions with the goal of targeting foreigners, or was produced by Western missionaries and journalists, such as Ernest Thomas Bethell of the *Korean Daily* or Henry Gerhard Appenzeller of the *Korean Repository*.

After annexation by Japan in 1910, the previous independent local channels were quickly absorbed into the Japanese channels that successfully transformed Japan into a global semi-center in East Asia. Instead of Anglophone print culture, *indirect translation* (translating Western texts from Japanese translations) became a dominant form of accepting Western civilization in the early Japanese colonial period. The disappearance of Anglophone print culture from Korea implies that Koreans had to relinquish English as a method of participating directly in international affairs and took up the indirect channels Japan allowed. However, this does not mean that Korean intellectuals gave up the desire and attempt for the independent agency, or succumbed to the passive reception of the colonial modernity via Japan. Rather Korean intellectuals' imagination of English and English literature constantly negated the Japanese colonial influence within the hierarchy between the countries during the colonial period.

The Independent—one of the periodicals published during the transitional period—attests to the multi-faceted nature of linguistic modernization in Korea, more specifically, the hidden

¹⁷ Even the articles insisting on the importance of *unmun* were written in either the mixed system or pure Chinese characters. It was only in the 1990s that Korea was able to completely eliminate all the Chinese characters from written Korean text as well as excluding the learning of Chinese characters from the official school curriculum. Well into the 1980s, Chinese characters often appeared in newspapers headlines or academic papers, which shows that the Chinese script was still part of learned language in Korea. In other words, it took one hundred years for Koreans to realize what the radical reformers of the late nineteenth century envisioned—*unmun* as the national script.

link between English and the vernacular script in the evolution of the modern national language in Korea. Even though the newspaper as well as the ambition of the language reformers were short-lived due to the Japanese annexation in 1910, it left indelible legacies for the anti-colonial implications of English language that disturbed the Japanese colonial rule in following decades.

3.0 GLOBAL CIRCULATION, REGIONAL TRANSLATIONS, AND LOCAL READERS: *DIAVOLA, OR THE WOMAN'S BATTLE, SUTEOBUNE, AND CHŎNGPUWŎN*

In 1914, right after World War I broke out, Korean newspaper *Maeil sinbo* [the Korean daily news] began to serialize *Chŏngpuwŏn* [the resentment of a virtuous wife] on their front page. *Chŏngpuwŏn* was Yi Sanghyŏp's translation of British author Mary Braddon's *Diavola, or, the Woman's Battle* which was serialized in the British magazine *London Journal* from 1866 to 1867 with great popularity. In an advertisement for *Chŏngpuwŏn*, the editor mentioned that the outbreak of World War I was an important reason for translating the British novel, stating that "Chŏngpuwŏn is originally a Western novel. The author is from England, the country now wages war against Germany" (Oct. 22, 1914). According to the advertisement, the original had been "the most popular book within a hundred years and translated into numerous languages around the world" (Oct. 22, 1914). The editor thus claimed that reading *Chŏngpuwŏn* could provide Koreans with an opportunity to share in knowledge of the West and a sense of belonging within the global reading public, even from a marginal place. In addition, the editor proudly emphasized the two local auxiliary practices required to translate the special advantage of a Western novel. The two practices were a local script ("colorful and easy language") and a visual image ("vivid and realistic illustrations like real photo") provided by *Maeil sinbo*. Here the editor confidently believes in the local newspaper's competence for translating the essence of the Western book.

The elaborated description of the process indicates how much the editorial board of *Maeil sinbo* considered this “new experiment that was never seen among us” an important project (Oct. 22 1914).

The editor, however, avoided mentioning that *Chǒngpuwǒn* was in fact the translation of a Japanese translation *Suteobune* [an abandoned little boat] that had significantly changed Mary Braddon’s original. The name of the Japanese translator, Kuroiwa Ruikō, never appeared in the advertisement or the rest of serialization. The hidden presence of the Japanese translation changes the meaning of this new experiment to build a bridge between a global/western reading public and Korean readers, because *Chǒngpuwǒn* was not a direct translation of the Western text, but a translation of Japanese understanding of the Western novel.

This chronology of *Chǒngpuwǒn* reflects the historical situation of Korea in the 1910s. Since the official annexation of Korea in 1910, Japan had begun the first decade of colonial rule, a period known as Military-Police Reign Era from 1910 to 1919. The era was characterized by massive violence, frequently involving deaths of civilians, and enforcement of strong controlling policy on the colony. As a part of forceful colonial policies, Japan began to shut down existing Korean channels to the West, such as English education, by implanting their own circulation system of global knowledge and colonial policies into the colony. Koreans under this circumstance, were actively looking for alternative ways to access the Western knowledge either via Japan, such as the re-appropriation of Japanese translations of western books, or via non-Japanese groups, such as education within American missionary schools.¹⁸

¹⁸ Kang Naehee researched how English education in colonial Korea was differentiated based on Japanese colonial policies over time. The changing colonial English education thus provoked diverse local reactions among Koreans during the colonial period. In the early colonial period (1910-1919), the Japanese colonial government attempted to eliminate or significantly reduce English language education from public schools and restricted the portion of English language in curriculum in private schools. See Kang’s “Sikminji sidae



Figure 3: Page about international politics during World War 2 in *Maeil sinbo*

Chǒngpuwǒn, as an indirect translation of Western knowledge via the Japanese translation, manifests the increasing asymmetrical relation between the Japanese empire and the colony, in that the local newspaper company had to rely on the Japanese translation as an available resource for Western knowledge. The term *indirect translation*, (also used as *relay translation* or *intermediate translation*), means “the translation of a translated text into a third language” (Andre 230).¹⁹ The term *indirect translation* thus emphasizes the mediatory practice of the middle-text between the original and the translation of a translated text.²⁰ I argue that

yǒngǒkyoyukgwa yǒngǒūi sahoejǒk wisang” [“English Education and Its Social Impact in Colonial Korea”] (2005).

¹⁹ Scholars have suggested various definitions of *indirect translation*. For example, while some authors (e.g., Landers and St. André) consider that indirect translation should involve at least three different languages, others do not consider it an absolute condition (e.g., Gambier and Toury), thus see intra-lingual translations as indirect translation. In addition, *indirect translation* is sometimes considered a subset of *retranslation*. yet retranslation refers to a translation of an already translated text into the same language (Gambier 43).

²⁰ Indirect translation increases the chance for a text to be circulated among wider readership, and often times English translation plays the role of middle text to connect a non-English original and a non-English translation because of its global mediatory role (Andre 230).

indirect translation as a method of distributing literary products often reveals a colonial asymmetric power relationship. It is apt to happen when the target culture does not have enough access to the original for some reason, such as a lack of linguistic competency or economic power, particularly in a place like a colony. A translator of the target culture thus chooses to borrow from the already translated text that is linguistically and culturally close to him, because it is a cheaper and more feasible option than translating an unavailable original.

In early 1910s, Western books were an expensive and rare item that could hardly be found in Korea. There were few Korean translators who were fluent enough to translate from the original, because of the lack of higher educational institutions in the colony. A few students in the 1910s attended Japanese higher educational institutions in Japan, yet they also had to receive Western learning through Japanese language and conceptual frames.²¹ In this context, indirect translation, as it existed previously, became a dominant form of Western literary distribution in early colonial Korea, as one can see in the case of *Chǒngpuwǒn*. This suggests that many Korean intellectuals, under the colonial regime, chose to/were forced to rely on Japanese mediatory practices in order to share in the cultural capital of Western knowledge. This paradoxically increased the colonial influence and authority of colonial education in Korea. The tendency continued throughout the Japanese colonial period, which makes Koreans' reception of Western modernity complicated.

The editor's erasing the trace of Japanese mediation in the Korean translation therefore could be read as a resisting move of a colonial intellectual, yearning for a direct channel to the

²¹ It would be wrong to assume that an alternative route for translating Western literature vis Japan did not exist in colonial Korea. Even though indirect translation was a prolific and dominant method, American missionaries were also important as educators and providers of Western knowledge and language in Korea. Not only did they bring books from their homeland, they also taught English literature and language to Korean students.

West but with limited resource. *Chǒngpuwǒn*, despite its limitations, provided Koreans with pride that they could also enjoy the undamaged superior knowledge of the West as well as the hope of overcoming their colonial status. The rest of this chapter will investigate three aspects of *Chǒngpuwǒn*: the global circulation, the regional translations, and the local reader responses. It aims to show how the English fiction interrupted the geopolitical conflict between Japan and Korea during the early colonial period.

3.1 THE GLOBAL CIRCULATION: FROM *DIAVOLA, OR THE WOMAN'S BATTLE* TO *CHǒNGPUWŎN*

To trace the circulation history of *Chǒngpuwǒn* is a challenging task, because Mary Braddon's original text had been constantly reinvented through a variety of translations, adaptations, editions, and reprints in many locations and languages over the years. In the secondary texts, the exact source was often not mentioned due to their copyright infringement or the lack of acknowledging international copyright, which makes the investigation even harder. At the same time, the wide range of texts manifests the emergence of a new global system that gradually extended to marginal locations, such as East Asia, that had been excluded or only loosely included in the British-French world literary system before the late nineteenth century. *Chǒngpuwǒn* then illuminates the reorganization of hierarchy between locations and sheds light on the emerging semi-peripheries as smaller-scale distributors of Western modernity.

It is a common assumption that European literature, particularly British and French literature, dominated the world literary system in the late nineteenth century. However, it is still not clear how such dominance was practiced on the local and regional level. To this end, I trace

the circular history of *Chǒngpuwǒn* in reverse order, in order to investigate unexplored mediatory practices and the role of semi-peripheries in the global circulation. In doing so, the unevenness of different peripheral locations becomes more apparent beyond the dichotomy between the center and the margin. Because of the lack of cultural capital and resources, translations within marginal places are the last destination of the original text whose form and contents are significantly changed over the process. Yet such vulnerability and distance make secondary, derivative texts into important indicators of global circulation, to see what has been gained and lost during the long travel route.

The circulation history of *Chǒngpuwǒn* diverges on three different circular routes of literary production: inter-Asia (Korea-Japan), transpacific (Japan-America), and transatlantic (America-England) routes. The list of diverse versions of Mary Braddon's *Diavola* that are needed to explain the circulation of *Chǒngpuwǒn* is as following:

Year	Media	Title	Publisher
1866-67	British serialization	<i>Diavola, or, the Woman's Battle</i>	<i>London Journal</i>
1867	American serialization	<i>Nobody's Daughter; or the Ballad-singer of Wapping</i>	<i>New York Sunday Mercury</i>
1868?	British triplet-decker edition	<i>Run to Earth</i>	London: Simpkin, et. al & Co. Ltd
1868?	British triplet-decker edition	<i>Run to Earth</i>	London: Ward, Lock, and Tyler
1869	German copyright edition	<i>Run to Earth: A Novel</i>	Leipzig: Bernard Tauchnitz
1885	American dime novel edition	<i>Diavola; or Nobody's Daughter</i>	New York, Munro
1894-95	Japanese serialization	<i>Suteobune</i>	<i>Yorozu chōhō</i>
1914-15	Korean serialization	<i>Chǒngpuwǒn</i>	<i>Maeil sinbo</i>

Table 1: Multiple versions of *Diavola, or, the Woman's Battle* from 1866 to 1915

3.1.1 Inter-Asia Route between Japan and Korea

Yi Sanghyŏp's *Chŏngpuwŏn* is a translation of Kuroiwa Ruikō's *Suteobune*, even though Yi never mentioned the existence of the Japanese translation. There are several pieces of evidence to support this claim. For instance, *Chŏngpuwŏn* was published daily over 154 installments in *Maeil sinbo* from Oct. 29, 1914 to May 19, 1915. *Suteobune* was published over 155 installments in Kuroiwa's daily newspaper *Yorozu chōhō* from Oct. 25, 1894 to July 4, 1896. *Chŏngpuwŏn* follows the almost same number of installments as *Suteobune*. By contrast, *Diavola, or the Woman's Battle* was weekly published in over 90 installments in *London Journal* from Oct. 27, 1866 to July 20, 1867. The American serialization version, *Nobody's Daughter: or the Ballad singer of Wrapping*, was also published weekly in 90 installments in *New York Sunday Mercury* similar to its British original.

Kuroiwa Ruikō, as a prolific translator and journalist, had a unique method of translating Western books. Generally, his translations were close to adaptations, that modify the plot and characters freely. He explained his translation method in saying that once he finished reading and memorizing the book, he would start translating freely next day, based on his recollections of the story without looking at the original book (Konosu 61). Such a method makes it harder to trace the exact source of his translation, because he loosely followed the original plot. His unique style reflected his concern for the contemporary Japanese readers who were not familiar to Western narratives and cultural references.

Yi Sanghyŏp was also a translator and journalist, like Kuroiwa. It seems that Yi read *Suteobune* during his time studying in Japan and was fascinated by the story. After he came back to Korea, Yi began to work as a reporter for *Maeil sinbo* and translated *Chŏngpuwŏn* for serialization in the paper, based on Kuroiwa's version. The serialization of *Chŏngpuwŏ* enjoyed

great popularity and ardent responses from Korean readers, and Yi translated and serialized another Western novel, *Haewangsŏng* [The Castle of King of a Sea] in *Maeil sinbo*, again through the Kuroiwa's translation of Alexandre Dumas's *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo* (1845).

3.1.2 Transpacific Route between Japan and America

Because of his free-translation style, it is even harder to determine which edition of *Diavola* Kuroiwa used for his Japanese translation *Suteobune*. This is why many previous studies on *Chŏngpuwŏ* or *Suteobune* assume that Kuroiwa used Mary Braddon's *Diavola, or, the Woman's Battle*, the British serialized version, as his primary resource. Yet based on my comparative research of various editions and textual similarities, I propose that Kuroiwa used the Munro's 1885 American dime novel edition, a part of the Seaside Library series.

There is some textual and material evidence to support my argument. Firstly, it is highly unlikely that the Japanese translator Kuroiwa used British or American periodicals as his main source for translation, given the financial burden and technological difficulty of subscribing to long-running serialized stories from London or New York while in Japan. It is also unlikely that someone, such as his Western friends or teachers, gave Kuroiwa a whole collection of the periodicals, given that magazines are designed for rapid and disposable consumption. Secondly, Kuroiwa did not likely use the British triplet-decker edition, *Run to Earth*, given the expense of the rare edition.²² In addition, several textual details do not align between *Suteobune* and *Run to Earth*. In preparing the serialized *Diavola* for publication as a book, *Run to Earth*, Braddon made

²² It is not clear when the British triplet-decker edition was published. I could find two editions of *Run to Earth* published in London, through a British library catalogue, stating that the both editions were published in 1868. Yet Simpkin's and Ward's editions do not refer to the year of publication. The German copyright edition was published in 1869 under the title *Run to Earth: A Novel*, thus it is possible to assume that both British edition of *Run to Earth* were published in 1868 or 1869.

several noticeable changes to her original version. For example, Braddon changed the ending in *Run to Earth* such that the heroine, Lady Eversleigh (Diavola), reunites with her mother, whereas in *Diavola*, the heroine reunites with her father.²³ The change of the sex of the parent is not reflected in Kuroiwa's translation, meaning that Sonoe (Japanese Diavola) reunites with her father as it is in Braddon's original version. Lastly, the Japanese title *Suteobune* [an abandoned little boat] seems to be closer to the Munro's American title *Diavola, or Nobody's Daughter* rather than the British title *Diavola, or, the Woman's Battle*. Provided that the title "abandoned little boat" represents a pitiable and lonely status of a female protagonist, the "abandoned boat" seems to be associated more closely with "nobody's daughter" rather than "the woman's battle."²⁴ Based on above points, it seems plausible to assume that Kuroiwa used Munro's cheap reprint version for his translation.

The fact that Kuroiwa did not use the British edition, but rather the American edition, is important. It suggests that the U.S. was gradually emerging as an important provider of Western books to Japan and other areas of East Asia in the late nineteenth century. In other words, the transpacific route of exchange had emerged as an alternative route to circulate and consume European books. That Kuroiwa used the cheap American edition implies the characteristics of the emerging transpacific route circulating illegal editions and unpermitted reprints. Book history scholar Graham Law recently claimed that the reason that the U.S. could emerge as the leader of global syndication of Western books can be attributed to its resistance to international copyright in the late nineteenth century ("Japan" 112). For instance, the U.S. Congress' fight against international copyright protection allowed America to become a large-scale importer to other

²³ Braddon's intention to make such a change will be discussed in a later part of the chapter.

²⁴ McArthur also made similar points. See "Names and Perspectives in *Sute-Obune*: Meiji Adaptive Translation of *Diavola*" (2007).

regional literary markets, while France and England claimed the extension of copyright law to include foreign publications. The American Chase Act of 1891 denied all copyrights of foreign authors unless their publications were physically produced within U.S. borders. Inevitably, abundant cheap, unauthorized editions of European fiction were produced by American publishers and distributed around the world (Law, “Japan” 112-13).²⁵

Under this circumstance, Japanese translators including Kuroiwa Ruikō were indebted to American publishers for their cheap reprints. George Munro and his 1877 Seaside Library series, for instance, had great impact on the Japanese literary market in the 1880s. In particular, these translators adopted or rewrote the works of British and American female sensation novelists, such as Mary Braddon, Alice Williamson, and Bertha M. Clay (a.k.a. Charlotte M. Breame).²⁶ It was recently found that Bertha M. Clay’s *Dora Thorne* (1880) was the original source of Ozaki Kōyō’s *Konjiki yacha* (*The Golden Demon*, 1897).²⁷ The text was later translated by Ch’o Ch’unghwan into Korean and serialized in the newspaper under the title *Changhanmong* (*Long and Regretful Dream*, 1913), right before the serialization of *Chōngpuwŏn*. These examples proved that America became an influential distributor of Western books to East Asia at the turn of the century. In addition, the transpacific route not only contributed to the circulation of English books, but also the circulation of unauthorized translations of other European books.

²⁵ Beside the Transpacific circulation, Munro’s cheap editions were widely circulated in many locations, such as Canada, Australia, and even Mexico in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century (Law 114). For more, see Law’s “Japan and the Internationalization of the Serial Fiction Market” (2010).

²⁶ Munro’s Seaside Library series started from publishing English books, such as *Jane Eyre* and *Adam Bede* and eventually moved to publish the works of contemporary sensation novel writers. Each copy was sold for twenty or twenty-five cents. For more details about international circulation of the Seaside Library series, see Raymond Shove’s *Cheap Book Production in the United States, 1870 to 1891* (1937) and Madeleine Stem’s *Publishers for Mass Entertainment in Nineteenth Century America* (1980).

²⁷ Similar to the case of *Suteobune*, to determine the original source of *Konjiki yacha* is challenging. Ozaki Kōyō mentioned that he was inspired by Bertha Clay’s *The White Lily* when he wrote *Konjiki yacha* and adopted the narrative style from the book. Yet the title could not be found in the list of Clay’s publication. Yoko Matsui suggested that the original American source is *Dora Thorne* based on the textual similarities between the two (170-171). See Yoko Matsui’s *Crosscurrents in the Literature of Asia and the West*.

Kuroiwa Ruikō, for example, used *The Count of Monte-Christo* (1885), an unauthorized American translation of Alexandre Dumas' *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo* (1845) in his translation *Gankutsuō* (*King of the Rocks*). Yi Sanghyōp later translated *Gankutsuō* into a Korean version entitled *Haewangseong* (*The Castle of King of a Sea*, 1917). Another example is Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* (1862). The book was translated into Japanese as *Ā Mujō* (*Ah No Mercy!*, 1902) through the American translation of *Les Misérables* (1886), and later into Korean as *Aesa* (*Sad Story*, 1918) by Min Taewon.

The development of the transpacific route was not just for unilateral delivery from the West to the East, but reverse delivery was also possible. The developed transpacific route connecting America and Japan as semi-peripheries, I argue, opened up a new potential market for some East Asian writers to publish their works in America. Thus some local works could find a way to publication in America and enjoyed broader readership through translations. For example, Roka Tokutomi's *Hototogisu* (*A Cuckoo*, 1898), a popular Japanese domestic fiction in the 1890s along with *Suteobune*, was translated and published in America and later England under the title of *Nami-ko: A Realistic Novel* (1903).²⁸ A decade later, *Hototogisu* was published in Korea into two versions at the same year 1912: *Pulyōkwi* (*A Cuckoo*) and *Tukyōnsōng* (*A Song of a Cuckoo*).

²⁸ In the translator's preface, he parallels *Hototogishu* within other European authors as follows: "Hugo, Tolstoi, or Zola, in whose steps, indeed, as he avows in one of his prefaces, Mr. Tokutomi is following. It is for humanity, pure and simple, that he stands, and his object is accomplished in his sympathetic and imaginative treatment of Nami-ko" (vi). Starting from the American edition, *Nami-ko* began to be circulated in many languages including Polish, Portuguese, Spanish, German and Russian.

3.1.3 Transatlantic Route between America and England

Mary Braddon never knew about the popularity of her works in the far East Asian countries. Yet she was keenly aware of the transatlantic circulation of her works, as her sarcastic letter states, “for the present, the reputation of every English writer is at the mercy of any American publisher” (“A Letter from Miss M. E. Braddon” 57). During the nineteenth century, the transpacific market’s demand for sensation novels rapidly grew. This new international publication system manifested the transatlantic intersections between the two literary tradition on both sides of Atlantic. At the same time, it caused the “bifurcated Anglo-American publishing system” wherein British authors produced more literary works, yet American publishers sold more literary texts (Claybaugh 114). The lack of an international copyright law in America until 1891 contributed to the establishment of a new dynamic in the transpacific literary market place. Mary Braddon, as a best-selling writer whose works constantly became a desirable target for American publishers, made a sensation as transatlantic phenomenon. Both the British original *Diavola, or the Woman’s Battle* and the American reprint *Diavola, or Nobody’s Daughter* were simultaneously serialized in 1867 on either side of the Atlantic. The New York Sunday Mercury celebrates the serialization of Braddon’s work in America, stating “Two Worlds have indorsed [sic] Miss E. Braddon as a novelist of transcendent power, the Old World and the New” (qtd. in “The Manufacture of Novels” 221). The Sunday Mercury’s comments, however, infuriated the British readers when they ridiculed British readers as people who “had not soul enough to appreciate Miss. Braddon” (qtd. in “The Manufacture of Novels” 221). In response, the *Athenaeum* published a series of articles to criticize the American publishers’ reprinting of Braddon’s penny-press fiction under new titles in America “to hoax the public for their own private advantage” (“The Manufacture of Novels” 222).

The dispute between Braddon and American publishers developed into an even bigger issue—the so called “The Black Band Scandal”—when another American reprint *What is This Mystery?* was accused of unfair treatment of Braddon’s work. New York publishing house Messrs, Hilton & Co. reprinted *The Black Band* under a different title *What is This Mystery?*.²⁹ John Maxwell, Braddon’s fiancé and publisher, contributed his essay “English Authors in America” to *Athenaeum* where he attacked Messrs, Hilton & Co. as “sharp practitioners” for publishing from Braddon’s advance-sheets without her consent and falsely advertising it as Braddon’s “latest and best” (“English Authors in America” Mar. 18, 1867, 663).³⁰ However, Messrs, Hilton & Co. in their response, claimed that they took Braddon’s work from an English magazine rather than from American advance-sheets, and therefore their reprint is not illegal in the absence of an international copyright. Their letter states that, “we saw fit to reprint, under the title of *What is This Mystery?*, a romance originally published in London as *The Black Band*” (“English Authors in America” Apr. 25, 1867, 663).³¹

Overall, the complicated circular history of *Chǒngpuwǒn* indicates the decentralization and reorganization of the global literary marketplace from the late nineteenth century to the early

²⁹ The case was even more complicated because Braddon officially denied her authorship of the work written under her pseudonym Lady Caroline Lascelles. The dual identity of Braddon provoked more confusion and criticism among British readers, who ridiculed her dual roles between “*The Black Band* in England, and *What is this Mystery?* in America; Miss Braddon in this country, and Lady Caroline Lascelles on the other side of the Atlantic” (“The Manufacture of Novels” 222). However, Braddon could attract a wide range of readers when she wrote using different pen-names for cheap working class serial penny magazines and middlebrow novels for the circulating library. The diversity of readership, and the use of different pen-names, accelerated the proliferation of unauthorized versions of her works in America.

³⁰ Graham Law points out that women writers were more excluded from full membership in the emerging profession of authorship and often had less control over their publication rights. Yet Braddon’s personal and professional partnerships with John Maxwell as her publisher and fiancé, allowed her to negotiate more forcefully than most women writers could (Law *Serializing* 80).

³¹ According to Phegley, Braddon and Maxwell after the scandal sought new ways “to rein in licentious transatlantic publishing practices.” Maxwell formed an alliance with W. F. Tillotson’s Fiction Bureau, which in 1882 began selling the rights to publish the works of several British authors to American newspapers and periodicals (164).

twentieth century. By traversing three local, regional, and global routes, the new inter-Asian route operated simultaneously with the transpacific route. This developed non-European circulations that disturbed the previous hierarchy of the world literary system. The transpacific route demonstrates the emergence of new semi-peripheries, such as America and Japan, as “a calibrating zone that can mediate and ‘translate’ the cultural and commodity economics of each sphere to one another” (Shapiro 37). The route consequently provided an opportunity for those semi-peripheries to gradually emerge as a new global/regional power and potential cores in the twentieth century, expanding their influence on marginal places like Korea.

