

**A LIMITED, LEGACY LITERACY: RECONFIGURING LITERARY SINITIC AS
HANMUNKWA IN KOREA, 1876–1910**

by

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Abstract

This study shows that the changes to Korean literary and inscriptional practices in the three decades prior to Japanese colonization in 1910 were not the inevitable outcome of natural vernacularization processes. Rather, they were the result of deliberate education activities and policy decisions by interested parties, including the Korean court, Western missionaries, Korean traditionalist and nationalist scholars, and Japanese imperial officials.

Literary Sinitic literacy long sustained the ritual, cultural, and political modes of belonging that positioned Korea firmly within the Sinographic Cosmopolis. The promotion of vernacular literacy and the marginalization of Literary Sinitic that accompanied the social and political upheavals of the final decades of the Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910), were a key element in Korea's departure from this traditional cosmopolitan order.

Modern schools founded by the various interested parties above were a primary facilitator of inscriptional change. Though parents insisted that these schools include Literary Sinitic instruction, this instruction was limited to a single subject within a multi-subject curriculum. The aims, content, and methods of instruction within this new classroom subject, known as Hanmunkwa, departed significantly from those of traditional Literary Sinitic instruction. Nevertheless, Korean educators developed approaches to Hanmunkwa that still treated Literary Sinitic as the vehicle of a living, dynamic tradition. These approaches were greatly narrowed, however, through a program of textbook censorship implemented by Japanese education officials in the final years of the protectorate period (1905–1910). Shaped to meet political more than pedagogical ends, the content and methods of the Hanmunkwa instruction that resulted from this censorship reduced instruction to mere training in no more than a passive reading comprehension of excerpts from classical texts.

Japanese-controlled Hanmunkwa greatly limited the scope and application of Literary Sinitic literacy and was the beginning of the end of a living Literary Sinitic tradition in Korea, transforming it into a legacy literacy useful only in limited domains and providing nothing more than a level of backward compatibility with old knowledge. This study, therefore, offers a corrective to the common historiography of Korean language and literature that treats vernacularity as natural and Korean vernacularization as foreordained.

Lay Summary

This dissertation examines changes in Korean reading and writing practices in the final thirty-five years of the Chosŏn dynasty (1396–1910). The dissertation shows that contrary to common popular and scholarly narratives, the shift from Literary Sinitic (a.k.a. Classical Chinese) literacy practices to vernacular Korean literacy practices was not some natural, inevitable process.

Rather, it was the result of the deliberate education activities and policy decisions of interested parties, including the Korean court, Western missionaries, Korean traditionalist and nationalist scholars, and Japanese imperial officials. This study, therefore, offers a corrective to the common historiography of Korean language and literature that treats vernacularity as natural and Korean vernacularization as foreordained.

Preface

This dissertation is the original, unpublished, independent work of the author, William Scott Wells. All images appearing herein are used with permission from applicable sources.

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Dedication

To my children, Shelby, Ellie, and Liam.

To their mother, Lindsay, my wife and companion.

And to Brucessi. Sweet, sweet Brucessi

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Korean Inscriptional Practices at the End of the Chosŏn Dynasty

In 1882 on the eve of Korea's opening to the West, the American Congregationalist minister William Elliot Griffis (1843–1928) published *Corea, the Hermit Nation*, a work that would become “probably the most influential and widely read English-language book on the country for decades after.”¹ According to Griffis' own report, without ever having set foot on the peninsula he wrote “the bulk of the text... between the years 1877–1880”² based on materials and accounts that he first began to collect while living in Japan helping to establish modern schools in the early 1870s.³ Despite these less than ideal circumstances for gaining an accurate understanding of Korea's social and cultural conditions, in a chapter of his book titled “Culture and Education,” Griffis gave what will be shown hereafter to have been a remarkably accurate description of one aspect of Korea's then contemporary language situation. He wrote:

At present, Corean literary men possess a highly critical knowledge of Chinese. Most intelligent scholars read the classics with ease and fluency. Penmanship is an art as much prized and as widely practiced as in Japan, and reading and writing constitute education...

Corean [literary] culture resembles that in mediaeval Europe. It is extra-vernacular. It is in Latin—the Latin of Eastern Asia—the classic tongue of the oldest of living empires. This literary instrument of the learned is not the speech of the modern Chinamen, but the condensed, vivid, artificial diction of the books... The accomplished scholar of Seoul who writes a polished essay in classic style packs his sentences with quotable felicities, choice phrases, references to history, literary prismatics, and kaleidoscopic patches picked out here and there from the whole range of ancient Chinese

¹ Robert Oppenheim, *An Asian Frontier: American Anthropology and Korea, 1882-1945* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016), 12.

² William Elliot Griffis, *Corea, the Hermit Nation* (New York: Scribner, 1882), vi–vii.

³ For more on Griffis' writings on Korea and their reception there, see King, Ross. “‘Photographs of Mind’ and ‘Photographs Taken on the Soil’: William Elliot Griffis, Korean Language, Writing and Literature, and Koreans in Russia.” In *Kŭrip'isŭ K'ŏlleksyŏn ūi Han'guk Sajin [The Korea Photos in the Griffis Collection]*, 447–66. Seoul: Noonbit Publishing Co., 2019.

literature, and imbeds them into a mosaic—smooth, brilliant, chaste, and a perfect unity. This is the acme of style.⁴

Going on to describe how literary knowledge and abilities were gained in Korea, Griffis, again with remarkable accuracy, wrote the following about the nature of early literacy education:

If the Korean lad aspires to government service, he begins early the study of the “true letters” or “great writing.” The first book put into his hands is, “The Thousand Character Classic.” ... In it no character is repeated, and all the phrases are in two couplets, making four to a clause. The copies for children are printed from wooden blocks in very large type. At the right side of each character is its pronunciation in Korean, and on the left the equivalent Korean word. The sounds are first learned, then the meaning, and finally the syntax and the sense of the passages. Meanwhile the brush-pen is kept busily employed until the whole text of the author is thoroughly mastered by eye, ear, hand, and memory. In this manner, the other classics are committed. Education at first consists entirely of reading, writing, and memorizing. Etiquette is also rigidly attended to, but arithmetic, mathematics, and science receive but slight attention.

After this severe exercise of memory and with the pen, the critical study of the text is begun. Passages are expounded by the teacher, and the commentaries are consulted. Essays on literary themes are written, and a style of elegant composition in prose and verse is striven for.⁵

Less than thirty years later in 1909 just a year before Korea’s annexation by Japan, James Scarth Gale (1863–1937), a Canadian Presbyterian missionary, published *Korea in Transition* detailing the many changes he had witnessed firsthand while living in Korea beginning in 1887. As we shall see later in this study, Gale played an important role in propelling changes to Korea’s inscriptional and educational practices during his years on the peninsula. When describing the beginnings of Western-style schooling and the changes it had wrought upon Korean education, he wrote:

The new century with keen colter and long share has driven, is driving, will drive, through all the ideals of the East, and with them education. The rooms that once echoed with the voices of little boys shouting out the old phrases, as they memorized the *Thousand Character Classic*, are silent, and instead, on benches arranged in rows, sit a new generation of this new century learning arithmetic, geography, history, and the other branches of modern education. The change is the most momentous that has come in a

⁴ Griffis, *Corea, the Hermit Nation*, 339–40.

⁵ Griffis, 340–41.

thousand years; namely, that the ideals and gods of yesterday should to-day be dishonored and forgotten. Some of us have seen it with our eyes, have lived through this revolution, have lived in it over a span of twenty centuries, out of yesterday's B.C. into to-day's A.D. Is it a dream or is it real? Are these people those of twenty years ago, with their thoughts and desires and purposes, or are they another race who have been grafted on in a night, and have I slept like Rip Van Winkle and lost track of my bearings?⁶

A decade later still, Gale would write that of all the transitions which this revolution in education had fostered during his more than thirty years in the country “the literary one is perhaps the most momentous,” taking the Koreans as it did “from the Confucian style of writing to the unadorned modern colloquial.”⁷

1.2 The “What” of this Study

The final decades of the Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910)—from the beginnings of modern diplomatic relations with Japan following the 1876 Treaty of Kanghwa, to Japan's annexation of the Korean peninsula in 1910—were marked by tumultuous, rapid, and thoroughgoing transformations. This included internal changes in the institutions of government and the kingdom's social order driven largely by external changes in the country's relationships with its neighbors, China and Japan, and with Western powers. The shift in Korea's inscriptional practices detailed in the combined accounts of Griffis and Gale above was a key element in these transformations, reflecting both internal and external change. Furthermore, as Gale duly notes, the shift in inscriptional practices was facilitated by the transformation of the educational structures that had previously supported and replicated traditional literacy. Though Gale may

⁶ James Scarth Gale, *Korea In Transition* (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1909), 142–43.

⁷ Quoted in Ross King, “James Scarth Gale, Korean Literature in Hanmun, and Korean Books,” in *Haeoe Han'gukpon komunhŏn charyo ūi t'amsaek kwa kŏmt'o [An Exploration and Examination of Korean Old Books Overseas]*, ed. Sŏul Taehakkyo Kyujanggak Han'gukhak Yŏn'guwŏn (Seoul: Samgyŏng munhwasa, 2012), 243.

have overstated the extent of the shift on the eve on annexation—even if it was no longer the official writing of state, the “Confucian style of writing” still had several decades of continued prestige and widespread use ahead of it—he was nevertheless correct about the direction and pace of change toward the “unadorned modern colloquial.” Also, he was right on target regarding the role of the modern classroom as the mechanism propelling this change.

Literary Sinitic⁸ (hereafter LS), often referred to in English as classical or literary Chinese, is what Griffis described variously as “the Latin of Eastern Asia” or “the condensed, vivid, artificial diction of the books,” and what Gale called “the Confucian style of writing.” Known in premodern Korean sources simply as *mun(cha)* 文(字) (“writing,” C. *wen*[*zi*])—or sometimes as *chinsŏ* 眞書 (“true/genuine writing”)⁹ when context made it necessary to distinguish it from other scripts and writing systems—LS served for almost two thousand years as the primary written medium in virtually all domains of Korean society, whether documentary or expressive. And even though the Korean alphabet, today known as *han ’gŭl*, was invented in the mid-fifteenth century allowing for a nascent vernacular literary tradition to develop, LS literacy remained essential to achieving and maintaining success in elite society, with the sons of the country’s elites beginning their instruction in LS from a very early age. In contrast, today in

⁸ The term “Literary Sinitic” was coined by Victor Mair as a translation for the Modern Standard Mandarin term *wenyan(wen)* 文言(文). For his rationale for this term, see Victor H. Mair, “Review of Hilary Chappell, Ed. *Sinitic Grammar: Synchronic and Diachronic Perspectives*,” *Sino-Platonic Papers* 145, no. Reviews XI (2004): 8–14. For a thoroughgoing discussion of the usefulness of the term to scholarship on the history and practice of writing in traditional East Asia, see Ross King, “Editors’ Preface: Vernacular Reading in the Sinographic Cosmopolis and Beyond,” in *Literary Sinitic and East Asia: A Cultural Sphere of Vernacular Reading*, by Kin Bunkyō, translated and edited by Ross King. Forthcoming.

⁹ On the late fifteenth-century origins of the term *chinsŏ*, see W. Scott Wells, “From Center to Periphery: The Demotion of Literary Sinitic and the Beginnings of Hanmunkwa—Korea, 1876–1910” (Master’s thesis, University of British Columbia, 2011), 19–32.

Korea, LS is treated as a legacy literacy useful only in limited domains and providing nothing more than a sort of backward compatibility with old or outmoded knowledge; its public instruction surviving as little more than an elective course within Korea's middle and high school curricula.

To better understand what has led to this current situation, this study examines the shift in Korea's inscriptional practices and the debates surrounding it in the final thirty-five years of the Chosŏn dynasty. The focus of the study is not on the oft-studied rise of the written vernacular, but instead on the continued learning and use of LS during this period in light of the vernacular's rise; examining in particular, the inclusion of LS instruction in the period's new state and private school curricula, asking why it was included, how it was to be taught, and analyzing the ways in which the aims and methods of this instruction differed from traditional LS pedagogy.

1.3 Problems of Preceding Scholarship and the “Why” of this Study

LS once connected Korea to a transregional ecumene centered on China in which Korean elites were eager participants. It granted access to and enabled the maintenance of the authoritative textual tradition and the state bureaucratic and diplomatic structures which undergirded the Sinocentric world. Thus, the adoption by Korean elites of the ritual, cultural, and political modes of belonging that positioned their country firmly within this world was both facilitated by and predicated upon their adoption of LS. The upheavals of the Chosŏn dynasty's final decades, however, led many in Korea to reappraise the country's Sinocentric past and the once-shared

knowledge, symbols, and practices of this traditional order. The literary and inscriptional practices sustained by LS literacy were thus a prime target of this reappraisal.¹⁰

Responding to Japan's forced opening of the peninsula in 1876 and its succession of encroachments on Korean sovereignty leading up to annexation in 1910, the period saw the birth of Korean nationalist discourses that, in the linguistic sphere, raised the Korean alphabet to the status of "national writing" (*kungmun* 國文) while ethnically othering LS as mere "Han/Chinese writing" (*hanmun* 漢文). No longer the "true" or "genuine" writing, this discursive shift was accompanied by policies that demoted LS from its long-held status as the official written medium of state and eventually removed it from the center of the curriculum of state-sponsored education to the periphery of a new multi-subject curriculum.

One consequence of this transformation of Korea's linguistic landscape is that the story Koreans now tell themselves about how they came to speak and listen, write and read the way they do today makes little room for the previous role LS played in binding Korea to a larger regional order or for its continuing influence on Korean linguistic and inscriptional practice. Instead, the received narrative, what Ross King (1998) calls the "Korean vernacular belief system," centers on the fifteenth-century creation of the Korean alphabet, its supposed under-utilization by Sinophilic elites, its emergence in the late-nineteenth century as a symbol of national identity championed by nationalist authors and linguists, and its eventual widespread adoption after liberation from Japan in 1945.¹¹

¹⁰ Andre Schmid calls this intellectual and cultural reappraisal and the resulting reorientation away from China the "decentering of the Middle Kingdom." See Andre Schmid, *Korea between Empires, 1895–1919* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 55–100. For a general overview of the role that new language and inscriptional practices played in this "decentering," see especially pp. 64–72.

¹¹ Ross King, "Nationalism and Language Reform in Korea: The Questione Della Lingua in Precolonial Korea," in *Nationalism and the Construction of Korean Identity*, ed. Hyung Il Pai

A key aspect of this narrative is its teleological nature—the belief that vernacularization was the natural culmination of an inevitable historical destiny. In his work on the rise of vernaculars in South Asia, Sheldon Pollock (2006) explains that what underlies the belief in teleological vernacularization is “the common but mistaken notion that literary writing in the vernacular is somehow natural in a way that writing in a cosmopolitan language is not.”¹² Yet as Pollock reminds us, unlike the ability to speak, the “authorization to write,” no matter the language and no matter the script, is not “a natural entitlement.”¹³ (Consider, for example, the on-going situation in which every school day in China children in their millions are taught to read and write in a cosmopolitan language other than their often unwritten “non-literate” vernacular.) “Vernacularity” therefore, “is not a natural state of being but a willed act of becoming...,” one that cultural and political actors choose to inaugurate.¹⁴

In the case of Korea, the rise of the vernacular at the turn of the 20th century was no exception. Those who inaugurated the vernacularization process not only advanced the learning and use of vernacular writing but at the same time actively sought to transform, reduce, or in some cases completely abolish the learning and use of cosmopolitan writing (i.e. LS). Furthermore, these political and cultural actors—these inaugurators of vernacularization—were as often Protestant missionaries and Japanese colonial officials, as they were nationalist Korean

and Timothy R. Tangherlini (Berkeley, CA: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1998), 33–34.

¹² Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 318. See section 1.6 below for a further discussion of Sheldon Pollock’s work on vernacularization and its impact on a growing scholarly literature of East Asian vernacularizations.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

authors and linguists. Thus, the gravest sins of the Whig history of Korean vernacularization are its willful sins of omission.

Previous scholarship on this period's shift in language practices has focused almost exclusively on the rise in status and use of the written vernacular, including the spread of new vernacularized writing styles within print media, its use in the new school system, and the lives and achievements of the nationalist language reformers who backed it.¹⁵ Given that vernacular literacy (i.e. the practice of writing in the Korean language using the native alphabet) has fully supplanted LS in present-day (North and South) Korea, this focus on the vernacular is understandable. And yet, Kang Myönggwān (1985), Ross King (1998), Im Hyöngt'aek (1999), Yi Hyönhüi et al. (2014) and others have described how LS continued to be widely used and highly esteemed throughout this period, and Kim Chin'gyu (2015) shows that well into the twentieth century, new rationales for teaching and learning it were devised and propounded by its defenders. Still, the successful rise of the written vernacular and the centrality of Korea's script nationalism to the Korean vernacular belief system has created a bias of hindsight where scholarship on the arguments, activities, and achievements of pro-vernacular reformers is highly valued while close examination of the continued use of LS within both the print media and new schools is largely excluded. Thus, the amount of research today on what has become of Korea's

¹⁵ Two early and often cited studies on vernacularization that do just this are Yi Kimun, *Kaehwagi üi kungmun yön'gu* [*A study of the national script and writing during the Enlightenment period*] (Seoul, Korea: Ilchogak, 1970) with some updating in Yi Kimun, "Kaehwagi üi kungmun sayong e kwanhan yön'gu [Research on kungmun use during the Korean Enlightenment Era]," *Han'guk munhak* 5 (1984); and Yi Ŭngho, *Kaehwagi üi Han'gül undongsa* [*History of the han'gül movement during the Enlightenment period*] (Seoul, Korea: Söngch'öngsa, 1975). For a more recent treatment of the spread of the vernacularized mixed-script style in periodicals see Im Sangsöök, *20-segi kuk-hanmunch'e üi hyöngsöng kwajöng* [*The formation process of 20th-century kuk-hanmun style*] (Kyönggi-do P'aju-si: Chisik sanöpsa, 2008).

LS tradition is far outweighed by research on the rise of the vernacular. This imbalance is exacerbated when we consider that much of the scholarship on the language shifts in this period takes as a primary site of its analysis the pre-colonial period's popular print media (newspapers, academic and trade journals, magazines, etc.) in which far fewer pro-LS arguments appeared relative to pro-vernacular ones. But as Ross King shows, despite the commonly-held view of many present-day Koreans that the Korean alphabet was destined for triumph, it was "still very much on the defensive, even as late as 1910," and we might reasonably conclude that its advocates "were a sort of cultural minority fighting an uphill battle against conservative forces right up until the time of colonization..."¹⁶ A more complete picture of the linguistic transformations of Chosŏn's final decades therefore requires a better understanding of the period's pro-LS arguments and efforts.

Building on the work of these and other scholars, then, the purpose or the "why" of this study is to show, through a close examination of what became of Korea's tradition of LS literacy instruction at the onset of (colonial) modernity, that the transition in Korea's inscriptional practices was not the natural outcome of some inevitable vernacularization process. Rather, it was a result of the deliberate, often disparate, and sometimes contradictory education activities and policy decisions of interested parties, including the Korean court, Western missionaries, Korean traditionalist and nationalist scholars, and Japanese imperial officials. Furthermore, the activities and policies of these interested parties both reflected and furthered the ideological and epistemological contestations that had arisen in response to shifting regional dynamics as the

¹⁶ King, "Nationalism and Language Reform in Korea: The Questione Della Lingua in Precolonial Korea," 62 and 64.

influence on Korea of Western powers and the Japanese empire waxed while the influence of China waned.