3.2 IS LOVE TRANSLATABLE? DOMESTICATING A VICTORIAN WIFE IN EAST ASIAN HOUSE

The global circular history of *Chǒngpuwǒn* does not necessarily explain the local reception and popularity of the text. Nor does it explain the textual transformations in the circulation, where some meanings are lost and other meanings are gained. While the idea that translation involves an alteration of the original is hardly new, this section investigates how *Diavola, or Nobody's Daughter* is transferred in the two East Asian translations as a voice of modernity, particularly in the embodiment of new femininity. In other words, this section examines how the two translations, by Kuroiwa and Yi respectively, attempt to alleviate the anxiety of modernity through the domestication of the Western text in their translations.

The popularity of British sensation novels in Japan and Korea at the late nineteenth and early twentieth century can be understood by considering the similarity of social and political situations in Britain and East Asia. Lyn Pykett in *Improper Feminine* writes that the sensation

novel was a response to an abrupt change of gender roles, family, and conceptualization of woman in Victorian society. The sensation novel reveals “the desire to fix the category of the feminine, and the fear that it cannot be fixed, owing to woman’s chameleon nature” (Pykett 71). Thus the typical topics of sensation novel include women’s longing for freedom to work, earning an education, controlling their money and property, and eventually living independent lives. In this context, Pykett sees Victorian sensation novels as a precedent for new women’s fictions in the 1880s.

The proliferation of narratives that represent femininity as the site for tension and change has been commonly discovered during social upheavals over the world. Alys Eve Weinbaum points out that *modern girl* was a global phenomenon in the early twentieth centuries. The representation of a modern girl was used as a literary device for localizing and translating global capitalism and consumerism (iv). Japan and Korea were not exceptions during modernization, and both men and women were required to adjust their traditional gender roles in accordance with the modernist re-organization of domesticity. Femininity became the centric figure of modernity between premodern stereotypes and enlightened ideas. Modernity thus was often identified and visualized within the body of the new woman, used as a measurement of the development of society.

In the early modernization period in East Asia, the notion of the modern girl as a symbol of newness and modernity was largely based on Western references representing cultural products from the West, including books, cosmetics, clothes, and theatrical productions. Translated Western novels utilizing the modern girl image became a primary source for Japanese and Korean readers to learn a new lifestyle and new gender roles in a rapidly changing modern society. Local writers also attempted to emulate the style of Western novels and compete against

their Western counterparts in the market. Meiji writers of domestic fictions commented on the notion of a modern family through their representations of marital, familiar, and romantic relations (Kono 3).³² Early modern Korean writers of domestic fictions, who had to compete with both Western and Japanese domestic fictions, also dealt with the theme of new femininity and gender roles in conflict with traditional values.³³ In these new novels, the protagonists were often reform-minded students including both modern girls and boys.

If the translation alters the original through domestication, it remains a question how Braddon's representation of sensation womanhood is translated in *Suteobune* and *Chŏngpuwŏn*. In most of Braddon's works, femininity is a danger and a threat to patriarchy. As Pykett rightly points out, sensation fiction is a form that is "not only deviant, but also threatening and dangerous" (34). Localizing Braddon's Victorian womanhood, however, shows a complex mixture of contradictory ideologies through the male Asian translators' understanding of Western femininity. To them, the new exemplary female subject should "be modern, but she would also have to display the signs of national tradition and therefore would be essentially different from the 'Western' woman" (Chatterjee 9). Kuroiwa's translating method that largely changes the original plot, and Yi's reinforcement of Kuroiwa's intention, show a certain femininity that they would like to present as a role model under the name of the West. They were willing to appropriate the authority of Western cultural capital, yet refused to adapt it completely.

³² For example, Tokutomi Rōka in *Hototogisu* (1898) presents different models of family that underscored the interplay of gender and class. Shimazaki Tōson's novel *Ie* (*The Family*, 1910-1911) also depicts the slow decline of two provincial families during Meiji era. See Kimberly Kono's *Romance, Family, and Nation in Japanese Colonial Literature* (2010).

³³ For more research on the characteristics of *sin sosŏl* [new novel] in early modern Korea, see Yoon Sun Yang's "Enlightened Daughter, Benighted Mother: Yi Injik's *Tears of Blood* and Early Twentieth Century Korean Domestic Fiction" (2014). Yang argues that the genre embodies the complex ideological conflicts between pre-modern and modern concepts over the issues of marriage, family, and home, that she calls "the characteristic of the protectorate period" (106).

The titles of the translations, for example, illustrate their stance on new feminine figures. Braddon's first serialized title *Diavola: or, the Woman's Battle*, implies a heroine as a fighter or a femme fatale against the male-dominated world. The later published American serialization title *Diavola: or, Nobody's Daughter*, which we can assume Kuroiwa used, does not explicitly denote the fighter image, but still highlights the independent agency of the heroine who does not belong to patriarch rule. That both versions keep the word "Diavola" reveals the threatening characteristic of the heroine. In contrast, Kuroiwa seemed to interpret the implication of "nobody's daughter" as a tragic and lonely status of a female protagonist when he named his translation *Suteobune* [捨小舟] "an abandoned little boat." He defines the heroine's disconnection to her blood line as "abandoned" [捨] and used an image of a drifting boat [舟] to highlight her loss of control in life. The modifier "little" [小] implies her young and soft characteristics that provoke sentimental pity among readers. Yi rather focuses on the traditional and conservative aspect as his title *Chǒngpuwǒn* [貞婦怨] "the resentment of a virtuous wife" indicates Yi emphasizes the marital status of the protagonist [婦] and defines her personality as "virtuous" [貞]. This gives the impression that she is a victim and then guides the judgement of a reader. Yet differing from the passive and weak image of femininity in *Suteobune*, the title of *Chǒngpuwǒn* purports strong and dark femininity full of "resentment" [怨]. Despite the subtle difference between *Suteobune* and *Chǒngpuwǒn*, they share the melodramatic characteristic of the heroine and reduce the threatening elements in the original.

The narrative structure of *Diavola* indicates the modern girl's struggle to define her relationship with pre-modern patriarchal values (old fathers) that either deny her agency or provide her with resources for independence. Then it is possible to read *Diavola* as a story of the anxiety of masculinity that is challenged within the construction of new/modern femininity,

which conveniently suits introducing a new modernity into East Asia. In terms of plot structure, *Diavola* is a story of a heroine's lost identity, represented by her connection to three father figures. Her relationship to each father figure drives the major plot development. The text begins with Honoria (Sonoe in the Japanese version and Chŏnghye in the Korean version) running away from her evil stepfather and wandering on the streets begging for money. Expelled from the patriarchal world, she becomes a street ballad singer. This ironically offers Honoria (Sonoe & Chŏnghye) an opportunity to receive a modern education through a second father figure, a rich and charitable baronet, Sir Eversleigh (Sir Watanabe & Sir Kim). He is attracted to the heroine's voice and willingly offers her a temporary home and music education for her survival, and later, marries her. With the help of the baronet, the girl finds a way to be a financially independent working woman. The last father figure appears at the ending after Honoria is evicted from the baronet's house, being accused falsely of adultery. He is the heroine's biological father, Count Verner (Count Yamaguchi & Count Ch'ŏng), who once lost his daughter via kidnapping and with whom the heroine is eventually reunited.

The transformation of the original text can be found in the very beginning. In the first scene of *Diavola*, where the baronet meets the heroine, the encounter is described in a dark and murky tone:

The moon still shone upon her face, intensifying its deathlike pallor. Never had Sir Oswald Eversleigh gazed upon so phantom-like a countenance; a strange horror thrilled through his veins, but there was an irresistible fascination mingled with that horror. He wanted to know more about this girl; a mystery surrounded her-mystery which he was resolved to penetrate. (25)

A mysterious woman is an unsurprising narrative technique in Gothic fictions and sensation novels used these women to increase tension and maintain the concentration of readers to the end. The impenetrability of Honoria creates anxiety for the baronet that he might lose his control, as the passage hysterically repeats the words “strange,” “irresistible,” and “mystery.”

The unknowability of Honoria that disturbed the baronet, however, diminished in both Kuroiwa and Yi’s translations:

When the moon light shone upon her face, the baronet gently stared at her. He thought truly this is not the one from the world of mortals, such an outstanding beauty. She was an angel from the kingdom of heaven. Her skin color looks fair, almost close to blue, and even her uncombed hair was hanging on her forehead like cloud. The more I looked at her, the more I could not find any hint of worldly color in her. (*Suteobune* 58:

Chōngpuwōn 64)

Rather than representing the heroine as having a “deathlike-pallor,” or being “phantom-like,” or provoking “horror,” East Asian translations create an angel-like young and beautiful girl whose mysterious aura does not threaten anyone. While Sir Eversleigh fails to read/see through Honoria (despite his will to know), Sir Watanabe and Sir Kim observe her shabby appearance. The localizing process of the Western mysterious woman in the translations then is to make her un-mysterious and non-threatening.

Meanwhile, the narrative development in *Diavola* offer some challenge to the male translators’ understanding of new femininity and gender roles. The representation of romantic love and modern marriage were a significant challenge in translating *Diavola*. Both Kuroiwa and Yi had to face the epistemic difficulty of translating the “romantic relationship” that Braddon describes. The characterization of the baronet foreshadows such difficulty. In *Diavola*, Braddon

describes Sir Eversleigh as a pure romantic lover who remains as a bachelor until his fifties because he simply couldn't find the right lady despite his wealth and social rank. The story reveals his tragic but romantic past, that he and his brother had loved the same girl who tragically died. His purity ensures that his marriage to the heroine, a girl "young enough to be his daughter" (38), is predicated on romance rather than social status and wealth. Meanwhile, Kuroiwa and Yi portray the baronet as a more conventional patriarch. They depict the baronet as a widower whose first wife dies during childbirth (48). Rebuilding his family and continuing his lineage thus motivates him to marry the heroine.

To better understand translatability of romance and modern marriage in early twentieth century East Asia, let us compare the scene where the baronet proposes to the heroine:

[*Diavola*]

"Would my love make you happy, Sir Oswald?"

"Unutterably happy."

"Then it is yours."

"You love me—in spite of the difference between our ages?"

"Yes, Sir Oswald, I love you with all my heart and soul," answered Honoria Milford. (37)

[*Suteobune*]

"Would winning my love make your body happy?"

"Happy? Ah, it is ineffably happy."

Sonoe, in the most serene tone, "Then my love is yours. Yes, it is dedicated to you Sir."

"What? Mine? My darling's love, my darling's heart are mine? So you really mean that you give your love to me, who is old enough to be your father?"

“Yes, I love you from the bottom of my heart.” (103)

[*Chǒngpuwǒn*]

“Would winning my love make your body happy?”

“Happy? It is ineffable happiness.”

Chǒnghye, in a very serene tone, “Then my love is yours. My body will be dedicated to you for the rest of my life. So will my entire life.”

“What? Mine? You really will dedicate your body to me, who is old enough to be your father?”

“Yes, I truly dedicate my body.” (108-109)

Diavola portrays Honoria as accepting the baronet’s proposal based on romantic love and evades economic practicalities. In the two East Asian translations, the idea of romantic love is blended with pre-modern notion of marriage. The above passages illustrate the confusing and messy hybridity between the pre-modern and the modern; the West and the East; Western woman and Asian man, by blurring the line between what is translatable and what is not.

Both translations consider the romantic emotion of a female the private property of a man, therefore the value of romantic feeling is transferred to a possession based on the gender hierarchy within a heterosexual couple. The passages still attempt to capture the very notion of modern romantic feeling, as shown in the words, such as “love” [*ai* in Japanese, *sarang* in Korean], “heart” [*kokoro* in Japanese] “my darling” [*kazume* in Japanese]. Yet Kuroiwa and Yi are not able to translate how to execute a romantic feeling into an action other than dedicating the young female body to the old man. The thematic gap, in the representation of romantic love

between the original and the translation, is caused by the lack of local verbiage equivalent to “romantic relationship” as a form of executed romantic love.

The word *ren'ai* in Japanese and *yeonae* in Korean, meaning “romantic relationship” implies the reciprocal relational status between a couple based on romantic feelings. The words were not commonly used during the time of translation. It was the 1900s in Japan and 1920s in Korea when the words *ren'ai/yeonae*, invented to translate Western literature, began to be popularized (Kwŏn 12-14).³⁴ Obviously, prior to the invention of the word, Japanese and Korean people experienced emotions which Westerners might understand as romantic love, but the Western concept of a romantic relationship could not be clearly translated in the early twentieth century. The representation of modern love in Kuroiwa and Yi’s translations illustrates a complex and challenging process of translation, between what is translated and what is left behind.

In addition, the Korean translation above seems much more conservative than the Japanese translation. For example, while Kuroiwa’s translation tends to use more references to modern feelings (love, heart), Yi’s translation is dominated by the image of absolute submission of Chŏnghye’s body to the baronet. Such a difference may well indicate the uneven accumulation of cultural capital—lexicons to translate Western concepts—between the two countries.

It is the middle of the text where Kuroiwa significantly distorts the original plot, which Yi also follows. Kuroiwa saves the life of the baronet, the wealthy aristocratic husband of the

³⁴ Kwŏn Podŭre’s research on modern love points out that it was the novel *Ssangokru* (1912), an adaptation of the Japanese domestic fiction Kikuchi Yuho’s *Onogatsumi* (*My Sin*), that used the word *yeonae* for the first time in Korea. *Changhanmong* (1913), another adaptation of Japanese domestic fiction *konchiki yacha* [the golden devil], used the word for the second time (12). This demonstrates the word *yeonae* was also an indirect translation of the Japanese translation of the Western word.

heroine, who is murdered by poisoning in the original. Kuroiwa's decision to eliminate the baronet's murder is important for two reasons. First, the decision indicates that he rejects the elimination of the patriarchal hegemonic order and thus his ideal notion of modern femininity can only be imagined in cooperation with the existing patriarchy. Second, it indicates the male translator's rejection of the authority of the female author, and re-asserts his role as creator of the story. From this point, the representation of the heroine in each text is significantly differentiated.

In *Diavola*, after the baronet's death, Honoria quickly transforms herself from a sweet romantic lover into a femme fatale revenger. Not only does Honoria gain economic independence, legally inheriting her ceased husband's property according to his will, but she also gives birth to a baby. The daughter, Gertrude, strengthens her position – she is now the mother of an heir. With her economic independence and high social status, Honoria, who was a passive and weak girl running away from her stepfather, decides to take revenge on her husband's killers, Reginald and Carrington. Her previous womanly tenderness is suddenly replaced with “a fatal passion,” which “had taken possession of her soul” (156). Furthermore, she leaves her only child to keep an eye on her enemies, declaring “nothing on earth can alter my resolution [for revenge], not even my love for this child!” (300).³⁵ Hence Braddon seems to relegate the baronet as a secondary character and his death as a simple literary device giving Honoria the cause and means for revenge.

Compared to *Diavola*, the heroine's radical transformation to a transgressive avenger cannot be found in *Suteobune* and *Chŏngpuwŏn*. Instead, when the baronet accuses the heroine of misconduct, she never bothers to prove her innocence but leaves her husband in silence.

³⁵ The dramatic exclamation is one of the characteristics of Braddon's typical heroines in her sensation novels, such as *Lady Audley's Secret* or *Aurora Floyd*. Those dangerous women are often described as “frauds” that “perpetuate the illusion of the angelic woman” but also, at the same time, “subvert the concept of the feminine ideal” (Schipper 13).

(Honorina does not need to leave home, thanks to her husband's convenient death.) Instead, the East Asian translations take a surprising turn that does not appear in the original: Sonoe and Chŏnghye begin their public careers as opera singers, earning a living by themselves. In contrast to Honorina, whose inheritance provides her with sufficient means, Sonoe and Chŏnghye actively utilize the singing skills that they learned in school. Education is what enables them to survive and it becomes a robust ground for their financial and social independence.

How, then, can we understand the translators' sudden creation of the female protagonist as an independent working woman, if the text reflects the Asian male elites' anxieties towards modernization and new femininity? It is clear that such a depiction was unrealistic at the time of translation, when women, particularly upper class women, rarely worked outside of the home. Only in the late 1920s does the first generation of educated females begin to make their way into public posts in East Asia. How, then, does this unrealistic yet positive figure serve the needs of the existing patriarchy?

Hong Yanghui's study on the conceptualization of modern Japanese and Korean womanhood might be useful to justify such representations of Kuroiwa and Yi. The study reveals that the word *yangchŏ hyŏnmo* (meaning "good wife and wise mother") appeared during the early Japanese colonial period, as imperial propaganda directed at Japanese and Korean women (362). Despite its resemblance to conservative womanhood, *yangchŏ hyŏnmo* demonstrates a clear-cut divergence from pre-modern ideal femininity by assigning new gender roles to women. *Yangchŏ hyŏnmo* envisioned women as partners to new, modernized male citizens and as producers of future citizens. Thus the woman's role is no longer restricted to the continuation of the extended family, wherein she was expected to take care of the elders and produce a son. In this sense, *yangchŏ hyŏnmo* puts an emphasis on female education and her role as an active

educator of her child in her *katei* /*kachŏng*—newly-invented translations of the English word “home” (366). Hong argues that the concept of *yangchŏ hyŏnmo* functions as an “imaginary protection” for East Asian elites against the direct invasion of Western womanhood, allowing them to envision local women as a non-threatening, useful resource (369).

Thus the positive representation of female education in *Suteobune* and *Chŏngpuwŏn* is based on the ideology of *yangchŏ hyŏnmo*. For example, even though the heroine is depicted as an independent woman, her freedom is limited by what patriarchy can bear. While Honoria threatens the order of patriarchy by taking personal revenge on her enemies and abandoning her duties, Sonoe and Chŏnghye, in contrast, never trouble society but conform to the rule. Let’s look at the newly appearing scene in the translations:

Recently a singer lady with the strangest rumor appeared at an opera theater in Paris. Even the theater owner didn’t know who she was; whether her face was pretty or ugly; old or young. More suspiciously there was no one who knew the lady’s name. It is natural for most actresses and opera singers to hanker to display their beautiful faces to the public in order to gain popularity. This woman, however, came on stage only with a title of “nameless lady.” As her face was covered with thick black velvet, no one could see it.”
(*Suteobune* 188-189: *Chŏngpuwŏn* 183)

The heroine covers her face when she sings in front of the audience to protect her former husband’s reputation. Her covered face and her stage name, “nameless lady,” imply that the woman expelled from her home does not deserve to have an identity. By resisting acceptance of a new identity, she proves her lasting loyalty to her (living) husband and stays in her virtuous and chaste state. Furthermore, not only does she succeed as an educated woman, she also succeeds in taking care of her child, while Honoria abandons hers for the sake of revenge. In both

translations, the heroine refers to her daughter (Hubata and Okhui) as her “only friend and true companion in a lonely and harsh world” (*Suteobune* 332: *Chǒngpuwǒn* 217). As a successful singer and devoted mother, both Sonoe and Chǒnghye are exemplary instances of *yangchǒ hyǒnmo*. The texts reward them with new gender dynamics by allowing them to refuse their husbands’ entreaty that they return after their innocence is proven.

The different perspectives on new femininity result in two different respective endings in *Diavola* and the translations. Although the narratives diverge from one another after the death of the baronet, all the heroines return home, when the evil stepfather kidnaps the young daughter. The heroines’ returns home indicate a chance to rebuild their destroyed homes. Simultaneously, the resolution of the text also becomes each writer’s way of resolving gender conflicts and social tension.

The ending of *Diavola* delivers a conservative happy ending, insofar as the active, assertive heroine quickly loses her threatening spirit and volunteers to confine herself within the domestic domain from which she previously sought to escape. Elaine Showalter points out that Braddon’s heroines tend to “ultimately compromise their radical and subversive impulses” at the end (180). Honoria takes her child back and rejoins her real father, Count Verner, who lost his wife and has suffered from his daughter’s kidnapping. Reuniting with her father, Honoria finally recovers her true identity. No longer a mysterious vagrant, she becomes a daughter of a noble family. However, Honoria’s original home has changed. It is now a place left without a patriarch (i.e. her deceased husband). Instead, her home consists of herself, her daughter, and her old father, assumedly emasculated. Braddon’s desire for a new Victorian home as a female fantasy becomes more apparent in the triple-decker edition *Run to Earth* published a year after the serialization. In *Run to Earth*, Braddon changes the gender of Honoria’s parent, thus it is her

mother, Lady Verner, a heart-broken widow who has suffered from “years of melancholy madness” (264) for her lost child after her husband dies. Here Braddon suggests a new construction of the maternal family, including Lady Verner, Honoria, and little Gertrude. The new family attests to Braddon’s interest in an alternative, female-centered family form.

Kuroiwa’s and Yi’s translations, by contrast, reduce the transgressive features of the original feminist ending. The heroines not only reunite with their biological fathers, but also reconcile with their husbands. Her reunion with the father and the husband illustrates that she succumbs to the power of patriarchy, resuming her traditional position as a daughter and a wife. Through this reunion, we come to see why Kuroiwa chose to prevent the baronet’s death. The endings in the translations hint at the possibility of two other children born to the reunited couple. More specifically, the heroine gives birth to boys who can succeed the male family line, which her daughter fails to do (*Suteobune* 332: *Chǒngpuwǒn* 317).

In short, while *Diavola* expresses female discontent toward the Victorian society by creating a heroine who defies the proper roles allotted to women by society, the East Asian translations weaken uncontrollable features of the former, posing their heroines within a more conservative context. The complexity of the translating process thus could be understood as a local response to western femininity, which aims to produce modernized Asian women that could compete with Western counterparts. The carefully selected feminine characteristics in the translations, despite being damaged and distorted, still represented a new and fresh face of imagined Western femininity to most readers at the turn of the century. *Suteobune* and *Chǒngpuwǒn* demonstrate how the local literates negotiated with the global discourse of femininity.

In addition, the textual resemblance between *Suteobune* and *Chǒngpuwǒn* suggests Korean intellectuals' increasing dependency on the Japanese literary system in order to access Western books and knowledge under the Japanese colonialism. That Yi was able to smoothly translate Kuroiwa's sentence structure and conceptual words indicates that the two literary systems were gradually merged in the 1910s. The cultural capital of Western literature partly sped up the interplay between the two systems and caused indirect translation to be a dominant form of accepting Western modernity in the early colonial period. However, textual resemblance does not necessarily make Yi a puppet of Kuroiwa. In the next section, I will show that Yi's struggle to re-gain his agency and to overcome his colonial status happen in the external parts of the text through his editorial interruption.

3.3 ERASING THE JAPANESE TRANSLATOR AND MAKING A GLOBAL READING COMMUNITY

In his preface "On the Serialization of *Chǒngpuwǒn*," the translator Yi Sanghyŏp claims that *Chǒngpuwǒn* is the first faithful translation of a Western novel in Korea, because he "translated the novel written by a westerner as a western novel" (Oct. 29, 1914). He criticizes other contemporary Korean translations of Western novels for damaging the original based on "our emotion and custom" even though his translation was only a re-translation of Japanese translation. Yi, nonetheless, completely erases the presence of Kuroiwa Ruikō in the rest of serialization, and pretends that *Chǒngpuwǒn* was directly translated from the British edition of a well-known British author.

Yi's preface reveals the distorted desire of the colonial intellectual who attempts to establish a direct bridge to the West by erasing the trace of the Japanese mediatory practice. This also indicates that Yi's attempt to overcome colonial dependency cannot work on the textual level within the translation. This is because he could not counterbalance the unevenness of cultural capital between the colony and the empire, nor would the original text suddenly be available to him. His resistance thus could happen only in the external parts of the text via his editorial interruption of the serialization. Yi Sanghyŏp had in fact worked as a reporter at *Maeil sinbo* since 1912 and became a chief editor in 1918. Yi then plays two different roles in the serialization of *Chŏngpuwŏn*: 1) a translator who faithfully translated the Japanese version as the only available text; 2) an editor who completely denied the Japanese translation and imagined an alternative route to the British original. I will interpret his editorial practices as a means to show how the colonial intellectual tactfully establishes an imagined global reading community, and "Letters from Readers" in *Maeil sinbo* as a direct tool to measure the success of his strategy.

Before the serialization of *Chŏngpuwŏn*, the editorial board of *Maeil sinbo* was concerned with whether or not Korean readers were capable of understanding Western novels, since *Chŏngpuwŏn* was, they claimed, the first fully translated Western novel serialized in Korea. The risk involved in translating and introducing a Western novel in this local context led the editor to advertise *Chŏngpuwŏn* with great caution. The advertisement for *Chŏngpuwŏn* was longer and more intricate than usual, including an ardent recommendation which superseded anything written on previous serialized Korean novels. The advertisement emphasized the uniqueness of *Chŏngpuwŏn*, stating that it was a "novel we have never experienced" (Oct. 25, 1914). The educational aspect of the novel was also emphasized that "it cannot hurt us to learn [the Westerner's] disposition, society, and custom, distinctively different from our own" (Oct. 29,

1914). The elaborated advertisements and editorials imply the editorial board's anxiety at their experimental attempt to transfer unfamiliar text.

Despite the risk, Yi did not give up translating intact Western meanings. Even though Yi changed a few main characters' names from Japanese into Korean, he preserved the all the Western place names, such as England, Italy, France, Germany, America, and India. Yi's obsession with the intact "translation" of Western literature was unique, given that other contemporary translations of Japanese domestic fictions (or even Kuroiwan's works) were generally devoid of foreign settings, characters, and plots. For example, *Changhanmong*, serialized in *Maeil sinbo* right before *Chǒngpuwǒn*, eliminated forty characters in original, and the setting was meticulously replaced with the Korean one. The translator Ch'o Ch'unghwan states his priorities in translating *Changhanmong*: "1) Change a setting into Korean one; 2) Change names into Korean ones; and 3) Freely change the style and conversation unless the plot is significantly damaged" ("Oekukmunhak chwadamhoe" ["Discussion of Foreign Literature"] 234).