This study also shows that the primary mechanism used to drive inscriptional change were the modern schools founded by the various interested parties listed above. With few exceptions, over time those operating these schools made less and less room for LS instruction, increasingly limiting it to a single subject within their multi-subject curricula in which sometimes English, sometimes Japanese, but most often the vernacular was the primary language of instruction. This limitation on both instructional time and material meant that despite centuries of LS instruction in Korea and the existence of a robust pedagogical apparatus of primers, chrestomathies and canonical texts glossed and annotated to facilitate it, LS educators within the modern schools developed new methods and materials to teach LS, publishing new LS textbooks whose contents and pedagogical methods departed in significant ways from those of traditional primers and texts. And yet, as most of these new instructional materials and methods were produced during the Japanese protectorate-period (1905–1910), what was at first a diverse array of approaches to teaching LS in the modern classroom came to be narrowed and controlled to fit the education policies and priorities of Japanese officials. Thus, on the eve of annexation, LS instruction was pushed further to the margins of the modern schools' curricula, with the scope of its application and use limited by the Japanese through textbook censorship. This study shows, therefore, that LS's place in Korea today as a legacy literacy limited to narrow domains was not foreordained, but contingent on deliberate policies to limit the scope of its learning and use; and were it not for these policies we might well imagine an inscriptional ecology in Korea much more accommodating to LS or LS style and phraseology than the one we have today.

1.4 The Sinographic Cosmopolis and the Korean Embrace of ‘This Culture of Ours’

When describing Japan’s Meiji-era modernization, Wataru Koyama (2003) writes that the transformation of Japanese inscriptional practices required “nothing less than a revolution in the ontic, epistemic and political-discursive universe of words and things.”¹⁷ As true as this certainly was in the case of Japan, it was doubly true in Korea where elites had forged a distinctive national identity bound up with their use of LS and their reception of the Neo-Confucian recensions of and commentaries on the texts of Chinese antiquity for which LS was the sole medium. Understanding, then, just how central LS literacy and the authority of the Chinese textual tradition were to pre-twentieth-century Korea’s self-conception will give some indication of how unprecedented and how unlooked for were the changes in Korea’s inscriptional practices at the end of the Chosŏn dynasty.

LS is an integrated medium of language and script and was, as Griffis’ “Latin of Eastern Asia” characterization implies, the lingua franca of premodern East Asia.¹⁸ LS and the body of textual knowledge for which it was the vehicle, allowed for the forging and maintenance of bilateral relations between the region’s peoples and states and enabled the shared knowledge and practices that gave the region a historical and cultural, if not entirely political, coherence.

¹⁷ Wataru Koyama, “Language and Its Double: A Critical History of Dialects, Languages, and Metalanguages in Japan” (Ph.D., Chicago, University of Chicago, Department of Linguistics, 2003), 552–53. As Koyama’s quote belies, the promotion of vernacular writing in Korea was not *sui generis*. The late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century breakup of the Sinographic Cosmopolis was in large measure made possible by similar vernacular movements which occurred throughout East Asia, beginning first in Japan, then in Vietnam, followed by Korea, and finally within China itself.

¹⁸ Though this study uses the term “East Asia” anachronistically to refer to the region bound by the contemporary states of China, Korea, Japan, and Vietnam. For a discussion of the western origins, historical validity, and scholarly utility of the term and concept, as well as alternative historical understandings of the region originating from within the region itself, see Peter Francis Kornicki, *Languages, Scripts, and Chinese Texts in East Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 2–20.

Though used on the Korean peninsula from as early as the second century BC, LS has much earlier origins. Based on the available archeological record, Chinese characters, or sinographs, have their material origins in the inscriptional practices of the late Shang dynasty (c. 1600–c. 1046 BC).¹⁹ The language which sinographs were first used to inscribe may well have been an approximation of the everyday speech of their users, but as Victor Mair explains, extensive anaphora and elision were a hallmark of the concise, elegant style of early Chinese texts, so that the language thereof was quite unlike the rustic vernacular language. Over time, the gap between the two grew until “there developed a deep chasm between the vernacular and the literary, such that eventually they became two different types of language altogether, with distinct grammars and distinct lexicons.”²⁰

In the millennium after the Shang dynasty, the culture surrounding LS literacy and textual mastery grew to have an immense standing in Chinese society. During the Spring and Autumn period (722–481/463 BC) and the Warring States period (481/403–221 BC), a large corpus of philosophical and didactic literature, both poetic and prose, developed under the influence of various schools of thought, including Daoist, Confucian, Mohist, Legalist and others. The texts that contained this literature, often termed “classics” (*jing* 經, K. *kyōng*), became models for LS composition thereafter.²¹ Though the exact corpus of classics hardly remained stable, the first

¹⁹ Though the earliest surviving examples of sinographic writing date to the late Shang dynasty, Robert Bagley shows convincingly that its origins predate what is available to us in the archeological record. See Robert W. Bagley, “Anyang Writing and the Origin of Chinese Writing,” in *The First Writing: Script Invention as History and Process*, ed. Stephen D. Houston (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 190–249.

²⁰ Victor H. Mair, “Language and Script,” in *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature*, ed. Victor H. Mair (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 27.

²¹ Beginning in the early centuries AD, this foundational corpus was added to and augmented by translations of Buddhist sutras from India, also termed “*jing*.” On the effects this addition had on subsequent LS literature, see Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer and Victor H. Mair, “Buddhist

efforts to define a standard canon were made by Confucianists during the reign of Emperor Wu (r. 141–87 BC) of the Han dynasty (206 BC–220 AD) when their teachings were adopted as the empire’s governing ideology.²² According to Mark Lewis (1999), the Confucianists, who had long emphasized writing and textual mastery, had, over the previous centuries, developed a concept of textual authority in which the records of the great sages of antiquity, most of all Confucius, were imbued with an authority above and beyond political authority such that from the time that the Han dynasty adopted Confucianism as its imperial ideology, “the ultimate importance of writing to the Chinese empire and imperial civilization did not derive from its administrative role. Rather the Chinese empire... was based on an imaginary realm created within texts.” It was this textual authority, Lewis argues, rather than the administrative or political use of writing that allowed for the “implanting of the imperial vision” which was the “mechanism by which the institution of the empire survived the collapse of each of its incarnations.”²³ Thus, as Victor Mair (2001) similarly describes, throughout the history of the Chinese ecumene from the early Han dynasty on, the power of writing, or *wen* 文 (K. *mun*; meaning, of course, writing in LS), grew as “officials possessing vast learning and outstanding writerly skills... were greatly respected” and “a tremendous premium was placed on advanced literary ability.” This led over

Literature,” in *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature*, ed. Victor H. Mair (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 160–72.

²² Michael Puett, “Philosophy and Literature in Early China,” in *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature*, ed. Victor H. Mair (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 83.

²³ Mark Edward Lewis, *Writing and Authority in Early China*, SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 4.

time to the development of “an ethos of *wen*” or “a literati culture centered on refined compositional competence.”²⁴

When viewed in this light, LS was more than the sum of its language-plus-script parts. Its learning and use became the very embodiment of a culture of textual authority that both asserted and legitimated normative claims about the proper constitution of society and the function of the imperial state. Writing (i.e. *wen*) became a synecdoche for Chinese culture itself. For example, Confucianists would come to refer to “the precious politicocultural heritage bequeathed by Confucius and his predecessors” as “This [Confucian] Culture [of Ours]” (*si-wen* 斯文, K. *sa-mun*).²⁵ Another example is a phrase appropriated from the *Zhongyong* and used in the *Shiji* to describe the Qin unification, “carriages with a common axle width and books in a common writing” (*che tonggui shu tongwen* 車同軌書同文), which was evoked throughout Chinese history to denote the universality of Chinese culture and institutions so that *tongwen* 同文 could be used to denote both shared writing and/or shared culture.

By the time of Griffis’ late nineteenth-century description above, Korea had long since adopted and adapted the practices of LS literacy and textual mastery to its own circumstances. LS first made its way to the Korean peninsula in a period of Han imperial expansion. The administrative functions of LS at the very least would have been present on the peninsula from the reign of Emperor Wu when the Han established four commanderies in the peninsula’s northern region. And as Peter Kornicki (2018) describes, archeological excavations at the location of one of these commanderies, the Lelang Commandery near present-day Pyongyang,

²⁴ Victor H. Mair, “Introduction: The Origins and Impact of Literati Culture,” in *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature*, ed. Victor H. Mair (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 2.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

have uncovered wooden slats dating to the third century AD with fragments of the *Analects* written on them, showing “not only that written administration was the norm in Lelang, as would be expected in an outpost of the Chinese empire, but also that Chinese textual culture had reached the Korean peninsula.”²⁶ After the fall of the Lelang Commandery in 313 AD, subsequent Korean states would make use of LS both for internal administration and for external diplomacy; they would continue to import literary, philosophical, and historiographical texts in LS from China as well as create their own such texts; they would establish national academies where the Confucian canon formed the basis of officials’ education; and they would eventually institute a civil service examination system testing potential officials on their mastery of that canon and their ability to compose in various genres of LS poetry and prose. In short, leading up to and especially following the Koryŏ dynasty’s (918–1392) institution of a civil service examination system in 958, successive Korean states had and would continue to make use of LS for administrative purposes but also embrace their own “ethos of *wen*” manifested in the institutions that rewarded and thus reproduced LS literacy and textual mastery.

Besides the Koreans, other non-Chinese peoples on the Chinese periphery also adopted LS inscriptional practices. The settled societies of Vietnam and Japan did so, as would at various times the various peoples to China’s nomadic north, including the Khitans, Tanguts, Jurchens, Mongols, and Manchus. As Kornicki describes, LS inscriptional practices “had, by the eighth century at the latest, created in East Asia a semblance of linguistic uniformity, or at least communicability, for domestic, diplomatic, and intellectual purposes; and by the eleventh century the reach of Sinitic extended from Japan in the east to the Tangut empire in the west,

²⁶ Kornicki, *Languages, Scripts, and Chinese Texts in East Asia*, 50.

from Vietnam in the south to the Khitan empire in the north.”²⁷ And even though each of these societies, including Korea, would develop scripts to record their own languages, these scripts were not used to the exclusion of sinography, but coexisted with it as LS texts remained the bedrock of education and the literate communications it enabled. Thus, the physical manifestations of LS in the form of a rich textual heritage and vibrant manuscript and book culture were not only a defining symbol of premodern East Asia, but as the universal medium for the spread and maintenance of the shared knowledge and culture that bound the region together, LS, in its very learning and use, was itself arguably *the* defining symbol of the region.

Though this Sinographic Cosmopolis²⁸ included non-Chinese peoples other than the Koreans, Sixiang Wang (2015) shows that from the Mongol invasions of the mid-thirteenth

²⁷ Ibid., 26.

²⁸ As I noted in Wells (2011), what to call the cultural formation of traditional East Asia founded on shared inscriptional practices and a common textual heritage, is a matter about which scholars are not in agreement. There I drew on the framework developed in South Asianist Sheldon Pollock’s work on the comparative cosmopolitan literary cultures of South Asia and Europe, especially Pollock (2006). Pollock has coined the phrase “Sanskrit cosmopolis” to describe the vast regions of premodern South Asia where peoples chose “to adopt language or life ways or modes of political belonging that affiliated them with the distant rather than the near, the unfamiliar rather than the customary.” Following his justification for this coinage, namely, the supraregional dimension of “cosmo-,” the political dimension of “-polis,” and the qualification provided by “Sanskrit,” I argued that premodern East Asia can be said to have constituted a “[Literary] Sinitic cosmopolis,” with LS rather than Sanskrit producing, as Pollock terms it in the South Asian case, “the forms of cultural and political expression that underwrote this cosmopolitan order.” See Wells, “From Center to Periphery: The Demotion of Literary Sinitic and the Beginnings of Hanmunkwa—Korea, 1876–1910,” 2–3. More recently, Ross King in King (2014 and 2015) and Peter Kornicki in Kornicki (2018) have written much more thoroughgoing examinations of this question of terminology, surveying the various terms and phrases used in the scholarly literature and discussing their implications for understanding both how this literary-cultural formation was perceived by those who constructed and inhabited it as well as how the East Asian case compares to other premodern translocal literary-cultural formations. While Kornicki is unwilling to adopt unproblematically any of the previously used names for this translocal formation, King (2015, 6) has settled on “Sinographic Cosmopolis;” “cosmopolis” drawing on Pollock for reasons similar to my own in Wells (2011), and “Sinographic” “precisely because it is the graphological and scriptological dimension that makes this sphere so fundamentally different from the mega-regions studied by Pollock.” Given the fact

century to the early decades of the Chosŏn period, Korean elites constructed a narrative about their country's relationship to the Chinese empire and the Chinese past that carved out a peculiar place for their country and culture within the Sinocentric ecumene that was distinct from that occupied by other non-Chinese peoples. This narrative posited that Korea's early acceptance of the authority of the canonical Confucian texts of Chinese antiquity via a distinct and independent line of transmission from the semi-mythical figure of Kija 箕子 (1122 BC–1082 BC, C. Jizi)²⁹ made the peninsula's successive states special participants in China's civilization. Though early Chosŏn elites accepted a subordinate role for their country in its tributary relationship with the Ming (1368–1644), they did so with the self-understanding that they were a junior partner in a common civilizational endeavor that transcended the temporal confines of both the Ming and Chosŏn states as well as the geographical confines of either China and Korea alone.

Wang describes how this narrative was the product of diplomatic discourse between various Korean and Chinese states as Korea navigated its tributary relationship first with the

that an important aspect of Korea's shift in literacy and inscriptional practices during the period covered in this study was to newly conceptualize the learning and use of sinographs as separable and distinct from the learning and use of LS, I am not as sure as King about the benefits of indexing the "graphic" over the region's shared literary and textual heritage as indexed by "[Literary] Sinitic." Nevertheless, I am fully "on side" with King and those scholars who are undertaking to rethink the histories of vernacularity in East Asia and the complex relationships between vernacular and cosmopolitan languages and inscriptional practices in the region. Therefore, as a signal of my "on-sidedness," in this study I adopt the term "Sinographic Cosmopolis" in a spirit similar to that expressed in the chapters of the forthcoming Ross King, ed., *The Language of the Sages in the Realm of Vernacular Inscription: Reading Sheldon Pollock from the Sinographic Cosmopolis*, where not all the authors adopt King's terminology, but all are nonetheless willing to take up the "rethinking" project.

²⁹ On the matter of the Kija story's historicity, Wang (2015, 351 footnote 27) writes:

Kija's enfeoffment in Chaoxian was most likely a later, Han-period fabrication, derived from anachronistic readings of older texts. The most even-handed and thorough treatment of these issues is Jae-Hoon Shim.... According to Shim, Kija did migrate to the northeast, but there "are no archaeological and textual grounds for the story of Kija's eastward migration to Chosŏn." Kija's Old Chosŏn did not exist in the 2nd millennium BCE.

Mongol-Yuan (1279–1368) at the founding of that dynasty and then with the Ming after the fall of the Yuan. Wang shows that a particularly important site for the development of this discourse was the diplomatic poetry exchanged between Chosŏn and Ming officials during early-Chosŏn embassies to China as well as Ming envoys' visits to Korea. To maintain Korean sovereignty over the peninsula as well as to assert a special status within the Sinocentric ecumene, Korean officials used this poetry exchange, as well as other diplomatic correspondence and ritual, to articulate the view that Korea, though subordinate to China, was a coinheritor (via Kija) of the civilizational knowledge found in the texts of Chinese antiquity. Just as Lewis details how the imaginary realm created within the texts of Chinese antiquity developed an authority by and against which political authority could be legitimated and judged, Wang shows how that same textual authority could be drawn on by Koreans to legitimate their assertions of both sovereignty from and (subordinate) partnership with China.³⁰ Thus, the disembodiment of political authority and its relocation in the canonical texts of Chinese antiquity that culminated in the Han dynasty's adoption of a Confucianist ruling ideology was not only a mechanism for legitimating later incarnations of the Chinese empire but was also adopted to legitimize the Chosŏn state and its participation as unique inheritor and protector of 'This Culture of Ours.'

Though originating in the practices of diplomacy and initially articulated for an external audience, this discourse was eventually turned inward and became a central pillar in the self-conception of Chosŏn's elites. For example, Sŏ Kŏjŏng's 徐居正 (1420–1488) statement in a court-commissioned history of the peninsula published exclusively for a domestic audience in 1484, nearly a century after Chosŏn's founding, evinces this inwardly turned self-conception:

³⁰ Sixiang Wang, "Co-Constructing Empire in Early Chosŏn Korea: Knowledge Production and the Culture of Diplomacy, 1392–1592" (Ph.D., Columbia University, 2015).

Everything, from our attire to our codes of law, is identical with those in China, so that ours is called a land of poetry, calligraphy, ritual, and music and a country of benevolence and righteousness. How honored indeed to have had Kija as our earliest ancestor!”³¹

Another signifier of this self-conception was the title “little central efflorescence” by which Chosŏn elites began to refer to their country. The term “central efflorescence” (*zhonghua* 中華, K. *chunghwa*) was part of a so-called “Sino-barbarian discourse” (*hua-yi lun* 華夷論, K. *hwa-i ron*) developed in Chinese antiquity and used throughout China’s history to differentiate China—including sometimes culturally, sometimes politically, and sometimes ethnically defined conceptions of China or “Chineseness”—from non-Chinese or barbarian (*yi* 夷) others.³² In a 1472 discussion between King Sŏngjong (r. 1469–1494) and his officials, we see the Koreans appropriating this discourse and assimilating their own self-conception to it:

Civilization has prevailed in Our Eastern Quarter from the time of Kija, such that the men are in possession of the manners of noble principle and the women are possessed of the customs of virtuous rectitude, and thus we have been called the “little central efflorescence.”³³

By adopting the title *so-chunghwa* the Koreans were asserting that their country, its civilization and culture, though not *the* central efflorescence, was nonetheless an autonomous “little” or “lesser” central efflorescence, and therefore decidedly non-barbarian.

³¹ 衣冠制度悉同乎中國，故曰詩書禮樂之邦，仁義之國也。而箕子始之豈不信哉。 Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng, Sejong Taewang Kinyŏm Saŏphoe, and Tongbang Midiŏ Chusik Hoesa, *Kugyŏk Tongguk t’onggam [Vernacular Translation of The Comprehensive Mirror of the Eastern Land]*, 1996 (Seoul: Tongbang Midiŏ Chusik Hoesa, 2003), 七 (7).

³² For a further examination of the origins and historical deployment and reception in East Asia of this Sino-barbarian discourse, see Kornicki, *Languages, Scripts, and Chinese Texts in East Asia*, 5–7.

³³ 吾東方，自箕子以來，教化大行，男有烈士之風，女有真正之俗，史稱小中華。 *Sŏngjong sillok* 成宗實錄, v. 20, Sŏngjong 3(1472).7.10 #4.

With the fall of the Ming to the “barbarian” Manchu founders of the Qing dynasty (1644–1912), Korea’s self-conception as a little central efflorescence was strengthened as Korean elites came to see their country as the last legitimate (i.e. non-barbarian) redoubt where ‘This Culture of Ours’ was properly preserved and transmitted. While the Koreans came to terms with the material fact of the Manchu conquest of China and thus accepted a tributary relationship with the Qing, they did not accept the Manchus as legitimate inheritors of the mantle of the central efflorescence or proper guardians of ‘This Culture of Ours’. As JaHyun Kim Haboush (1999) writes, “This sense of a Korean mission [to preserve ‘This Culture of Ours’] seems to have lasted almost to the close of the dynasty. Thus, in the eighteenth-century, King Yǒngjo (r. 1724–76) announced that ‘the Central Plains [China] exude the stench of barbarians and our Green Hills [Korea] are alone.’ Indeed, Koreans never really discarded their anti-Manchu stance. Throughout the latter half of the Chosŏn dynasty, they took pride in the fact that, unlike the Chinese, who had been made to adopt the Manchu hairstyle, headdress, and official dress, they had remained truthful to ‘civilized’ habits by perpetuating the Ming hairstyle and Ming dress.”³⁴

As this study will show, this sense of purpose and mission to preserve and correctly transmit ‘This Culture of Ours’ was a crucial concern of Chosŏn elites as they confronted Korea’s turn-of-the-twentieth-century social and institutional changes, of which the shift in inscriptional practice was a key constituent. And abandoning this mission and purpose was something Korea only began to slowly acquiesce to during the Japanese protectorate period when its sovereignty was severely weakened, and the threat of full colonization loomed.

³⁴ JaHyun Kim Haboush, “Constructing the Center: The Ritual Controversy and the Search for a New Identity in 17th-Century Korea,” in *Culture and the State in Late Chosŏn Korea*, ed. JaHyun Kim Haboush and Martina Deuchler (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999), 70.

1.5 The Written Vernacular in Pre-Twentieth-Century Korea

As Korea's first and, for nearly two millennia, only fully elaborated system of writing, LS brooked no real challenge to its prestige or dominance until the end of the Chosŏn dynasty.³⁵ This is not to say, however, that the Koreans were not acutely aware of the vast differences between their spoken and written languages.³⁶ To mitigate these differences they first developed borrowed-graph transcriptional techniques (*ch'aja p'yogi-pŏp* 借字表記法) first attested during Korea's Three Kingdoms period (57 BC–668 AD).³⁷ Though used in a limited way in later Silla (668–935) and early Koryŏ (935–1392) to transcribe short, yet fully vernacular lyrical poems, these techniques were devised and used primarily for the limited transcription of vernacular elements within otherwise wholly LS texts.³⁸ That is, they were used as LS reading aids or as a first step in LS composition.

In the mid-fifteenth-century, the Korean alphabet was invented and immediately proved capable of the full and efficient transcription of spoken Korean. Its invention, however, did not dislodge sinographic writing (including the borrowed-graph transcriptional techniques) nor did it

³⁵ This was the case even though LS was never connected to the native speech of any permanent linguistic community within Korea and, by the time of its arrival on the peninsula, had already sustained a long history of significant dissimilarity with the various vernaculars of China as well.

³⁶ Throughout the Chosŏn period, the spoken language situation consisted of a variety of diachronically related, though non-standardized dialects of Korean, with the Seoul dialect as the most prestigious. See Ross King, "Nationalism and Language Reform in Korea," 35.

³⁷ Though tradition has it that borrowed-character transcription was invented during the early Unified Silla period (668–935) by the revered Confucian scholar Sŏl Ch'ong (650–730), such transcriptions predate him. See Ki-Moon Lee and S. Robert Ramsey, *A History of the Korean Language* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 56.

³⁸ Often termed "*hyangch'al* 鄉札" ("local letters"), the transcriptional techniques used to record these full-vernacular poems were not actually different in kind from the semi-vernacular *idu* transcriptions described below. And as Gari Ledyard notes of such full-vernacular transcriptions, they "followed the fortunes of native poetry and declined during the Koryŏ period." Gari Ledyard, *The Korean Language Reform of 1446* (Seoul: Singu Munhwasa, 1998), 67.

threaten LS composition. For Korea's ruling elites, the transcription of spoken language or the production of vernacular literary works continued to be only ever a concern secondary to literacy training in LS literary forms and the mastery of the textual knowledge that tied them and their country to the Chinese world order. Thus, until the end of the Chosŏn dynasty it was for these ends, not vernacular literary production, that the Korean alphabet was most widely employed.

1.5.1 Borrowed-Graph Transcription

Borrowed-graph transcriptional techniques were first used to record Korean names and morphosyntactic elements known as *t'o* 吐, which included verbal endings and noun particles. To transcribe these elements sinographs were used either solely for the sound value of their Sino-Korean reading (i.e. as de-semanticized phonograms) or for their semantic value, disregarding the Sino-Korean reading and instead being read with a synonymous vernacular word or morpheme (i.e. as semantograms). As David Lurie (2011) has shown, the precursors of these transcriptional techniques were already evident in the Chinese lexicographical tradition, and, since sinography spread to neighboring societies in its already mature canonical form, the reading and writing practices that developed in Sino-xenic cultures were outgrowths of the writing system's preexisting tendencies and functions, rather than creations *ex nihilo*.³⁹

By the early Unified Silla period (668–935), these borrowed-graph transcriptional techniques had undergone a degree of regularization and were employed in an inscriptional system known as *idu* 吏讀 (“clerk readings”). Used for mundane record keeping or other clerical

³⁹ David B. Lurie, *Realms of Literacy: Early Japan and the History of Writing* (Boston; London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011), 334–42. Sim Kyŏnggho too shows that the inscriptional techniques used in *idu* have their origins in China, well prior to their extension in Korea and later Japan. See Sim Kyŏnggho, *Han'guk Hanmun kich'ohaksa [A history of philology in traditional Korea]*, vol. 1 (P'aju City: T'aehaksa, 2012), 73–74.

tasks well into the twentieth century, *idu* developed first to render LS texts into semi-vernacular translations that mixed LS vocabulary and phrases written in partial Korean word order together with *t'o*, the above-noted morphosyntactic vernacular elements. This method then came to be used in reverse as a tool for scribes and other clerical personnel to transcribe a “first pass” at extemporaneous official dictations, discussions at the court between the king and his officials, or judicial proceedings. These scribal transcriptions would then often be rendered on a “second pass” into full LS. As reflected in its name (i.e. “clerk readings”), *idu* thus became a tool primarily of scribal compositions by government clerks which were in turn often treated as only a first semi-vernacular step toward a fully LS composition.

Borrowed-graph inscription was also used in an annotational system known as *kugyŏl* 口訣 (“recitation glosses”⁴⁰) first evidenced in Silla. What Ross King (2007) succinctly describes as a “reading-aid-*cum*-translation device,”⁴¹ *kugyŏl* annotations used abbreviated sinographs to inscribe *t'o* glosses brushed lightly in ink between the lines of an otherwise wholly LS text, allowing the reader trained in their decipherment to read out extemporaneously in a hybridized register of LS understood by Korea’s LS literates.⁴² As will be discussed in chapter 2,

⁴⁰ Though often rendered in English as “oral embellishments,” An Pyŏnghŭi (1976) argues that the graphs “口訣” were originally a borrowed-graph transcription of a Middle Korean vernacular word, *ipkyech* (입꺄) or *ipkyec* (입꺄). An has analyzed *ipkyec(h)* as 𑏎 iph-, the Middle Korean form of modern Korean 唸 *ulph*- ‘recite’, + 꺄/꺄 *kyec(h)*, a native synonym for *t'o*, which also appears to be a native word. Following An’s analysis, “recitation glosses” (or even more literally “grammatical elements for vocalized reading”) would thus be a more accurate translation of the term transcribed as 口訣 and today pronounced using the graph’s Sino-Korean readings (i.e. *kugyŏl*). See An Pyŏnghŭi, “Kugyŏl kwa hanmun hundok e taehayŏ [On Kugyŏl and Hanmun Gloss Readings],” *Chindan Hakpo* 41 (1976): 149.

⁴¹ Ross King, “North and South Korea,” in *Language and National Identity in Asia*, ed. Andrew Simpson (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 203.

⁴² Ilya Gershevitch (1979) coined the term “alloglottography” to describe a phenomenon in the ancient Near East whereby utterances in Old Persian made by the Persian king were recorded by

these *kugyŏl* transcriptions were an inscriptional reflection of an oral reading practice foundational to LS literacy instruction that persisted even in the practices of the mature reader.

Both *idu* and *kugyŏl* developed and would always remain supplementary to LS literacy, the former serving as a first step in the production of new LS texts and the latter as an aid to the proper vocalization and decipherment of existing ones. Written using sinographs or their abbreviations, borrowed-graph inscription had the look of LS and was learned as part of the same literacy instruction. Thus, though borrowed-graph inscriptions of the *idu* and *kugyŏl* sort were not part of China's repertoire of inscriptional practices, being part and parcel of Koreans' LS literacy training and practice, they were nevertheless perceived by Korea's LS literates as compatible with the uniform culture/writing (*tongwen* 同文) that Korea and China held in common and therefore occupied the same inscriptional space as LS.

1.5.2 The Korean Alphabet

Invented in the mid-fifteenth century, the Korean alphabet originated through the private initiative and patronage of King Sejong (r. 1418–1450),⁴³ and it was through subsequent court

bilingual scribes in Elamite. When reread aloud, the Elamite records were then rendered orally back into Old Persian. See Ilya Gershevitch, "The Alloglottography of Old Persian," *Transactions of the Philological Society* 77, no. 1 (1979): 114–190. Citing Gershevitch's work, Gonzalo Rubio (2006, 45) describes alloglottography as the practice of "writing a text in a language different from the language in which it is intended to be read," and in addition to ancient Near Eastern examples of the phenomenon discusses the Japanese practice of rendering Japanese readings for LS texts as an example. The Korean practice of inscribing *t'o* should likewise be considered an alloglottographic device, meant as it was to facilitate a nativized reading of LS texts, or a vocalized reading of LS texts in a vernacularized register of LS understandable to Korea's LS literates. For further discussion of alloglottography and its applicability to the East Asian, and specifically Korean, context, see Ross King, "Editors' Preface: Vernacular Reading in the Sinographic Cosmopolis and Beyond," Forthcoming.

⁴³ Though I do not wholly agree with his assessment of Sejong's motives, Yi Kimun (Ki-mun Lee) makes a compelling case that the alphabet was in fact Sejong's personal project. See Ki-

sponsorship, especially the efforts of Prince Suyang (the later King Sejo, r. 1455–1468) that early works using the script were first published. The Korean alphabet for the first time provided an efficient, accurate, and easily learned means for recording vernacular Korean, and three full-vernacular literary works completed in Sejong’s lifetime demonstrated from the start the alphabet’s capacity to record the Korean language in precise detail.⁴⁴ Thus, for those today, both Korean and non-Korean alike, who hold to a teleological view of vernacularization (that is, that it was natural and inevitable), it is a regrettable failure that the invention of the Korean alphabet did not lead to the replacement of sinographic writing and the learning of LS. For these, the continued use of sinography and the LS literacy practices it entailed represent a triumph of tradition, hierarchy, and ascriptive power over progress, democracy, and merit. As Koh Jongsok, a South Korean essayist and public intellectual has written, “The history of the struggle between *han’gŭl* and Chinese characters is precisely the history of the struggle between democracy and feudalism.”⁴⁵ Within academic scholarship too can be found no less distraught proclamations of “missed opportunities:”

Moon Lee, “The Inventor of the Korean Alphabet,” in *The Korean Alphabet: Its History and Structure*, ed. Young-Key Kim-Renaud (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1997), 11–30.

⁴⁴ The first vernacular works to be published using the script were a compilation of panegyric hymns to Sejong’s ancestors (*Yongbiŏch’ŏn-ka* 龍飛御天歌) and two Buddhist works compiled in memory of Sejong’s recently deceased queen; the first a translation of the biography of the life of the Buddha (*Sŏkpo sangjŏl* 釋譜詳節) and the second a collection of hymns of praise to the Buddha said to have been composed by Sejong himself (*Wŏrin ch’ŏngang chi kok* 月印千江之曲). For a comprehensive examination of early works that employed the new script, see An Pyŏnghŭi, “Chungse-ŏ ūi han’gŭl charyo e taehan chonghapchŏgin koch’al [A Comprehensive Examination of Middle Korean Han’gŭl Materials],” *Kyujanggak* 3 (1979): 109–47.

⁴⁵ Jongsok Koh, “Infected Language, Infected Literature: One Perspective on Koreaphone Literature,” in *Infected Korean language, purity versus hybridity: from the sinographic cosmopolis to Japanese colonialism to global English*, trans. Ross King (Amherst, New York: Cambria Press, 2014), 241. Never mind that North Korea—certainly no bastion of the “democratic values” Koh would champion—also uses the alphabet.

The invention of *han'gŭl* should have marked a turning point in the history of written language in Korea. For *han'gŭl* was a writing system so simple, convenient, and accurate that almost any Korean could master it in a matter of weeks—instead of years, as in the case of *hanmun*. *Han'gŭl* made it possible, for the first time, to banish the alien writing system used in Korea for more than a thousand years. As it happened, however, the history of *han'gŭl* from the time of its creation until the very eve of the twentieth century was one of missed opportunities.⁴⁶

However, as Sixiang Wang (2014) so cogently argues: “To view the development of the Korean script as a precursor to an allegedly inevitable process of vernacularization contorts fifteenth- to eighteenth-century cultural phenomena to fit a late nineteenth and twentieth-century narrative of nation building....” Later he continues: “Emphasis on the alphabet’s invention as an assertion of linguistic difference conceals the significant roles that the new script took on as an instrument for mediating difference.”⁴⁷

It was exactly this issue of whether the new alphabet mediated or exacerbated difference that was the grounds for the conflict between Sejong and a coterie of officials led by Ch’oe Malli 崔萬理 (d. 1445), a high ranking scholar in the Hall of Worthies (Chiphyŏnjŏn 集賢殿).⁴⁸ The group remonstrated before King Sejong in an anti-alphabet memorial of early 1444 following an announcement of the script’s development. As their memorial and the exchange with Sejong that followed its reading at court show,⁴⁹ the anti-alphabet memorialists had fully assimilated the

⁴⁶ Kim Kichung, *An introduction to classical Korean literature: from hyangga to p’ansori* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015), 4.

⁴⁷ Sixiang Wang, “The Sounds of Our Country: Interpreters, Linguistic Knowledge, and the Politics of Language in Early Chosŏn Korea,” in *Rethinking East Asian Languages, Vernaculars, and Literacies, 1000-1919*, ed. Benjamin A. Elman, Sinica Leidensia, volume 115 (Leiden, the Netherlands; Boston: Brill, 2014), 60 and 61 respectively.

⁴⁸ This fact first became evident to me reading Sixiang Wang, “Story of the Eastern Chamber: Dilemmas of Vernacular Language and Political Authority in Eighteenth-Century Chosŏn,” *Journal of Korean Studies* 24, no. 1 (2019): 42.

⁴⁹ On the origins of the Korean script and the debates that followed its promulgation, see Ledyard, *The Korean Language Reform of 1446*.

discourses of Korea's special partnership in the Chinese ecumene. They considered the introduction of peculiar inscriptional practices based in local speech sounds to be an improper deviation from the cultivation of the uniform culture and institutions of Chinese civilization—a barbarian-like betrayal of the literary and material customs bequeathed to them by Kija. The new alphabet would, they feared, work to exacerbate rather than mitigate the differences between Korea and China. Wrote Ch'oe:

Our court, since the times of our founders and ancestors, has with utmost sincerity served the Great. We have uniformly honored Chinese institutions. But now, at this time of a uniform culture and uniform institutions [*tongmun tonggwe* 同文同軌], we create the Vernacular Script. We observe and attend this with alarm.... If these graphs should flow into China, and if people there should adversely criticize them, how could we be without shame, considering our Service to the Great and our emulation of Chinese civilization!

Although from ancient times customs and local usages have differed within the Nine Lands, there has never been a case of separately making a script based on local speech. Only the likes of the Mongols, Tanguts, Jurchens, Japanese and Tibetans have their own graphs. But these are the matters of barbarians, and not worth talking about. It has been traditionally said, "Change the barbarians using Chinese ways; we have never heard of changing toward barbarism." From one age to the next, China has always regarded our country as having the bequeathed customs of Kija, but in matters of culture, literary and material, and in ritual and music, we have rather imitated Chinese civilization. To now separately make the Vernacular Script is to abandon China and identify ourselves with barbarians. This would be what they call forsaking the perfume of storax for the dungball pushed by the beetle. How can this fail to have great implications for our civilization!⁵⁰

The "great implications" for the civilization Korea shared with China were, Ch'oe predicted, that the use of the new alphabet would first undermine the use of *idu*, which would in turn undermine

⁵⁰ 一, 我朝自祖宗以來, 至誠事大, 一遵華制, 今當同文同軌之時, 創作諺文, 有駭觀聽.... 若流中國, 或有非議之者, 豈不有愧於事大慕華?

一, 自古九州之內, 風土雖異, 未有因方言而別爲文字者, 唯蒙古·西夏·女真·日本·西蕃之類, 各有其字, 是皆夷狄事耳, 無足道者. 傳曰: "用夏變夷, 未聞變於夷者也" 歷代中國皆以我國有箕子遺風, 文物禮樂, 比擬中華. 今別作諺文, 捨中國而自同於夷狄, 是所謂棄蘇合之香, 而取蟾螂之丸也, 豈非文明之大累哉?" This and subsequent passages from the exchange between Ch'oe Malli's group and King Sejong are from *Sejong sillok* 世宗實錄, v. 103, Sejong 26(1444).2.20 #1. The English translation above and those that follow are, with slight modifications, from Ledyard, *The Korean Language Reform of 1446*, 141–49.

sinography in general and lead to the eradication of Confucian learning. Ch'oe argued that this would happen as both clerks and officials, seeing that government offices could be successfully attained without having “to strain their minds and labor their thoughts going through the study of ‘Nature and Pattern’” (which the long process of LS literacy training entailed), would come to abjure that training altogether. Ch'oe wrote:

After a few decades of this, surely there won't be too many people who know the written word. They might be able to use the Vernacular Script in application to clerkly matters, but if they don't know the writings of the sages and wise men, “they will not study, their faces will be to the wall.” They will be blind with respect to right and wrong in the Pattern of things. They will merely be expert in the Vernacular Script, and what use can be made of that! We fear that the Culture of the Right, which our nation has amassed and accumulated, will gradually come to being swept from the earth.⁵¹

Sejong did not deny that he hoped his new alphabet could be used in place of *idu*, which he argued, had been primarily intended “to ease things for the people” by making LS texts more accessible to local officials.⁵² “And if [*idu*] eased things for the people,” he continued, “will not the Vernacular Script now ease things for the people?”⁵³ Sejong thus upbraided his remonstrators for denouncing his efforts while they revered the works of *idu*'s purported inventor, Sŏl Ch'ong: “How can you people consider Sŏl Ch'ong to have been right but consider the work of your own sovereign ruler to be wrong?”⁵⁴

⁵¹ 如此則數十年之後，知文字者必少。雖能以諺文而施於吏事，不知聖賢之文字，則不學墻面，昧於事理之是非，徒工於諺文，將何用哉？我國家積累右文之化，恐漸至掃地矣。

⁵² Ledyard argues that statements about *idu* easing things for the people were “probably a face-saving way of saying the local officials needed translations, since using *idu* or *t'o* to render a Chinese text would have made it no more accessible to the peasants than it was before.” Ledyard, 88.

⁵³ 且吏讀制作之本意，無乃爲其便民乎？如其便民也，則今之諺文，亦不爲便民乎？

⁵⁴ 汝等以薛聰爲是，而非其君上之事，何哉？

As to the claim that the new alphabet would replace sinography in general leading to the “Culture of the Right” (*umun* 右文, i.e. Confucian learning) being “swept from the earth,” this Sejong did flatly deny. “Do you people know anything about rhyme books?” he rebutted. “How many initial consonants are there among the Four Tones and the Seven Innunciants? If I do not correct these rhyme books, who will correct them?”⁵⁵ Sejong here referred to a project he had just commissioned only days earlier—the translation of a Yuan dynasty rhyme dictionary using the new alphabet. The eradication of sinography, to say nothing of Confucian learning, was, as Gari Ledyard (1998) writes: “hardly contemplated by the man who had just ordered the translation of a Chinese [rhyme] dictionary for the promotion of Chinese learning.”⁵⁶

Long predating Sejong, the publication of rhyme books for preserving or recovering sinographs’ standard pronunciations reflected an underlying assumption that sinographs not only contained intrinsic meaning but that their meanings were most accurately understood and conveyed through a “correct” enunciation of a sinograph’s sound; and by extension, that a full and proper understanding of an LS text could best be gained through the “correct” vocalization of that text.⁵⁷ As Ledyard notes, phonological research projects undertaken in the early decades of the Chosŏn dynasty show that Koreans were thoroughly aware of the differences between their contemporary pronunciations of sinographs and those of both contemporary China and of

⁵⁵ 四聲七音, 字母有幾乎? 若非予正其韻書, 則伊誰正之乎?

⁵⁶ Ledyard, 150.

⁵⁷ This assumption long predated Sejong. As Timothy O’Neill notes about the cumbersome and self-referential *fanqie* “spelling system” originally used within dictionaries to indicate the pronunciation of sinographs, over time “it became standard commentarial practice to give *fanqie* glosses in all kinds of texts, up to and including the classics—in fact, many of the most important commentaries on the Chinese classics consist in large part of such sound glosses, e.g., the *Jingdian shiwen* 經典釋文 of Lu Deming 陸德明 (550–630 C.E.)” Timothy Michael O’Neill, *Ideography and Chinese Language Theory: A History* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 7.

earlier Chinese periods.⁵⁸ And as Wang describes, anxiety over the linguistic differences that had led to early-Chosŏn misreadings of the Ming legal code and to grave diplomatic missteps at the Ming court was a prominent element of early Chosŏn's internal discussions and policies regarding its relationship with the Ming.⁵⁹ Both Ledyard and Wang thus conclude that the motives underlying the alphabet project were as much entangled with Sejong's concerns to mediate the linguistic difference between Korea and China as they were with assertions of that difference. And his concerns were reflected not only in the lexicographical projects he commissioned for recovering sinographs' "correct sounds," but also in the very name he chose for his alphabet: the correct sounds to teach the people (*hunmin chŏngŭm* 訓民正音).