Yi's strategy to enhance the foreign elements of *Chǒngpuwǒn* was certainly distinctive at that time. Instead of eliminating or diminishing Western colors, Yi invented a variety of auxiliary reading devices in order to help readers while protecting the Western cultural references.

Chǒngpuwǒn thus included experimental elements, such as footnotes, illustrations, serialization, and reader letters, all intended to reduce the potential obstacles that a Korean reader might encounter. Such reading devices aimed to establish a global reading community wherein Korean readers identify themselves with global/western readers.

Firstly, footnotes in *Chǒngpuwǒn* were designated to explain unfamiliar Western objects and customs to readers. The footnotes do not appear in British and Japanese editions. The

footnotes included Western objects, such as “a violin,” “a detective,” “a card game,” as well as Western customs, such as “praying to God,” “honeymooning,” and “serving guests.” For instance, Yi explains the scene where the baronet shakes hands with his nephew, as “to those people shaking each other’s hand is cordial custom of greeting in the West” (Apr. 22, 1914). Other than a supplementary device to offer a simple explanation of the Western customs, the footnote also reveals Yi’s personal opinions on Western objects and customs, particularly in relation to the Korean society and people.³⁶ His comments are largely directed at Korean society in comparison to the West. In the footnote for a “street singer,” Yi criticizes Korean beggars for asking for free money without trying, in comparison to Western beggars who “never take anything for free” (Aug. 10, 1914).

The footnotes functioned as a meta-text of his translating practice when he shared his difficulties in translating the English language. In the footnote on chap 13, he explains the reason why he reluctantly used the word “dangsin” [you] when young Chŏnghye refers to Sir Oswald. He argues that he could not find an appropriate Korean word for “the British word” (Jan. 22, 1915). In Korea, “dangsin” is usually used between husband and wife, therefore it is inappropriate for Chŏnghye, a young girl, to call the baronet “dangsin.” Interestingly, Yi does not reveal the exact British word that he was not able to translate (of course, because he never read the original). Nonetheless Yi uses the fake difficulty to represent himself as a faithful translator of Western literature. The footnotes, in this context, allow Yi to interfere with

³⁶ Heekyung Cho argues that the footnotes in *Chŏngpuwŏn* serves as an ethnographic space that “made up one strand of Korean intellectuals’ view of other cultures” as well as “reinforce[d] ethnic stereotypes” (21). According to her, footnotes become a “transcultural place” where the translator could “deploy his ideas and critical comments in the disguise of simply explaining unfamiliar cultural elements appearing in the body of the text” from the distance (24).

Chǒngpuwǒn from the perspective of a cultural commenter and literary critic, and even to increase the authority of his own translation by himself.³⁷

Secondly, the Western-style illustrations that accompanied each episode reinforced the illusion that *Chǒngpuwǒn* was a direct translation of a Western novel. The illustrations were created by Japanese artist Yanikita Kenkichi who worked at *Maeil sinbo* at that time.

Interestingly, his name, like Kuroiwa's, did not appear on the newspaper except for a brief mention in the first advertisement. Cho convincingly argues how the illustrations of *Chǒngpuwǒn* bolstered the Western features of the text. The illustrations, for example, were different from other previous or contemporary illustrations of serialized novels in Korea (Cho 160). All the figures were dressed in Western outfit in Western places, such as Western-style rooms and streets, whereas other contemporary illustrations usually showed Korean people in Korean-style outfits. Along with the footnotes that explain the Western custom and culture in letters, the illustrations offered the visual image of the Western culture. The main characters in the illustrations still used Korean names but were depicted in a Western style. By representing Western images of characters and settings, the illustrations of *Chǒngpuwǒn* amplified the Western elements of Yi's translation. In doing so, it could hide any hint of Japanese mediatory practice in the eyes of readers.

Thirdly, serialization, as one reading device, mitigates Yi's burden of introducing unfamiliar customs to Korean readers. Serialization helped Korean readers to gradually establish daily reading habits to digest the unfamiliar West. Daily reading of a serialized novel evened out

³⁷ The footnotes gradually disappeared and were replaced with more "Letters from Readers of *Chǒngpuwǒn*" in the second half of the serialization. The translator's decision to eliminate footnotes, a more direct guidance of reading, implies the growth of the local readership and the success of serialization as an everyday practice of learning modernity.



Figure 4: Western style illustration in *Chongpuwon*

the large gap between the global and the local, and developed the “rhythm of modernity” among Koreans (Turner 185). Readers’ letters published in the newspaper also supported that serialization was successfully accepted among Korean readers. It is repeatedly mentioned in the letters that they read *Chongpuwon* “every day” (Dec. 12, 1914; Apr. 22, 1915; May 21, 1915). One male reader writes, “Every morning as soon as I wake up, I wait for *Maeil sinbo* to read *Chongpuwon* even before I wash my face” (May 6, 1915). Another reader complains that he was not able to read each installment because he couldn’t afford to purchase the paper daily, and thus sometimes picks up the newspaper on street or borrow it from friends (May 2, 1915). Both cases demonstrate that the Korean readers gradually acclimated to a continuous reading practice and created a rhythm of Western modernity that Yi promoted.

Lastly, readers' letters function as a direct measure of the local response to Yi's encouragement of a global reading community. Publishing the reader's letters regularly was an experiment of the editorial board that hadn't occurred with previous serialized novels. The reader's letters were voluntarily written by a variety of social groups, such as government officials, students, workers, farmers, and even women, which indicates the popularity of *Chǒngpuwǒn*. Twenty-five, mostly anonymous, letters were published between December 1914 and May 1915. The letters were not only a measurement of the work's successful reception, but also educational tools to train other readers.

Many readers expressed the excitement of experiencing Western culture through the Korean translation of a Western book. One anonymous reader wrote to the newspaper that the story made him feel, "as if [he] became a village folk in Arlington, England" (May, 14 1915). Another student reader who introduced himself as "the most devoted reader of *Chǒngpuwǒn*," celebrates the great achievement of the translation as the first work that faithfully translated the Western novel into Korean language. His letter states, "*Chǒngpuwǒn* did a great job to introduce the custom and culture of the West to us. I assume that we readers unconsciously gained a significant amount of Western knowledge while simply enjoying the exciting story" (Apr. 22 1915). He also commended the use of "independent Korean script" to translate the Western book, instead of classical Chinese script (Apr. 22 1915). Pride in using the vernacular to translate the Western book is also observed in another reader's letter, stating that "*Chǒngpuwǒn* is written in our language" to distinguish it from other Korean books "spreading a terrible smell of classical Chinese" (May 2, 1915).

While some readers paid attention to *Chǒngpuwǒn* as a literary exchange between the West and Korea, other readers developed an imagined bridge between Korea and the West

through sympathy toward the heroine, a British woman with a Korean name. Male readers tended to compliment Chŏnghye as a perfect example for Korean women. One letter from a male student claimed, “Chŏnghye gives an important lesson to our Korean housewives, especially to those passive women who do nothing but obey their husbands. Chŏnghye should be an alarm to wake Korean women deeply subjugated to their husbands” (Apr. 23, 1915). Another anonymous male government officer wrote, “Today’s young Korean women should follow Chŏnghye for her virtuous conduct” (Dec. 16, 1914). As one can see, the letters represented Chŏnghye as a contradictory figure between a symbol of traditional virtue and the example of modern femininity. This is because *Chŏngpuwŏn* offers a transformed version of the West onto which Korean male readers projected their own idealized image of a Western woman. In this sense, conservative readers could tolerate her subversive characteristics, while reform-minded readers encouraged them. For instance, Chŏnghye, on the one hand, makes her living, leaves her husband on her own decision, even insisted on a divorce; all of these actions were strictly forbidden for Korean women at that time. Chŏnghye, on the other hand, firmly protects her chastity, always loves her husband despite his wrongdoings, and eventually returned to her husband. Chŏnghye illustrates to male readers that even an enlightened Western woman can adhere to traditional values, which makes her an ideal example for both conservative and reform-minded readers at the same time.

While male readers read Chŏnghye as an exemplary form of womanhood, female readers sympathized with the heroine’s tragedy as a woman, focusing on her romantic relationship with the baronet. Female readers saw *Chŏngpuwŏn* as a romantic love story of a Western woman who freely enjoys her independence. The letters from female readers in this context tended to desire and identify with Western culture enthusiastically. For example, one anonymous letter from a

female reader expresses her sympathy to Chŏnghye: “I thought that nobody ever would be more unfortunate than me, but poor Chŏnghye in *Chŏngpuwŏn* is” (Dec. 2, 1914). Then she requested to the translator, “please, do not put her in trouble anymore. When reading *Chŏngpuwŏn* every day, I feel like crying thinking of her miserable life and mine” (Dec. 2, 1914). Another letter from a female reader also asked the translator to stop the heroine from going to an ominous picnic. She added, “Chŏnghye is my friend that I never forget day and night” (Dec. 11, 1914). Such empathy from female readers’ reveals their way of understanding *Chŏngpuwŏn*. Reading the Western novel provided Korean women with a feeling of independence and an escape from the social pressure on them. Identifying with a heroine whose life does not resemble their own in certain crucial aspects, they invented a space which contradicted their material reality in patriarchal society, and dreamt of an exotic and idealistic West.

3.4 CONCLUSION

Chŏngpuwŏn as an indirect translation of British literature manifests the moment in which Korea adapted an imagined “Englishness” through Japanese translation. Since annexation, Korea, deprived of a direct and independent local circulation system, succumbed to Japanese mediatory practices in order to learn ‘the West.’ The reception history of *Chŏngpuwŏn*, produced in the midst of these mediatory practices, elucidates a variety of unexpected factors both on global and local levels. The travel route of *Chŏngpuwŏn*, on the one hand, demonstrates the emergence of transpacific exchange between America and Japan as importers/translators of British and French cultural capital. The local reception of *Chŏngpuwŏn*, on the other hand, manifests the dynamic distortions of Western modernity within the newly emerged inter-Asian system. The complexity

of local reception, therefore, challenge the homogenous notion of local readership within the context of global circulation.

Chǒngpuwǒn, under this circumstance, shows not only the transitional period of Korean literature – in which substantive foreign resources were required to nourish a burgeoning national literary tradition - but also the transitional period of establishing Korea's position within the newly organized global literary system in the early colonial period. Of course the presence of Japanese colonialism disturbs the both practices, while the presence of the West disturbs Japanese colonial rule in Korea. *Chǒngpuwǒn*, like Yi Sanghyŏp's desire to appropriate as much cultural capital as possible, allows us to see the contradictory practices of Korean intellectuals between colonial dependency and anti-colonial resistance.

My next chapter will deal with the mid-colonial period, when local writers and translators not only came to realize the importance of translating authentic Western literature, but also had accumulated the enough power to translate the original without fully depending on Japanese mediatory practices. This caused Korean intellectuals to appropriate translated English literature as their postcolonial voice, as a means to attack the injustice of Japanese colonialism.

4.0 INDIGENOUS SHAKESPEARS AND INTER-COLONIAL CIRCULATION: THE RECEPTION OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE, WILLIAM B. YEATS, AND SEAN O'CASEY IN COLONIAL KOREA

The widely-accepted definition of Korean literature is as following: Literature written, a) in the Korean language, b) by Koreans, c) for Korean readers. However, there are some controversial cases. P'ark ch'iwŏn's *Yŏlhailki* (*Jehol Dairy*) and Ilyŏn's *Samkukyusa* (*Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*) are written in classical Chinese, then are they not Korean literature? Moreover, the Indian author Tagore published *The Crescent Moon* and *Gitanjali* in English, and Synge, Gregory, and Yeats wrote in English. Yet Tagore's works are considered Indian literature, and Yeats's works are considered Irish literature. Then, how can we define the relationship between literature and language? ("Chosŏnmunhak irŏke chŏngŭiharyŏhanda" ["A Proposal on Defining Korean Literature"]. *Samch'ŏnri*, 1936, 82)

On August 1, 1936, the Korean literary magazine *Samch'ŏnri* published a special dispute among Korean literates regarding the definition of Korean literature. The conversation provided Korean intellectuals with an opportunity to speculate on the boundaries of Korean literature and the relation between Korean literature and the Korean language under Japanese colonialism. In other words, the conversation raised the question of whether national literature must be written in the

national language—a question that also reflects the anxiety Korean writers have about the future of the Korean language. In this context, the linguistic practice of Indian and Irish writers, i.e. writing in English, complicates the definition of Korean literature based on the similarity of colonial conditions between British colonies and Korea. The latter portion of the discussion deals with conflicting opinions about Indian and Irish cases in relation to English literature. Given the fact that Indian and Irish writing was the most frequently introduced and translated literature in Korean newspapers and literary magazines during the mid-colonial period (1919-1937), the influence of Anglo-colonial literature cannot be overstated. Looking at this confluence of literatures and colonialisms, I argue that Korean intellectuals emphasized the postcoloniality of Indian and Irish literature, allowing those literatures to speak for their colonial situation at a time when Koreans' own literature had become an object of the Japanese censorship and their language was under restriction.

In *Empire in Question* (2011), Antoinette Burton points out that the practice of the British empire varied colony-by-colony. She asserts that we must complicate our model of the British Empire system beyond it's a homogenous, national model. The British Empire system, according to Burton, was the most popular “international marketplace” and “a major delivery system” (278). She argues that one can more productively examine the dynamics among the different non-British imperial forces, such as Germany, Russia, and Japan by looking at how they acted in competition with the British empire, or their “cross-imperial connections,” as she calls it (279). My own trans-imperial analysis will focus less on how imperial powers formed networks and more on how their imperialized subject formed connections within the margins of such inter-colonial networks between empires unconsciously supports the inter-colonial connections between the margins. If English language and literature are linguistic and cultural devices for

building cross-imperial connections throughout the world, they are equally efficient at establishing cross-colonial connections. Part of the project of this chapter will be to ask how much those connections reproduce or challenge the British imperial system.

I offer the reception of Indian and Irish literature in colonial Korea, then, as a test case for exploring how inter-colonial connections were made through trans-imperial networks. Two texts comprise my case study: (1) the Korean version of Tagore's "The Lamp of the East" (1924) and (2) Yu Ch'ijin's play *A Mud Hut* (1931), an adaptation of Sean O'Casey's *The Shadow of a Gunman* (1923). The readings that follow are a product of my own discomfort as a Korean scholar with a certain trajectory in anti-colonial literature; once it meets success in the center—namely, that the particulars of individual stories tend not to be recounted, indeed, are often forgotten as tensions between colonized and colonizer assume center stage. In what follows, I attempt to draw attention to the other parts of the show. By reading the reception of Indian and Irish literature as postcolonial voices heard in Korea, this chapter will show how the global literary system of English was the condition of possibility for local literary practitioners there. More specifically, this chapter will investigate how local scholars of English literature and local English departments occupied the paradoxical role of championing the cultural authority of English literature even as they destabilized it with their radical interpretations of Indian and Irish literature. For local scholars and English departments, global Anglophone literary culture became a means of overcoming Korea's colonial situation.

4.1 COLLABORATION BETWEEN GLOBAL AND LOCAL: NOBEL PRIZE AND STUDENTS OF FOREIGN LITERATURE

The 1920s saw development in techniques for translating English literature as well as increasing interest in approaching English literature from the scholarly perspective in Korea. The accuracy of translation also increased in importance. Even though the tendency to depend on foreign literature to enrich the local literature was still prevalent, the reception of English literature in the 1920s was based on more academic details and precise biographies compared to that of the 1910s. For instance, phrases such as “the worldwide popularity” or “great world literature” that were commonly used to advertise translated foreign literature in the 1910s were replaced by specific biographical descriptions of writers and categorizations of national literature.³⁸ Integral to this shift towards scholarly, worldly reading among Koreans was Tagore’s 1913 Nobel Prize win and a rising generation of foreign language scholars in Korean and Japanese universities.

When Tagore won the Nobel Prize in literature, Koreans took note of the prize and its recipient: a citizen of a colonized territory. Intellectuals and literary circles in colonial Korea gradually began to consider the prize the single most authoritative event in world literature. Local newspapers and magazines began to introduce the Nobel laureates annually. A decade later, news of William Butler Yeats’s winning the prize was covered thoroughly in Korean literary magazines. Both laureates were writers from colonies, and thus their success in world literary market inspired Koreans to publish their own works in English in order to overcome their inferior status as a colonial subject. Major newspapers, such as *Donga ilbo*, *Chosŏn ilbo*, *Chosŏn*

³⁸ For example, the Sinmunkwan publishing company added the advertisement as following: “This series contains translations of respected books in the West. Once you read it, not only a bounty of fun you will experience, but also you learn a lot. I strongly recommend buying this book.” (“Advertisement” July, 1914)

Ch'ungang ilbo, and literary magazines, such as *Munye Wŏlgan*, *Chokwang*, *Piph'an*, *Chosŏn munhak*, continued to publish special issues on Nobel Prize laureates including the writers' biographies and translations of their works. Koreans followed authors' lives in the newspaper as a way of keeping up with the times and current trends in world literary circle. This annual event alerted Korean intellectuals, who endeavored to find a way to overcome their local colonial situation, to the idea of a global literary community. Alfred Nobel's wish to select "the best work for fraternity between nations" attracted the Korean intellectuals with cosmopolitan hope and even inspired them to produce Korean national literature good enough to compete internationally (qtd. in Abrams 3).³⁹ Colonial subjects becoming recipients of the prize stirred the Korean literati's desire to develop their own national literature as a mean of gaining membership to the world literary community. Membership to such a community could also help the same literati overcome narrow geographical and national boundaries by pursuing universal cosmopolitan ideals.

In the early period, the Nobel Prize in literature had been treated as a European affair. Therefore, its ability to provide non-European places with a chance to concomitantly share the trends of western literary circles is far less discussed. The circulation of the prize was often restricted to Europe, yet the impact certainly extended beyond Europe. While Pierre Bourdieu highlighted the individualized stance taking of the Nobel prize that transforms itself into

³⁹ In the will of Alfred Nobel, he mentions that "One part to the person who shall have produced in the field of literature the most outstanding work of an idealistic tendency; and one part to the person who shall have done the most or the best work for fraternity between nations. It is my express wish that in awarding the prizes no consideration whatever shall be given to the nationality of the candidates, but that the most worthy shall receive the prize, whether he be a Scandinavian or not" (qtd. in Abrams 3).

governing practice, he does not pay much attention to the potential failure of the governing practice within diverse local contexts.⁴⁰

While the Nobel Prize played the role of an international publishing house in terms of the distribution of literary currency, the emerging group of professionally educated students and critics of foreign literature played the role of its local counterpart. These elites who studied at Japanese and Korean universities gradually became an emerging literary power in colonial Korea in 1920s. The major repositories of this literary capital in Korea were the School of Foreign Literature and the English department at Kyōngsōng Imperial University.

The School of Foreign Literature was founded in 1926 by Korean students who were studying foreign literature at Japanese universities.⁴¹ Familiar with a diverse range of foreign literatures, its six founding members included Yi Hayun (English Literature, Hosei University), Chōng Insōp (English Literature, Waseda University), Kim Chinsōp (German Literature, Hosei University), Lee Hunku (French Literature, Waseda University), Ham T'aehun (Russian Literature, Tokyo Foreign Language School), and Kim Kwangsōp (English Literature, Waseda University). Collectively the group of scholars published the magazine *Foreign Literature*. The first issue, published in January 1927 in Seoul, declares their ambitious goal:

The foundation of new literature should be built on the influx of foreign literature. Our goal in studying *foreign literature* is not just to study foreign literature itself: first, to construct *our own literature*, second, to expand the inter-range of *world literature*.

⁴⁰ Pierre Bourdieu rightly points out that in a literary field where the values of indignation, revolt, contempt, and autonomy are celebrated, "all those who mean to assert themselves as fully fledged members of the world of art . . . will feel the need to manifest their independence with respect to external powers, political or economic. Then, and only then, will indifference with respect to power and honors—even the most apparently specific, such as the Academia, or even the Nobel Prize... be immediately understood, and even respected, and therefore rewarded" (61).

⁴¹ Before the School of Foreign Literature, there were several attempts to encourage the direct translation of foreign literature and emphasize the faithful translation. For instance, *Taesō munye sinpo* (*Taesō Literary Magazine*) was founded in 1918, but did not last long.

(Chŏng, “Oekugmunhak yŏngue pilyo” [“The Need for the Studies of Foreign Literature”] 3; my emphasis)

Here, Chŏng enumerates three different categories of literature: foreign, our own [national], and world. Their ultimate aim was to construct a national literature by using foreign literature as ingredients; a literature developed enough to qualify as a world literature. The word “foreign literature” (*haeoe munhak*), in this context, indicates the special localized value and literary authority of foreign literature in colonial Korea. Japanese and Chinese literatures were excluded from *haeoe munhak*, as this understanding of “foreign literature” implied western literature and located other East Asian literatures as local literature. Therefore, Indian literature or Irish literature, having succeeded in earning the acclaim through the Nobel Prize, could be considered world literatures despite their marginality. These examples of marginalized literatures becoming veritable, prestige-holding *haeoe munhak* explains the School of Foreign Literature’s interest in Irish and Indian literatures.

The special standing of foreign literature in colonial Korea can also be observed in the English department of Kyŏngsŏng Imperial University (KIU). While the School of Foreign Literature consisted of the students who studied foreign literature at universities in Japan, the English department at KIU aimed to produce local elites through colonial education in Korea. KIU, founded in 1926, gave their English department preferential treatment. As Sato Kiyoshi, Dean of the English department, remembers, “The English department received the highest funding, and the latest books introduced in English Studies were always purchased and provided” (qtd. in Sano 21).⁴² In his study of the English department at KIU, Sano Masato

⁴² At KIU, the literature division was divided into four sub-departments: National [Japanese] Language and Literature, Korean Language and Literature, Chinese Language and Literature, and Foreign Language and Literature. The Foreign language and literature department was essentially an English department, considering

argues the English department at KIU contributed to a “transnational intellectual network beyond Japan and Korea” by producing Korean literary critics and writers who produce their works in the Japanese language (Sano 27). The very intention of the English department at KIU reflects this desired outcome. Sato Kiyoshi recalls:

At Kyōngsōng Imperial University, there was a preparatory course consisting of a very competitively-selected body of students. Even though a relatively small number of students chose the literature division, English majors were the largest number, and many of them were outstanding students. Particularly, the reason why Korean students chose [the English department] is, rather than being attracted to the prestigious name of the Imperial University, that the university provided something special to quench their thirst for foreign literature. During my twenty years of socializing with Korean students, I was fascinated by how eager they are to study foreign literature to find their liberation and freedom. (“The Academic Tradition of Kyōngsōng Imperial University” qtd. in Kim Yunsik, 263)

This passage describes how Korean students learn “their” literature through English literature. When colonial censorship of the native language and literature was prevalent, the desire for a national literature was transferred to English literature. English literature, in turn, embodied the idea of liberation and freedom. Kiyoshi’s analysis of the colonial mentality of Korean elites also indicates how the English department erased the disparity between Japanese citizens and Koreans. Through Kiyoshi’s self-reflection on his marginality as an oriental scholar of English literature, he is able to sympathize with Korean students in part. His pedagogical philosophy thus emphasizes the intellectual independence of local East Asian scholars who “study foreign

the curriculum and the specialties of the faculty: Sato Kiyoshi (English literature), I. Haworth (English linguistics), Terai Kunio (English linguistic and novel), Nikajima Humio (English linguistics). See Sano 7-13.

literature not for foreign literature per se, but for our literature.” He asserts that “my methodology in studying English literature is to constantly compare it to Japanese literature or Oriental literature, and criticize our own for deeper self-reflection” (qtd. in Sano 31). Encouraged by Sato’s pedagogy, many Korean students became interested in Irish literature as a way of shedding a light on their colonial problems.⁴³

In 1920s, Indian and Irish literature drew new attention through new circular systems in foreign literature both outside and inside Korea. The Nobel prize, as a global literary event, played a major role in the creation and distribution of world literature, and was supported by the local scholars and students of foreign literature who endeavored to use foreign literature as a model. In the following sections, I will conduct two cases studies that delineate how the Nobel prize winners and literary celebrities Tagore and Yeats were circulated. This circulation, I argue, depended on a collaboration between international and domestic literary practices—a collaboration that provoked local responses regarding the literary practice of a colonial subject and the matter of a language.

4.2 RABINDRANATH TAGORE AND THE ASIATIC MIND

In Tagore’s 1913 Nobel prize citation, the committee stated that prize had been given to Tagore “because of his profoundly sensitive, fresh and beautiful verse, by which, with consummate skill, he has made his poetic thought, expressed in his own English words, a part of the literature of the West” (qtd. in Saha 9). Given that the citations issued for the previous thirteen laureates did not

⁴³ For example, Sato’s students, Ch’oe Jaesŏ and Yi Hyosŏk, studied the Irish literary revival movement and were interested in J. M. Synge’s plays.

include the words “English” or “the West,” the citation indicates not only the disadvantage of the bilingual colonial subject forced to write in the imperial language, but also the committee’s confusion regarding the colonial subject’s lingual practice. The citation, for instance, makes controversial arguments when it approves Tagore’s whole ownership of his English language publication (“in his own English words”) and even considers his translation “a part of the literature of the West” (notably, not “the literature of the West”). The statement is somewhat radical in its valuation of translation as an original creation and for defining the boundaries of western literature by the author’s chosen language, not the author’s nationality. In contrast, Tagore’s originality and ownership of his works were always at stake, given the controversy over the collaborative role of W. B. Yeats and Ezra Pound in Tagore’s works and the exclusion of his works in Anglo-modernist literature for a long time. Then, it would be more persuasive to interpret the committee’s statement as an indication that the difficulty of a colonial subject’s lingual practice not only starts from the moment he/she writes in the imperial language, but also continues within the circulation of their works.

Following Spivak’s influential claim that the multilingual (post)colonial subject’s seamless movement between mother-tongue and imperial-tongue is an advantage, translingual practice of postcolonial works often focuses on an individual author’s linguistic practice. While this critical practice has been productive, I contend that the division of audiences also makes the circulation of a postcolonial text complex and vibrant, and that opening up these interpretational contact zones can enrich our understanding of resistant poetics and practices. Postcolonial writings react dynamically to outside factors, such as editors, translators, and readers, based on the asymmetry of power relationships. In this sense I argue that dynamic circulation is a very condition of postcoloniality. Tagore, under this circumstance, is an exemplary case for

discussing the circulation of a postcolonial text as a key to understand its onward impact in global, regional, and national geopolitics. Even though his poems were mainly marketed in the global literary market as benign and apolitical verses about love and spirituality, his presence and actions were subjected to public controversy and evoked powerful responses among audiences.⁴⁴ it is not my focus to recover Tagore's ownership and the originality of his works, or reduce the contribution of Tagore's western collaborators. My approach is rather to illuminate complicated inter-relations, such as collaborations, conflicts, and misreadings, that his works create, which I interpret as the characteristic of a postcolonial text within its circulation. Such an approach will prove productive and helpful in understanding the two conflicting receptions of Tagore in Japan and Korea that equally received Tagore via the mediatory practice of English but generated different views.⁴⁵

A key determinant in the disparity between Japanese and Korean receptions of Tagore's work came down to the poet's view of new Asia. In short, the dissimilar colonial statuses of each country led each to evaluate Tagore differently. Tagore, the first Asian Nobel laureate, disseminated the idea of Pan-Asianism throughout his numerous lectures and writings and stressed the role of a united Asia, as an alternative to the violent and destructive European civilization. In his 1916 lecture "Japan," Tagore separates modernization from Europeanization, in that, "true modernism is freedom of minds, not slavery of taste, it is independence of thought and action, not tutelage of schoolmasters" (16). By calling the Japanese audience "my brothers,"

⁴⁴ For instance, Nabaneeta Sen points out that the gap in Tagore's works between the domestic circulation and international one. Even though only about 15 percent of his Bengali works were on religious themes exclusively but his religious poems were mostly circulated in the western literary market (67-68).

⁴⁵ Because of his wide approach to international readership, there are many case studies of Tagore's local receptions in relation to their colonial situation. For example, Dohra Ahmad examines how the New York-based nationalist periodical *Young India* selectively reprinted the works of Rabindranath Tagore that accorded with its message of pluralist nationalism. Chi. P. Pham also deals with Tagore's reception in Vietnam during the French colonial period.

Tagore suggested the ideal of peaceful solidarity among Asian countries in juxtaposition to the violence of European imperialism and World War:

The West came, not to give of its best, or to seek for our best, but to exploit us for the sake of material gain. It even came into our homes robbing us of our own. That is how Europe overcame Asia. . . The West is becoming demoralized through being the exploiter, through tasting of the fruits of exploitation. We must fight with our faith in the moral and spiritual power of men. We of the East have never revered death-dealing generals, nor lie-dealing diplomats, but spiritual leaders. (“Japan” 54-55)

Even though Tagore has often been criticized for his naive cosmopolitanism and conformity to the West, his lectures in Asia and his letters exchanged with Asian intellectuals reveal a more complicated understanding. Tagore was strongly critical of the economic and spiritual exploitation of Asia through European imperialism. He was equally aware of colonialism as a global system that needs to be overcome through international solidarity of marginal nations worldwide. Tagore, in this sense, sees nationalism as effective only when it is operated within an international bond of resisting nations as the expression of nationalism merged with a political cosmopolitanism.⁴⁶

Tagore’s Pan-Asianism, however, poses the risk of defining “Asia” as homogenous and equal by erasing uneven development and colonial relations between Asian countries. The notion of a united Asia was articulated by Japanese intellectuals looking for a frame to define the new identity of Asia. It was Japanese art historian and Anglophone writer Okakura Tenshin who adapted Tagore’s thoughts, on the civilizational links between India and the rest of Asia, to a

⁴⁶ Erez Manela, in *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism*, argues that in Asia, the aspirations expressed by the anticolonial movements of 1919 were international in their scope and ambition. They aimed to bring into existence a vision of international relations in which hitherto dependent nations would obtain recognition of their equality and sovereignty (224).

uniquely Japanese advocacy of one Asia. In his famous essay “Asia is One” in *Ideals of the East*, Tagore applauds his Japanese audience as the first developer of the “Asiaistic Mind” (Hay 82).⁴⁷ Here Tagore failed to read the underlying colonial desire in Okakura’s essay: that Pan-Asianism could serve to justify colonial propaganda and establish the Japanese Empire as the natural leader of a unified Asia. In his lecture “Nationalism in Japan” (1917), Tagore still naively believed that relations among Asian nations were equal and fair, and contrasted these relations against those with European colonialists: “I cannot bring to your mind those days when the whole of Eastern Asia from Burma to Japan was united with India in the closest tie of friendship, the only natural tie which can exist between nations” (75). Such a friendship, according to him, could not be established based on actions to “arm ourselves to keep each other in check,” nor could it be maintained in the face of “exploration and spoliation of each other’s pockets” (76). Tagore’s vision does not apprehend a future in which Japan’s transmutation of his “Asia is one,” will “become the rallying call for Japan’s military conquests across Asia” (qtd. in Frost 145).

The linkage between Japanese intellectuals and Tagore thus was doomed to fail. Takeuchi Yoshimi points out that Tagore was not received well in Japan by intellectuals and writers, despite his three visits to Japan in 1916, 1924, and 1929 (56-59). Rather he was appreciated by Japanese monks for the religious theme and universal spiritualism of his works. Japanese newspapers called Tagore “the poet of a defeated country” who was “singing a song of the defeated” (Tagore, *Selected Letters* 52). For Japanese intellectuals, the colonial status of India was seen as evidence of their weakness. Such weakness did not fit Japan’s ambitious

⁴⁷ In “Yellow Skin, White Masks: Race, Class, and Identification in Japanese Colonial Discourse,” Leo Ching argues that Okakura Tenshin’s *the Ideal of the East* was read by Japanese elites to look for spiritual ground for the Japanese empire. The book creates a new space for Japan as a leader of contemporary Asian civilization that had been constructed by two mighty civilizations: The Chinese with its Confucius and India with the individualism of the Vedas.

project of exerting its colonial power as an Asian competitor of European imperialism.⁴⁸ For Japan, Tagore's Pan-Asianism was only meaningful when it supported Japanese imperial practices.⁴⁹

4.3 REMAKING THE SONGS OF THE DEFEATED: "THE LAMP OF THE EAST"

In contrast to Japan's negative response to Tagore's colonial status, colonial Korea received the poet as a resonant postcolonial voice. After his first visit of Japan, Tagore writes, "the [Japanese] newspapers praised my utterances for their poetical qualities, while adding with a leer that it was the poetry of a defeated people. I felt they were right" (Tagore, "Nationalism in the West" 58). Later Tagore strategically adopted the word "defeated" in his poem "The Song of the Defeated" which indicates the empowerment of postcolonial writing to appropriate the language of colonial prejudice into resistance. Interestingly, Tagore selected this piece when Chin Hakmun, a young

⁴⁸ Tagore's faith in Japan as "the child of the Ancient East [that] the whole world waits to see" was completely betrayed later when Japan attacked China following the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese war in 1937. Tagore was full of rage in his condemnation of Japanese violence and militarism as Japan, "has now become itself a worse menace to the defenseless people of the East" (Mishra 233). In his letters to Japanese poet Yone Noguchi, Tagore expressed his deep disappointment at Japan's decision to return to militancy. Yone Noguchi, in his response, emphasized Japan's unique role in Asia and justified the attack on China as being, "for the correction of China's mistaken ideas and for the uplifting of her simple and ignorant masses to better life and wisdom" (Tagore *Selected Letters* 495). Tagore refuted Noguchi's claim by writing, "you are building your conception of an Asia which would be raised on a tower of skulls" (Tagore *Selected Letters* 497).

⁴⁹ If Japan considers Tagore a symbol of weakness, China's reception of Tagore was complicated in its understanding of his postcolonial stance. At first Chinese intellectuals were passionately interested in the Asian Nobel literate and the second issue of the reformist journal *New Youth* introduced translations of four poems from Tagore's *Gitanjali*. During Tagore's visit to China in 1924, the controversy over Tagore's political stance was slowly gaining momentum. Chinese writer Mao Dun wrote an article entitled "Our Expectations from Tagore" as following: "We too respect Tagore. We respect him because he is pure in heart. We respect him because he feels for the oppressed and the underdogs. We respect him because he is on the side of the peasants. We respect him particularly because he is a poet of patriotism, he is a source of inspiration for the Indian youth in their struggle against British imperialism. And that is why, we, too, welcome Tagore. But we do not welcome the Tagore who loudly sings the praises of the Oriental civilization, nor do we welcome the Tagore who creates a paradise of poetry that has made our youth intoxicated and self-complacent" (Wei 17-18). See Liming Wei's "Historical Significance of Tagore's 1924 China Visit"

Korean journalist and student of English literature, requested he give some words to the readers of Korean literary magazine *Ch'öngch'un* (*The Youth*) during his stay in Japan in 1916. Chin's essay, "Sisöng Tagol sönsaeng songyöngki" ("Days with Great Poet Mr. Tagore") was published along with Tagore's "The Song of the Defeated," a pairing that vividly described how the political awakening of the postcolonial mind, found in Tagore's poem, creates inter-colonial solidarity between the two colonies.

The beginning of the essay portrays the young colonial student's excitement and anxiety at meeting the worldwide celebrity. According to the essay, the audience that gathered to see Tagore at Tokyo Station represented a number of nations. As Chin writes, "[T]here were 23 people waiting to see Great Poet Mr. Tagore. . . Besides Japanese, there were Chinese, Taiwanese, and a lady from Hawaii, including Mr. C and I, two people from Korea" (97). The geopolitical tensions between the colonizer and the colonized were erased in this temporary inter-Asian group, when they politely asked Tagore for a guest lecture on "The New Life of a Youngman in Modern Asia." The lecture stressed the importance of universal spiritualism overcoming the materialism of modern society.

Tagore's lecture for universal good, however, did not fully satisfy the colonial young intellectual from Korea. A week later Chin paid another visit to Tagore in attempt to ask him to write a message for young readers in Korea:

Chin: Sir, even though I am fully aware of your busy schedule, will you write something for Korean young men? I could not appreciate this enough. The impact [of your writing] will be much more powerful than those of any western philosophers and authors writing for us.

Tagore: I see. Which magazine will it be published in?

Chin: The magazine called *Ch'ōngch'un* the only little magazine available in Korea.

Tagore: I assume it is a Korean-language magazine?

Chin: Yes, it is. (98)

Tagore, a poet from the British colony, ironically is least available to the people in other colonies (Korea and China), while he focuses on contributing to the cultural privilege of emerging semi-peripheries (Japan and America) in his 1916 international travel. Physical and linguistic mobility that is rarely allowed to colonial natives enables Tagore and Chin to build an inter-colonial relationship within the Japanese metropolis through the mediatory action of the English language. Neither native speakers of English nor residents of Japan, these two colonial travelers in a multi-layered colonial situation indicate the self-contradictory aspects of postcolonial voices: colonial intervention is required for colonial voices to be circulated both in production and reception. Despite the language barrier, Chin still does not give up on direct communication between the colonies and asks Tagore to write exclusively for Korean youth. He envisions that Tagore's own words for Koreans, written without risk of colonial censorship or distortion, would inspire his

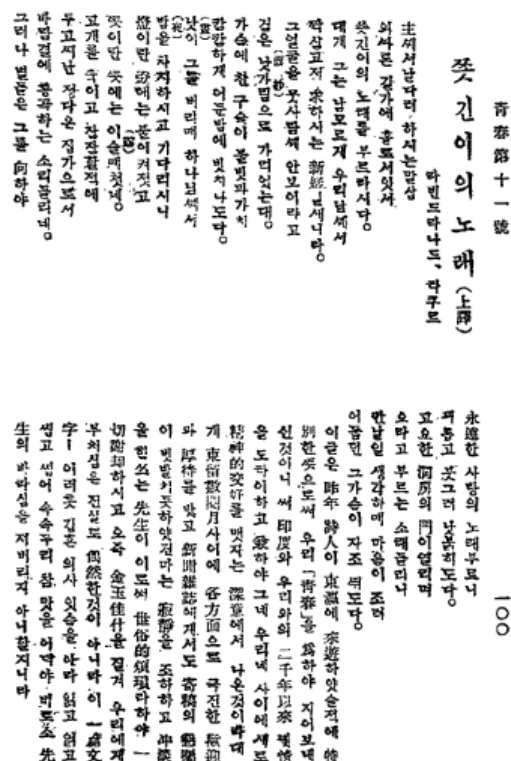
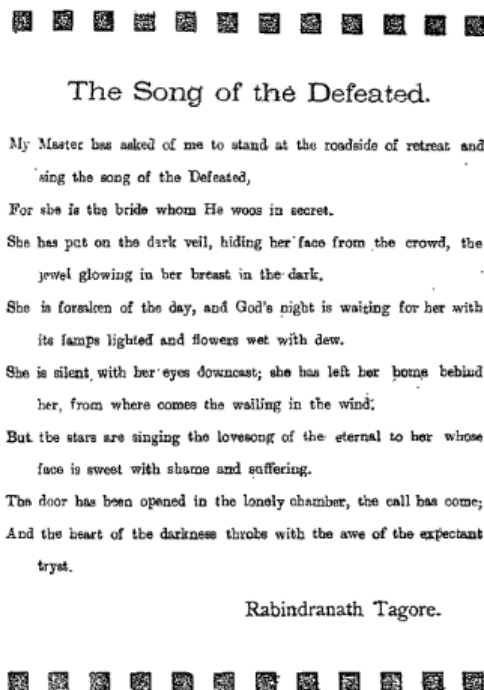


Figure 5: Tagore's "The Song of the Defeated" and Korean translation in *Ch'ongch'un*

country's people more than any philosophy or writing from the West. Tagore was also aware of the Korean language and that Koreans did not write in Japanese despite their colonial situation.

The fact that Tagore gave Chin his English poem "The Song of the Defeated" seems to indicate Tagore's awareness of the common colonial condition between the two countries.⁵⁰

Owing to censorship, the title of the poem has been translated into Korean in different ways—

⁵⁰ The entire lines of "The Song of the Defeated" are as following: "My Master has bid me while I stand at the roadside, to sing the song of Defeat, for that is the bride whom He woos in secret. She has put on the dark veil, hiding her face from the crowd, but the jewel glows on her breast in the dark. She is forsaken of the day, and God's night is waiting for her with its lamps lighted and flowers wet with dew. She is silent with her eyes downcast; she has left her home behind her, from her home has come that wailing in the wind. But the stars are singing the love-song of the eternal to a face sweet with shame and suffering. The door has been opened in the lonely chamber, the call has sounded, and the heart of the darkness throbs with awe because of the coming tryst."

from “the song of the defeated” to “the song of the chased”—yet the message of the Indian poet was never lost to Koreans (95). Chin in his introduction adds, “Our Sir Tagore is the great prophet spreading the spirituality of the East in the twentieth century. Tagore, a secondary citizen of the colony that had been an object of ridicule and scorn, received enthusiastic greetings from the British empire as a great philosopher and great poet” (95-96). Chin’s intimacy towards Tagore (calling him “our” Tagore) reveals his reading of Tagore is based on their shared colonial status, envisioning the inter-colonial solidarity between the two. The fact that the great poet handpicked a special poem, conveying the message of the defeated, inspired Korean readers powerfully and confirmed the special bond between the colonies.

While he visited Japan in 1916, 1924, and 1929, and China in 1924, Tagore never visited Korea, despite constant invitations from Korean literary circles and newspapers. The popularity of Tagore in Korea, however, couldn’t be more visible. Colonial Korea’s love for Tagore continued into the 1920s, so much so that Kim Byŏngch’ŏl writes, “in the history of translations in colonial Korea, it is hard to deny that the translations of Tagore in 1920s were more prevalent than those of any other writers” (371). Besides the translation of Tagore’s works, Korean media frequently reported Tagore’s whereabouts and his visits to other Asian countries. *Donga ilbo*, for example, published fifteen articles about Tagore before/during his two-month visit to China and Japan in 1924.⁵¹ The frequency and depth of the articles denotes Koreans’ strong desire to connect to Tagore from a marginal place.

⁵¹ *Donga ilbo* deals with diverse topics in regarding Tagore during his visit of Japan and China in detail: Tagore’s acceptance of an invitation from China (“Inviting Great Indian Poet” June 03, 1923), his itinerary (“Great Indian Poet Mr. Tagore Will Stop over in Japan after China” Apr. 06, 1924), the purpose of visit (“Uniting Asia is Urgent, said Great Poet Mr. Tagore” Apr. 14, 1924), (“Awakening the Chinese” Apr. 21, 1924), and local response (“Tagore’s First Lecture” June 11, 1924.).

Given that Tagore turned down Korean invitations several times, the linkage between Korea and Tagore was almost wholly created and maintained by Koreans through the creative interpretations of Tagore's works. The absence of the direct communication with Tagore allowed local writers to find more creative and independent ways to read Tagore's writings. These writers then incorporated Tagore's postcolonial spirit into their own writings and accentuated the postcolonial aspects of Tagore's works. In this context, the various version of "The Lamp of the East" is a great example to support my argument. Similar to "The Song of the Defeated," the piece was a special creation of Tagore for the Korean public upon the request of *Donga ilbo* during his second visit of Japan in 1924. The poem is one of best-known and beloved poems among Koreans, and was even published in Korean textbooks in 2003.⁵² As I will demonstrate here, the different versions of "The Lamp of the East," each diverging from the original, illustrate how Korean colonial intellectuals projected their own interpretations and desires onto Tagore's original piece. The range and richness of inter-colonial connections Korean intellectuals were able to produce may be seen in a comparison of three versions of "The Lamp of the East": Tagore's original version, the 1924 Korean version, and the contemporary version used in the Korean textbook.

⁵² For more on the controversy over the authenticity of different versions of "The Lamp of the East," see Hong Untaek's "'Tagorūō taehan pulpyōnhan chinsil'" ("Uncomfortable Truth about Tagore", 2012), Kim Jinkyōng's "Tagorūō taehan pulpyōnhan chinsil'ul ilgo" ("After Reading 'Uncomfortable Truth about Tagore'," 2013), and Kim Ucho "Tagorūūi Chosōne taehan insikgwa Chosōnesōūi Tagorū suyong" ("Tagore's Recognition of Chosōn and the Reception of Tagore in Chosōn," 2014). These studies on Korea's reception of Tagore often underestimate the colonial intellectuals' reading of Tagore, to establish a personal and intimate links, as "misreadings" or "over-readings," even condemning it as "the internal complex of Koreans" or "uncomfortable truth." These studies reveal, based on historical research, that the special solidarity with Tagore that Koreans believed in was nothing but a fantasy and sham, as his poems sent to Korea were not original materials but extracted parts from his previous works. For example, "The Song of the Defeated," believed to be specially written for Korea, was a poem from his poetry collection *Fruit Gathering* published in New York in 1916. This fact later disappointed many Koreans. This chapter rather than focus on the authenticity of Tagore's Korean translations, interprets such distortions of the original text as Koreans' creative appropriation of postcoloniality in Tagore's works.

On April 2, 1929, *Donga ilbo* published the Korean translation of “The Lamp of the East” on the second page, and the original English text on the next day. In addition to the poem, the reporter writes that when they sent Tagore an invitation to Korea, Tagore instead sent a reply through his American secretary.

[Tagore’s Original English]

In the golden age of Asia
Korea was one of its lamp-bearers,
and that lamp is waiting
to be lighted once again
for the illumination
in the East.

[Korean Translation]

In the *early* golden age of Asia
Korea was one of its lamp-bearers,
and *when* that lamp is ~~waiting to be~~ lighted once again
You will be ~~for~~ the illumination of ~~in~~ the East.

The newspaper introduced it as poetry and added the title “The Lamp of the East” – a title not included in Tagore’s original memo, and the translator Chu Yohan reduced the lines from 6 to 4. The meaning of “lamp” is notably different in the translation. Tagore often used the image of a light or a lamp as a metaphor for Asia. As he said in his lecture, “the eternal light will again shine in the East—the East which has been the birth place of morning sun of man’s history. . . my salutation to that sun rise of the East, which is destined once again to illumine the whole

world.” (Tagore, “Japan” 56). Tagore’s usage of “lamp” means the new, demanding role for Asia as an alternative to failing European civilization. According to him, Asia bears the responsibility to shed light on the entire world, and therefore Korea as one of the lamp-bearers becomes a part of the project. However, the translation distorts Tagore’s meaning by emphasizing the special mission of Korea over other Asian countries, for it will become the illumination *of* East, not illumination *from* the East. In this context, the translation changes Tagore’s Pan-Asian idealism into the Korean resistance against Japanese colonial rule: The forgotten glory from the past (unlighted lamp) would be recovered at the moment of postcolonial liberation (“when the lamp is lighted”), so that a newly liberated Korea might lead the East (“be the illumination of the East”). By changing the original message from one of Pan-Asianism into one of Korea’s liberated future, the translation reinvents Tagore’s special message as something exclusively designed for Koreans. In doing so, the translator aims to provoke nationalism and anti-Japanese sentiment among Koreans.⁵³

The most recent version of “The Lamp of the East,” published in a textbook in the early 2000s, is again different from the original text. An unknown translator combined the 1916 translation of Tagore’s with another poem by Tagore, “Gitanjali: 35”:

In the golden age of Asia
Korea was one of its lamp-bearers,
and once the lamp is lighted again,
You will be the illumination of the East.

⁵³ There are some cases to show that “The Lamp of the East” made the analogy of a lamp as a popular self-image of Korea among Korean writers. For instance, the Censorship Division of the Police Department banned a Korean article in the journal *Chosŏn Munye* [Literature in Korea], because the author “leapt for joy to read ‘The Lamp of the East.’” In the banned article the writer, calling himself “a poor Korean youth” lamented the current state that Korea and stated that there still existed a flicker of hope because “the lamp that has been put off may be lighted again.” (“The Monthly Report” 8 (1929): 33, qtd. in Mizutani).

*Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening thought and action
Into that heaven of freedom, ~~my Father~~, let my country, Korea [inserted], be awake.*

According to Kim Ucho's research, this version began to circulate in the 1970s and has been widely accepted by various anthologies and text books in Korea as the official version of "The Lamp of the East" (81). By selecting the poem "Gitanjali: 35," the anonymous translator intensifies the anti-colonial message of "The Lamp of the East" even more, providing a detailed elaboration of the postcolonial condition exhibited throughout the repeated phrase "where." Used as supplementary material to the 1916 version, "Gitanjali: 35" is particularly applicable to colonial Korea's situation wherein freedom of speech was oppressed by colonial censorship and interruption. The last line, in which the most significant change occurs, illustrates the translator's intention to encourage a postcolonial nationalist reading of the text. By deleting the words "my Father," the translator not only diminishes the religious implication of the original, but also specifies the identification of "my country" as "Korea" for the local reader's awakening. The authority of Tagore as a postcolonial voice from the outside makes this imagined bond between the Indian writer and Korean reader all the more special. The different versions of "The Lamp of the East" demonstrate how colonial Korean intellectuals exerted the postcolonial reading of

Tagore and invented the postcoloniality of the original text. Koreans then saw their lost country and the fantasy of restoration in “The Lamp of the East,” at a time when it was not possible to express the desire for liberation in their own language and literature under the colonial censorship. Such a tendency continued in the reception of Irish literature in colonial Korea.

4.4 JAPAN’S IRELAND: THE IRISH PROBLEM IN COLONIAL KOREA

Following the active translation of Rabindranath Tagore, Korean interest in Irish literature rapidly increased in the late 1920s and early 1930s as translators and scholars expanded their interest in common colonial experiences. The Irish Literary Revival movement was of great interest to Korean literary circles, particularly the School of Foreign Literature. During this period, Irish literature became a proper subject for academic research—globally speaking—and was taught at Japanese and Korean universities. Irish literature was of particular interest to Korean writers who perceived the prestige Irish literature attained through promoting locality (i.e. Irishness).

In the early reception, it was Japanese scholars who first suggested comparing Ireland and Korea. They were interested in the “Irish problem” as it pertained to the success or failure of the British empire, an example from which the newly emerging Japanese empire intended to learn. Yanaihara Tadao, a professor at Tokyo Imperial University, compared the Irish question to Japan’s “Korean question”:

People tend to say that Korea is Japan’s Ireland. Provided that they [Koreans] have a long history of exchange with us, that they were culturally more developed than us in the past, that they had been invaded by our army several times, that the racial proximity between

the two is very close but not identical, and that the physical proximity builds a close relationship in economy and national defense, it is not utterly wrong to compare the relationship between Korea and us to that of Ireland and England. . . We are interested in studying the Irish case because we have Korea (as well as Manchuria and Taiwan).

(Yanaihara, “Aeran munjewa Chosŏn munje” [“Irish Question and Korean Question”] 7.)

Yanaihara argues that the Irish case demonstrates the success of British colonial assimilation policy on a colony. For Japan, it was important to decide if colonial policies should aim to assimilate Koreans as equal to Japanese imperial citizens, or to separate them as second-class citizen. In other words, it is also a question of the identity of the Japanese empire in relation to western empires: Does Japan share any common characteristics with the rest of Asia, i.e. her colonies? The Irish question then invokes Japan’s complicated stance between Pan-Asianism and the desire to have honorary “whiteness.”