Sejong's 1446 preface to the *Hunmin chŏngŭm* (the text published to debut the alphabet of the same name) makes it clear that he hoped the new alphabet would allow for popular literacy. The preface, however, in no way indicates that this desired outcome was to entail an end to the primacy of LS in Korea, nor in fact does it state that popular literacy necessarily meant only popular *vernacular* literacy. Throughout the remainder of the Chosŏn dynasty the script was employed only modestly for vernacular literary production, and yet, contrary to modern characterizations it was hardly rejected outright by Korea's ruling scholar-officials. Rather, from its invention through to the Chosŏn dynasty's final decades, the alphabet was most widely used by the literati as a tool to bolster LS literacy's dominance. Of the early works that employed the new alphabet—including those works produced by those most closely connected to the alphabet project—most were hybrid editions of classical texts known as *ŏnhae* 諺解 ("vernacular explications") that paired the LS text of an existing Buddhist sutra or Confucian classic with a

⁵⁸ Ledyard, 93–97.

⁵⁹ Wang, "The Sounds of Our Country", 64–71.

passage-by-passage vernacular rendition explicating its meaning. In order to ensure a correct vocalization of the original LS text, *ŏnhae* editions also used the alphabet to inscribe *t'o* glosses (replacing the abbreviated sinographs typical of *kugyŏl*-style *t'o* glossing) within the LS original as well as to inscribe pronunciation glosses for each sinograph indicating their proper Sino-Korean reading (*ŭm* 音). An *ŏnhae* edition of either Buddhist or Confucian LS texts thus did not create separate stand-alone translations that replaced the LS original, but rather acted as scaffolding to facilitate access to and a correct reading of an LS original—that is, both a correct vocalization through its *ŭm* and *t'o* glosses and a correct interpretation through its vernacular explication.

Though the practice developed several generations later, the use of the alphabet to



Figure 1.1. Opening page of the 1691 printing of the Sŏkpong Ch'ŏnjamun. Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

facilitate LS learning can also be seen in its utilization within sinograph primers to indicate each sinograph's vernacular gloss (*sŏk* 釋⁶⁰) and Sino-Korean reading (*ŭm* 音). The first such primer was Ch'oe Sejin's 崔世珍 (1468–1542) *Hunmong chahoe* 訓蒙字會, published in 1527.⁶¹ From 1575 through to the end of the Chosŏn dynasty, copies of the *Thousand Character Classic* too were published using the alphabet to inscribe sinographs' *sŏk* and *ŭm*. Though the Korean script was used in various other ways, the ubiquity of the *Thousand*

⁶⁰ Also sometimes called *hun* 訓 or *saegim*.

⁶¹ The preface to *Hunmong chahoe* also included an introductory primer on the use of the alphabet.

Character Classic and its prominent place at the ground floor of LS learning imparted to every young boy that undertook even the rudiments of LS literacy training not only a basic knowledge of the alphabet, but a conception of its primary function as being a useful inscriptional technique in service of gaining and strengthening LS literacy. Likely a reflection of this conception and usage, the alphabet was frequently referred to as *ōnmun panjōl* 諺文反切 (“vernacular script *fanqie*”).⁶² And this understanding of the alphabet as primarily a pedagogical device useful for LS literacy training would have been fortified, as we have already discussed, as the boys progressed to encounter and make use of *ōnhae* editions of classical texts. Thus, the invention of the Korean alphabet not only did not upend the dominance of either sinography or LS literacy, but in the very works in which it saw its most widespread use the alphabet served to improve LS literacy and thus strengthen LS’s dominance.

1.6 Literature Review

This dissertation is situated at the intersection of several areas of study and directs itself at or is in dialog with two in particular. The first is the still little-studied matter of the character and development of LS instruction within Korea’s modern schools. The second is a growing body of scholarship on the comparative history of literary production and literacy practices drawing on and responding to the framework developed by Sheldon Pollock in his *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men* (2006).

⁶² *Panjōl* being the Sino-Korean reading for *fanqie*.

1.6.1 The Origins and Development of Hanmunkwa

The area of research to which this study most specifically directs itself is the narrow matter of the origins and development of the modern school subject Hanmunkwa 漢文科 within the curricula of the new Western-style schools established at the end of the Chosŏn dynasty. Prior to the development of a modern school system, instruction in the reading and composition of LS texts was a sunup-to-sundown affair comprising the entirety of the traditional curriculum. In comparison, LS instruction within new schools, which came to be known as Hanmunkwa (“*hanmun* course of study”), was greatly limited in its scope. Leaving aside for now the impact that new nationalist discourses and the introduction of new knowledge from the West had on the aims of Korean education and the content of instruction, as one classroom subject among many, just the limited time allotted to LS instruction alone meant that the very methods of its instruction could not help but be changed radically from those of traditional LS instruction. For this reason, this study treats LS instruction within the new school system as different in kind from traditional instruction and so uses the term Hanmunkwa to differentiate between the two modes encompassing aims, content, and methods of instruction.

Very little research has been done on the development of Hanmunkwa in the precolonial period, with nothing yet published on the topic in English. The earliest published work in Korean is a chapter by Chŏng Chaech’ŏl (1993) who summarizes the major developments in Hanmunkwa from its origins to the present. Chŏng briefly mentions that the precolonial period was one of transition in LS instruction and provides a few details of the period’s curricular directives and instructional guidelines originally published by the Korean government from

1894–1910 in the *Kwanbo* 官報 (*Official Gazette*).⁶³ Coming a decade later, a much more thorough summary of Hanmunkwa’s origins and development is Ch’oe Kwanjin (2003), who focuses more narrowly on the precolonial and colonial periods.⁶⁴ Ch’oe compares the developments in Hanmunkwa to the broader changes in the periods’ language instructional practices and shows the ways in which government schools’ Hanmunkwa instruction, along with other aspects of Korean language policy, was shaped by Japanese officials to meet the needs of the Japanese Empire.

To date, the most thorough study of precolonial Hanmunkwa is the doctoral thesis—and subsequent series of journal articles based on that thesis—by Namgung Wŏn (2006).⁶⁵ Namgung focuses on the development of precolonial Hanmunkwa through an analysis of the nature and content of its instruction, specifically as manifested in Hanmunkwa textbooks published during the five-year protectorate period between Japan’s victory in the Russo-Japanese War and Korea’s annexation. Namgung’s textbook analysis shows that throughout the protectorate period many new Hanmunkwa textbooks were published which experimented with a wide variety of approaches to Hanmunkwa instruction. Considering just their content, for example, some authors chose to compile textbooks using only excerpts from classical Confucian texts, others chose

⁶³ Chŏng Chaech’ŏl, “Hanmunkwa kyoyuk kwajŏng ūi pyŏnch’ŏn,” in *Hanmunkwa kyoyungnon*, ed. Han’guk hancha hanmun kyoyuk hakhoe (Seoul, Korea: Hansaem, 1993), 49–51.

⁶⁴ Ch’oe Kwanjin, “Ŏmun chŏngch’aek kwa Hanmun kyoyuk chŏngch’aek ūi pyŏnch’ŏn yŏn’gu; Kaewagi put’ŏ ilche amhŭkki kkaji [A Study of the Transition in Language Policy and Hanmun Education Policy from the Korean Enlightenment Period through the Japanese Colonial Period],” *Ch’ŏngnam ōmun kyoyuk* 26 (2003): 225–251.

⁶⁵ Namgung Wŏn, “Han’guk kaewagi Hanmunkwa kyoyuk ūi chŏn’gae kwajŏng kwa kyogwasŏ yŏn’gu [A Study of the Beginnings of Hanmunkwa and Hanmun Textbooks during Korea’s Enlightenment Period]” (Ph.D., Sŏngsin Women’s University, School of Graduate Studies, Department of Hanmun Studies, 2006).

exclusively past works in LS by Korean authors, while still others compiled new LS compositions dealing with both historical and contemporary topics.

Though a few master's theses focusing on individual Hanmunkwa textbooks preceded Namgung's doctoral thesis, a growing number of scholarly articles examining Hanmunkwa textbooks and their authors have been published since.⁶⁶ A primary focus of both Namgung and this subsequent scholarship has been to show how pre-colonial Hanmunkwa pedagogy was made to fit within the broader shift in the period's educational and literacy practices and priorities. Much of it therefore focuses on showing that the literary style of many of the privately published Hanmunkwa textbooks was influenced by the period's trends in vernacularization, that their content often included nationalist themes, and that both these developments were in service to the formation of a new public education system. In this respect, research to date on the origins and development of Hanmunkwa shares in the emphasis on vernacularity and nationalism that is the hallmark of more general research both on this period's language situation and educational developments within Korea. This research is important, insightful, and will be drawn on throughout this study; however, being concerned ultimately with the relationship of Hanmunkwa to new vernacular practices and nationalist discourses, it elides the fact that Hanmunkwa instruction was not a mere continuation of Korea's LS tradition repackaged for a new venue, but rather the end of LS learning in Korea as a living, dynamic tradition. That is, unlike traditional LS literacy instruction in which students advanced to be able to read and *produce* texts in multiple genres of both prose and poetry, by the time of Korea's annexation, Hanmunkwa instruction had been effectively reduced by Japanese officials to training students in no more than a passive reading comprehension of excerpts from classical texts. To repeat the

⁶⁶ See chapter 5 which draws on this research.

characterization above of LS instruction in Korea today, Hanmunkwa instruction transformed LS literacy into a legacy literacy useful only in limited domains and providing nothing more than a sort of backward compatibility with old or outmoded knowledge. Thus, the birth of Hanmunkwa was the beginning of the end of full LS literacy in Korea.

1.6.2 Sheldon Pollock and Comparative Vernacularization

Already drawn on above, Sheldon Pollock's work examines the processes of vernacularization in premodern South Asia. He deploys the concepts "cosmopolitan" and "vernacular" to categorize respectively literary productions/practices that were intended to "travel" or transcend time and place versus those that were to remain local. Pollock first shows that within South Asia during the first millennium AD, mastery of Sanskrit literary production and literacy practices was an activity at the core of a "transregional culture-power sphere" or "cosmopolis" that allowed for "participating—and knowing one was participating—in cultural and political networks that transcended the immediate community."⁶⁷ He next shows that beginning in the second millennium AD, the "quasi-globalism" of the "Sanskrit Cosmopolis" was displaced by local culture-power formations where political and cultural actors fashioned their newly inscribed vernacular modes of expression into literary languages in opposition to yet modeled upon the cosmopolitan structures of the Sanskrit literature and literacy practices that preceded them. According to Pollock, this vernacular epoch in South Asian was inaugurated in three stages he identifies as "literization" (the committing of vernacular spoken language to writing), "literarization" (the production of vernacular literature or texts in the vernacular with "expressive, imaginative, workly ends"), and "superposition" (the displacement of the

⁶⁷ Pollock, 10.

cosmopolitan language by the literarized local language through an appropriation of the existing matrix of cosmopolitan forms, structures, and practices). At the end of this process the vernacular languages of South Asia displaced Sanskrit to become “cosmopolitan vernaculars” “appropriate to a new vision of power” focused on the local rather than the translocal.⁶⁸ Finally, Pollock goes on to demonstrate how this model may be applied not only to Sanskrit and the vernacular languages of South Asia but to the “counter-cosmopolis” of Latin and the vernacular languages of Europe as well.

Whether and to what degree Pollock’s model of vernacularization applies to the East Asian case is a question that scholars of East Asian languages and philology are increasingly taking up.⁶⁹ In an edited volume by Benjamin Elman (2014) a group of scholars examining the relationship between LS and the vernaculars of East Asia respond explicitly to Pollock’s work on vernacularization. Among the various authors’ many findings they determine that while the literary cosmopolitanism of East Asia more closely matched the voluntaristic adoption of Sanskrit in South Asia than the coercive imposition of Latin in the Roman empire and later Western Christendom, nevertheless the tension and opposition exhibited in South Asia’s cosmopolitan-vernacular binary as described by Pollock does not map well to the East Asian situation prior to the 20th century. Instead, Elman writes that, “in East Asia the literary and vernacular registers historically interacted and influenced each other as part of a unified, if hybrid, language system that was mastered by Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Vietnamese

⁶⁸ Ibid., especially pp. 23–26.

⁶⁹ It is a question that Pollock himself asks and answers in the negative, arguing that with the processes of vernacularization across East Asia “a very different historical trajectory manifests itself.” Ibid. 259. In an earlier article Pollock notes specifically of Vietnamese and Korean vernacularization that they “occurred so late as to appear to be the project of a derivative modernization.” Sheldon Pollock, “Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in History,” *Public Culture* 12, no. 3 (2000): 595.

according to their own unique linguistic resources.”⁷⁰ That is, as Peter Kornicki (2010, 41; 2018, 32–33) and Ross King (2015) similarly observe, because LS never had one East-Asia-wide standard for how it was to be vocalized, the various vernaculars were crucial to LS literacy practice and literary production through the reading and compositional techniques developed both in China and the Sino-Xenic regions of East Asia; the *kugyŏl*- and *idu*-like borrowed-graph transcriptional methods discussed above being Korean examples. Thus, as King further notes, while vernacular oral and inscriptional practices were key elements of cosmopolitan literary practice in East Asia, because they were either ephemeral (as when articulated while reading) or marginal (as when inscribed while composing) these practices were often able to remain hidden behind the cosmopolitan textual artifact. King concludes therefore that “nothing vaguely similar to vernacularization as defined by Pollock for South Asia and Europe ever happened in Korea, and especially not throughout most of the 19th century when it was in full swing virtually everywhere else in the world except East Asia.”⁷¹

Still, in furtherance of the study of the global phenomenon of vernacularization pioneered by Pollock, scholars working on questions of vernacularization in East Asia not only find merit in a comparative approach to Pollock’s Sanskrit Cosmopolis but have also incorporated certain of Pollock’s conceptual vocabulary into their own work. Kornicki, King and others⁷² for

⁷⁰ Benjamin Elman, “Introduction: Languages in East and South Asia, 1000–1919,” in *Rethinking East Asian Languages, Vernaculars, and Literacies, 1000-1919*, ed. Benjamin Elman (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014), 2.

⁷¹ Ross King, “Ditching ‘Diglossia’: Describing Ecologies of the Spoken and Inscribed in Pre-Modern Korea,” *Sunkyunkwan University Journal of East Asian Studies* 15, no. 1 (2015): 6.

⁷² This includes not only those scholars contributing to Elman (2014) cited above, but those contributing to the forthcoming edited volume, Ross King, ed., *The Language of the Sages in the Realm of Vernacular Inscription: Reading Sheldon Pollock from the Sinographic Cosmopolis* (Leiden: Brill, Forthcoming).

example use “cosmopolitan” and “vernacular” as conceptual categories in much the same way that Pollock uses them. King also employs Pollock’s concept of a “cosmopolis” or “self-conscious conceptions of translocal community” in pre-twentieth century East Asia “for the same reasons that Pollock uses it—for its supraregional dimension and for the prominence given to both the political dimension... and to the ‘common aesthetics of political culture.’”⁷³

As already seen in the preceding sections, this dissertation joins the work of Kornicki, King, Elman and others in dialog with the work of Pollock. However, in contrast to the research inspired by Pollock and to Pollock’s work itself, rather than examining the nature of the vernacular’s relationship to the cosmopolitan or the rise of exclusively vernacular literacy practices and literary production, this study is instead an examination of the first decades of the long slow decline in Korea of the cosmopolitan itself. Pollock details well the inaugurations of the vernacular epochs in premodern South Asia and Europe and those East Asianists in dialog with him have likewise detailed well how his model of the relationship between cosmopolitan and vernacular relates (or doesn’t) to premodern East Asia. However, missing from these investigations is any examination of what becomes of a previous cosmopolitan literary culture and its attendant literacy practices following vernacularization and the breakup of a literary cosmopolis. Left unanswered, then, are such questions as whether cosmopolitan languages are still learned and valued after the rise of literary vernaculars, and if so, how are they taught and what justifications are made for their continued learning and use. This study addresses these and related questions as they apply to Korea in the final decades of the Chosŏn dynasty.

This examination of LS literacy instruction is useful for more than merely understanding the precolonial moment in Korea or even for more fully understanding the shifts in Korea’s

⁷³ King, “Ditching ‘Diglossia,’” 6.

language attitudes and inscriptional practices attendant to the peninsula's long *hanmun* hangover. By studying the fate of LS learning and use on the peninsula since the beginnings of Korean vernacularization, this study improves our understanding of how cosmopolitan transregional culture-power spheres disintegrate. That is, the fuller understanding offered by this study of Korea's part in the breakup of a once vibrant East Asian cosmopolitanism will help us apprehend the lingering effects and influences exercised by once cosmopolitan practices, even after those practices are reimagined or reconfigured according to new, nationalized frameworks.

1.7 Dissertation Structure and Chapter Summaries

The remaining dissertation examines four periods in four chapters ordered chronologically.

Chapter 2 draws on previous scholarship in both Korean and English to survey the structure and curriculum of Chosŏn-dynasty education. It pays close attention to how students learned to read and write in LS and the texts used to facilitate this instruction. The aims, content, and methods of traditional LS literacy instruction presented in this chapter are the baseline against which conclusions will be drawn in later chapters about the extent of Hanmunkwa's continuity with and departure from previous LS instructional norms.

Chapter 3 examines the modest yet meaningful changes to the status, learning, and use of LS during the eighteen years from Korea's opening in 1876 up until the Kabo reforms initiated at the onset of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894. First, the origins and development of two competing ideologies of governmental and social reform which emerged followed Korea's opening in 1876 are examined, showing the impact they had on Korea's language situation prior the Kabo reforms. Next, the beginnings of the stand-alone mixed-script style that would replace LS in government documents and the popular press are investigated, showing how this style originated

within the writings of a small coterie of young officials who had spent time traveling and studying in Japan. Finally, the early efforts first of the Korean government and then of Western missionaries to establish Western-style educational institutions is examined, demonstrating the impact of those institutions on the period's literacy instruction and inscriptional practice.

Chapter 4 examines both the changes to and continuities in the status, learning and use of LS in the ten-year period bookended by the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars. It analyzes in turn the Kabo reforms (1894–1896) and their aftermath, the anti-LS discourse that arose in the new press of the post-Kabo era, and the developments in LS instruction within missionary educational institutions leading up to 1905. Analysis of the curricular guidelines of the Kabo-era school ordinances shows how education reformers intended to exclude LS instruction altogether from the new government schools. Because of the lack of a unified vision of reform, however, various policies and regulations issued on language and educational matters sometimes worked at cross purposes or were blatantly contradictory, and in the post-Kabo period were weakened or reinterpreted to allow LS literacy instruction within government schools to continue.

Examination of the developments at mission schools shows that students' parents still wished for their children to receive LS literacy instruction and the missionaries accommodated parents' wishes by allowing for both traditional LS literacy instruction as well as innovating new and experimental materials and methods of LS instruction.

Chapter 5 surveys the development of Hanmunkwa—its instructional aims, methods, and materials—during the Japanese protectorate period from 1905 to 1910. First, the instructional guidelines for the state-schools' LS instruction are examined, showing how the limitations the Japanese-controlled Education Ministry placed on LS literacy instruction within government schools came to define this new classroom subject, Hanmunkwa. Next, a majority sample of the

textbooks published for private-school Hanmunkwa instruction is surveyed and analyzed, followed by an analysis of the government's Hanmunkwa textbook series. This examination shows that Korean educators at new private schools had a wide diversity of views on the place of LS instruction within a modern, multi-subject curriculum; and that, as was the case with the Protestant missionaries before them, when Korean educators were in charge of their own schools, they innovated methods for adapting LS instruction to the modern classroom. Japanese exertion of control over private schools changed this as the scope of its learning and use was limited by the Japanese through textbook censorship. This examination of private-school Hanmunkwa textbooks and their censorship demonstrates that inasmuch as Korean parents were eager for their children to learn LS and Korean educators were eager to develop new methods and materials for teaching it, the status of LS in Korea today as a legacy literacy limited to narrow domains was not foreordained but contingent on deliberate policies by Japanese education officials to limit the scope of its learning and use.