The analogy of Korea-as-Ireland also spurred interest in Irish literature among Japanese literary scholars. Japanese dramatist Kikuchi Kan, who developed his interest in Irish modern drama during his years at the University of Kyoto, wrote many articles on the Irish dramatist Synge and other Irish plays for the magazine *Teikoku Bungaku* (*Imperial Literature*). Japanese scholars of English literature notably tended to categorize Irish literature as a sub-category of British literature, treating it as a successful case of local ethnic literature merging into imperial literature. The methodology for contextualizing Irish literature in Japan, then, was certainly adapting and reproducing the academic tendency and discourses of British literary scholars. Ernest Renan’s *The Poetry of the Celtic Races* (1896) and Matthew Arnold’s *On the Study of Celtic Literature* (1866) were the two widely circulated texts on Irish literature in Japan. The texts attempt to connect Celtic literature to English literature by erasing the colonial tension, as

Arnold, who does not know a single word in the Celtic language, declares his "desire to know [the Celt's] case thoroughly, and to be just to it" (302). Both texts define the characteristics of Irish literature in terms of Celtic spirituality, melancholy, and the Celtic treatment of nature – which is not fit for the survival in the modern world.

Renan's and Arnold's perspectives were also circulated in Korea through Korean students who received colonial education at Japanese universities, yet they did not necessarily see Irish characteristics as pre-modern or inferior. Instead they saw them as positive aspects of Irish culture and encouraged Koreans to empathize with Irish culture even more and project their own self-image onto Irish representations.⁵⁴ Ireland as a "white" colony of the "white" colonizer reminded Koreans of their own status as a "yellow" colony of the "yellow" colonizer, and in consequence to consider Irish history and literature as an example of how Koreans might solve their own problem.

Korean intellectuals' attitudes towards Ireland is well described in Chŏng Insŏp's "Aeran muntan pangmunki" ("Travel Report of Ireland Literary Circle") published in Korean literary magazine *Samch'ŏnri*. Chronicling his memorable trip to Ireland and Abbey Theater, the essay reveals the problematic status of English in Irish literature. Identifying himself as "a scholar of English literature," Chŏng expresses his special sympathy with Ireland as he writes, "a humble traveler came to the land of humble people!" en route to Dublin (155). In his detailed description of Irish literary figures and historical places around Dublin City, Chŏng pays a great attention to the education of young Irish students and is impressed by the fact that all the classes are conducted in English, and students speak standardized English more than their British peers. He

⁵⁴ Im Hak-su expresses his thoughts on the similarity between Ireland and Korea in his travelogue of Ireland. "Needless to say, Ireland and we have a lot in common. The national characteristics between the two seem similar. Irish people, like us, are given the talent of imagination and artistic sensibility instead of the survival skills in reality. This is why they are called the people of dream and myth" (*Chokwang* 1937).

expresses his concerns about the linguistic strategy of the Irish Renaissance in a conversation with Yeats:

“I have some questions for you, Sir. What do you think about the issue of language in your writing?”

This question seems to irritate him [Yeats]. He immediately put down his book manuscript that he was holding on his bed and then slowly straightened up his upper body and answered my question in a clear tone while staring at my face.

“English is the only language I know, so I write in it.”

“Don’t some writers attempt to write in the Gaelic language that is seen in the recent boom in the revival of Gaelic language?”

“Yes. But that does not mean that we have to abandon English. We still can create a certain impact through English. Moreover, English provides wider reach. I am not sure about what it will look like in the next generation, though...”

I [Chǒng] did not feel the need to pursue his answers more. Nor did I want to jump to a quick conclusion or judge right and wrong of Mr. Yeats. This conversation only allows me to understand a little bit more about his current situation and the Irish people’s complicated relationship to England. (165-68)

As a colonial intellectual from Korea, Chǒng points out the self-contradictory nature of using English as a primary medium among the colonized, and the tension between ethnic/national language and global/imperial language. Even though he directs the questions towards the Ireland situation, what underlies his question is the comparison between Ireland and Korea. More importantly, Chǒng introduces himself as a “scholar of English literature who has studied and is interested in Yeats’ works for long time” (164). This indicates that the colonial subject

appropriates the cultural capital of English literature for their self-expression and inter-colonial circulation, and this is why Chŏng, in particular keenly understands Yeats' limitation as much as his achievement. The episode suggests the circulation of marginal voices constantly disturbs the central system that often fails to anticipate unexpected receptions of writing from the center.

The problem of a colonial subject's linguistic practice in Chŏng Insŏp's essay was also one of the main topics in Korean newspapers and literary magazines regarding Irish literature. They designated numerous special issues to Irish literature, especially focusing on the Irish literary revival, a revival of interest in Ireland's Gaelic heritage and the growth of Irish nationalism. For instance, *Samch'ŏnri* designed special issues that introduced the emergence of national literature in different locations: *Kŏnsŏlgiŭi kukminmunhak* (*The Series of National Literature in its Construction Period*, 1934) and *Sekyemunhak tŭkpyol kangja* (*Special Lecture Series in World Literature*, 1935). The strong prioritization of Irish literature can be seen in the fact that Irish literature was aligned, instead of English literature, along with other western literatures, such as German, French, Russian in the special issues. It was Kim Kwangsŏp, a member of the School of Foreign Literature, who wrote most columns on Irish literature in both special issues.

In his essay "Aeran minchokmunhak kŏnsŏlcha, Wilrŏm Bŏtlrŏ Yeich'ŭ" ("The Founding Father of Irish National Literature, William B. Yeats"), Kim Kwangsŏp introduces W.B Yeats as "the founder of the Irish Literary Movement" along with a summary of the long and tragic history of the Celtic and Irish literary movement under British colonial rule (256). His essay raises an uncomfortable question on the linguistic practice of a colonial subject in Irish literature:

There is an important problem in the works of Yeats and Synge. The criticism, raised by other Irish critics, is whether they are able to define authentic Irishness without knowing

the Irish language. As the Celts and Anglo-Saxons are different ethnic groups, so are their languages. Provided a mother tongue of one country is the ultimate asset given to the people, this explains the reason why England attempted to put the Irish language out of existence. ... Because Yeats' works are written in English, one English critic called him "a great English poet." Since it is hard to construct the true national identity without knowing the language, it is questionable whether Yeats rightly represents the real voice of Irish people and it is equally understandable that some Irish nationalists or radical revolutionists criticize him regarding this matter. However, like literature written in the Irish English language, literature in Gaelic language is also indebted to Yeats in terms of its constructive role in Irish literary revival (257).

Kim maintains an ambiguous attitude towards the language problem in Irish literature. While adapting the nationalist criticism of Anglo-Irish writers, he does not deny the accomplishment of Anglo-Irish writers in the Irish Literary Revival. After all, it was their choice of the English language that enabled Koreans to encounter their works. If Yeats had written in Irish, a local language, rather than English, the language of colonization, then his works would surely have been lost to Korean readers. For Korean writers who tried their nationalist goals to the future of a local language, the path which brought success to Irish literature seemed uncomfortable and awkward. Therefore, the Irish question regarding national language and national literature constantly challenged a Korea under Japanese colonial influence.

4.5 PERFORMING ANTICOLONIAL VOICE: INTERTEXTUALITY BETWEEN *THE SHADOW OF A GUNMAN AND A MUD HUT*

Even though Korean intellectuals considered Yeats the core figure of Irish Literary Movement, making claims such as, “Irish literary revival begins from Yeats and ends with Yeats,” (Kim Kwangsöp, “Aeran munhaküi ryunhak” [“Introduction to Irish literature”] 246), they found it hard to use Yeats’ poems as direct anti-colonial reference points, as they had done before with Tagore’s works. It was not an easy task to channel Yeats’s life-long interest in mysticism, spiritualism, and Irish legends into a direct expression of anti-colonial resistance. Even though Yeats’ use of Irish local materials indicates the political action of a colonial subject that seeks to recover a literary history long suppressed by British rule, the content itself was not necessarily translated into Korean in a way that would preserve these anti-colonial leanings. It was the more accessible work of the dramatists of Abbey Theater, as an exemplary form of the self-expression by a colonial subject, that attracted Korean literati. The Theater Arts Research Association (TARA), for example, sought to emulate the spirit of Irish Abbey Theater and kindle anti-colonial consciousness and pride in national culture among the Korean locals in 1931.⁵⁵

Yu Chi’jin (1905–1974), one of the main founding members of TARA and dramatist, developed his strong interest in Irish drama when he studied English literature at Rikyo University in Japan. One lecture on Irish literature by a Japanese professor inspired him to read

⁵⁵ TARA consisted of the former members of The School of Foreign Literature who had majored in foreign literature at Japanese universities. Yu Ch’ijin (English), Hong Hwasöng (French), Yi Hayun (English), Kim Chiinsöp (German), Seo Hangsök (German) were the main members. If the School of Foreign Literature aimed to introduce diverse foreign literature into Korea, TARA led the New Drama movement in their experimental attempts to create their own plays and introduce important foreign plays. They staged twelve original plays and twenty-four foreign ones during the twenty-four regular performances (Hwang 561). The members of TARA believed in the role of theater to educate the public when school system was dominated by the Japanese colonial government.

the works of Synge, Madam Gregory, and O'Casey. He assumed that his interest was based on the similarity of the national situation between the two: "Ireland, like Korea, has long suffered from national humiliation during British rule, more than any other people in the world. . . Their literature is embedded with sadness in laughter; for they are poor but kind, have loved arts even in suffering. In this sense, it seems to me that Irish literature resembles our literature. I felt deep compassion arise from the bottom of my heart" (Yu, "Nangman" 92). Yu wrote his B.A. thesis at Rikyo University about Sean O'Casey and the piece was published in *Chosŏn ilbo* entitled, "Sean O'Casey, a Playwright from Working Class Background" on December 25, 1932. For Yu, Sean O'Casey was an artistic mentor who provided exemplary direction in contrast to the mystic spiritualism in much of Ireland's literature, what he defined as "literature escaping from reality" (Yu, "Sean O'Casey"). Welcoming O'Casey's realism in his plays – a realism that separated O'Casey from the previous Irish writers, Yu valued O'Casey's realistic approach in depicting a slum in Dublin, "corrupted and corroded by the modern civilization (Yu, "Sean O'Casey").

While Yu Ch'ijin adapts O'Casey's characterization of the colonized, he does not necessarily agree with O'Casey's skeptical perspective on Irish nationalism. Yu rather focuses on a play as a tool for self-expression of the colonized. As he writes, "there were no other people who felt more want for self-expression than the Koreans" (Yu, "Sin'gŭksŏlripŭi chŏnmang" ["Perspective on the Construction of New Modern Drama"] 30). He was interested in depicting the voice of peasants, the marginalized group who suffered the most from the lack of self-expression and colonial economic exploitation:⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Japanese colonialism brought major land tenure charges that produced modern landownership and extreme inequality in colonial Korea. Illiterate Korean peasant lost their land and became landless tenants because they could not understand the notion of "reportism" (Robinson 40).

Let's reclaim a play from being a sensual entertainment of city dwellers, and take it to rural villages, fishing villages, or mountain villages; to peasants, fishers, and miners. And then let's speak to them about what we want to say. They are extremely deprived of the language to articulate the conditions of their lives. Even though they were the most important corner stones of our society, they have not been allowed a chance to recognize their current situation. Let them speak of their lives. Let them realize where they are and what they are capable of. (Yu, "Sin'güksŏlripŭi chŏnmang" 31)

In this regards, Yu finds O'Casey's realism an ideal tool for providing colonial peasants with an instrument for self-expression. Being from a rural area, Yu writes that O'Casey's works realistic characters remind him of poor peasants in his hometown. O'Casey's strong interest in the representation of a subordinate social group in Dublin inspired Yu to develop the colorful characterizations of an isolated peasant society in colonial Korea. Yu's early works, *A Mud Hut* (1932), *Cow* (1935) and *The Landscape of the Village Under the Willow* (1936)—called the "peasant trilogy"—were strongly influenced by Sean O'Casey's Dublin trilogy, *The Shadow of a Gunman* (1923), *Juno and the Paycock* (1924), and *The Plough and the Stars* (1926), particularly in terms of the realistic description of the poor in 1920s Dublin.

Both *The Shadow of a Gunman* and *A Mud Hut* were set in the 1920s, when the common conditions of colonialism had been reproduced into different locales. The historical significance of the 1920s is critical in both plays to capturing a moment of colonial protest both in Ireland and Korea. First, O'Casey set the play during the Irish Independence War, a historical fact reflected in many details in *The Shadow of a Gunman*.⁵⁷ The play centers on the mistaken identity of a

⁵⁷ In 1920, the bitter struggle between the Crown and the Irish separatist movement known as *Sinn Fein* ("We Ourselves") reached a critical stage. The struggle between Sinn Fein and the British Executive in Ireland intensified after the shooting of a policeman in Dublin and thus a curfew was imposed on the city. A special

building tenant Donal Davoren, a poet who is thought to be an IRA (Irish Republican Army) gunman. The real gunman was Maguire, Seamus's friend, who hides a bag full of bombs at the apartment before participating in an ambush where he is killed. In the end, Minnie Powell a young attractive tenant in love with Davoren, takes the bag in a gesture of self-sacrifice and is shot to death during the ambush. Yu's *A Mud Hut* also dates to the aftermath of the Samil Movement on March 1, 1919, the movement came as a result of the repressive nature of Japanese colonial occupation.⁵⁸ The play portrays the transnational ties that structured farm life in the 1920s: Myöngsö and family await a letter from their son, Myöngsu, a menial laborer in Japan, who sends the little money he earns home to them. Over a year has lapsed since his last note, suggesting the son lost his life fighting with the resistance, a fate that returns his family to poverty as the play ends.

Even though the historical events of local resistance serve as important background in both plays, neither of the plays focuses on the historical protests or heroic figures. Rather the plays highlight how those historical events create ongoing traumatic impact on the ordinary, often marginalized, members of each society. In this context, the locations, a Dublin tenement slum and a Korean rural village, represented how colonial exploitation caused the poverty of the colonial natives and destroyed the local community—effectively silencing them. In *the Shadow of a Gunman*, a small room shared by Davoren and Seamus in a tenement house in Hilljoy Square forms the main stage. The room has only a small window and a door that connects to the

police force called “the Black and Tans” recruited from the toughest ex-servicemen of the First World War. To combat these forces, the Irish Republican Army split into small groups of fifteen to thirty men who used guerilla tactics to keep their foes under constant strain. Many of its fighters lived on the run, moving continuously from place to place and seldom sleeping at home (Silverstri 72-76).

⁵⁸ Afterwards, the Japanese police attempted to suppress a non-violent procession. The Japanese officials later called in military forces to quell the crowds. This turned to violence resulting in massacres. Approximately 2,000,000 Koreans participated in the more than 1,500 demonstrations, many of whom were massacred by the Japanese police force and army (Ryu, “1920nyöndaë” 175-180).

outside world. All tenants are under curfew and scared of the horrible sounds of ambush and gun shooting on street where the violence of Irish nationalist protests adds more pain to the tenements. Conversely, Yu portrays the rural village in *A Mud Hut* as eerily empty, for the young men had “like a grasshopper, jump[ed] out to other places as they wish,” leaving old hags and cripples behind, turning the village, gradually, into “a grave,” or “a useless trash bin” (Act 1). Illiterate peasants obviously dismiss the anti-colonial protesters as “young brats [who] run away from their homes” “to be rich” yet still “ashamed of their shabby father and mother” (Act 1). Rather than judging the characters as right or wrong, both plays focus on depicting diverse and conflicting local responses to colonial rule. Eschewing the repetition of stories about worthy heroes or glorious fights, the plays offer no clear-cut victories or rosy decolonizing moments, only dark visions and inevitable death.

Direct violence never receives representation on the stage in *The Shadow of a Gunman*. As the word “shadow” implies, O’Casey delivers violence to the audience through sound and in the form of dialogue. For instance, the news of Minnie’s death is addressed by Davoren “in a tone of horror-stricken doubt standing up rigidly” saying, “d’ye hear what they’re sayin’, Shields, d’ye hear what they’re sayin’? —Minnie Powell is shot” (Act 2). Here the audience observes Davoren’s response to Minnie’s death, as the stark stage registers the felt absence of her dead body. The absence of visible colonial violence points to O’Casey’s strategy of directing the audience to focus on the internal tensions and responses aroused within the Irish community. Hence the gunman only exists in a shadow that functions as an interpretative vacuum into which each character projects his or her own sentiments, of either glory or contempt, for Irish nationalism. O’Casey takes no sides, for “it’s the civilians that suffer; when there’s an ambush they don’t know where to run. Shot in the back to save the British Empire, an’ shot in the breast

to save the soul of Ireland” (Act 1). He portrays what he sees as the impact of senseless violence and the debunking of romantic nationalist mythology on the local community.



Figure 6: The production of *A Mud Hut* by the Korean National Theater, 2015

Similar to *The Shadow of a Gunman*, *A Mud Hut* stages no explicit image of colonial violence. All the news and auspicious rumors about the son in Japan are delivered entirely through the modern technologies of the newspaper and the postal service to the farmer's family. The head of the village, for instance, drops by Myöngsö's house and shows him and his wife a piece of old newspaper with a blurred picture of their son and a brief article, stating that he was involved in the liberation movement and was scheduled to receive a death sentence:

The head of the village: Yes, the newspaper seems to say this thoughtless guy named Myöngsu secretly participated in the liberation with his crews. . .

Myöngsö's wife: What is "liberation" [*haepang*]?

Myöngsö: It means he disturbed [*hwepang*] other people's business, right?

The head of the village: No, not "disturbance" [*hwepang*], but "liberation" [*haepang*].

You don't know a thing.

Myöngsö: No, I don't. (Act 1)

The word play between "hwepang" (disturbance) and "haepang" (liberation) creates a comical effect in the scene because, under the colonial rule, liberation means disturbing the hegemony of the colonizer. To the note of comedy, Yu adds tragedy by realistically depicting problems of access, for Myöngsö and his wife are not able to confirm whether the blurred photo actually depicts their son. "[O]ld and smeared," the copy of a newspaper—a newspaper they do not own themselves—cannot confirm the fact of their tragedy, implying further just how marginalized colonial peasants were from modern technology.

Another plot detail further emphasizing the reality of disenfranchisement when a mailman from the post office delivers Myöngsu's bones boxed in a small container. Showing indifference to the object of his delivery, the mailman complains about the absence of proper address nameplates, implying that the village fails to keep up with the modernized postal system. As with the tragic death of Minnie Powell, *A Mud Hut* ends with a scene in which Myöngsö's son is returned dead to the family. It is suggested that Myöngsö was killed in prison because of his Korean liberation activism, yet Myöngsu's remains only hint at the extreme violence of Japanese colonialism that he endured, tortured, dismembered, and silenced as his body is in the end. His bones do not bear any historical record or provide a clear explanation of his years in the colonial metropolis. Instead, their presence on stage enables the audience to infer the violence and pain of colonial subjects caused by colonial oppression. The last scene, in this sense, focuses on the grim reactions of the parents in response to the death of their son:

Myöngsö's wife: (gathering scattered bones) Myöngsu, my son! You finally came back to us as ashes to the mud hut that you were born and raised in. There are no more dark and long nights of waiting, worrying, and crying! Myöngsu, now I can finally hold you in my arms.

Myöngsö: ...I don't want to see it! Send it back!

Kümnyö: Father, don't be sad. Don't be sad but live on, father! My brother will never abandon us. His soul is within us here and will take care of us. Let's live on, father!

Myöngsö: ...I don't want to see it! Send it back!

(Myöngsö's wife gathers the bones back and folds her hands together as if in prayer while murmuring. Wind blows. The end.) (Act 2)

While the mother becomes more conspicuous with her madness, the father continues to deny the death of his son in frustration.⁵⁹ The fatalism of the mother, aligned with the national tragedy of the motherland, triggers increasing sympathy and rage among the audience, which is further augmented by the helpless father's constant denial.

In contrast to the frustration of the passive parents, the play allows feeble hope for postcolonial futures through the voice of Kümnyö, the young daughter of Myöngsö. She is the only character who realizes the true meaning of Myöngsu's death: "I went to Myöngsu's friend at the neighboring village, and he told me that what my brother did was noble and right. To live a better life, not die in a mud hut" (Act 2). As with Minnie Powell who is the only character in *The Shadow of a Gunman*, who takes action and sacrifices herself for another, the female voice in A

⁵⁹ Yö Sökgi suggests that the last scene resembles that of Synge's *A Rider to the East* where Maurya, an old mother who lost her last son at sea, says "they're all gone now, and there isn't anything more the sea can do to me. . . . I have no call now to be up crying and praying when the wind breaks from the south, and you can hear the surf is in the east" (285).

Mud Hut embodies the anti-colonial spirit. Minnie's last screaming "Up the Republic!" echoes Kümnyö's "Let's live on" as it resists the manipulating colonial repression. These two female characters indicate both O'Casey and Yu's views about true decolonizing moments: for them, they come from the bottom, as through the marginal voice of a woman.

In contrast to the spoken provocation of Minnie Powell and Kümnyö, the written language, a privilege of male elite group, is depicted as failing. For example, Davoren is pictured as a failed poet who cannot propose any critical visions or keen awareness of his social condition. Instead he constantly echoes the words of Shelley's tormented Prometheus "alas, pain, pain, pain ever, for ever" whenever his attempts to write are interrupted. In the end, his language is not only derivative, but it also belongs to the English canonical poet Shelley entirely. Even Davoren's reaction to Minnie's death is "all too easily assimilated into his practiced linguistic rituals" when it consists of a mere "repetition of Shelleyan fragments" (Ziegler 98). O'Casey ridicules the incompetence of the colonial elite who lacks originality and depends on the existing authority of imperial literature. Thus Davoren's pretentious "struggle for existence and the efforts towards self-expression" (Act 1) fails when there is no distinction between "Oh, Davoren, Donal Davoren, poet and poltroon, poltroon and poet!" (Act 2).

A Mud Hut transfers O'Casey's mocking of elite privilege into the failure of a colonial minority attempting to appropriate the cultural capital of the written language and modern technology. The play opens with Myöngsö, a peasant man in his sixties, attempting to write a letter to his estranged son in a dark and isolated room of a mud hut. The stage direction describes his timid mental status as "not congenial, as a result of long suffering sickness and the poverty" both the pathological condition and physical effect of colonialism (Act 1). The failed patriarch, whose old wife has assumed the management of their livelihood, delays writing his letter to his

son. His wife finally pressures him to finish, and complains, “How on the earth does it take so long to finish a piece of simple letter?” (Act 1). Myōngsō replies to his wife’s discomfort by saying “writing a letter is not an easy job” (Act 1), and as foreshadowed, the letter is never finished until the moment when his son is returned dead. His incapability to transfer his insight into written language demonstrates the limits of the written language to depict the lives of the colonial natives and the restrictions on the self-expression that colonial peasant in colonial Korea often experienced.

A Mud Hut was well-received among Korean audiences in 1930s. As O’Casey “offered something new on the Abbey stage” (Greene 48), Yu’s *Mud Hut* also provided something new that the Korean audience never experienced before. Yu writes of the play’s reception:

When the last show was finally over, some of audience, in the middle of a storm of applause, came to the dressing room to lift me up and down. . . Others were crying out loudly, “this is our life!” Probably the reason *A Mud Hut* could touch the heart of audience was, not because it was a great piece of art, but it gave people the self-expression of their reality under extremely oppressive circumstance. It is undeniable that *A Mud Hut*, differing from other contemporary plays that avoided describing reality, represented our sick and sad lives. Allegedly, the audience were agitated after they saw the representation of such reality on the stage. (Yu, “Nangman” 87-88)

This passage illustrates the ardent wish of Korean people to find the language to represent their circumstances. The strong response of the audience allows one to conjecture the impact of anti-colonial representation that *A Mud Hut* skillfully offers. The inter-textuality between *A Shadow of a Gunman* and *A Mud Hut* contribute to the awakening of postcolonial consciousness in colonial Korean and creates an imagined inter-colonial relationship beyond the borders.

4.6 CONCLUSION

During the mid-colonial period, Korean intellectuals translated Indian and Irish literature into Korean in search of templates for the kinds of anti-colonial voices after which they could fashion their own self-expression as colonial subjects. When Korean language and literature were suppressed under Japanese colonial censorship, Korean writers and critics turned to voices from other countries with similar colonial experiences to speak for them. The circulation of colonial literature during this period was possible through the collaboration between global and local literary systems. While the Nobel prize and literary circles of London were the major forces behind Rabindranath Tagore's and William Butler Yeats's international celebrity, it was local English majors and departments in Korea and Japan that drove the regional circulation of Indian and Irish texts for domestic purposes. Both Indian and Irish literatures during this period held an important place in Korean newspapers and literary magazines, and were translated more frequently than any other western country's literature. Despite studying within institutions run by the colonizer, English majors in Japan were able to tailor their English literary education to specialize in British colonial literature, as opposed to a general knowledge of canonical British literature, thus enabling the development of an imagined inter-colonial solidarity that constantly disturbed the British and Japanese readings of colonial literature.

Both "The Lamp of the East" and *A Mud Hut* illustrate how Korean writers utilized Anglo-Indian and Irish writings as a source to encourage national and anti-colonial consciousness among Koreans. The inter-textuality displayed in "The Lamp of the East" and *A Mud Hut* adds new layers of meanings in a vulnerable postcolonial voice, and furthermore claims that vulnerability as its very own creative force. Because of their own colonial condition, Korean intellectuals were the ones who read the postcolonial aspect of Indian and Irish literature, or

located those texts within an anti-colonial context. In this sense, the two cases suggest a different way of perceiving the global circulation of postcolonial literature beyond the dichotomy of center and margin, and shed light on the presence of a third place or the exchange between margins through the multiple centers. English as a global mediatory language, in this context, could not be owned solely by any imperial power; rather, it opened up a space for diverse practitioners and readers in its circulation.

The popularity of Indian and Irish literature in colonial Korea, however, quickly diminished in the late 1930s. Following the onset of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the colonial government pursued a policy of cultural assimilation whose primary goal was to force the Koreans to speak Japanese and to consider themselves Japanese subjects. In 1937, the Japanese governor general ordered that all instruction in Korean schools be in Japanese and that students not be allowed to speak Korean either inside or outside of school. During the war years Korean-language newspapers and magazines were shut down (Kim-Rivera 67-70). Under this circumstance, the reception of anti-colonial literature was significantly differentiated among the local writers. For instance, Ch'oe Jaesŏ, English literature faculty at Kyŏngsŏng Imperial University and the chief editor of *National Literature*, denied the analogy between Korean and Irish literature and compared Korean literature to Scottish literature:

Korean literature does not exist in opposition to Japanese literature. Korean literature exists as a part of Japanese literature. . . . Korean literature can be compared to Scottish literature that has maintained the Scottish peculiarity as a part of English literature. A few years ago when the issue of a language became controversial, there was a tendency to compare Korean literature to Irish one, but this is a risky thought. Even though Irish literature is written in English, the core spirit of Irish literature represents anti-British

mentality whose goal is to break away from England from the very beginning. In this context, I agree with neither the pessimists who claim the end of Korean literature, nor conformists who denies Korean literature. Needless to say my ultimate aim is to contribute to the construction of new Japanese culture by encouraging the creativity of Korea. (Ch'oe, "Chosŏnmunhakŭi hyŏndangye" ["The Current Stage of Korean Literature"] 14)

Here Ch'oe suggests the opposite evaluation of Irish literature and its connection to Korean literature. Ch'oe's thoughts on the new definition of national literature in the late colonial period shows how the prestigious scholar of English literature plays a major role in defining the location of Korean literature as a sub-category of new national literature based on his specialty on English literature.⁶⁰ Being fluent both in Korean and Japanese, Ch'oe began to publish the bilingual magazine *National Literature* in Korean and Japanese and eventually gave up the Korean edition in 1942. He considered Irish literature as a potential threat to his attempt to embrace Korean literature under Japanese rule. When the hopes for liberation were falling apart among Korean intellectuals in the late 1930s and the early 1940s, radical readings of anti-colonial voices and local creations by such voices came to a standstill in Korea.

In the following chapter, I shift geographical locations to follow anti-colonial writings by Korean intellectuals to their American context. Chapter 4, then, deals with the alternative route Koreans took to publish anti-Japanese voices. Abandoning their home-country to migrate to the

⁶⁰ Ch'oe was an exceptionally influential figure both in Japanese and Korean intellectual circles. He made his debut as a critic of English literature in prestigious Japanese magazines. For example, "The Critical Philosophy of T.E. Hulme" was published in *Usou (Thoughts)* in 1934, and "On Individuality in Modern Criticism" in *English Studies in Japan* in 1936. "The Recent Trend of British Criticism" (1936) was published in *Kaihaku (Awakening)*, one of the most prestigious magazine in Japan at that time, which indicates his exceptional status as a colonial elite.

United States, Koreans again expressed anti-colonial sentiments writing about their experiences in English for a global literary market.

**5.0 PUBLISHING POSTCOLONIAL VOICE IN AMERICA: COLONIAL
MEMORIES IN YOUNGHILL KANG’S *THE GRASS ROOF AND EAST GOES WEST*:
*THE MAKING OF AN ORIENTAL YANKEE***

I knew the Japanese language and tried to study the Western science. I found the Japs did not allow it to be taught in Korea. I wanted to go to America, but had no money or means to get there. First, I saw, I must go to Japan, among my enemies, to learn the Western science. I bought the clothes of a Japanese boy and stowed away on a boat for Japan.
(Younghill Kang, “When the Japs March in,” 110).

In his article “When the Japs March in” (1941), Younghill Kang recollects his desperate memories of being Korean under Japanese colonization. Here he describes modernization as a learning practice (“study the Western science”) and himself as a student yearning for Western learning. Kang’s learning is a translingual practice, as he accurately describes the double challenges that he faces: He has to learn a foreign language—Japanese—in order to access another foreign knowledge—Western science. Even though East Asians could internalize Western modernity through translation in general, the unevenness between Japan and Korea makes Korean reception of modernity more complicated. Despite its powerful influence on the colony, Japan remained the conduit for modernity, not its originator in Kang’s imagination. The presence of the West, as the symbol of originality, enables Kang to resist Japanese colonization

by passing as a “Japanese boy” to learn the Western science among “his enemies.” The risk of assimilation (being Japanese) cannot threaten his anti-colonial spirit because of the gap between the original (the West) and the translation (Japan). The imagined Anglophone readers also add more complexity to the passage, since this scene of an East Asian boy is described in English. The derogatory term “Japs” is especially well-chosen, considering the fact that the article was written right after the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941. Kang finally succeeds in penetrating the American minds that he always had dreamed of, notably, by using “Japs.” The education of a Korean boy is completed when he teaches the West about the “Japs.”

The passage demonstrates how the reception of western modernity is a complicated process in the case of Korea. In other words, it denotes that Western imperial education does not operate in Korea, a Japanese colony, in the same way it does in European colonies. More importantly, Kang’s writing raises the question of why his memories of the Japanese colonial period, his postcolonial experience, are written in English, for American readers. Considering the fact that most postcolonial writings have focused on the connection either to the center or the natives, his choice of a third language and readership seems odd. Similar to Kang, early Korean Anglophone writers, such as Jaepil Seo, Noyong Park, and Induk Park, also wrote about their Japanese colonial experiences in a critical tone in their first books published in the U.S. Their postcolonial writings mainly targeted readers outside Korea or Japan.⁶¹ One might ask how the U.S. and English came to play a role in the representation of Koreans’ colonial experiences. How does this connection indicate the transcultural and translingual practice of a Korean diasporic

⁶¹ Historically, Korean independence movements involved international resistance. Not only did Koreans form clandestine organizations to fight the Japanese within the country, they also established forward bases for the independence movement in Japan, China, Russia, and the United States. For example, in the Samil movement of March 1, 1919, when Korean leaders announced the Declaration of Independence, the protests continued for 12 months, and spread to Koreans resisting in Manchuria, the Maritime Provinces of Siberia, the United States, Europe, and even to Japan.

writer who confronts the Orientalist gaze of his potential readers and negotiates his description of one colonial experience in another colonial language?

My last chapter shifts the geographical focus from colonial Korea to America in order to investigate how America and American English assisted the early Korean writers in publishing their anti-colonial and anti-Japanese writings for Anglophone readers in the U.S. While some Korean writers tried to produce postcolonial voices inside Korea by appropriating English literature, other Korean writers began to write in the English language and published their postcolonial voices in America. This shift towards English and the United States was based on Koreans' perception of America as an anti-colonial power in contrast to Japanese and European imperial countries. In this sense, this chapter seeks to re-read the writings of the early Korean diasporic writers in the U.S. within a postcolonial framework and to focus on their translingual practice of expressing Japanese colonial experiences in English, rather than reading them as assimilation stories of early immigrants.

Younghill Kang's *The Grass Roof* and *East Goes West* shed light on the role of America and American English within the diasporic Korean writers' resistant to Japanese colonialism. I argue that not only did America and American English provide Korean diasporic writers a literary space to express postcolonial voices based on physical and linguistic distance from Japan, but they also unconsciously contributed to the development of postcolonial consciousness among Korean diasporic writers. The same writers gradually came to see America as a global imperial power along with Japan. Both *The Grass Roof* and *East Goes West* specifically illustrate how Kang confronts the challenges of publishing postcolonial literature in the global literary market and how he adapts various literary strategies to negotiate between an attempt to commodify him as an exotic object and his desire to maintain an authorial agency that is often

found in the publication of postcolonial literature. The last part of the chapter will deal with reader responses to Kang's works, in order to investigate how the postcolonial message of his works provoke misreadings or inspire other colonial writers to produce their own postcolonial voices.

5.1 AMERICA AS POSTCOLONIAL PUBLISHING SPACE FOR KOREANS

Younghill Kang was born in the northern part of Korea in 1903, seven years before Japanese annexation. As a child, he witnessed abrupt changes in his native country as "the foreigners began to come in larger numbers" (*The Grass Roof* 98). Under Japanese colonization, Kang decided to move to Japan for better educational opportunities. Later he would relocate to the U.S. with the help of Canadian missionaries in Korea. He studied English literature at several different Canadian and American universities and taught comparative literature at New York university in the 1930s.

As a writer, Kang was prolific. He translated Chinese, Japanese, and Korean poetry with his wife, Frances Kelly. The writer Thomas Wolfe lauded Kang's talent and introduced him to Maxwell Perkins, the chief editor of Charles Scribner's Sons publishing house. Perkins helped Kang publish two of his major works, *The Grass Roof* (1931) and *East Goes West* (1937). Both of them are autobiographical stories about Chungpa Han, Kang's literary stand-in. The education of Chungpa is the major concern in both texts: *The Grass Roof* is the story of Chungpa's early education in Korea, whereas *East Goes West* is the story of his education in America. *The Grass Roof* sold well and was ranked a bestseller in non-fiction by Charles Scribner's Sons bookstore in New York in the same year that Pearl Buck's *The Good Earth* was a bestseller in fiction. It

sold steadily until the 1950s and was translated into twelve languages, including German, French, and Turkish. Because of the success of *The Grass Roof*, Kang obtained a reputation as a star author from Asia as well as an expert on East Asia. As a result, Kang could start his second book project, *East Goes West: The Making of an Oriental Yankee*, which shifts his focus from Asians in Asia to Asians in America. He seemed to successfully join the circle of literary celebrities and intellectuals in 1930s New York, including Malcolm Cowley, Pearl Buck, Lewis Mumford, Maxwell Perkins, and Charles Scribner.

From the late nineteenth centuries, America began to emerge as a world power in ways that would complicate how Koreans understood the U.S. American imperialism was already gradually emerging around the world under the enthusiastic direction of Presidents McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt, beginning with the Spanish-American War in 1898 and continuing into the First World War (Young 41). Although East Asia was not a direct colony of the U.S., like the Philippines, and Puerto Rico, it was America that disrupted the Euro-centric economic and political influence/control in East Asia at that time. However, many reform-minded Koreans did not consider America an imperial power akin to European countries and the Japanese empire. Rather it represented to many Koreans the voice of liberty and democracy, as well as a land of freedom and equality. In this sense, Korean intellectuals in America were some of the most passionate supporters and reproducers of American exceptionalism.⁶² For example, the first issue of *The Independent*, a Korean newspaper in the 1890s, praises America's contribution to the independence of Cuba in juxtaposition to the exploitation of the Spanish empire, as the editor

⁶² It would be wrong to assume that all Korean intellectuals had the same attitude toward America. Some Korean intellectual groups criticized America for not being different from European and Japanese imperial powers. For example, the Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai issued a 1921 manifesto stating, "[L]ook at the exploitation by the British in India, by the French in Annam, and by the United States in the Philippines. By observing these phenomena, it is not difficult to see who is truly our friend, and who is our foe" (qtd. in Ch'oe *Sources* 357).

calls it “a truly heroic action for liberty and democracy” (“Editorial” Apr. 7, 1896, 4). While *The Independent* was strictly opposed to all sorts of colonial governance, they did not perceive America as a colonial power: “this [Independent] arch means independence not from China alone but from Japan from Russia and from all European powers” (“Editorial” June 20, 1896, 4). Other examples of this anti-colonial sentiment are The March First Declaration of Independence. The Declaration of Independence pledged a new international obligation towards small states:

Since the American Present proclaimed the Fourteen Points, the voice of national self-determination has swept the world, and twelve nations, including Poland, Ireland, and Czechoslovakia, have obtained independence. How could we, the people of the great Korean nation, miss this opportunity? Our compatriots aboard are utilizing this opportunity to appeal for the recovery of national sovereignty. (qtd. in Ch’oe *Sources* 111)

The Samil Manifest echoes the theme of Wilsonian self-determination of small nations to appeal for “the recovery of [Korean] national sovereignty” (Christine Hong 177). In this lieu, Korean nationalist Ahn Ch’angho’s “A Korean Appeal to America” was published in the April 19, 1919 issue of *The Nation* where he addressed not his fellow Koreans, but his “fellow-Christians and citizens of the world’s foremost Power” in order to appeal for “justice and humanity” (228).⁶³ Ahn’s call to the U.S. demonstrates “a critical and incisive engagement with the meanings and uses of American power in the world” (Kim, *Statehood* 56).

Through the transpacific exchange of ideas and thoughts, the U.S. gradually gained an anti-colonial and non-European reputation that attracted many East Asian intellectuals,

⁶³ For more analysis of Korean nationalism and nation-state building projects in relation to the U.S. see Christine Hong’s “A Korean Appeal to America: Dosan Ahn Chang-ho and the L.A. Riots” and Richard S. Kim’s *The Quest for Statehood: Korean Immigrant Nationalism and US Sovereignty, 1905-1945* (2011).

especially Korean ones who were eagerly looking for an alternative to the empires. The migratory trend continued until liberation in 1945 when the U.S. became a visible imperialist threat to Korea under the Cold War politics. Importantly, from 1905 to 1945, Korean immigration to the U.S. was largely motivated by political and intellectual considerations, namely to escape Japanese annexation and to pursue better education. This differs from their early predecessors who worked on sugarcane plantations in Hawaii and came for permanent relocation (Kyhan Lee 63-64). The political refugees and young students seeking higher education in America generally were not “immigrants but sojourners or students of other temporary visas” (Elaine Kim 39). Many intellectuals wrote in English to articulate the real situation of their home country, as well as to criticize, to English-speaking Americans, the injustice and cruelty of Japan. A few of them also attempted to write literary pieces in English, and those writers were recruited by American publishing companies who sought new talent and sensational stories from the Orient.⁶⁴ In this sense, America as non-European and non-Japanese place provided publishing opportunities for postcolonial, diasporic Korean literary voices.

As “a stateless people, [migrants who] would create a sovereign Korea in America” (Takaki 283), early Korean Anglophone writers wrote both of their anti-Japanese sentiment and their own precarious social position in the United States. The identity of early Korean diasporic writers was always in flux—a cultural ambassador, an ethnographer, a journalist, a foreign author, and a postcolonial writer. Such confusion was well reflected in their writings. Similarly, writing in English, as a choice by these authors, should not be simply interpreted as an effort of a

⁶⁴ In the 1930s, writers from Asia began to publish their (auto)ethnographies with major New York-based American publishing houses, such as Charles Scribner’s Sons (Younghill Kang), John’s Day Publishing House (Lin Yutang), and Harcourt, Brace & Company (Carlos Bulosan). During this important era, the view of Asia as the “Yellow Peril” shifted towards a more nuanced and complex notion of Asia. David Palumbo-Liu attributes such a change to contemporary events in East Asia which required the United States to engage in “a new set of negotiations of its national destiny in a new global political economy” (76).

foreign author to share the privilege of the center. Rather it should be considered within the translingual practice of a colonial subject who has double identities as a privileged Asian intellectual and as a racial minority. While those writers share in the struggle of an ethnic minority based on the asymmetry of power between the center and the periphery, they also negate the notions of America or English writing through their writing. In other words, “writing to America in English” had unique connotations and political implications for diasporic Korean writers, especially when their voice criticized colonial violence through the tongue of another imperial power.

For instance, Jaepil Seo’s *Hansu’s Journey* (1922) illustrates how the geopolitics of East Asia frame this idea of a non-colonial America and the practice of writing in English.⁶⁵ It was the first Korean-American novel in English, published in America ten years before Kang. The novel was serialized in *The Korean Review*, an English magazine for Korean students in the U.S. and Americans interested in Korea.⁶⁶ The beginning of the text demonstrates how the violence of the imperial language is imposed on the colonial subject. Hansu, the protagonist, fights with a Japanese railroad ticket employee who refuses to sell the ticket and strikes him in the face, because Hansu did not “understand [the Japanese] language” (5). Hansu struck the employee back and was arrested by the Japanese policemen. Later he is sentenced by a Japanese judge as follows:

⁶⁶ Magazines were an effective and influential media for empowering nationalism and the anti-Japanese movement among Koreans in America. They introduced the latest news from the home country and from the community of Korean students and immigrants in America in order to build a constant relation between the two. *The Korea Review* and *Korean Students Bulletin* were published in English, while *Uraki* was published in Korean. Both Seo and Kang played important roles in publishing those magazines.

The accused is a Korean, therefore he should understand the language of the Imperial Japanese Empire. He does not, or at least appears not to understand. The evidence of this was adduced by the fact that when the railroad employee asked him a question he failed to reply in the proper language and form. This proves that he did not understand the language which he ought to know ... Further, he audaciously struck the railroad employee and caused bodily injury to a servant of the State. That means an offense to the Imperial Government. (6-7)

In this passage, the violence of the imperial nation against the colonized is well portrayed. Hansu's failure to answer in "the proper language and form" is seen as seriously disobedient to the Imperial Government. The conflict between Hansu and the rail employee represents the uneven colonial relationship between the colonized and a servant of the imperial State. The Japanese rail employee becomes both a physical and linguistic obstacle to Hansu, for he prevents Hansu from visiting "his friends in a Christian school managed by American missionaries" and censors Hansu's language. In this sense, the Japanese rail employee resembles imperial Japan, a mediating local colonizer blocking Hansu from the West.

The subsequent scene in the prison interestingly contrasts the voice of a Christian pastor to the imperial voice of the Japanese judge. Hansu in prison hears "a clear baritone reading a Bible" —the voice of the Presbyterian pastor. The pastor was arrested because the Japanese wanted all Christians to feel "the power of the Imperial Japanese Government" (34). In this context, Christianity combines with Korean nationalism as the pastor preaches to Hansu, "If any one does not work or die for the cause of his country he is not a Christian" (34). The juxtaposition of imperial violence with patriotic Christianity is certainly a device created for (Christian) American readership. In this context, the primary aim of the text is political

propaganda—speaking to Americans, while demonizing the Japanese and proclaiming the injustice of Japanese colonization to the world. Simultaneously, Seo links friendship to Christianity as a moral duty of Christian.

Seo also creates some fictional American characters and incorporates them into the narrative of Korean resistance for Independence, perhaps in order to provoke American sympathy and identification. Dr. Hugheston, a fictional president of the Northern University in America, is an example. He is willing to “hear something about Hansu’s country” (65). By positioning Hugheston in the place of a reader, Seo can deliver a speech on the desperate situation of the Korean people through the voice of Hansu. Ultimately, this speech is directed to American readers who “owe Korea a moral as well as legal obligation” (65). Being a devout Christian, Seo seems to internalize the mythology of America as a savior. *Hansu’s Journey*, then, demonstrates the geographical and political implications of America to Koreans, as well as the political efficacy of writing in English in this context.

Even though only a few Koreans could enjoy the privilege of English education and publication, diasporic Korean writers were repeatedly successful in the U.S. market as well as being translated into several European languages for wider readership. I suggest reading these works of early Korean writers as postcolonial literature, instead of (or in addition to) reading them as immigrant assimilation stories as Asian American Studies has typically done.⁶⁷ Thus the transnational and translingual practices of Kang’s and Seo’s texts should be understood not as a

⁶⁷ For previous scholarships on Kang’s work in an Asian American studies context, see Karen J. Kuo’s “Lost Imaginaries: Images of Asia in America, 1924-1942”, Walter K Lew’s “Grafts, Transplants, Translation: The Americanizing of Younghill Kang,” Joanne H. Kim’s “Mediating Selves: Younghill Kang’s Balancing Act.” and Kyhan Lee’s “Younghill Kang and the Genesis of Korean-American Literature.”

naïve form of cosmopolitanism, but as a significant outcome of the local and international relationships of Korea and the postcolonial condition of Korean colonial subject.⁶⁸

5.2 THE SCENES OF COLONIAL CLASSROOMS IN *THE GRASS ROOF*

My prodigal-son uncle had one very shrewd way of cheating at cards. Somewhere he had learned the Arabic numerals, and he bought his own pack of cards, and wrote the Arabic numerals, very small and inconspicuous, on the backs. This looked just like hen-scratchings to the uninitiated. Chinese numerals would look equally meaningless to Western eyes. . . This was my first taste of the Western Learning. (Kang, *The Grass Roof* 30)

In the beginning of *The Grass Roof*, young Chungpa describes his first exposure to “Western Learning” through his prodigal-son uncle. He witnesses his prodigal-son uncle having an advantage over other people at cards because of his knowledge of both Arabic and Chinese numerical systems. In other words, Chungpa notices the privilege of foreign cultural capital afforded to his uncle by a Western education. In addition, young Chungpa understands the cultural relativity of knowledge as he points out that the Chinese system would look as “meaningless to Western eyes” as the Arabic numerals look to him. Interestingly, then, this

⁶⁸ Even though it is not the focus of this chapter, the early Korean writers in the U.S. also participated in diverse children’s book projects for an educational purpose. Kang’s *Happy Grove* (1938) is the adaptation of *The Grass Roof* for children’s literature. And Newil Han wrote *When I Lived in Korea* (1927) as a series to introduce different foreign cultures and ethnic characteristics for American children. It’s notable that those specialized forms for children tend to reduce their anti-Japanese and critical tone by using a didactic and conservative voice. For example, the derogatory term “Jap” in *The Grass Roof* disappears in *Happy Grove*.

passage portrays the complex route of knowledge travels as it reaches Korea: the original “Arabic” numerals are re-analyzed as “Western Learning,” which his uncle “learns somewhere” and ends up at Chungpa. Technically the original came from the Arabic source, but it is considered “the Western Learning” as far as Chungpa is concerned. In his perception of the cultural transfers, then, the hierarchy between the original and the translation is subverted. This early episode in Chungpa’s life story indicates, for the reader, the geopolitical complexity of modernity in relation to the West and the place of Korea itself at the margins of Chinese culture.

There are colonial biases inherent in the way Chungpa unconsciously posits himself as a “student” and calls the cultural transfer of knowledge (here, the numerical system) “learning.” In this context, I argue that the classroom, as a literary setting, is a convenient apparatus for depicting a Korean response to Western modernity. At the same time, the classroom is the site of Japanese colonial education focused on assimilating Korea to the colonial center. The classroom in *The Grass Roof*, in this sense, is a transnational and translingual space accommodating the interactions and conflicts between different cultural heritages, including the colonial (Japan), local (China/Korea), and international (the West). It is within this environment that a young student like Chungpa strategically navigates in the process of learning.

Being a student has an ambiguous connotation in the context of colonial Korea. On one hand, it implies the inferior status of the colonized, who has to be enlightened by and assimilated into the ideology of the empire. Students, on the other hand, also transform the knowledge they acquire and apply it outside of the contexts intended by their instructors. By positioning themselves as students, Koreans mitigate the imposition of colonial education and even transform it into a privilege. Two types of structural classrooms exist in *The Grass Roof*: the classroom *inside* the text (a colonial theater), and the classroom *outside* the text (the book).

Chungpa is negotiating the Western influence delivered through Japan in his classroom, whereas Kang imparts his knowledge to his (assumed) Anglophone students in his imagined classroom. Kang claims his authority as a teacher by making his imaginary classroom, *The Grass Roof*, a place for Eastern Learning.

Inside *The Grass Roof*, there are three different classrooms: 1) the studio of Chungpa's "crazy-poet" uncle where Chungpa was educated in classic Chinese, 2) a colonial classroom in the Japanese school, and 3) a Christian classroom in the Western missionary school. Each educational institution has its own educational purpose, placing them in a rivalry. Chungpa's shifting from one educational institution to another according to the linear structure of the text and his growth indicates how his modernity is constructed based on the endless conflicts between different educations, different voices.

Chungpa's crazy-poet uncle, "the scholar of the family," is the pre-modern teacher (13). As a scholar of classic Chinese poetry, the crazy-poet uncle teaches Chungpa traditional literary practices, such as composing poetry in Chinese or calligraphy. His private "remarkable library" functions as an archive of the public circulation of knowledge and his studio, a village classroom (13). Given the fact that Classical Chinese was the learned language of aristocrats in Korea before Japanese annexation, the poetry of the crazy-poet uncle shows intertextuality with classic Chinese poetry. The crazy-poet uncle's composition of poetry is the process of localizing foreignness, justifying the idea that "Koreans in the past have been proud of their difference from the Chinese," while "very deeply admiring the Chinese classics and many aspects of the Chinese character" (154). In this context, the Village before modernity/colonization is portrayed as the place where different voices coexist, and the adaption of foreignness adds more colors to the local. Chungpa's family represents the dynamics of heterogeneity in Korea, as his grandmother

is Buddhist and his father a Confucian, and the crazy-poet uncle a Taoist (13). The different cultural legacies peacefully coexist, even though none of them is authentically of Korean origin. The crazy-poet uncle represents pre-modern traditional Korea and thus, unsurprisingly, the text hints at his tragic ending. His failure to adjust to the new world and his disappearance from the text—he is imprisoned by Japanese police—indicate that classical Chinese no longer retains the privilege of a cultural and intellectual language in colonial Korea.

The discourse of modernity in Korea in *The Grass Roof* is hard to define, because it is doubly translated. Through the process of translation, it loses its original meaning as much as it gains a new meaning. Since “the time of Perry’s entrance,” the West has made a strong impression when East Asian countries opened the door for them (171). Koreans thus witnessed Japan’s rapid modernization and emergence as a power in the East Asia. Chungpa analyzes Japan’s rapid development as originating from its “rapid Westernization,” accomplished “with the vigor of a younger nation,” which makes it “easy for her to slough one borrowed culture and to absorb another in its place” (171). Due to its ability to proselytize, Japan could be an emerging power and cultural capital of East Asia and, consequently, control the circulation of cultural capital of the region. Accompanying this new power is an imperialist desire to colonize neighboring countries. Thus Japan complicates the implication of the modernization in Korea by blurring the line between colonialism and Westernization, as the crazy-poet uncle desperately mourns that “the new strength of Japan, was it not drawn from the West? Should scholar Confucius bow [to the Japanese] [for] the learning [of] the West?” (124).