Chapter 6 concludes the dissertation with a summary of the major findings and their significance, a discussion of the limitations of the research, and suggestions for future inquiry and research.

Chapter 2: Literary Sinitic Learning Prior to Korea's Opening

2.1 Introduction

As discussed in the introductory chapter, though the instructional aims, content, and methods of Hanmunkwa are significantly different from those of traditional LS instruction, the extent of this difference is often overlooked. This is because previous research on the origins of Hanmunkwa in the precolonial period often treats Hanmunkwa as a mere repackaging of LS instruction for the new school classroom and focuses on how its origins and character were shaped in reaction to the rise of new language ideologies that demanded a greater alignment between writing and speech. Drawing on previous scholarship in both Korean and English, this chapter is a survey of the structure and curriculum of Chosŏn-dynasty education, paying close attention to how students learned to read and write in LS and the texts used to facilitate this instruction. The aims, content, and methods of traditional LS literacy instruction presented in this chapter are the baseline against which we may then draw conclusions in later chapters about the extent of Hanmunkwa's continuity with and departure from previous norms.

2.2 Chosŏn-Era Educational Aims and Institutions

Chosŏn-era education, inclusive of LS literacy training, focused primarily on the needs of men and boys from the *yangban* 兩班 or scholar-official class. With only a handful of known exceptions, *yangban* women and girls in Chosŏn received no formal, institutionalized training in LS literacy.⁷⁴ Rather than technical learning and specialist knowledge, which was considered

⁷⁴ What literacy training a girl might receive occurred in the home at the discretion of her father. For example, the renowned early-Chosŏn scholar Yi Hwang 李滉 (1501–70) wrote the following about women's learning:

beneath the dignity of a scholar-official, *yangban* education centered instead on moral philosophy and self-cultivation through the rigorous inculcation of Confucian textual knowledge, of which LS was of course the primary medium.⁷⁵

Education as a fundamental element of self-cultivation was a core tenet of Neo-Confucian ideology. This focus on the personal and individual was justified by the belief that self-cultivation was a microcosmic good that directly impacted the macrocosmic good of a well-ordered state. As articulated in a well-worn chiasmus at the heart of the *Great Learning* (*Daxue* 大學, K. *Taehak*), one of the Four Books central to Neo-Confucian learning, moral self-cultivation is the central node in a causal chain of actions that begins with the “extension of knowledge consist[ing] of the investigation of things” and culminates in a well-governed country and “peace throughout all the land.” According to this formulation, education is foundational to self-cultivation, which in turn is “the most essential thing” to a well-ordered country:

Married women should be able to compose poems, do calligraphy, read the “History, Lesser Learning” and “Admonitions to Ladies” and be able to recognise the names of kings and ancestors. However, an excessive skill in writing or brilliance in poetry is rather like that of a *kinyō* [妓女; low-status female entertainers more commonly known as *kisaeng* 妓生—WSW], and not what is expected of well-born women (quoted in Sōng-mi Yi, *Fragrance, Elegance, and Virtue: Korean Women in Traditional Arts and Humanities* (Seoul: Daewonsa, 2002), 29.)

From this we may suppose that the womenfolk of Yi Hwang’s household would have received at least the rudiments of LS literacy training. In contrast, those in the household of Yi Ik 李穡 (1681–1764), a prominent late-Chosŏn scholar, seem not to have fared as well; he wrote that “reading and learning are the domains of men. For a woman it is enough if she knows the Confucian virtues of diligence, frugality, and chastity.” Quoted in Hyaeweol Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 108–9.

⁷⁵ The Chosŏn state did maintain a separate system of specialized training and examinations for a hereditary class of state functionaries known as the *chungin* 中人 (“middle people”) who served the state as scribes, interpreters, legal specialists, astrologers, accountants, and in other technical occupations. This survey of Chosŏn education focuses on general Confucian education and the system and institutions meant to facilitate it.

Things have their roots and branches, affairs have their end and beginning. When you know what comes first and what comes last, then you are near the Way.

The ancients who wanted to manifest their bright virtue to all in the world first governed well their own states. Wanting to govern well their states, they first harmonized their own clans. Wanting to harmonize their own clan, they first cultivated themselves. Wanting to cultivate themselves, they first corrected their minds. Wanting to correct their minds, they first made their wills sincere. Wanting to make their wills sincere, they first extended their knowledge. Extension of knowledge consists of the investigation of things.

When things are investigated, knowledge is extended. When knowledge is extended, the will becomes sincere. When the will is sincere, the mind is correct. When the mind is correct, the self is cultivated. When the self is cultivated, the clan is harmonized. When the clan is harmonized, the country is well governed. When the country is well governed, there will be peace throughout the land.

From the king down to the common people, all must regard the cultivation of the self as the most essential thing.⁷⁶

Ostensibly founded on Neo-Confucian principles, the Chosŏn state had an ideological obligation to establish and maintain educational institutions that buttressed Neo-Confucian orthodoxy by instilling its attendant doctrines and practices throughout the population. Over the course of the dynasty, however, the state's principle practical interest in education lay in recruiting as government officials men of talent who had been schooled in Neo-Confucianism; the primary mechanism for this being a system of civil-service examinations (*kwagŏ* 科擧) that tested examinees in their exegesis of the canon and their ability to compose in various genres of LS poetry and prose. Because the maintenance of *yangban* status both for one's self and one's household was dependent upon passing the exams or having a recent ancestor who had done so, despite a waxing and waning of state's commitment to the maintenance of a public education

⁷⁶ 物有本末, 事有終始. 知所先後則近道矣. 古之欲明明德於天下者, 先治其國. 欲治其國者先齊其家. 欲齊其家者先脩其身. 欲脩其身者先正其心. 欲正其心者先誠其意. 欲誠其意者先致其知. 致知在格物. 物格而后知至. 知至而后意誠. 意誠而后心正. 心正而后身脩. 身脩而后家齊. 家齊而后國治. 國治而后天下平. 自天子以至於庶人, 壹是皆以脩身爲本. English translation by A. Charles Muller. "The Great Learning 大學." *Resources for East Asian Language and Thought*. <http://www.acmuller.net/con-dao/greatlearning.html> (retrieved September 5, 2019).

system over the course of the dynasty, it had no trouble finding a steady supply of individuals and households willing to expend enormous private effort and fortune in preparation to sit for the civil service examinations. For this reason, the persistence of LS literary production and literacy practices were closely tied to the continued existence of civil service examinations that demanded them.

Given that both state and private interests were served by education, Chosŏn's education system comprised a mixture of state and private institutions largely carried over from the Koryŏ period. Primary education consisted of instruction in basic LS literacy and Confucian morality and took place either in privately established and locally funded village primary schools known as *sŏdang* 書堂 (“book hall”)⁷⁷ or within individual households through one-on-one instruction from a family member or hired tutor. The state's school system, as originally codified in the dynasty's official law code of 1470,⁷⁸ consisted of secondary schools—the so-called “local schools” or *hyanggyo* 鄉校 at various administrative levels in the provinces and the Four Academies (Sahak 四學)⁷⁹ located in Seoul—and the National Academy (Sŏnggyun'gwan 成均館).

Boys studying at *sŏdang* typically began between the ages of seven and eight and advanced at whatever individual pace was required to master the instructional content, there

⁷⁷ Village schools were also known variously as *kŭlpang* 글방 (writing room), *sŏjae* 書齋 (study hall), or *sasuk* 私塾 (private school).

⁷⁸ *The Great Compendium of Administration (Kyŏngguk taejŏn 經國大典)*.

⁷⁹ The Four Academies, also known as the Academies of the Four Districts or Sabuhaktang 四部學堂, were located in the East, West, South, and Central districts of Seoul. Though a fifth academy in the North district had existed early on, it ceased to function and was closed by no later than 1437. See Son Insu, *Han'guk kyoyuksa yŏn'gu [A study of Korean education history]*, vol. 1 (Seoul: Munŏmsa, 1998), 441.

being no grade levels. Those who completed their course at the *sōdang* or who attained the equivalent elementary-level literacy and textual knowledge through home tutoring, could enter a secondary school usually between the ages of fourteen and fifteen. Students at the Sōnggyun'gwan were typically between the ages of twenty and twenty-three.⁸⁰

Students in the state schools received a stipend and exemptions from military service and corvée labor. The schools were funded by grants of land and slaves with the size of the grant depending on the size and status of the school. The Sōnggyun'gwan, for example, had by the late fifteenth century amassed around 2,400 *kyōl*⁸¹ of land and 400 slaves to work it,⁸² while each of the Sahak received ten *kyōl* of land, each of the larger *hyanggyo* received seven, and each smaller *hyanggyo* received five along with correspondingly fewer slaves for each school.⁸³

The state schools were intended to perform two primary functions in service to the state. First, they were to identify and train men of talent for positions in the provincial and central bureaucracies. Thus, their curriculum was to be closely linked to the content of the civil service examinations. Students at the secondary schools were to prepare to sit the lower or qualifying examinations (*sokwa* 小科), which, if passed, granted one of two degrees—the *chinsa* 進士 or literary licentiate and *saengwōn* 生員 or the classics licentiate. These degrees in turn were the

⁸⁰Watanabe Manabu, *Wat'anabe ūi Han'guk kyoyuksa [Watanabe's history of Korean education]* (Seoul: Munŏmsa, 2010), 114.

⁸¹ A *kyōl* is a unit of measure of the crop yield produced by an area that varied from 2.2 to 9.0 acres depending on the fertility of the land. See James B. Palais, *Confucian Statecraft and Korean Institutions: Yu Hyōngwōn and the Late Chosōn Dynasty*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996), 363.

⁸² Son, *Han'guk kyoyuksa yōn'gu*, 432.

⁸³ Watanabe, *Wat'anabe ūi Han'guk kyoyuksa*, 106. Another subsidy of sorts came from the fact that the Sahak and many of the *hyanggyo* were established in former Buddhist temples whose buildings and lands were confiscated as part of the early dynasty's disestablishment of state-sponsored Buddhism.

necessary credential to enroll at the Sŏnggyun'gwan. There students were to prepare to sit the higher or erudite examination (*taekwa* 大科 / *munkwa* 文科), which, if passed, made one eligible to receive government office. The second function of the state schools was to serve as ritual centers for the enshrinement and regular memorialization of state-canonized Confucian sages and worthies and for the performance of specific community rituals intended to thoroughly spread Confucian social values at the local level.⁸⁴

Though established early in the dynasty and not reformed until its waning years, the state schools ultimately ceased to function in the preparation of students to sit the civil service examinations. John Duncan (2002) is agnostic about how well the system ever functioned even early on, but notes that observations made from the second half of the sixteenth century depict the *hyanggyo* as “a refuge for commoners seeking to avoid military service and corvée labor.”⁸⁵ Leighanne Yuh (2008) confirms that the state system was in fact already being neglected well before the sixteenth century, and explains the reasons for this neglect as ultimately related to the state’s inability to properly fund it.⁸⁶ As Duncan further describes, given the diminution of state schools’ educative function and the loosening of the relationship between their operation and access to the examination system, “students aspiring to the examinations increasingly chose... to study either with personal tutors or in private academies.”⁸⁷ Thus, by the second half of the

⁸⁴ Son, 444.

⁸⁵ John B. Duncan, “Examinations and Orthodoxy in Chosŏn Dynasty Korea,” in *Rethinking Confucianism: Past and Present in China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam*, ed. Benjamin A. Elman, John B. Duncan, and Herman Ooms (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian Pacific Monograph Series, 2002), 75–76.

⁸⁶ Leighanne Kimberly Yuh, “Education, the Struggle for Power, and Identity Formation in Korea, 1876–1910” (Ph.D., Los Angeles, CA, University of California, Los Angeles, 2008), 33–37.

⁸⁷ Duncan, “Examinations and Orthodoxy in Chosŏn Dynasty Korea,” 75.

dynasty, the ritual function of the state schools had become their primary (and in some cases, their only) function.

As state schools' educative function waned so too did their prestige and from the mid-sixteenth century, private academies known as *sŏwŏn* 書院 began to be established in the countryside. In addition to the decline of the state schools, James Palais (1975) notes several other trends that led to the mid-Chosŏn proliferation of *sŏwŏn*. These included the “influence of neo-Confucian thought [which] produced a greater concern for moral cultivation as opposed to careerism as the main purpose of education”⁸⁸ and the mid-dynasty political conflicts that drove outsider factions' scholar-officials into retirement in the countryside where they began teaching factionally-aligned disciples at schools established next to the shrines for exemplary scholars in the factional lineage. “[T]he fusion of the private school with the local shrine” writes Palais, “produced the new type of private academy of the mid-sixteenth century.”⁸⁹ The *sŏwŏn* multiplied rapidly and by their heyday in the early eighteenth century numbered over six hundred.⁹⁰

Though organized by regional elites and established through private initiative, *sŏwŏn* were in fact quasi-official as they required state sanction in the form of a royal charter in order to operate legitimately. Royal charters included a royally inscribed signboard hung at the *sŏwŏn*'s entrance, a grant of tax-exempt land and slaves, a gift of newly printed copies of the Confucian

⁸⁸ James B. Palais, *Politics and Policy in Traditional Korea*, Harvard East Asian Monographs 159 (Cambridge, Mass: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 1975), 113.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 114.

canon for use in instruction, and exemptions from military service and corvée labor for *sŏwŏn* students.⁹¹

Originally established in part as an escape from the stresses and dangers of factional strife, over time, given the nature of their factional affiliation, the *sŏwŏn* became caught up with the factional politics of the late-Chosŏn period. Eventually, the ability to establish a new *sŏwŏn* and receive a royal charter became tied to whichever faction held power in the central bureaucracy,⁹² and by the nineteenth century the *sŏwŏn* did little more than serve the narrow partisan interests of scholarly factions and their affiliated lineage groups.⁹³

Coming back again to the matter of educational aims; just as the state's interests in education were multiple and in tension, so too were those of individuals, families, or scholarly factions. As Palais explains of the mid-sixteenth-century origins of the *sŏwŏn*, a strong impetus for their establishment early on was the conflict experienced both by individual scholar-officials and by larger scholarly factions between the demands of career/factional advancement on the one hand and the call to moral self-cultivation on the other.

This conflict in educational aims never really could have been otherwise. That is, though the state's education system had by the mid-sixteenth century largely ceased to function as an entry point to the examination system, even if it had continued to function as originally intended, it was never the case that anything like a majority or even a plurality of those who might be educated within the state system (or outside it in the *sŏwŏn*) could ever hope to sit for, let alone

⁹¹ Son, 459.

⁹² Manjo Chŏng, "The Political and Social Roles of the Sŏwŏn in the Chosŏn Dynasty," in *The Institutional Basis of Civil Governance in the Chosŏn Dynasty*, ed. John B. Duncan (Seoul: Seoul Selection, 2009), 53.

⁹³ Yuh, "Education, the Struggle for Power, and Identity Formation in Korea, 1876–1910," 30.

pass, the higher examination and receive government office. Moving through each level of the school and each stage of the examination systems, a progressively narrower quota was set on the number of degrees granted. Thus, the numbers allowed to advance and attain government office were by design strictly limited. Son Insu (1998) estimates that if every state secondary school throughout the peninsula ran at full capacity, the number of students enrolled countrywide in any given year would number over 15,000.⁹⁴ Both the qualifying exams and the higher exam were administered triennially with special exams held when necessary to supplement the triennial quotas: 100 each of *chinsa* and *saengwŏn* degrees (set to match the Sŏnggyun'gwan's enrollment quota) and a far more limited average of thirty-three *munkwa* degrees. Thus, over the entire 500-year dynasty the state granted a total of 47,748 *chinsa* and *saengwŏn* degrees and only 14,620 *munkwa* degrees (6,063 regular or triennial and 8,557 special).⁹⁵ Even if the state schools had functioned at only half their theoretical maximum capacity, the number of those who passed the *munkwa* and received government office would still have been vastly outnumbered by those who did not. Moreover, by the second half of the dynasty the higher examination, and therefore the essential credential for office holding, “had become largely monopolized by a relative handful of capital-based families... who dominated court politics in the late-Chosŏn.”⁹⁶

Yet despite this restriction on access to government office and the fact that the qualifying exams ceased to be qualifying save in name only, *yangban* outside of the central-bureaucratic families continued to study for and attain *chinsa* and *saengwŏn* degrees until the final abolition

⁹⁴ Son, 451. Though various scholars come to different exact numbers—Watanabe (2010, 106) calculates the total to have been 14,950 while Palais (1975, 112) claims it to have been 15,750—a round estimate of 15,000 works for our purposes here.

⁹⁵ Duncan, “Examinations and Orthodoxy in Chosŏn Dynasty Korea,” 73–74.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 77.

of the exam system in 1894. Duncan speculates that one motive in doing so was to “manifest and maintain some degree of privileged status *vis-à-vis* the rest of society” as degree-holders were exempt from taxes, military service, and other government-imposed duties. He also posits that the state continued to administer the qualifying examinations “as a way to assuage discontent among marginalized rural literati...” while also “fostering certain forms of learning among the rural literati.”⁹⁷ Given the restrictions on office holding, it makes little sense to posit that attaining government office was the sole or even primary rationale for pursuing or encouraging the pursuit of education.

The influence of powerful economic and social-status incentives for establishing schools, gaining degrees, or obtaining government office cannot be denied. And yet, the dogged persistence of Confucian learning among *yangban* for whom those incentives had been greatly reduced or altogether abolished likewise cannot be denied. This strongly suggests that as a class the *yangban* sincerely believed in the normative aims of Confucian education; which, rather than at mere personal aggrandizement, were directed toward self-cultivation as a means to achieving a well-ordered country and peace throughout the kingdom. Furthermore, as has already been stated above and as will be repeated below, Confucian learning was inextricably linked to LS literacy; that is, traditional LS literacy instruction was integral to—even coterminous with—the inculcation of Confucian values among Chosŏn’s *yangban* literates. As Saitō Mareshi (forthcoming) explains, LS literacy “is premised on internalized readings of the [Confucian] classics. As a classical language that makes free use of historical allusions and literary precedents, Literary Sinitic is intrinsically linked to seeing things from within the Chinese classical world. In order to study Literary Sinitic, it is not enough simply to learn its grammar.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 78.

Knowledge of the classics is required. Thus, studying Literary Sinitic is synonymous with bringing oneself into the intellectual space of the Chinese classical world. To record one's thoughts and feelings in Literary Sinitic is to configure and constitute oneself within this intellectual world."⁹⁸

Protestations against the abolition of LS in the final years of the Chosŏn dynasty show that this connection between Confucian learning and LS literacy were indeed commonly held. Yŏ Kyuhyŏng 呂圭亨 (1848–1921), an LS instructor and textbook author during Chosŏn's final years, wrote in a February 1908 essay in defense of continued LS learning:

Writing *is* the Way and the Way *is* writing.... Today's proponents of eliminating *hanmun* are proponents of eliminating the Way of Confucius... Should they desire to eliminate the Way of Confucius, it would be the same as eliminating the ethic of father and son, of sovereign and subject. We ought, then, to call them traitorous subjects and rebellious sons.

Though previous generations had not faced the possibility of LS's abolition as did Yŏ, his view would not have been out of place among the many generations of Chosŏn *yangban* before him; to undermine LS was tantamount to treason since it constituted an attack on Confucian learning and therefore threatened a well-ordered state. To understand protestations like Yŏ's we must take seriously that for so many generations of Korean *yangban*, having been thoroughly immersed in the Chinese classical world from such an early age, the steps necessary to achieve a "pacified world" laid out in the *Taehak* were fully internalized and believed as absolute truths.

⁹⁸ Saitō Mareshi, *Kanbunmyaku: The Literary Sinitic Context and the Birth of Modern Japanese Language and Literature*. Leiden: Brill, Forthcoming. Though commenting specifically on historical LS literacy practices in Japan and their impact on the world view of LS literates there, Saitō's explanation is just as applicable to the Korean case.

2.3 Traditional Literary Sinitic Literacy Instruction

Whether at the *sōdang* or in in-home tutoring, traditional LS literacy training began with learning to read and write sinographs using a sinograph primer as the basic text.⁹⁹ The most common sinograph primer was the *Ch'ōnjamun* 千字文 (*Thousand Character Classic*, C. *Qianziwen*), about which more will be written below. As boys moved on from sinograph primers to morals primers, histories, and eventually the Confucian canon, their writing instruction turned from mere copywork to actual composition—first of poetry and then of various prose genres.

2.3.1 Learning to Read

2.3.1.1 Rote Recitation

Instruction in reading, or *kangdok* 講讀 (“reading and exposition”), was the foundation of literacy instruction, at the heart of which was the memorization of texts through repeated oral recitations.¹⁰⁰ Each day the boy would be assigned to memorize a new passage subsequent to the previous day’s passage within the text he was learning. To ensure that he learned the correct

⁹⁹ For a summary of Chosŏn-era *sōdang* education, see Son, 472–87.

¹⁰⁰ In Wells (2011), following Richard Rutt (1960, 4), I characterized LS as a language of the hand and eye in contrast to the mouth-and-ear language of vernacular speech. In so doing I unintentionally, though rather blatantly, perpetuated the common but false notion that LS literacy functioned via ideographs mutely signifying meaning directly to the mind. While I was already aware of the role rote memorization played in LS literacy instruction, I had not yet fully grasped the importance of vocalized reading and recitation to both the early and mature stages of LS literacy. Though obvious to me now, if LS was truly a hand-and-eye language, oral recitations would be wholly unnecessary to memorization, and we should expect that to memorize a text, students would simply be made to repeatedly reproduce written copies of the text in part or whole, and that doing so from memory would be the primary method of testing the student’s memorization progress. In actual fact, reproducing the proper vocalization of a text from memory was key to LS literacy instruction.

vocalization—including not only the correct pronunciations of sinographs but also the proper parsing of the passage with the insertion of *t'o* glosses—his instructor would give a phrase-by-phrase model-reading,¹⁰¹ sometimes accompanied by an explanation of its meaning.¹⁰² The boy then memorized the day's passage by loudly reciting it over and over again. After completing his assigned recitations, often as many as a hundred per passage, his memorization would then be tested by the boy's oral recitation or chanting of the passage with his back turned to the instructor who held the text in hand.¹⁰³ The very terms used for this testing practice, *paegang* 背講 or *paesong* 背誦, are plainly descriptive of it, meaning respectively “to tell/recite with back turned” and “to chant with back turned.” So essential to the instruction process was the proper vocalization of a text memorized through rote recitations that, as Son (2006) notes, in some remote villages there were often *sōdang* instructors whose only qualification was to have memorized the basic texts, and who may not have been able otherwise to fully comprehend or compose in LS.¹⁰⁴ Even in less remote areas it was not uncommon for *sōdang* instructors to be unable to compose in certain literary genres or to understand poetic forms;¹⁰⁵ such a situation once again attesting to the fact that memorizing the proper vocalized reading of a text was the crucial first step in acquiring LS literacy.

¹⁰¹ This was true even of the vocalization of a sinograph primer like the *Ch'ōnjamun*, which was not simply a random list of graphs, but a collection of four-word/graph phrases paired in rhyming couplets. The *Ch'ōnjamun*'s phrases had meanings beyond their constituent graphs and thus could be recited with the appropriate *t'o* glosses as was the case with any other work of poetry or prose.

¹⁰² On the presence or lack of textual explication at early stages see section 2.3.1.2 below.

¹⁰³ Son, 478–79.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 476.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

This method of instruction through rote recitations was not unique to Korea but was also the first step in LS instruction in both China and Japan. Li Yu's (2003) study of the history of reading in late Imperial China cites the description of a rural village school in Northern China made by Hong Taeyong 洪大容 (1731–1783), a member of the 1765–1766 Korean embassy to Beijing.¹⁰⁶ Hong's description shows that in China too memorization through rote recitation preceded any other learning task, and that, like in Chosŏn, it was tested by having the student recite the text aloud with his back to the instructor who held the physical text against which the student's recitation was checked. The Chinese term for this practice, *beishu* 背書, similar to the terms for the corresponding practice in Korea, literally means “back to the books.” Li notes that by connection with this practice the graph *bei* 背 (K. *pae*), meaning “back,” has acquired the additional meaning of “to recite” and is interchangeable in this context with the homophonous graph *bei* 倍 (K. *pae*), meaning “to multiply; to repeat; to recite.” In his account Hong Taeyong also observes that the instructor at the Chinese village school was a Buddhist monk who was “barely literate and there was nothing marvelous about him at all.”¹⁰⁷ This further attests to the fact that the first task of LS literacy instruction in China too was to memorize the proper vocalization of basic texts, since, like in Chosŏn, students and even their teacher might memorize a text without fully knowing its meaning.

In Japan vocalized recitation was known as *sodoku* 素讀 (“rote/empty reading”). There too it was the first step in LS literacy education, and in an effort to regularize LS instruction during the Kansei Reform movement (1787–1794), beginning students were made to take a “rote

¹⁰⁶ Li Yu, “A History of Reading in Late Imperial China, 1000–1800” (Ph.D., Ohio State University, 2003), 40–80.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 44.

recitation exam” (*sodoku ginmi* 素讀吟味) to demonstrate memorization of the proper vocalized reading of a text before being allowed to advance with their study.¹⁰⁸

Besides his description of the practice of testing memorization via the “back to the books” method, Hong Taeyong described another similarity with Korean practice when he observed of the students’ recitation work that, “the way they swayed their bodies while reading in fast rhythm was not different from the children in my country.”¹⁰⁹ Richard Rutt’s (1960) description of the village schools in Korea’s capital region in the early-twentieth century likewise mentions how students rapidly swayed with the rhythm of their loud recitation of a text: “They sat round the room at tiny low desks, often facing the walls. They swayed from the hips in the rhythm of their chant, each oblivious of what the others were doing.”¹¹⁰

Rutt also describes how this chanted reading was not only part of the early learning process but continued as an important element of the mature reader’s reading practice as well. For the fully literate reader, however, the vocalization of texts was elaborated into a number of chanting styles that varied depending on the genre of the text being read:

When scholars recite a *hanmun* text, or even read any passage aloud, they usually recite in a peculiar singsong manner... It becomes so habitual to read aloud in this manner that even the men and boys sitting around the barber shop reading the newspapers chant the day’s news and the editorial comments in a quasi-liturgical fashion. It is impossible to

¹⁰⁸ Saitō Mareshi, *Kanbunmyaku to kindai Nihon: mō hitotsu no kotoba no sekai [The Literary Sinitic context and modern Japan]* (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 2014), 26–29.

¹⁰⁹ Li, “A History of Reading in Late Imperial China, 1000–1800,” 43.

¹¹⁰ Rutt, “The Chinese Learning and Pleasures of a Country Scholar,” 24. As will be seen in the chapter that follows, early Westerner observers’ descriptions of late Chosŏn educational practice often remarked upon the cacophony of boys’ recitations at the *sōdang*. Given the ubiquity of the sounds of *sōdang* recitations in traditional Korea, however, they were less salient to Korean observations of their own cultural practice and therefore largely unremarked upon. Still, the Korean proverb “Give them three years and even the *sōdang* dogs will recite poetry” (*sōdang kae sam nyŏn-imyŏn p’ungwŏl ūm-nūnda* 서당개 삼년이면 풍월을 읊는다) is a tacit acknowledgement that so loud were the *sōdang* recitations that those in the vicinity would hear and absorb the content of those recitations.

describe it at all accurately, and there are a number of variant forms of it... An unfamiliar passage is chanted in a very free and *rubato* style which allows plenty of time to pause before a difficult character or clause without actually stopping reading... [T]here distinct styles are recognized in the recitation of known texts. The most solemn is reserved for the classics; a lighter style on a higher pitch is used for most letters and less venerable texts; and for mere recitation by heart to the teacher a rapid monotone is used. In poetry two styles of chanting are recognized: *yul* (律) and *si* (詩).”¹¹¹

Rutt’s choice to describe these vocalized reading practices as “quasi-liturgical” may, wittingly or not, point to their ultimate origins. Li posits that the late-imperial practice of chanting Confucian texts may have developed under the influence of Buddhist sutra chanting practices: “Given the role that Buddhist monks and temples played in the education system, would it not be a possibility that their chanting of sutras affected the way students read aloud?”¹¹² Such a connection may likewise have existed in Korea.

2.3.1.1.1 The Purpose of Rote Recitation

Whatever the ultimate origins of the chanted recitation of texts, its centrality to literacy instructional practices throughout the Sinographic Cosmopolis is owed to the fact that it was thoroughly embraced and encouraged by the Song Neo-Confucians who made it central to their learning program. The “Rules of Reading” (“Dushu fa 讀書法”) section of the *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類 (*Conversations of Master Zhu, Arranged Topically*, K. *Chuja ōryu*) records Zhu Xi’s repeated exhortations to students—from the novice learner to the seasoned disciple—first to limit the amount of what they read, and second, to make the repeated recitation of a few core texts foundational to their study of the Way:

In reading, don’t strive for quantity. Instead become intimately familiar with what you do read. If today you are able to read a page, read half a page; read that page over and over

¹¹¹ Ibid., 14–15.

¹¹² Li, 63.

with all your strength. Only if you read both halves of the page in this manner will you become intimately familiar with the whole page....¹¹³

In reading, keep the curriculum small but the effort you make on it large. If you are able to read two hundred characters, read only one hundred, but on those one hundred make a truly fierce effort. Understand them in every detail, recite them until you are intimately familiar with them. In this way those with weak memories naturally will remember and those without the power of comprehension will be able to comprehend. If you read a great deal but race through what you read, it will be of no benefit at all. In reading one text, you cannot simultaneously look at those you haven't yet read; you should, however, simultaneously look at those you've read already.¹¹⁴

Young Kyun Oh (2013) characterizes Zhu Xi's reading program as having a "minimalist perspective" and notes that it was shaped by the proliferation of texts made possible by the rise of new woodblock print technologies. Oh explains that the boom in publication made possible by woodblock printing allowed for ready access to previously scarce texts available only in hand-copied manuscripts and also led to a proliferation of new exegetical commentaries.¹¹⁵ In previous generations the scarcity of texts had meant that the relationship between students and their teacher was itself as important as learning the content of the Classics; since it was from their teacher's own recitations that students memorized the Classics, it was from his hand-copied texts that they learned to copy their own, and it was he who ensured that they learned the orthodox understandings of the Classics which he had received in his turn from his teacher. The master-disciple relationship was thus central to the proper transmission of the Confucian Way. In

¹¹³ 讀書不可貪多，且要精熟。如今日看得一板，且看半板，將那精力來更看前半板，兩邊如此，方看得熟。 *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類, 10:40. English translation from Daniel K. Gardner and Chu Hsi, *Learning to Be a Sage: Selections from the Conversations of Master Chu, Arranged Topically* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990), 132.

¹¹⁴ 讀書，小作課程，大施功力。如會讀得二百字，只讀得一百字，卻於百字中猛施工夫，理會子細，讀誦教熟。如此，不會記性人自記得，無識性人亦理會得。若泛泛然念多，只是皆無益耳。讀書，不可以兼看未讀者。卻當兼看已讀者。 *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類, 10:39. English translation from Gardner, 132.

¹¹⁵ Young Kyun Oh, *Engraving Virtue: The Printing History of a Premodern Korean Moral Primer* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 20–21.

Zhu Xi's day, however, easy access to copies of the Classics and an increase in other types of texts meant that he contended against "extensive reading, speed reading, haphazard reading, and reading just for reading's sake"¹¹⁶ that resulted in shallow understandings of the books vital to Confucian learning. "The reason for the slipshod reading of people today is that there are so many printed texts," remarked Zhu Xi. "Even hand-copying a text is despised as a nuisance by people today, and [this too] is why their reading is so careless."¹¹⁷

Believing the new abundance of texts had changed reading practice for the worse, Zhu Xi, in good Confucian fashion, sought a corrective by looking to the reading practices of antiquity as his model: "Because nowadays the number of printed texts is large, people don't put their minds to reading them. As for the Confucians of the Han period, in instructing one another in the Classics, they just recited them from memory. Hence, they remembered them well."¹¹⁸ He admonished his students to slow their reading down, not thinking of hastily moving on to the next passage, paragraph, or text: "Simply dedicate to what you're doing at the moment, don't be concerned whether you're slow or fast, and soon you will naturally get there."¹¹⁹ Above all, he taught that gaining an intimate familiarity with the language, content, and meaning of a text through repeated recitations was not only a key learning method, but was equivalent to learning itself:

The value of a book is in the recitation of it. By reciting it often, we naturally come to understand it. Now, even if we ponder over what's written on the paper, it's useless, for

¹¹⁶ Oh, 21.

¹¹⁷ 今人所以讀書苟簡者，緣書皆有印本多了.... 今人連寫也自厭煩了，所以讀書苟簡. *Zhuzi yulei*, 10:67. English translation is mine.

¹¹⁸ 今緣文字印本多，人不著心讀。漢時諸儒以經相授者，只是暗誦，所以記得牢. *Zhuzi yulei*, 10:66. English translation from Gardner, 139.

¹¹⁹ 只認下著頭去做，莫問遲速，少間自有至處. *Zhuzi yulei*, 10:31. English translation from Gardner, 131.

in the end it isn't really ours. There's value [in the book] only in recitation... Even supposing we were to read through a text thoroughly, pondering it over and over in our minds, it wouldn't be as good as reciting it. If we recite it again and again, in no time the incomprehensible becomes comprehensible and the already comprehensible becomes even more meaningful. But if the recitation doesn't reach the point of intimate familiarity, it won't be so meaningful at all... It has occurred to me that recitation is learning. The Master said: "Learning without thinking is a waste; thinking without learning is dangerous." Learning is reciting. If we recite it then think it over, think it over then recite it, naturally it'll become meaningful to us. If we recite it but don't think it over, we still won't appreciate its meaning. If we think it over but don't recite it, even though we might understand it, our understanding will be precarious... Should we recite it to the point of intimate familiarity and moreover think about it in detail, naturally our mind and principle will become one and never shall we forget what we've read. I used to find it hard to remember texts. Then I simply recited them aloud. What I remember now is the result of recitation... Thus, we know that the value of a text is in the intimate recitation of it. There is no other way.¹²⁰

For Zhu Xi, the purpose of this "intimate recitation" (*shudu* 熟讀, K. *suktok*) of a text was not merely memorization of its words or concepts for the sake of later recall on school tests or even for the civil service examinations.¹²¹ Rather, by becoming intimately familiar with the books of the sages through repeated recitations the learner could "observe the intentions of the sages and worthies," and by following their intentions come "to observe natural principle."¹²² That is, the repeated recitation of a text allowed the learner to "frequently take the words of the sages and worthies and pass them before [his] eyes, roll them over and over in [his] mouth, and

¹²⁰ 書只貴讀，讀多自然曉。今即思量得，寫在紙上底，也不濟事，終非我有，只貴乎讀... 縱饒熟看過，心裏思量過，也不如讀。讀來讀去，少間曉不得底，自然曉得；已曉得者，越有滋味。若是讀不熟，都沒這般滋味... 自然曉得。嘗思之，讀便是學。夫子說“學而不思則罔，思而不學則殆，”學便是讀。讀了又思，思了又讀，自然有意。若讀而不思，又不知其意味；思而不讀，縱使曉得，終是脆脆不安... 若讀得熟，而又思得精，自然心與理一，永遠不忘。某舊苦記文字不得，後來只是讀。今之記得者，皆讀之功也... 是知書只貴熟讀，別無方法。 *Zhuzi yulei*, 10:65. English translation from Gardner, 137–39.

¹²¹ Zhu Xi was explicit that the purpose of reading in this manner was not to get gain such as through career advancement). Cf. *Zhuzi yulei*, 10:35–36.

¹²² 讀書以觀聖賢之意；因聖賢之意，以觀自然之理。 *Zhuzi yulei*, 10:7. English translation from Gardner, 129.

turn them over and over in [his] mind.”¹²³ By doing this, the sages’ words would become so familiar to the learner they would “seem to come from our own mouths,” and with continued reflection the ideas themselves would likewise “seem to come from our own minds.”¹²⁴ Repeated recitation of a text thus enabled the learner to “acquire it in their minds and embody it in their persons.”¹²⁵

On this matter, Oh’s (2013) explanation of how Zhu Xi’s “adoption (or reviving of the tradition) of orality and sound” allowed the words of the sages to be embodied by the learner is so insightful that it deserves here an extended quotation: “While reading vocally, the reader interiorizes the text; he makes his voice the body of the other. Through reading out loud the sages’ words, the reader in Zhu Xi’s scheme becomes the text’s actor. While visually prompted by the text, he converts the internal sounds that he hears into strings of perceptible sounds that he voices, and then feeds those sounds back into his own consciousness. The text then becomes a part of his body in the form of a kinetic memory—a memory ingrained through physical experience. The same would happen when he reenvisioned the text while reciting it. Assuming the persona of the sage whose words he is visualizing in written text or listening to in his mind, he repeats what he sees and hears through his own voice. Listening to the sounds of the sage’s words in reality places the reader back in the position of disciple. Thus, the text literally becomes embodied, so that it can be manifested in the reader’s physicality visually, orally, and aurally. Such textual perception is immediate and simultaneous—there is little room for the reader’s own

¹²³ 聖賢之言，須常將來眼頭過，口頭轉，心頭運。 *Zhuzi yulei*, 10:9. English translation from Gardner, 129.

¹²⁴ 大抵觀書先須熟讀，使其言皆若出於吾之口；繼以精思，使其意皆若出於吾之心，然後可以有得爾.... *Zhuzi yulei*, 10:55. English translation from Gardner, 135.

¹²⁵ 得之於心，體之於身。 *Zhuzi yulei*, 11:1. English translation from Gardner, 143.

intellectual reflection and consciousness to intervene. Understanding comes after arduous repetition of this process, although it can be tedious and half-hearted at times. It is the ideal form of knowledge, which enables the reader's intuitive judgments and actions to fit the moral principles seamlessly, every time, without the need for deliberation."¹²⁶

That the rote recitation of texts was central to Chosŏn-era LS literacy instructional methods is not itself evidence that Koreans adopted this practice due to Zhu Xi's admonitions. Zhu Xi after all did not invent the practice of recitation within China, nor was the Sinographic Cosmopolis the only place where the recitation of texts was central to literacy instruction. However, we do know that his admonitions were well known in Korea and were echoed by such Chosŏn luminaries as Yi I 李珥 (1537–1584). In his treatise on education, *Kyŏngmong yogyŏl* 擊蒙要訣 (*Important Methods of Eliminating Ignorance*), which was itself widely used as an LS primer in primary education,¹²⁷ Yi writes:

Generally speaking, [your method of] reading must be the intimate recitation of one book [at a time] until you understand its meaning completely and have it thoroughly mastered without lingering doubts. Only then should you move on to read another book; for one should not strive for quantity, hastily skimming through books.¹²⁸

Clearly Yi's exhortation to students follows from the counsel given by Zhu Xi both to practice intimate recitations (*suktok* 熟讀) of one text at a time and to limit the overall amount of material read.

¹²⁶ Oh, *Engraving Virtue*, 32–33.

¹²⁷ See section 2.3.3.2 below.

¹²⁸ 凡讀書必熟讀一冊，盡曉義趣，貫通無疑，然後乃改讀他書，不可貪多務得忙迫涉獵也。 Pak Semu and Yi I, *Hyŏnt'o wanyŏk Tongmong Sŏnsŭp / Kyŏngmong Yogyŏl [Tongmong Sŏnsŭp and Kyŏngmong Yogyŏl Glossed and Annotated]*, ed. Sŏng Paekhyo (Chŏnt'ong munhwa yŏn'gu hoe, 1992), 96.

2.3.1.2 Parsing and Explication

Neither the Koreans nor the Chinese had a tradition of teaching LS through any systematic syntactic analysis, but since LS texts typically circulated both in print and manuscript without spacing, punctuation, or paragraphs, students had to be taught how to parse words and phrases. Therefore, instruction in parsing/punctuating a text functioned as instruction of a sort in the structural analysis of LS texts. Whereas parsing/punctuating a text was taught in China after the initial memorization of a text was completed,¹²⁹ in Korea, the vernacular grammatical *t'o* glosses discussed in the introductory chapter (locatives, post nominals, verbal inflections, etc.¹³⁰) were inserted vocally into students' recitations of a text from the very beginning of the memorization process. In Korea, then, rote recitation and textual parsing was integrated into a single pedagogical step, as the proper reading of an LS text required not only that the original text be vocalized, but that the reader also parse the text by vocally inserting *t'o* glosses.¹³¹ This glossing

¹²⁹ See Li, "A History of Reading in Late Imperial China, 1000–1800," 69–75.