Despite a strong distrust of imperial Japan, Chungpa’s family reluctantly decides to send him to the Japanese Government School for Western Learning. Chungpa is dismayed at the imperialist and totalitarian education of the school where the essential principle of education is

“the making of loyal and good subjects to the Japanese emperor” and making Koreans “good Japanese” (219). However, a scene within the Japanese colonial classroom demonstrates how this project of assimilation fails. Assimilation policy in the context of Japanese colonization, in which both the colonizer and the colonized share similar racial characteristics, has the potential to be self-defeating. Chungpa, who thinks the Japanese teacher only “superficially” understands the Chinese classics, corrects the Japanese teacher’s misinterpretation of classic Chinese poetry:

The Japanese teacher took my endeavor to improve on his interpretation as a national insult, and after class asked me to apologize. I said I could not, because I knew my interpretation was right. I recited to him the whole poem in the Chinese which I knew by heart, pointing out rhymes and cadences and asked him if he did not like it better than in Japanese translation, where some lines were long and some short and there were no rhymes. He said no, he did not. . . [My history teacher] tried to pull his sword to cut my head off, for what I said was Japanese treason. The other students were alarmed on my behalf. One of them called out to in Korean: “Beware! The police will put you to the torture.” The teacher knew no Korean. “Cease to speak that Korean!” he shouted out. Speaking Korean was at first discovery finable, and at second, punishable by law, in that Japanese Government School. Then I stood in my corner and cried back to that boy who spoke: “I am not guilty of anything, only I am a lover of truth. This teacher is not.” The teacher wanted to know what I said. No student answered. So I spoke to him in Japanese, telling him what I said. He got madder. So did I. (223-24)

Here both parties, the Japanese teacher and the Korean student, argue over the accuracy of their interpretations of the Chinese poetry, when both of them are in the secondary position of the region and neither of them is Chinese. Here Chinese poetry is the cultural *lingua franca* between

a Japanese teacher and a Korean student. Just as the Japanese instructor claims more authority in Western learning (due to its privilege of “opening the door” first), so does Chungpa (due to Korea’s geographical closeness to China) claim more authority in classical Chinese literature. Chungpa, who knows Chinese literature “by heart,” denies the authority of a Japanese teacher by reciting “the whole poem in the Chinese” and even asking him whether he likes the original better than the Japanese translation. Leif Sorensen interestingly argues that in this colonial classroom Kang does two things through Chungpa. He argues that by performing intricate analyses of poems, Kang “critique[s] both the practice of Kang’s modernist competitors and Chungpa’s Japanese teachers” (151). According to him, the narration emphasizes Chungpa/Kang’s access to “scholarly arcana that is inaccessible to either the Japanese teacher within the novel or the Western experts in the world outside it” (151).⁶⁹ Meanwhile, Chungpa upsets the teacher who does not know the Korean language by talking back in Korean, thereby asserting another type of cultural authority.

As one can see in Chungpa’s manipulation of the Japanese teacher, the most effective strategy of resistance against Japanese colonialism, for Koreans, is negating Japanese authority by revealing the gap between the original (the West) and the translation (Japan). For example, Chungpa makes fun of “ice-creamu,” a rough ice which the Japanese made, imagining they were eating “ice-cream” (215). When Chungpa constantly points out the superficial quality of

⁶⁹ Chungpa, a Korean boy, claims authority on Chinese classics over his neighboring country man, the Japanese teacher, and even more interestingly over the Chinese by claiming to be “more Chinese than the Chinese” (Sorenson 151). Chungpa could argue his superiority on Chinese classics to the Japanese teacher, because of Korea’s geographical and cultural closeness to China. (Korea is geographically in-between Japan and China). In the case of superiority over the Chinese, it might be interpreted as the self-anxiety of “inferiority”, of a “small place.” Sometimes small countries are more obsessed with “originality” than origin and keep very conservative circulation or reproduction of the original. In other words, they make the original more original in the local place. For example, Confucianism is still influential and forms part of a strong cultural identity in Korea –arguably more so than in its place of origin, China.

Japanese translation, he separates Western learning from Japanese colonialism.⁷⁰ In doing so, he does not need to deny the necessity of Western learning to distance himself from pro-Japanese sentiments (153). To Koreans, choosing one outside influence who is better than the other, even in the slightest, is the best strategy (or the only option) to survive.

Such passive resistance was prompted by Japanese oppression of Korean educational institutions for Western learning. Through this, Japan could monopolize the circulation of the Western cultural capital and sustain Japanese privilege. After his expulsion from the Japanese Imperial School (for being disrespectful to the Japanese teacher), Chungpa went to meet Korean nationalist Soosan Park only to find that Park had been imprisoned for “printing Korean history as a text book” (185). The Japanese government not only oppressed the educational institutions of Koreans, but also controlled what could be translated. The Japanese government, for example, prohibited Korean students from reading the stories of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, translated by western missionaries for teaching, because the Japanese government thought the texts encompassed dangerous and potentially rebellious ideas (185). Such strong censorship ignited Chungpa's desire to directly access the West without the interruption of the colonial mediator. Only through direct access, “the Western learning could be introduced, uncurtailed and unrestricted” (185). The desire motivates Chungpa to move to the next classroom—a Christian classroom in a missionary school.

In *The Grass Roof*, the typical depiction of Western missionaries as representatives of imperialism is inverted. Missionaries are transformed into sympathizers with Korean anti-colonial resistance, and the schools they establish become a place of postcolonial resistance to

⁷⁰ Chungpa repeatedly mentions the superficiality of Japanese understanding of Western Learning: “I felt that they were as superficial about their Western learning as they were about their Chinese classics. I saw in order to get my education I must go to America right away” (225). “Through these Japanese authors’ superficial though they were, I got my first hints about the West.” (153).

Japanese colonialism. The Japanese police were not wrong to presume “all the Christian centres as hot-beds of sedition, for they gained adherents enormously just now, there was too much praying to Heaven for righteousness, there” (180). Yet it would be inaccurate to argue that Western missionaries were willing to actively help the Korean resistance movement out of genuine humanitarian concern or in protest of colonial violence. Situated in the rivalry between Japan and the West, these missionaries felt relatively little pressure while engaged in their imperialist project. Much of the pressure one might expect was mitigated by the presence of Japan. The episode of a “humorous mistake” of a western missionary teacher in *The Grass Roof* exemplifies this idea: A western missionary teacher was cross-examined and censored by a Japanese detective because he introduced his class to Kipling’s story about the elephant that refused to serve “the second master” (321). The Government said the missionary was spreading “agitating literature, teaching Korea to rebel against her second master, Japan” (321). Chungpa found this mistake hilarious because the missionary was naïve to the political implications of his own teachings. The subjectivity of the missionary is completely dismissed through the interpretation of the Japanese detective and Kipling’s colonial story turns into an anti-colonial resistance text in the local interpretation. Moreover, the Japanese Government official interestingly defines himself as “the second master,” already recognizing his inferior position as a late-coming colonizer in comparison to his western counterparts. Chungpa, a master of nobody, ridicules the conflict between “the first master” and “the second master” (caused by miscommunication) from a superior position, for he is the only reader who knows how the problem started (321). Just as he manipulatively disrupted the Japanese colonial education imposed on him, he also complicates his reception of missionary education.

Consequently, the final chapter of *The Grass Roof* elegantly meditates on Chungpa's educational accomplishments in colonial Korea, before he leaves his native country for an American education, seeking the "Soul of America" that defines his postcolonial status (376):

I am like a soul who has just cast off one life and is not yet born in another; these are the spirits of all the beautiful poets whom the muse has captured, attending me in my voyage to understand an alien beauty. But can beauty be alien? Then it seems to me that the poet alone has no home nor national boundary, but is like a man in a ship. His nearest kin is the muse up in clouds, and his patriotism goes to the ethereal kingdom. How co[u]ld the sea breeze shiver my body now! I feel exiled from all humanity. (376)

Here, for the first time, the narration of Chungpa merges with the voice of Kang; the distance between an author and the character disappears at the moment when the present of Kang is intercrossed with the linear narrative of Chungpa from the past. The physical distance is also dissolved when Chungpa gradually migrates to America, where Kang is writing. The tension (distance) between the author and the character continuously exists throughout the novel, as, in the very beginning of *The Grass Roof*, Chungpa self-consciously distances himself from Kang by denying Kang's authority as a truth-teller. It is also the tension between Chungpa as a student and Kang as a teacher, the tension between inside and outside classrooms of *The Grass Roof*, and the tension between Western learning and the Eastern learning. The power balance between the character and the author, however, is broken at the end of *The Grass Roof*: What we hear is the voice of Kang occupying Chungpa's literary body and the moment of liberation. Kang proudly expresses strong confidence in his ability to navigate between letters and translate the layers of meanings as an authoritative poet. Yet Kang loses all the subtlety of Chungpa, the subtlety that he could learn by being a native of a colonial place. Kang hastily declares his triumph by saying

that the poet has “no home nor national boundary.” As a result, he imprisons himself in a boring dichotomy between “casting off one life” and “being re-born in another,” and is captivated by his own fantasy of being a fancy cosmopolitan. Asking the rhetorical question, “Can beauty be alien?” he exerts a privilege of universalism, ignoring the fact that such privilege is not allowed to a colonial native. In this sense, I would like to start my next section by showing how Kang’s rosy postcolonial cosmopolitan dream became brutally derailed and what motivated him to write his second decolonizing project *East Goes West: The Making of an Oriental Yankee*, which is said to be “more mature in style and technique” (qtd. in Sunyoung Lee 381).

5.3 BETWEEN AN EXOTIC OBJECT AND POSTCOLONIAL SUBJECT IN *EAST GOES WEST: THE MAKING OF AN ORIENTAL YANKEE*

Kang’s *East Goes West: The Making of an Oriental Yankee* was published seven years after *The Grass Roof*. It begins with the same protagonist, Chungpa Han, now in his early thirties. However, the strong criticism of Japanese colonialism in the previous work seems to have disappeared in *East Goes West*. In his second text, Kang avoids offering his direct opinion on the contemporary situation of his home country. While *The Grass Roof* seems to be a decolonizing project whose goal is to distinguish Koreans as victims from Japanese colonizers in the eyes of Americans, *East Goes West* returns to the abstract and homogenous notion of the Orient and Kang’s assimilation to the West – as the hybrid form of “an Oriental Yankee” indicates. But how can one explain such a transition?

It is often observed that early Asian Anglophone authors' second books dealt with their experience of America, while their first books were about their homeland.⁷¹ The sequel tends to reflect their frustration, brought about by a clear sense of their Orientalizing readership after the publication of their first book. Consequently, these second texts tend to redefine and readjust their authorial self in the publishing market. It is possible to say that *East Goes West* is Kang's response to his first book *The Grass Roof*. On one the hand, *East Goes West* demonstrates the challenge of publishing postcolonial literature in the mainstream publishing industry where the exoticism of a foreign ethnic subject becomes the reason for publishing powerful narratives of local resistance.⁷² Hsu argues rightly that the authorship of an ethnic writer can be viewed as, "simultaneously collective—a conjunction of Asian or immigrant authors and their Western appropriators—and asymmetrical," because, "western appropriations or renditions of Asiatic themes generally enjoyed greater prestige and profits than the cultural productions of the Asian diaspora" (xiii). On the other hand, *East Goes West* reflects Kang's notion of America as an untainted postcolonial space changed as he gradually had come to realize the internal colonial ideology of America as directed towards racial and ethnic minorities during his residence.

⁷¹ For example, Chinese writer Yutang Lin had lived in in American since 1935, where he became a best-selling writer. Lin's first best sellers were *My Country and My People* (1935) and *The Importance of Living* (1937), written in English about his experience in China. He later wrote *Chinatown Family* (1948) which presented the lives of Chinese Americans in New York, upon the request of Richard Walsh, editor in chief of the John Day Publishing House. Walsh asked Lin to write a new kind of a novel a "Chinese-American" novel that deal with exclusively with the "experiences of the Chinese in America." For more, see Richard Jean So's "Collaboration and Translation: Lin Yutang and the Archive of Asian American Literature" (2010).

⁷² In her study of the covers of postcolonial literature books, Ursula Kluwick points out the conflict between a postcolonial writer and a publisher. She argues that the commodification of postcolonial literatures takes up the emphasis on the exotic image of the content as a way of "packaging of postcolonial literature for the global literary market" (76). Often times the discourse of exoticism in the commodification of postcolonial literature is quite irrelevant of the actual context of the books. Such a discrepancy between the marketing strategy and the content, on the one hand, reveals the self-contradictory aspect of postcolonial writing that the subversive postcolonial writing survives through institutional authority and commodification.

In the beginning page of *East Goes West*, Chungpa expresses the difficulty of writing postcolonial works:

Korea, a small, provincial, old-fashioned Confucian nation, hopelessly trapped by a larger, expanding one, was called to get off the earth. Death summoned. I could have renounced the scholar's dream forever and written my vengeance against Japan in martyr's blood, a blood which like that of Tasmanians is strangely silent though to a man they wrote. Or I could take away [a] slip cut from the roots, and try to engraft my scholar inherited kingdom upon the world's thought. But I could not bear was the thought of futility, the futility of the martyr, or the death-stifled scholar back home. (9)

Here Chungpa shows his frustration with "[writing] my vengeance against Japan in martyr's blood" while knowing the "the futility of the martyr." He internalizes the defeatism and finds a solution to his situation by becoming an "individualist," enabling him to be "cut off from the very roots of being" (9).

Yet his identity as a neutral individualist and liberated scholar is soon to be contradicted to in other passages: Not only does Chungpa calls himself "the old-fashioned Oriental" (7), but Americans constantly see him as nothing but an ethnic subject. For example, in a scene where Chungpa meets a man named Bonheur, the man does not believe that Chungpa, "hadn't come from China," simply because, "he had never heard of Korea" (326). Chungpa "could never make him understand about Korea," so he, "remained Brother Han, from China, a 'Chinee' for all those years they knew each other" (326). Bonheur is an egocentric and Orientalist reader; his grounds for not believing in Korea's existence are simply based on his lack of experience and the limits of his knowledge. Instead of finding the reason for his failed understanding, he imposes his own image of the Orient on Chungpa as a "Chinee." The episode implies the violence of

Orientalist readings on the Other and the exoticization of a Korean writer as an ethnic subject whose writing would be mainly contextualized within ethnic knowledge. Even if he attempted to “cut off the very root” of his origin, the violence of the Orientalist gaze fixates him as an ethnic object. In this sense, *East Goes West*, I argue, indicates Kang’s fluctuating roles and divided selves between the postcolonial writer and an ethnographic object, as well as the development of his critical position on America, a critical voice which had not yet been found in *The Grass Roof*.

What makes Kang’s writing process more complicated is the presence of his editor, Maxwell Perkins. His interference dismisses the complexities of being a Korean exile in America and, rather, makes *East Goes West* a story of a typical Asian immigrant’s assimilation. As his editor, Perkins is also the first reader of Kang’s work. Based on the numerous letters they exchanged over the years, we can see Perkins’ interference with Kang’s manuscript and how Perkins changes the original text. The American editor exercises more power over the work of the ethnic, non-native writer due to Kang’s lack of authority in language and American culture. The final text thus can be considered a collaborative work between Kang and Perkins, which explains broken narratives, confusing shifts of perspectives, and the unclear ending in *East Goes West*.

The letters exchanged between Kang and Perkins imply that Perkins significantly interfered in Kang’s writing process. Perkins wanted to cut a third of the original copy of *East Goes West*, because Perkins’ main interest was to make the story more approachable to Western readers. Perkins, for instance, required Kang to expand the story of Trip (an American white girl) and insisted that the

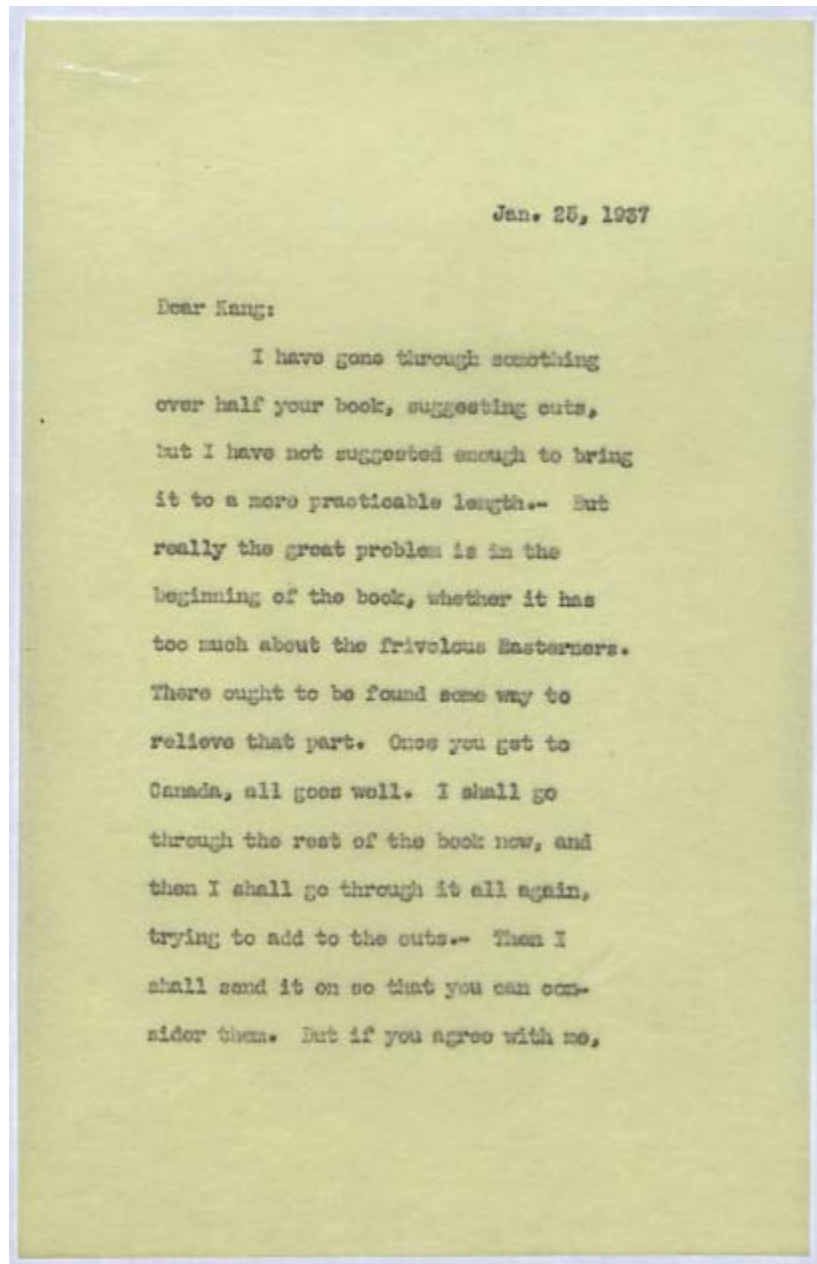


Figure 7: Maxwell Perkins' letter to Kang, Jan. 25, 1937

interracial marriage between Chungpa and Trip should be the ending of the book:

It seems to me that the main change should be at the end, to make much more of Trip, and to show definitely that you married her, because the fact that you did, makes one of

the principal points of the book, in that the Easterner became a Westerner through this experience. ("Letter to Kang" Jan. 25, 1937)

In his reading, Perkins identifies Chungpa with Kang, as he asks Kang, "to show definitely that *you* married her, because of the fact that *you* did" (my emphasis). Here Perkins was referring to Kang's interracial marriage with Frances Kelly. Perkin's letter denotes how Kang's attempt to distance himself from the ethnographic object is likely to fail under the violent interruption of the editor, who tries to make the book a scandalous and popular love story between an Asian man and an American white woman. Kang's subjectivity as an author is easily compromised by the mediatory practice of the editor. Even though a professional editor's mediatory practice was common in contemporary authors' works, Kang's case portrays the crucial imbalance of power between the editor and the writer.

Despite the editor's interruption, *East Goes West* still contains a conflicting and subverting voice, which counters the rules of successful ethnography and even makes potential readers upset. Such a contradictory aspect is an outcome of Kang's failure, or his choice to fail, to master the dominant and hegemonic genre. In this sense, the most resisting and postcolonial voice in *East Goes West* originates from Towan Kim, a secondary character. Kim is a Korean aristocrat, poet, and scholar in Chinese literature who becomes Chungpa's older friend and mentor in America. Towan Kim, who often calls himself "a Korean ghost," represents a frustrated colonial intellectual and artist whose dream is blocked due to his country's colonial status. I argue that Kim is Kang's hidden surrogate, incarnating Kang's unsatisfied desire for the independent authorship against Perkin's interruption and embodying the secret postcolonial voice that continues from *The Grass Roof* in more a mature and developed stage of postcolonial consciousness. For example, Kim is the one who often points out American hypocrisy (which

was absent in *The Grass Roof*) as well as the injustice of Japanese treatment of Koreans, thereby lessening the pressure on Chungpa (Kang's main literary self) to offer direct criticism of America. This, in turn, makes it possible to sell the text still as a non-threatening ethnic story, as Perkins intended.

My interpretation of Kim as Kang's hidden postcolonial surrogate is based on evidence in his application for the Guggenheim Fellowship, explaining his future plan for writing a second book. According to the record, Kang originally planned to entitle his second project "Death of an Exile," not "East Goes West" (Lee 387). The tentative title suggests the possibility that Kim could have been the protagonist of *East Goes West*, provided that Kang represents Kim as the symbol of exile through Chungpa's voice that "certainly I had always associated [the] exile with New York. For it was Kim. It was surely Kim (35)." Thus Maxwell Perkins's decision to name the book *East Goes West*, not the *Death of an Exile* at the end, reflects his desire to reduce Kim's role in order to avoid marketing the book as a serious political story of a colonial intellectual ("Letter to Kang" Feb. 8 1937). Through Kang's application, we see that Kang originally might have considered Kim a protagonist and Chungpa an observational narrator in his second project. This suggests that Kang was interested in depicting the complex situation of the exile, "a Korean ghost" whose home country and culture were shattered (154). Kang as an exile simultaneously retains a sense of belonging to a homeland and a sense of displacement from the homeland in his ghostly presence:

The Oriental exile of Kim's generation is really a new character in history. His break with his kind is so profound, by reason of the abnormal expansion of his knowledge and experience; he is at the same time so outside the alien worlds he travels in, so isolated and

apart, he gives a new interpretation of the solitariness of the human soul, its essential curiosity and dauntlessness. (218)

The description of Kim as an exile resonates well with Said's notion of the exiled intellectual. An exile, according to him, reveals the profundity of the impact of colonialism and ongoing imperialism as a critic at distance (39). The isolated and alien status of an exile in fact allows an insightful power and new interpretation. In this sense, Kim helps Chungpa to realize the limitation of viewing America solely as a perfect postcolonial place. For example, Kim ridicules the professors in Boston who will "have great sympathy for any adopted Oriental child, as long as you are willing to be docile and obedient" (225). Kim, who "remained in all things an observer" (206), represents the Korean intellectual's critical voice to America's internal violence against ethnic minorities, as well as Japan's militant colonialism and even his own country's defeatism.

Besides his insight on political situations, Kim also expresses his critical engagement with dominant and prestigious writers and their literary practices from the perspective of an ethnic literary critic:

T.S. Eliot has given me some headache. I am not minimizing. *The Waste Land* is a great poem and its creator is great. He has seen beyond most. Death and the something that once was, greater than the death that is now. How hauntingly he conveys his seriousness! But it takes a greater to see more than that. What inconsistency is going back! Christianity! Buddhism! Confucianism! All are like milestones on a road that is past. How impossible for me to go back, more impossible than to see how many angels can dance on the point of the needle without being jostled. And I, too, am inconsistent. I myself do not know whether Westerners like Eliot are more to be envied or pitied. I envy

one moment, I pity another moment. And I myself am probably the more pitiable spectacle. My emotions are strong enough, but my intellect seems a sick, disobedient servant. I am tired of the Western learning and all it implies. Yet one thing I know, to us Easterners, until our vitality becomes all exhausted—this Western dead is a luxury we can't afford. (238)

Here Kang delivers a compliment but scathing criticism of his contemporary poet, T.S. Eliot—one of the most prestigious literary celebrities of the time—through the mouth of Kim.⁷³ In the passage, while Kim subverts the hierarchical gaze between the ethnic object and the Western writer/critic, he also reveals his frustration and jealousy. Kim contrasts himself to Eliot only to emphasize his own depression as a failed cosmopolitan and an exile without a homeland and tradition, in opposition to the internationally known poet whose influence “will live a few more years” (238). Kim’s desperation originates from the absence of literary agency. A Korean diasporic intellectual like him only becomes a pitiable spectacle under the Orientalist gaze; no matter how successfully he acquires Western learning, his intellect in Western matters is not appreciated. In contrast, Eliot, without the risk of being an ethnic object of an Orientalist gaze, freely appropriates diverse literary sources between the East and the West (“Christianity! Buddhism! Confucianism!”) and turns it into his creativity. As a result, while Kim shares the existential crisis of *The Waste Land* (“I am in the same predicament”), he ridicules Eliot’s desperation as, “a luxury we [Easterners] can’t afford.” Kang, via his fictional character Kim,

⁷³ Kang, even though he hadn’t written a piece that might be considered poetry in the contemporary Western standard, constantly called or introduce himself as “a poet” in many guest lectures (Lee Sunyoung 375). Chungpa also says, “I was a scholar and poet” based on his experience in Chinese poetry writing (*The Grass Roof*, 99). In this sense, Kang’s identifying with Kim as his literary surrogate becomes more apparent, for “In former life, I [Kim] was an Eastern poet, but tell me, what now is to be our fate? Being unable to go back to that previous existence, being unable to label ourselves in this new world... becoming lost within another lost world?” (*East Goes West* 166).

offers a critical reading of Western modernists' view of the world, which he is not able to offer through Chungpa's voice.⁷⁴

One of the reasons for the scholarly indifference towards Kim is his disappearance from the text, as a failed exile, unknown artist, and tool to help protagonist Chungpa's awakening. Kim, who lost the ability of "a builder, a creator, or even a participant," but remained as, "an observer, a taster, a parasite" (42) faced a tragic death. His lonesome death represents the symbolic tragedy of a Korean exile, his alienation from what he had dreamed, and the hindered artist. He is even mistaken for something he is not at the last moment, when his death only deserves, "one small paragraph report[ing] the suicide of a friendless Japanese on Bleecker Street," in American newspapers (346). That Kim, a postcolonial critic, is ironically given the colonizer's identity through American media after his death implies the potential danger of misrepresentation and false identity. In addition, that "all his works had been burned in that Bleecker Street fireplace, nothing was left" implies that his postcolonial voice is completely ignored and has failed to survive in America (346).

After Kim's death, the narrative of *East Goes West* fluctuates between an ethnographic love story of his friend George Jum in Hawai'i and Chungpa's guilty conscience as he thinks on Kim's death. Such broken narratives indicate Kang's failure to suture Perkins' expectation and his own desire to control his writing. The text ends with an abrupt and unclear dream, where Chungpa hastily concludes that "my exile seems as if ended" (368) without providing any

⁷⁴ Kang was aware of the fact that an ethnic writer like him was often denied access to mainstream Anglo literary capital. For example, Kang was the only reviewer to criticize Pearl Buck's *The Good Earth* through his review essay, "China is Different" (1931). The essay challenges Pearl Buck's Orientalist prejudice and lack of proper understanding of Chinese culture, asserting that, "romantic love is a false center of psychology to ascribe to the typical Oriental man or woman, reared in the traditional bondage to quite different ideals." The editor of *The New Republic* commented under Kang's essay that, "Mr. Kang, we believe, is unjust to *The Good Earth* as a novel," because Kang, "neglects the literary qualities of a narrative," even though the book was considered a realistic depiction of Chinese people by American readers and critics at that time ("China is Different" July 1, 1931 [185]).

evidence for such claim. At the same time, it is also unclear whether Trip and Chungpa get married or not. The unclear ending thus reflects Kang's refusal to satisfy the editor's curiosity about inter-racial marriage, while he himself could not find a satisfactory answer to his alien situation either. In this regard, *East Goes West* is neither Kang's endorsement of the western editorial interruption, nor Kang's claim for his authorial subjectivity, but indicates the vulnerability of postcolonial writing that contains conflicting voices and interruptions. After all, Kang wins only a half-victory, as "for the rest, I have not failed. I have only not succeeded" (367)" in his second postcolonial Anglophone project, *East Goes West: An Making of an Oriental Yankee*. If *The Grass Roof* was the uncensored literary expression of Kang's anti-Japanese voice, *East Goes West*, despite its flaws in broken narrative, displays more complicated relations between the colonial native, local colonizer, and global power within the politics of English as a global language.

5.4 UNPREDICTABLE RESPONSES AND POSTCOLONIAL VOICE

Both *The Grass Roof* and *East Goes West* were quite commercially successful. Particularly *The Grass Roof* sold steadily until the 1950s and was translated into twelve languages (including German, French, and Turkish) in the 1930s. Yet a Korean translation of *The Grass Roof* was published only after 1948.

In the eyes of American audiences in the 1930s, Kang's works were mostly considered ethnographic documents—giving the reader some knowledge about an unfamiliar place, or satisfying their fantasies of the Orient. For example, one book review in the *New York Times* concludes that, in *The Grass Roof*, "Kang merely tells us what happened" (17). Such a view

indicates the reason why *The Grass Roof* was ranked a non-fiction best-seller by Charles Scribner's Sons bookstore in New York in the same year that Pearl Buck's *The Good Earth* was a fiction best-seller. Categorizing *The Grass Roof* as "non-fiction" implies that American readers in the 1930s considered the text an ethnography of a "frivolous people" rather than artistic invention ("Letter to Kang" Jan. 25, 1937).

Most American reviews failed to realize how the colonization of Korea was related to America and further to the world system of imperialism. Instead, they tended to underestimate the text merely as an exotic document of the East. This is because most Americans in the 1930s still did not see the U.S. as a colonial power. Furthermore, Lady Hosie, the author of *A Chinese Lady*, criticizes Kang's condemnation of American missionaries' aggressive proselytizing. "Mr. Kang," she writes, "does not, I think, give a full account of American missionaries." She is even upset by Kang's ungratefulness towards missionaries, when he "was desperately eager to receive the benefit of their escort to America" ("A Voice from Korea" Apr. 4, 1931 [707]). In addition, to American readers, Korea was indistinguishable from China or Japan in their Orientalist readings. *The London Times* book review, for instance, commended the book as "a most unusual and interesting autobiography" because it has "the elemental vigour and clarity of classical Chinese paintings" (Thompson, "Books of the Time" 17). The book also received a tentative offer for a movie option from a Hollywood filmmaker who was looking for a Chinese story.

East Goes West received similar responses, despite a seven-year gap between the books. One critic, for example, argued that the book is "not a novel," but "the candid record of 'the making of an Oriental Yankee,'" as if it were "a novel" (Woods 109). And she concludes "the author has been so successfully Americanized" that "here he found his home." (Wood 109). The



THE GRASS ROOF. By Young-hui Kang. 367 pp. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.00.

By JOHN CARTER

THIS autobiographical volume by a young Korean exile is an illustration of the fact that, if conquered people have no history, they can at least produce literature. What literature, for example, has the Irish Free State produced which can bear comparison with that of Sheridan, Wilde, and George Moore? One must now consider that Korea is the Ireland of the Far East and

was generally considered that they had very different interests and desires.

The golden age came to an abrupt close with the annexation of Korea to the Japanese Empire. Police came and abused the villagers. Chung Pa's uncle was arrested and imprisoned for suspected complicity in an assassination plot of which he had never heard and which had not succeeded, anyhow. The Korean farmers were compelled to sell their choice lands for a pittance to the Japanese. Korea became a colony in whose schools it was taught that "the essential

ing of loyal and good subjects to the Japanese Emperor."

Chung Pa realized that times had changed and that, if his country were ever to free itself, it must learn the new tricks which Japan had learned from the West. At the age of 12 he walked 300 miles south to Seoul to obtain an education, after he had been expelled from the village school for asking the teacher about the law of gravitation. The latter, with pardonable heat, had complained that "this younger generation is becoming rotten, vulgar, obscene and I can see that this world is going to be hell." Chung

A Vital Narrative from the Ireland of the Far East

Mr. Kang's Autobiography Re-creates the Happy Village Life of Korea in the Days of Its Independence

his going, but was skeptical of Western science, pointing out that

"For every good that science gives man, it gives him two ills." Yes, there were hospitals now and frightful diseases that Koreans had never known before, to be cured there. True, there were no more tigers, but axes killed as many as tigers had taken in the old days. He was fundamentally unscientific.

Seoul—West Gate.

From "Modern Masters of Writing," E. B. Lavender, (William Edson Dodge.)

At Seoul, however, he found himself in hot water with the colonial officials, so made a further journey to Japan to complete his education. Under the name of Hayashi Yareku, he studied and observed that "the Japanese students discussed nothing but sex and sports." Returning to Korea he tried vainly to get passage to America. No one would take him. He taught for a while in a mission school, but was expelled by the missionaries because he took a walk with one of the women teachers. He observed of the American missionary that generally "he announces that the Lord has called him for service, but in reality the West has kicked him out for being unfit." Chung Pa was then involved in the Korean rebellion of 1912, was arrested by the police and tortured, but would reveal nothing. Finally, he made his escape to the United States to observe the effect of Korean passive resistance upon Japanese policy: "The rebellion continued, the tortures continued; both in fact are going on to this day, one pacifist, the other armed and using the 'third degree.'"

The author's whole career, in apt illustrations of the truth of the ancient Chinese poem which he

*How is greatness fallen!
Fate is fate beyond repair;
For the future, show more care.
Fie on you, fate!
This game of politics
Is dangerous, say I.*

It is also a demonstration of another poetic truth:

*Only man is beyond all woe;
Only a man's heart cannot be weighed.*

"The Grass Roof" is, in fact, somewhat marred by the author's bitter political digressions on Japanese inquiry. How much more effective, considered purely as propaganda, is his simple description of how a Japanese policeman knocked down his revered grandmother and kicked her in the stomach, than whole pages of argument as to Japanese policy in Korea! On the other hand, the book is infused with a glowing vitality and a color most unusual in Oriental fiction this side of the Thousand and One Nights. The descriptions of village life have the enchantment of a lost paradise and the story of the author's student migrations more than suggest the picaresque adventures of a Huckleberry Finn. From intaglios of rural rebellion the author turns to a bold panorama of Far Eastern experience, ranging from Seoul to Tokyo and Shigra. Characterization is vigorous and unforced, and despite the exotic nomenclature—the Ok-Dong-Ya's, Eul-Chou's Yun-ko's, and Chok-Doo-Shay's—the identity of the individuals discussed is never in doubt. Mr. Kang's book suggests that captive Korea, rather than efficient Japan or insurgent China, may yet preserve the soul of Asia through the vicissitudes of the twentieth

Figure 8: The New York Times book review of *The Grass Roof*, Mar. 15, 1931

reader responses about Kang's works make apparent the American prejudice: that the work of an ethnic writer can only serve the purpose of documenting an ethnicity. In consequence, these texts are thought to be devoid of aesthetic value, and the experience of "being there" is commodified as a marketable product. Since Asians were often portrayed as "undesirable except to add an exotic coloring" to the image of America, there was always the risk the text would be consumed as an object of the Oriental gaze and described as "sloppy journalism", or a "charmingly informative memoir" (Kyhan Lee 68). Most American literary critics and readers considered *The Grass Roof* to be the nostalgia of the "lover of the East" (in Lady Hoise's term) and thought of

East Goes West as the story of an immigrant boy from the East pursuing his American dream. In both cases, the focus was always America, a re-centering accomplished by erasing the rich and complex geopolitical tension depicted by Kang, as well as the author's criticisms of America.

The reception history of *The Grass Roof* and *East Goes West* within America reveals the challenge of publishing postcolonial literature in global market. Yet unpredictable responses to Kang's works were also observed beyond the national boundaries of the United States. For example, British critic Rebecca West was one of a few critics who perceived the postcolonial implication of Kang's works. In her 1948 introduction to *The Grass Roof*, she writes:

Japan was about to annex Korea, and set itself to uprooting Korean culture very much as England set itself to uproot Irish culture in the days of Cromwell. . . [T]his is the part of the book which has a moral for us Westerners—[Kang] looked not to Japan, but further, to the West, to us. (xiv-xv)

Rebecca West compares British colonization of Irish culture to the Korean situation under Japanese colonization. British colonial history ironically allows her an insight to read *The Grass Roof* as a young Korean man's "rebel[lion] against Japanese annexation" in "a language of which the genius has eluded him" (xi). She not only understands the distinction between "the Easts" but also finds the connection of "the West" in relation to the geopolitics of East Asia. She even concludes that the book directs "us" (Westerners) to a "moral" lesson, and aligns Kang's works within other postcolonial literature. West writes that Kang's works "are in the main reminiscent of Yeats and Tagore" (xiv).

In addition, Kang's works also inspired and influenced later diasporic Asian writers. For example, Carlos Bulosan's *America is in the Heart* (1945) echoes Kang's *The Grass Roof* and *East Goes West* by posing America as an anti-colonial power in opposition to prior Spanish

colonialism in the Philippines. Kang was Carlos Bulosan's role model even though they never met:

I returned to the writers of my time for strength. And I found Younghill Kang, a Korean who had immigrated to the United States as a boy and worked his way up until he had become a professor at an American university. His autobiography, *The Grass Roof*, gave me an enlightening insight into the history of the Korean revolutionary movement. But it was his indomitable courage that rekindled in me a fire of home. Why could I not succeed as Younghill Kang had?" (265)

Bulosan establishes inter-Asian solidarity between Kang and himself, for he was inspired by the anti-colonial resistance of Korea as a colonial subject in Asia. Both Kang and Bulosan belonged to nations that no longer officially existed and both authors stayed in America. They constantly re-establish their memories of their home countries in their writings while engaging in the construction of America from the outsider's perspective. Even though the title *America is in the Heart* suggests the idealization of and patriotism to America on the surface, the book reveals the racial violence and discrimination of Americans against Filipinos. Such a gap between the title and the content resembles the divided literary selves of Kang between Chungpa and Kim in *East Goes West*.

Both Rebecca West and Carlos Bulosan suggest the small yet hopeful victory of Kang's English writings and their global impact in provoking local responses. And at the same time West and Bulosan indicate that early Korea diasporic writers contributed to locating America as an emerging global literary market of postcolonial voices.

6.0 EPILOGUE: POST/COLONIAL ENGLISHES

At noon on August 15, 1945, Japanese Emperor Hirohito's voice—declaring the unconditional surrender of Japan—was conveyed via radio broadcast throughout mainland Japan and its colonies. It was the first time the Emperor spoke directly to the common people; a living god became a human being. Yet most Koreans could not understand his archaic Japanese.

A month later, American General Douglas MacArthur announced “Proclamation No.1” to “the People of Korea,” stating the “victorious military forces” would occupy the territory of Korea south of 38 degrees north latitude. The proclamation also regulates:

For all purposes during the military control, English will be the official language. In event of any ambiguity or diversity of interpretation or definition between any English and Korean or Japanese text, the English text shall prevail. (*Maeil sinbo*, Sep. 11, 1945).

The two episodes above bear witness to the linguistic complexity of Korea's postcolonial moment, the moment of liberation and independence for which Koreans had long yearned. The episodes display the alienation of the Korean people and the absence of their native language, ironically making the postcolonial moment incomprehensible to Koreans. Meanwhile, the episodes denote the conversional moment in which the former colonizer turned into a victim of “a new and cruelest bomb” (Komori 7) and the country which once symbolized freedom and independence turned into a new colonizer. The reconfiguration of powers had an impact on

hierarchy of languages, allotting superior power to English as “the official language” of post-colonial Korea.

After liberation, English’s position as a source of political capital was strengthened. The U.S. military base brought new businesses into Korea: Interpreters and translators of English became popular and profitable jobs under the U.S. occupation period. Novels reflected the new power of English as they described the implication of English as a language of modernity and newness during the Japanese colonial period. Ch’ae Mansik’s short story “Mist’r Pang” (“Mr. Pang,” 1946) describes the situation of the Liberation Day on August 15, 1945. The protagonist Pang Sambok is a cobbler who strolls around Manchuria, Korea, and Japan, which makes him a multilingual speaker of three (broken) languages: “Don’t I speak Chinese? Don’t I speak Japanese? And English of course...” (398). His broken yet multilingual ability represents the hybridity of a colonial subject and indicates the impact of colonialization on the linguistic practice of working class people in the colony. He could not understand the “benefit” of Independence at first, as “he knew no deep emotions, no joy,” while others “welcomed Liberation Day. . . by squatting in the shade across Chongno from Pagoda Park fitting shoes with heel plates” (403). He is only truly excited about Independence, about being free to “[partake] of the benefits of Liberation”, when the Japanese policemen who had exploited him for commission were gone and he “could swagger free as he pleased” and make more money for himself (403). For him, the postcolonial situation is meaningful, not from a space of patriotism, but as a business opportunity. This becomes more apparent in the scene where Sambok helps an American officer:

The man, an American officer, picked up the pipe and examined it with great interest. “How much?” he asked, peering at the pipe peddler. “How much?”

The old man shouted the price, which the officer, of course, couldn't understand. Cocking his head in puzzlement, he asked again, "How much?"

Here was Sambok's chance.

"Tuirtty *won*," he said in a low voice.

The officer's head whirled around. "Oh, can you speak?" he said with a look of delight that Sambok thought he was about to be embraced. He then shook Sambok's hand raw.

Sambok was on the verge of disgust.

What did Sambok do? the officer asked.

He'd just lost his job, came the reply.

Well, then, how would Sambok like to be his interpreter?

That would be fine. Then and there he boarded the officer's vehicle not as Crook-nose Sambok the cobbler but as Mister Pang. And so he became an interpreter for the man, who was a second lieutenant in the American occupation army, at a salary of fifteen dollars, or two hundred forty *won*, a week. (405)

The scene portrays the enhanced value of English under American military occupation. It is the Japanese colonial legacy, "the broken English he had acquired in Shanghai" (401), that gets him a job. The economic exploitation of Japanese colonization deprived many Korean farmers of their lands and accelerated the outward migration of local workers from their hometowns. Sambok also has wandered around from one place to another to find a job under colonization. His job as an interpreter for the American officer, however, is not just a job, but a rise of social status from "Crook-nose Sambok the cobbler" to "Mister Pang." English offers him social mobility, and in exchange he cooperates with the American military occupation in Korea. The

cultural and social implication of English in this sense are differentiated from that of the Japanese colonial period when English was appropriated as an anti-colonial medium.

The variable role of English in Korea demonstrates that “localizing” Cold War imperialism should be linked with the “worlding” of Japanese colonialism in order to more carefully examine the continuum between the two.⁷⁵ Coloniality in Korea is very much a part of the modern world system and should be understood in the context of multiple colonial experiences. The Cold War politics and the following “division system” then serve as faithful components of legitimizing the hegemonic role of the U.S. by reproducing coloniality in another form (Paik 31). The English language in this context became a new “Japanese,” producing the hegemonic discourse of American militarism and violence.

Even though English was not physically imposed on Koreans like the Japanese language was, learning English has gradually become an imperative for most Koreans who seek social mobility, better jobs, and profit under closely co-operating neoliberalism and the world system. In 1998, Korean novelist Pok Kōil provoked a controversial dispute among many Korean intellectuals over the issue of the national language of Korea. In his book, *Kukcheō sidaeŭi minjogō* (*The National Language in the Age of the Global Language*), he argues that English should be the official language of Korea and then ultimately the mother-tongue of Koreans in order to prepare Koreans for globalization. His view was largely refuted by Korean scholars, as

⁷⁵ The Cold War, as Bruce Cumings points out, deprived East Asia of the opportunity to decolonize Japanese legacies in the region; Japan was quickly transferred from its role as the colonizer to the colonized after Hiroshima without losing its economic power in the region. China and Korea, meanwhile, faced more urgent problems than decolonization in the Cold War political struggles between the United States and the Soviet Union. Although the reintegration of East Asia might be accomplished more conveniently by assuming a common enemy, such as America, resolving hostility within East Asia will prove more complicated. One such complication is China’s re-emergence as a global power in 21st century, and resulting tensions in the region. For more details for Korean history, see Bruce Cumings’ *Korea’s Place in the Sun: A Modern History* (1998).

“shallow cosmopolitanism” of a self-deprecating writer who uncritically accepts the neocolonial ideologies of Americanization (Nam, July, 2 1998).

Contemporary Korean Englishes reveal complicated practices between linguistic imperialism and creative appropriation by non-native speakers. For example, *hallyu* (Korean wave) referring to the phenomenon of transnational circulation of Korean popular culture around the world, creates diverse translingual practices between native-speakers or non-native speakers in its global circulation. The popularity of K-pop and K-drama makes Korea a new cultural hub of transnational Asia and the rest of the world. These cultural productions are often based on Anglo-American distribution systems, such as Youtube or Facebook, and are usually conducted in English language for promotion in Anglophone and non-Anglophone audiences alike. For example, the music video of Psy’s song “Gangnam Style” (*Gangnam sŭtail* in Korean) been viewed over 2.59 billion times on YouTube, making it YouTube’s most watched video since November 24, 2012, when it surpassed the music video for “Baby” by Justin Bieber.⁷⁶ By the end of 2012, the song had topped the music charts of more than 30 countries including Australia, Bulgaria, Canada, France, Lebanon, Mexico, Russia, and the United Kingdom. On May 7, 2013, at a meeting with South Korea’s President Park Geunhye at the White House, Barack Obama cited the success of “Gangnam Style” as an example of how people around the world are being “swept up” in Korean culture (“Remarks” May 7, 2013). The global circulation of “Gangnam Style” sheds light on how non-Anglo have cultures appropriated the U.S.-based global distribution system and the cultural capital of the global language, as demonstrated by the word *sŭtail* [style], a loan word from English appearing repeatedly in the lyrics of “Gangnam Style.” In doing so, “Gangnam Style” not only provoked ardent responses among Anglophone audience,

⁷⁶ Gangnam is a name of wealthy and trendy neighborhood in Seoul, South Korea.

but also responses among non-native speakers who communicated through their “broken” Englishes within the commentary space of YouTube. The imagined global community and cultural citizenship created by “Gangnam Style” illustrates a complex yet exciting example of Korean Englishes in connection to other englishes.

As one can see in the conflicting examples of Pok Kõil’s pro-English argument and the global circulation of “Gangnam Style,” Koreans’ stance on English cannot be simplified as a single homogenous voice. In this sense, what is missing from this project are the other colonial Korean intellectuals who did not necessarily see the postcolonial implication of English, or who perceived the imperialist characteristics of English positively. In my follow-up research, I would like to investigate Korean English in the late colonial period (1937-1945). This is the period when Japanese colonization and the colonial policy of the elimination of Korean identity reached a peak under the war-ideological phrase *naesõnilch’e* (Japan and Korea as one body). Japan, preparing for war with Western countries, needed to re-make Koreans as royal soldiers of the Japanese empire and tried to erase differences between Japanese and Korean citizens. In this context, Japan officially banned the use of the Korean language in any circumstance, along with the publication of Korean language magazines and newspapers. English, on the other hand, was also banned in schools, and American missionary teachers were forcibly deported to their home countries, as English had now become the language of the enemy. Interestingly, it was English literary scholar and critic Ch’ae Jaesõ (a figure briefly mentioned at the end of the chapter 3) who actively led the movement to make the Japanese language the national language of Korea through his bilingual magazine *Kukmin munhak* (*National Literature*, 1939). Being one of the most elite and influential literary critic in the Korean (and even Japanese) literary circle, Ch’ae Jaesõ shows how English cooperates with Japanese colonial practice and even helped Koreans to

internalize colonial discourse within the late colonial period. Looking more thoroughly at this period, wherein English and Japanese collaborate to colonize Korea, I can expand my analyses of the formation of Korean Englishes.

In addition, I am still interested in the role of the United States as a transpacific place of publishing what I define as “Korean postcolonial literature” from the Post-liberation period to the contemporary Anglophone representations of Japanese colonialism. Following the examples of Jaepil Seo and Younghill Kang, a variety of bilingual Korean writers and contemporary Korean American writers have published their critical voices on the memory of Japanese colonialism in the U.S.: Noyong Park’s *Chinaman’s Place* (1940), Induk Park’s *September Monkey* (1954), Richard Kim’s *Lost Names: Scenes from a Korean Boyhood* (1970), Chang-Rae Lee’s *Gesture Life* (1999), Nora Okja Keller’s *Comfort Woman* (1999) and *Fox Girl* (2002). These texts demonstrate the process of globalizing memories of Japanese colonialism as a commodity in the global literary market, with the United States as the central place for the production of Korean memory of Japanese colonialization.

These postcolonial writings were often published as ethnographies of Oriental culture or an Other, and therefore the postcolonial aspect of these writings has been ignored by academic scholars. These same texts are mostly viewed as objects of Asian American studies rather than transnational Asian studies. I argue that the research on these transpacific exchanges requires an interdisciplinary collaboration between Asian American studies and transnational Asian studies. In this proposed collaboration, I am interested in querying two critical points: 1) the role of the transpacific route in the global emergence of postcolonial literary practices in relation to British and European literary routes channeling the postcolonial experience of their former colonies. 2) ethnography as a world literary form of postcolonial literary practice in relation to market

demand.⁷⁷ This research would explore how the historical memories of Japanese colonialism have been distorted, translated, and even reinvented through the global language and marketplace, revealing another appropriation of Korean Englishes.

In conclusion, the project “Korean Englishes” was originally conceived from my own personal anxiety as a scholar of “foreign” literature, who sympathizes with the frustration and feeble hopes of Korean English users during the Japanese colonial period. The variety of creative appropriations and imaginative practices of Korean Englishes I have encountered over the course of my research enables me to rewrite the global history of English from a marginal place, and requires new perspectives to read the overwhelming power of English from the non-Anglo tradition. It is undeniable that English has become the single most powerful force driving global literacy, which intensifies the uneven distribution of cultural capital or perpetuates a hierarchy of places. “Korean Englishes,” however, sheds light on the fact that the literary imagination cannot be limited by national borders, languages, or any form of regulations. Despite obstructions, our voices continue to speak, speaking in many Englishes.

⁷⁷ There are some existing scholarly works about postcolonial exoticism and the literary market. Critics such as Timothy Brennan (1997), Graham Huggan (2000), Sarah Brouillette (2007), Ursula Kluwick (2009), Gail Low (2011) have discussed how postcolonial texts are marketed and received as exoticized writings that “[promise] access to non-threatening cultural others, either as syncretic hybrids or as indicators of cultural authenticity for an audience that pride itself on its cosmopolitanism” (Low xvi). These studies tend to focus on the cases of British colonies and British literary market, and therefore I would like to expand the scope of scholarly discussion by adding the cases of Korean and Korean American writers and transpacific circulation.

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