¹³⁰ For more on the various types of *t'o* glosses and how they functioned within a Korean reading of an LS text, see Rutt, "The Chinese Learning and Pleasures of a Country Scholar," 17–20.

¹³¹ Chosŏn parsing/punctuating practices not only differed from those in China, as seen with the vocal insertion of *t'o*, but as Ch'oe Sik (2011) shows, these practices also varied within Korea by region and especially by scholarly faction. Ch'oe examines three recently discovered late-Chosŏn punctuation manuals, each differently describing the methods of parsing and punctuation and each representative of a different scholarly faction's punctuation practices; Yi Samhwan's 李森煥 (1729–1813) *Kudu chinam* 句讀指南, representative of the Sŏngho hakp'a 星湖學派 (School of Yi Ik); Im Kyujik's 任圭直 (1811–1853) *Kudu haebŏp* 句讀解法, representative of the Pugin 北人 (Northerners) and Noron 老論 (Patriarchs) factions, specifically the Hwasŏ hakp'a 華西學派 (School of Yi Hangno); and Pak Munho's 朴文鎬 (1846–1918) *Iduhae* 俚讀解, representative of the Horon 湖論 faction. Using an example from the *Analects*, Ch'oe (2011, 337) shows how the various possible parsings of a text could profoundly change its meaning. And though a text's meaning was foremost in the minds of those who parsed and punctuated it, it was nevertheless inevitable that the different textual interpretations of the various scholarly factions would both influence and be influenced by their parsing and punctuation practices. Ch'oe further notes that the efforts of late-Koryŏ and early-Chosŏn scholars to properly parse and punctuate Confucian texts and thus create *kugyŏl*-glossed versions of the canon was deeply connected to the eventual creation of *ŏnhae* texts, especially Confucian

practice was not only an oral reading practice but also an inscriptional one. The act of inscribing glosses was known as *hyōnt'o* 懸吐, or “hanging glosses,” since *t'o* were “hung” (i.e. written in) next to the columnar line of an LS text using *kugyōl* inscriptions.¹³²

Rutt describes how incorporating the vocal insertion of *t'o* helped “facilitate the understanding of a connected passage and show the divisions of the clauses,”¹³³ and that eventually “[a]s he read more and more the boy gradually came to understand the structure of the Chinese sentences. They would say that ‘the grammar dawns on the mind.’”¹³⁴ Rutt here is referring to a proverb, “Don the *manggōn* for ten years, and writing’s pattern (*mulli* 文理, C. *wenli*) dawns on the mind.”¹³⁵ As students traditionally wore a horsehair-woven band known as a *manggōn*, the proverb’s meaning was that with ten years of study, the structure and grammar of LS (i.e. “writing’s pattern” [*mulli* 文理]) would eventually become apparent—absorbed by the student as though by osmosis through repeated recitations. Rutt further observes about Korea’s oral glossing practices that “the habit of inserting [*t'o*] is so strong in scholars of the old school that they instinctively add them to any piece of Chinese writing which they read aloud,”¹³⁶ and

ōnhae texts. Ch’oe Sik, “Hanmun tokpōp ūi Han’guk chōk t’ūksusōng [The Korean Particularities of Reading Hanmun],” *Hancha Hanmun kyoyuk* 27 (2011): 369–406.

¹³² As will be discussed in section 2.3.3 below, *kugyōl* inscriptions of *t'o* glosses using unabbreviated sinographs were even included as part of the printed text in certain key LS primers. For a description of how the *kugyōl* inscriptions of *t'o* glosses worked, along with a brief description of the recent discovery of stylus annotations (*kakp’il* 角筆) that functioned to gloss a text in much the same way, see Lee and Ramsey, *A History of the Korean Language*, 83–85.

¹³³ Rutt, 16.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹³⁵ *Manggōn ūl simnyōn ttŭ myōn mulli-ga nanda* 망건을 十年 뜨면 文理가 난다.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 17.

that, “[i]f they are not inserted there may be some doubt as to whether the reader really understands his text.”¹³⁷

Showing that the connection between rote recitation and the eventual comprehension of textual structure was as much practice as proverb, Sin Tuhwan (2008) cites an exchange between a top government official, Sim Chiwŏn 沈之源 (1593–1662), and one of Hyŏnjong’s (r. 1659–1674) princes where Sim queries the prince about the typical number of times he recites books:

Sim Chiwŏn asked the prince, “How many times do you usually recite [a book]?” The prince replied, “Around sixty or seventy times.” Sim replied, “Even that is not so many. When the people of the villages recite [a book], if they determine to set an excess of one hundred times as their benchmark, then they surely benefit from so many recitations; since afterward the writing’s pattern (*mulli* 文理) becomes clear. Do you think it is necessary to set a standard of one hundred repetitions?” The Prince replied that it was.¹³⁸

Learning to have an implicit feel for the syntactic structure of LS texts in general was clearly important, but was not itself synonymous with an explicit comprehension of a particular text’s meaning.¹³⁹ Rutt’s observations are that the first book that a *sŏdang* boy was expected to

¹³⁷ Ibid., 19. This practice of not only inscribing vernacular grammatical glosses into the physical text, but also vocalizing these glosses as an essential part of both one’s early recitations and mature reading practices evinces the central importance of the vernacular language in reading and interpreting LS. It also makes untenable any description of LS as merely a medium of the hand and eye.

¹³⁸ 之源曰：“世子常時讀數幾遍耶？”世子曰：“六七十餘遍矣，此亦不多矣，閭巷之人所讀，則必以百餘遍爲度，益必多讀，然後文理，亦透故也。須以百番爲限，何如。”世子曰：“唯。” Cited in Sin Tuhwan, “Sŏngdok kwa hanmun kyoyuk [Vocalized Reading and Hanmun Education],” *Hancha hanmun kyoyuk* 21 (2008): 158.

¹³⁹ In addition to the textual structure that was to “dawn on the mind” with repeated recitations, the meaning of a text too was supposed to become apparent. As Zhu Xi’s “Rules of Reading” records, there is “sure to be some understanding” by the fiftieth recitation a text:

Ordinarily, if a man reads a book ten times and doesn’t understand it, he’ll read it twenty times. If he still doesn’t understand it, he’ll read it thirty times. With the fiftieth reading there’s sure to be some understanding.... Nowadays people have yet to read a book ten times, and they say they can’t understand it. 凡人若讀十遍不會，則讀二十遍；又不會，則讀三十遍至五十遍，必有見到處。今人未嘗讀得十遍，便道不可曉。 *Zhuzi yulei*, 10:57. English translation from Gardener 1990, 135.

understand—besides the vernacular gloss (*sōk* 釋) and Sino-Korean reading (*ūm* 音) of individual sinographs within the *Ch'ōnjamun*—was the morals primer that typically followed his memorization of the *Ch'ōnjamun*: sometimes *Kyemongp'yōn* 啓蒙篇 (*Children's Primer*, literally “volume for enlightening the ignorant”), sometimes *Tongmong sōnsūp* 童蒙先習 (*Children's First Lessons*), or sometimes both.¹⁴⁰ Chōng Sunu (2013) quotes the mid-nineteenth-century Chosŏn scholar Yi Sangsu 李象秀 (1820–1882) who observed of the village schools that even the morals primer that followed the *Ch'ōnjamun* (in this case *Tongmong sōnsūp*) was memorized without the boy being expected to gain an explicit understanding of the text, and that textual explication was not practiced until the boy moved on to the historiography primers *Saryak* 史略 (*Abbreviated Histories*, C. *Shilie*) and *T'onggam chōryo* 通鑑節要 (*Essentials of the Comprehensive Mirror*, C. *Tongjian jieyao*):

The method in general use at the village schools is for the young boys to begin with instruction in Zhou Xingsi's *Ch'ōnjamun* followed by Pak Semu's *Tongmong sōnsūp*, at which point only the text's reading is taught, not its meaning. As they continue on to Zeng Xianzhi's *Saryak* and Jiang Zhi's *T'onggam chōryo*, books begin to be taught with their explications; and as he slowly ages the boy's comprehension gradually advances.¹⁴¹

This idea was embedded in another well-known proverb, except that rather than “writing's pattern” becoming apparent, it was the meaning of the text itself that would become so. “Recite a book one hundred times and its meaning becomes self-evident” (*dushu baibian, qi yi zi xian* 讀書百遍其義自見, K. *toksō paekp'yōn ki ūi chahyōn*) was, as Li (2003, 63) notes, a common expression used in China to convey the idea that there was a close connection between rote recitation and eventual textual comprehension. Though Chinese in origin, this saying was also used and is still well known in Korea.

¹⁴⁰ Rutt, 36.

¹⁴¹ 鄉塾通行之法，幼子始受周興嗣千字文，朴世武童蒙先習，此時音而不釋，繼以曾先之史略，或江贄通鑑節要，始教之以訓釋，年稍長知覺稍進。 Quoted in Chōng Sunu, *Sōdang ūi sahoesa: sōdang ūro ingnŭn Chosŏn kyoyuk ūi hŭrŭm [A social history of the sōdang: the history of Chosŏn education as read through the sōdang]* (Kyōnggi-do P'aju-si: T'aehaksa, 2013), 315.

This discrepancy in when explicit textual comprehension was expected may well be due to the difference between schools in the countryside and those in the capital region. As noted above, in the countryside it was often the case that the minimal qualification for a *sōdang* instructor was to have memorized the proper vocalized reading of the primary texts without necessarily having a complete knowledge of their meanings or being expert in LS composition.

Regardless of the precise stage at which explicit textual comprehension was expected, Son explains that when taught, textual explication (*kangsŏ* 講書) proceeded phrase by phrase as part of the of the instructor's model reading prior to the boy's daily recitations. The boy's comprehension was then tested by his own explication of the text while standing before his instructor, this time facing him and answering his questions about the meanings of specific words, phrases, or passages. Again plainly descriptive of it, the practice was known as *myŏn'gang* 面講 (“to tell/explicate while facing”).¹⁴²

As the boys moved on from primary to secondary education and took up the study of the canon proper, daily explicated readings (*kangdok* 講讀) continued to be the primary method of instruction, with the instructor modeling the text's proper vocalization line by line or phrase by phrase and giving an interpretation of the text while explaining the meanings of unknown words, textual references, and literary allusions followed by a daily quota of recitations.

2.3.2 Learning to Write

Learning to write began with instruction in the writing of sinographs, which consisted of teaching the basic mechanics of writing—how to sit and hold one's brush, the proper shape and

¹⁴² Son, 479.

spacing of the basic strokes and dots, the principles of balanced sinographic shape and lineation, etc. This was accomplished through copywork (*sŭpcha* 習字, literally “practicing graphs”); that is, by the boy’s repeated copying of—in copybook fashion—a short writing sample written by the teacher at the head of the student’s practice sheet each day. With paper often scarce, copywork could also be done either in a sand tray (*sap’an* 沙板) using a brush-length stick or with brush and ink on a wooden board (*punp’an* 粉板) “treated with a mixture of powdered scallop shells and oil” so that the ink could be rubbed off and the board written on again.¹⁴³ At the primary level, the boy began with the regular script (*haesŏ* 楷書) and then learned the running or semi-cursive script (*haengsŏ* 行書), with the cursive script (*ch’osŏ* 草書) not usually learned until the secondary level.

As a boy’s penmanship advanced in tandem with his progress through the primers, instruction in composition¹⁴⁴ began with the study of poetry during periods of leisure, especially during the hot summer months.¹⁴⁵ He was first introduced to the *kŭnch’e* 近體 (“recent-style”, C. *jinti*) poetry of the Tang poets, especially the five-syllable and seven-syllable quatrains of Du Fu

¹⁴³ Rutt, 26.

¹⁴⁴ It should be remembered that each stage of the curriculum, as with each stage of the education system, was accompanied by high rates of attrition; many of the boys who might memorize a primer or two never went on to learn to compose in LS. And as noted earlier, boys from remote areas where *sŏdang* instructors might not be able to compose in LS would not have been likely to learn to compose in LS either.

¹⁴⁵ Scholars are not in agreement on exactly when in the curriculum poetic composition was introduced. Rutt (1960, 29) states that it began “somewhere about the time the boy moved on from the Primers to the Classics,” which would equate to the boy’s fifth or sixth year of study. Kwŏn Osŏk (1994, 947–48) states that it began after the boy had completed the *Ch’ŏnjamun* and *Tongmong sŏnsŭp*, which would have been the boy’s third or fourth year. The discrepancy is likely due to the fact that there was no standard primary-level curriculum, and that the order and pace of learning depended on the abilities and knowledge of both the instructor and his students. Both Rutt and Kwŏn are agreed, however, that composition instruction began with the introduction of poetry and that poetry instruction occurred primarily during the summer.

杜甫 (712–770), which he memorized through rote recitations. He then advanced to literary collections such as the *Komun chinbo* 古文眞寶 (*True Treasures of Ancient Style Writing*, C. *Guwen zhenbao*)¹⁴⁶ that contained poetry from Qu Yuan 屈原 (c. 340–278 BC) to Zhu Xi in a variety of other poetic styles. As they memorized poetry, they also learned to compose it, “first of all by being given gobbets of verse, containing the rhyme characters, by the teacher. They had only to fit in the characters needed to finish the verses.”¹⁴⁷ As a boy’s poetry compositional skills increased, he might take part in village poetry recitals and poetry competitions which were widespread and held throughout the year during holidays and festivals.¹⁴⁸

At the secondary level, where instruction was geared toward preparation to sit for the qualifying examinations, composition instruction reflected the genres tested on the literary licentiate examination; namely, *pu* 賦 (rhyme prose, C. *fu*), *kosi* 古詩 (ancient-style poetry, C. *gushi*), *myǒng* 銘 (inscriptions, C. *ming*), and *cham* 箴 (admonitions, C. *zhen*).¹⁴⁹ For those who studied at the Sǒnggyun’gwan or through private instruction in preparation to take the higher examination, the genres learned were: *ǔi* 疑 (disputations, C. *yi*), *non* 論 (disquisitions, C. *lun*), *pu* 賦 (rhyme prose, C. *fu*), *p’yo* 表 (memorials, C. *biao*), *song* 頌 (eulogies, C. *song*), *myǒng* 銘 (inscriptions, C. *ming*), and *ki* 記 (memoranda, C. *ji*).¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ Kwǒn Osǒk, “Sǒdang kyojae e kwanhan sǒji-jǒk yǒn’gu [A Bibliographic Study of Sǒdang Textbooks],” *Sǒjihak yǒn’gu* 10 (1994): 948.

¹⁴⁷ Rutt, 29.

¹⁴⁸ Kwǒn “Sǒdang kyojae e kwanhan sǒji-jǒk yǒn’gu,” 948.

¹⁴⁹ Son, 452.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 434.

2.3.3 Literary Sinitic Primers

Children's primary education being a private endeavor and thus unstandardized, the content of instruction varied by time and place, particularly as certain primers waxed and waned in popularity and as new primers were compiled or written. And yet, though variation persisted, by mid-to-late Chosŏn a definite pattern in the number and sequence of primers had emerged.¹⁵¹

The texts used in primary education were chiefly of three types taught in roughly the following order: 1) sinograph primers—typically the *Ch'ŏnjamun*, though alternate sinograph primers were compiled and used as well; 2) one or more morals primers—chiefly the *Tongmong sŏnsŭp* 童蒙先習 (*Children's First Lessons*) and/or *Kyemongp'yŏn*, though Yi I's *Kyŏngmong yogyŏl* 擊蒙要訣 (*Important Methods of Eliminating Ignorance*), and the early-Ming text *Myŏngsim pogam* 明心寶鑑 (*Precious Mirror for Illuminating the Mind-and-Heart*, C. *Mingxin baojian*) were also widely studied; and 3) one or both of the historiography primers *Saryak* 史略 (*Abbreviated Histories*, C. *Shilüe*) and *T'onggam chŏryo* 通鑑節要 (*Essentials of the Comprehensive Mirror*, C. *Tongjian jieyao*). In addition to these three primer types, the final text studied prior to engaging with the canon proper was *Sohak* 小學 (*Elementary Learning*, C. *Xiaoxue*).

2.3.3.1 Sinograph primers

By far the commonest of the sinograph primers used during Chosŏn was the Sinographic Cosmopolis' ubiquitous *Ch'ŏnjamun*. Well known and oft used in Korea long before Chosŏn, its

¹⁵¹ Yi Unhŭi, "Sŏdang kyoyuk ūi silche wa hyŏndae chŏk ūiŭi [The Realities of Sŏdang Education and Its Modern Significance]," *Tongyang yehak* 6 (2001): 286–90.

near-universal use was attributable not merely to hoary tradition, but also to its complex form and varied content that allowed it to function as much more than a mere introduction to one thousand unique sinographs.

The *Ch'ŏnjamun* was also often used as a calligraphy manual. The source for the traditional narrative of the text's origins comes from the *Book of Liang* (*Liang Shu* 梁書), which records that Emperor Wu of Liang 梁武帝 (r. 502–549) commissioned his official Zhou Xingsi 周興嗣 (470–521) to compile as a calligraphy manual for the crown-prince a rhymed text from one thousand unique sinographs preserved in the hand of the famous calligrapher Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (303–361).¹⁵² Like one of the text's alternative titles, *A Thousand Graphs in the Hand of Wang Xizhi Set to Rhyme* (*Ch'aun Wang Hŭiji sŏ ch'ŏnja* 次韻王羲之書千字, C. *Ciyun Wang Xizhi shu qianzi*),¹⁵³ this narrative attests that the *Ch'ŏnjamun*'s calligraphic function was central to how its users understood its origins and aims, and this understanding was certainly operative in Chosŏn. Of the thirty-six versions of the *Ch'ŏnjamun* identified by Sim Kyŏngho (2012) as having been published from early Chosŏn through the Japanese colonial period, one in three were published primarily as calligraphy manuals.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² For an account of the *Ch'ŏnjamun*'s origins, see Christopher M. B. Nugent, "Structured Gaps: The *Qianzi Wen* and Its Paratexts as Mnemotechnics," in *Memory in Medieval China: Text, Ritual, and Community*, ed. Wendy Swartz, *Sinica Leidensia*, volume 140 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 159–60.

¹⁵³ Sim Kyŏngho, *Han'guk Hanmun kich'ohaksa [A history of philology in traditional Korea]*, vol. 1 (P'aju City: T'aehaksa, 2012), 256.

¹⁵⁴ Of the thirty-six Chosŏn-era versions listed by Sim (2012), twenty-three (in forty-two printings) were regular-script versions that would have been used as character primers in the village schools, including the annotated versions mentioned previously. Of the thirteen calligraphy manuals, ten (in nineteen printings) were cursive-script versions and three (in seven printings) were seal-script versions. See *Ibid.*, 270–79.

The *Ch'ŏnjamun*'s form and content also allowed it to function as a poetics primer. The one thousand sinographs are not simply strung together at random, but arranged into 250 semantically meaningful four-word phrases (*ku* 句, C. *ju*)—often with a simple subject-predicate construction—each combined with a parallel phrase into 125 eight-word couplets (*taeku* 對句, C. *duiju* or *yŏn* 聯, C. *lian*). These couplets are then grouped into eight mono-rhyme sections of varying lengths corresponding to a topical section such that a change in rhyme scheme signals a change in topic.¹⁵⁵ From this, students learned the basics of meter, rhyme, and parallel construction, each essential building blocks in LS composition. This basic format of four-word phrases combined into eight-word couplets whose rhyme scheme changed to mark content boundaries was a highly influential model for Chosŏn authors who produced expanded and sequel editions (*sokch'anbon* 續撰本) to the *Ch'ŏnjamun*¹⁵⁶ or who compiled their own alternative sinograph primers.

In children's education the *Ch'ŏnjamun* functioned primarily of course as a sinograph primer and its often opaque and elliptic references to Chinese cosmology, myth, and history meant that many learners memorized the text without ever understanding anything more than the vernacular gloss (*sŏk*) and Sino-Korean reading (*ŭm*) of the individual graphs. In a preface written by King Sukchong (r. 1674–1720) for a newly published 1691 version of the *Ch'ŏnjamun*, the king acknowledged this fact, yet nevertheless promoted the text and encouraged careful and repeated close readings:

The Crown Prince is just now learning to recite this book, and though he is already naturally bright, his knowledge daily grows and his careful attention to learning is set rightly at less a remove. Whenever reciting, it is not enough to learn only the graphs'

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 260–63.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 317–30.

meanings and nothing else. It is essential to read repeatedly and tease out [the text's meaning], finding the allusions and expounding them.¹⁵⁷

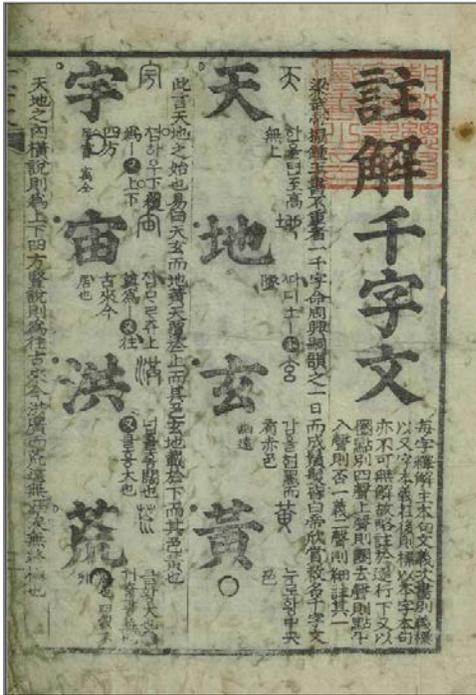


Figure 2.1. Opening page of the *Chuhae Ch'ŏnjamun*. Date unknown. Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

Learning to recognize the full background and sources of literary and historical allusions was an essential skill that the successful student had to acquire as part of his LS literacy training given that allusions, paraphrases, and cross references are so consistently a part of LS works. Thus, use of the *Ch'ŏnjamun* continued despite its difficulty, and to help facilitate a fuller understanding of the text an annotated edition was published in 1752 that clarified individual graphs' various meanings and usages, while also providing interpretations of each four-word phrase, and, where known, referencing its *loci classici*.

Indicative of the *Ch'ŏnjamun*'s wide-spread use was how it worked its way into Chosŏn school and book culture. Son (1998), for instance, notes how the length of a typical school year, which traditionally began on the third day of the third lunar month (*samjinil* 三辰日) and ended on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month (*chungyangtchŏl* 重陽日), was based on the amount of time it would take to memorize the *Ch'ŏnjamun* at a pace of six to eight graphs per day.¹⁵⁸ The absence of repeated graphs also meant that they could be used like numbers when labeling a large series of items such as the many fascicles of a large publication or the examination stalls set up in the palace courtyard for the triennial palace exam. Certain of the more memorable

¹⁵⁷ 春宮方講習是書，而性既聰朗，心智日長，加意學問，正在匪遠，每當誦讀之際，不惟只識字訓而已，必須反覆紬繹，觸類而長之。 Quoted in *Ibid.*, 285–86.

¹⁵⁸ Son, *Han'guk kyoyuksa yŏn'gu*, 484.

phrases also became proverbial or were used in *sōdang* jokes, puns, and anecdotes.¹⁵⁹ Finally, so thoroughly had the text become linked with the idea of introductory learning, that by the end of the Chosŏn dynasty the very name “*ch’ōnja*” or “*ch’ōnjamun*” could be used as a synonym for “primer” or “children’s textbook” in the titles of beginner’s texts that had neither one thousand unique graphs, nor the 250 four-word/graph phrases arranged into 125 rhymed couplets for which the original text is so well known. Notable examples include James Scarth Gale’s children’s readers *Yumong ch’ōnja* 牖蒙千字 (Published with the English title, *The Thousand Character Series*, 1901/4)¹⁶⁰ and Yi Sanggu’s Korean history primer *Yōktae ch’ōnjamun* 歷代千字文 (*History Primer*, 1911).

Yet despite its wide-spread use and cultural relevance, the *Ch’ōnjamun* was not universally loved. Some Chosŏn educators were dissatisfied with it for being too difficult and for lacking a number of basic graphs, thus making it ill-suited for use as a sinograph primer.¹⁶¹ Sim (2012) describes in detail a number of texts that were pressed into service as alternative sinograph primers. Some were sinograph primers used in China, such as *Mengqiu* 蒙求 (*Inquiries of the Young*, K. Monggu) and *Sanzi jing* 三字經 (*Three Character Classic*, K. Samja kyōng); others were poetry primers like *Paengnyōn ch’ohae* 百聯初解 (*Basic Explication of One Hundred Couplets*, c. 1550) by Kim Inhu 金麟厚 (1510–1560); and still others were glossaries of Confucian terminology, such as *Chahun sosŏl* 字訓小說 (*Lexicon with Brief Explications*,

¹⁵⁹ See Rutt, 30–31 and 35 for examples.

¹⁶⁰ Gale’s textbook is discussed at some length in chapter 4.

¹⁶¹ For example, of the cardinal directions 北 *puk* ‘north’ is missing, and of the numbers one through ten, 一 *il* ‘one’, 三 *sam* ‘three’, 六 *ryuk* ‘six’, 七 *ch’il* ‘seven’, and 十 *sip* ‘ten’ are not included.

n.d.), by No Susin 盧守慎 (1515–1590).¹⁶² Chǒng (2013) lists a total of eighteen texts that were used on and off again as alternative primers to the *Ch'ŏnjamun*.¹⁶³

Ch'oe Sejin 崔世珍 (1468–1542), in the preface to his own alternative sinograph primer, *Hunmong chahoe* 訓蒙字會 (*A Collection of Graphs for Instructing Children*, 1527), wrote that, given the *Ch'ŏnjamun*'s difficulty, young learners managed only to learn its individual graphs and could not grasp the meaning of the text itself or understand the ancient events it mentions. This extreme difficulty, Ch'oe argued, had the effect of divorcing the graphs that students learn both from the content of the text and from the real-world things the graphs are meant to name.¹⁶⁴

Later in the dynasty, Chǒng Yagyong 丁若鏞 (1762–1836) wrote a thoroughgoing critique of the *Ch'ŏnjamun* as well in which he argued that though it might be useful for other purposes, it was not fit for use as a sinograph primer, “since [students] finish studying the *Ch'ŏnjamun*, and yet they know not a single graph.”¹⁶⁵ Chǒng believed use of the *Ch'ŏnjamun* ought to be limited and other sinograph primers used in its stead: “The only place where the *Ch'ŏnjamun* ought to be used is in the marking of fields or for numbering exam papers. What does it have to do with primary education? Since it is not possible to restore the *Erya* 爾雅 or *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字, Sǒ Kōjǒng's 徐居正 *Yuhap* 類合 would instead be something

¹⁶² *Chahun sosŏl* was based on *Xingli zixun* 性理字訓 (*Lexicon of Nature and Principle*, n.d., K. Sǒngni chahun) by Cheng Duanmeng 程端蒙 (1143–1191).

¹⁶³ Chǒng, *Sǒdang ūi sahoesa*, 317.

¹⁶⁴ For Ch'oe's full introduction to *Hunmong chahoe* together with a Korean translation see Sim, 396–97.

¹⁶⁵ 故讀《千文》已，猶一字不知也。Chǒng Yagyong, “*Chǒnmun p'yǒng* 千文評 [Criticism of the *Ch'ŏnjamun*],” quoted in Sim, 257–59.

better.”¹⁶⁶ Chǒng argued that by arranging graphs into meaningful phrases rather than into logical semantic categories that would allow students to exhaustively learn related graphs, the *Ch’ōnjamun* presented sinographs in a pedagogically unsound way:

Our countrymen have used Zhou Xingsi’s *Ch’ōnjamun* to teach children, but the *Ch’ōnjamun* is not fit for the level of an elementary learner. [In it] students [first] learn the graphs 天 *ch’ōn* and 地 *chi* (‘heaven and earth’), and so it follows that [graphs like] 日 *il* and 月 *wōl* (‘sun and moon’), 星 *sōng* and 辰 *chin* (‘stars and planets’), 山 *san* and 川 *ch’ōn* (‘mountains and streams’), 丘 *ku* and 陵 *lǔng* (‘hills and mounds’) [should next be learned], and yet this graph-family is not exhausted. Instead it’s hastily abandoned, saying, “Give up what you are now learning and learn instead the Five Colors,” and [so students] learn the graphs 玄 *hyōn* and 黃 *hwang* (‘black and yellow’). It follows that [the graphs] 青 *ch’ōng* (‘green/blue’), 赤 *chōk* (‘scarlet’), 黑 *hūk* (‘black’), 白 *paek* (‘white’), 紅 *hong* (‘red’), 紫 *cha* (‘violet’), 緇 *ch’i* (‘dark/black’), and 綠 *rok* (‘green’) [should next be learned], and yet their differences are not distinguished. Instead these too are hastily abandoned, saying, “Now give up what you are learning and learn 宇宙 *u-ju* (‘the cosmos’).”

What kind of method is this? By setting 騰致 *tǔngch’i* (‘rise to end in’) between 雲 *un* (‘cloud’) and 雨 *u* (‘rain’) are students able to exhaust this graph-family? Or by placing 結爲 *kyōrwi* (‘congeal to become’) between 霜 *sang* (‘frost’) and 露 *ro* (‘dew’) are they able to distinguish their differences? But such cases are typical. Therefore, students are confused and do not distinguish graphs’ meanings, but interpret 玄 [*kamŭl*] *hyōn* (‘black’) as 纏 [*kamŭl*] *chōn* (‘to wind’) or 黃 [*nurŭl*] *hwang* (‘yellow’) as 壓 [*nurŭl*] *ap* (‘to press’).¹⁶⁷ This is not due to children’s lack of ability; it is the result of being unable to master [new things] by analogy.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ 《千文》有用處，以之標田，以之標試卷焉可也。於小學何與！苟《爾雅》·《說文》，不可復，徐居正之《類合》，猶其近者也。Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ The confusion came from the fact that the vernacular gloss ‘*kamŭl*’ (‘black’, modern Korean ‘*kōmŭl*’) for the graph 玄 *hyōn* was homophonous with the gloss ‘*kamŭl*’ (‘to wind around’) for the graph 纏 *chōn*. Similarly, the vernacular gloss ‘*nurŭl*’ (‘yellow’) for the graph 黃 was (and still is) homophonous with the gloss ‘*nurŭl*’ (‘to press’) for the graph 壓 *ap*.

¹⁶⁸ 我邦之人，得所謂周興嗣《千文》，以授童幼，而《千文》非小學家流也。學天·地字。乃日·月·星·辰·山·川·丘·陵。未竭其族，而遽舍之曰：“姑舍汝所學，而學五色。”學玄·黃字。乃青·赤·黑·白·紅·紫·緇·綠，未別其異，而遽舍之曰：“姑舍汝所學，而學宇宙。”斯何法也？雲·雨之間，‘騰致’介之，能竭其族乎？霜·露之間，‘結爲’梗之，能別其異乎？夫如是也。故童幼眩瞶，不辨旨義。解‘玄’爲‘纏’，釋‘黃’爲‘壓’，非是兒之不才，由不能觸類而旁通也。Sim, 257–59.

Chǒng goes on to advocate that sinographs should be learned in synonym groups or antonym pairs within a larger semantic category: “If they are set in pairs to contrast them, then two meanings may be understood together. But if they are explained singly and uttered alone, then two meanings may be confounded together. Save for those with outstanding intellects, can there be any understanding from this?”¹⁶⁹

The most widely used alternatives to the *Ch’ǒnjamun* were the *Yuhap* 類合 (*Glossary*, literally “collected by category”, c. late 14 C., author unknown¹⁷⁰) and Ch’oe Sejin’s *Hunmong chahoe*.¹⁷¹ Both of these texts waxed and waned in their popularity, though the *Yuhap*, the earlier of the two, was used through the end of the dynasty and beyond.¹⁷² As its title makes clear, the text is a glossary-like collection of sinographs (1,512 in total) simply arranged into semantic groups or topical categories without any attempt at composing meaningful phrases or arranging graphs by rhyme.¹⁷³ In Ch’oe Sejin’s introduction to the *Hunmong chahoe* he mentions that “of

¹⁶⁹ 雙學以胥發之, 則兩義俱通, 單說而偏言之, 則兩義俱塞. 自非上慧, 能有喻乎? Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Despite Chǒng Yagyong attributing the *Yuhap* to Sǒ Kǒjǒng 徐居正 (1420–1488), the text’s authorship is disputed. Both Ch’oe Sejin and Yu Hũich’un wrote that the author was unknown.

¹⁷¹ In the years after writing his critique of the *Ch’ǒnjamun*, Chǒng Yagyong compiled a sinograph primer titled *Ahakp’yǒn* 兒學編 (*A Volume for Children’s Learning*, c. 1811). The text was never published in Chǒng’s lifetime and only circulated in manuscript form until 1909 when Chi Sǒgyǒng 池錫永 revised and published it in a multilingual format. Chi’s edition is discussed at some length in chapter 5.

¹⁷² Rutt, 37 mentions in passing that some boys still learned from the *Yuhap*. Since Rutt’s informants were all *sǒdang* students during the colonial period and since his direct observations were of *sǒdang* instruction as it then still occurred in the capital region in the 1950s, from this we can know that the *Yuhap* was used through the end of Chosǒn and beyond.

¹⁷³ The *Yuhap* does not list its twenty-seven semantic categories. However, Yu Hũich’un (1513–1577), who compiled the *Sinjǔng yuhap* 新增類合 (*Newly Expanded Yuhap*, 1576), used the same number of categories in the same order despite doubling the number of graphs to 3,000. Yu listed the categories in his table of contents and in the upper margin at the beginning of each category within the text. The *Yuhap* and *Sinjǔng yuhap* categories, then, are as follows: numbers (*suja* 數自), astrology (*ch’ǒnmun* 天文), colors (*chungsaek* 衆色), geography (*chiri* 地理), plants (*ch’ohwe* 草卉), trees (*sumok* 樹木), fruits (*kwasil* 果實), grains (*hwagok* 禾穀), vegetables

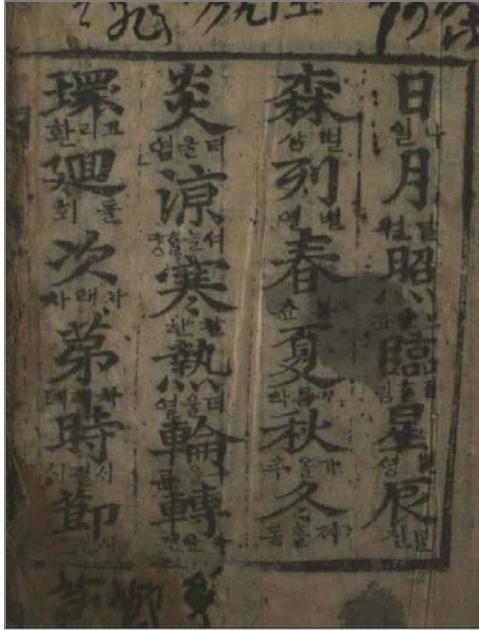


Figure 2.2. Opening page of a manuscript copy of the *Yuhap*. Date unknown. Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

the family of texts taught in children’s education, they must start with the *Ch’ŏnjamun* followed by the *Yuhap*, after which they begin to recite the other books”¹⁷⁴ This would indicate that it was common in his day for both primers to be learned. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, *Hunmong chahoe* was the first sinograph primer in Korea to use the Korean alphabet to indicate graphs’ *sŏk* and *ūm*, and so early versions of the *Yuhap* would have been printed with only the graphs themselves. It is not clear when graphs’ *sŏk* and *ūm* were first included in the *Yuhap*, but as Figure 2.2 shows, versions from later in the dynasty did include them.

Ch’oe’s introduction to *Hunmong chahoe* criticized not only the *Ch’ŏnjamun* but also the *Yuhap*, arguing that it included too many “empty graphs” (*hŏja* 虛字, both graphs for abstract ideas as well as those used as grammatical particles) and too few “content graphs” (*silcha* 實字, graphs for tangible objects or things in the physical world; namely, plants, animals, geographic

(*ch’aeso* 菜蔬), birds (*kŭmjo* 禽鳥), beasts (*such’uk* 獸畜), fish and reptiles (*in’gae* 鱗介), insects (*ch’ungch’i* 蟲豸), human relations (*illyun* 人倫), the village (*toŭp* 都邑), kinship (*kwŏnsok* 眷屬), the body (*sinch’e* 身體), buildings (*sirok* 室屋), bedding (*p’ojin* 鋪陳), metals and textiles (*kŭmbaek* 金帛), financial resources (*chayong* 資用), tools and devices (*kigye* 器械), food (*sikch’an* 食饌), clothing (*ūibok* 衣服), plans (*simsul* 心術), movement (*tongji* 動止), and affairs and things (*samul* 事物).

¹⁷⁴ 世之教童幼學書之家，必先《千字》，次及《類合》，然後始讀諸書矣。



Figure 2.3. Opening page of the *Hunmong chahoe*. Date unknown. Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

features, etc.).¹⁷⁵ *Hunmong chahoe* contains 3,360 sinographs in three volumes (1,120 graphs each) grouped into thirty-three semantic categories.¹⁷⁶ Unlike *Yuhap*, however, it arranges graphs into lines of four graphs that are paired into rhyming couplets whose rhyme scheme changes with the transition to a new semantic category, modeled on the poetical structure of the *Ch'ŏnjamun*. Though the lines do not constitute meaningful phrases, this arrangement was likely an effort to appeal to instructors and students alike, as it allowed the text to be more easily memorized through chanted recitations.¹⁷⁷

Because of the ubiquity of the *Ch'ŏnjamun* and its place in Chosŏn school and book culture, it is unlikely

¹⁷⁵ Yu Hŭich'un made a similar critique: "The *Yuhap* come down to us is not broad enough in scope and leaves out many essential graphs; therefore, this volume has been compiled." Quoted in Sim, 410.

¹⁷⁶ The *Hunmong Chahoe*'s thirty-three semantic categories are as follows: Volume 1. astronomy (*ch'ŏnmun* 天文), geography (*chiri* 地理), flowers (*hwap'um* 花品), plants (*ch'ohue* 草卉), trees (*sumok* 樹木), fruits (*kwasil* 果實), grains (*hwagok* 禾穀), vegetables (*ch'aeso* 菜蔬), birds (*kŭmjo* 禽鳥), beasts (*such'uk* 獸畜), fish and reptiles (*in'gae* 鱗介), insects (*konch'ung* 蠃蟲), the body (*sinch'ae* 身體), human relations (*ch'ŏllyun* 天倫), Confucian learning (*yuhak* 儒學), literary genres (*sŏsik* 書式); Volume 2. mankind (*illyu* 人類), buildings (*kungdaek* 宮宅), government administration (*kwana* 官衙), tools and utensils (*kimyŏng* 器皿), food (*sikch'an* 食饌), clothing (*poksik* 服飾), boats (*chusŏn* 舟船), carts and carriages (*ch'ayŏ* 車輿), tack and harnesses (*an'gu* 鞍具), military equipment (*kunjang* 軍裝), colors (*ch'aesaek* 彩色), cloth and textiles (*p'obaek* 布帛), metals and gems (*kŭmbo* 金寶), music (*ŭmak* 音樂), disease (*chilbyŏng* 疾病), funerals (*sangjang* 喪葬); Volume 3. miscellaneous words (*chabŏ* 雜語).

¹⁷⁷ Both Yu Hŭich'un's *Sinjŭng yuhap* and Chŏng Yagyong's *Ahakp'yŏn* likewise employ a rhyming structure modeled on the *Ch'ŏnjamun*.

that any alternative sinograph primer ever truly replaced it for any actual student. That is, though they may have been studied in addition to it, these alternative sinograph primers were likely never taught to the complete exclusion of the *Ch'ŏnjamun*; for even were Chŏng Yagyong to have his wish and its use was limited to the numbering of fields and exam papers, such use would still require a basic level of familiarity with the text.

2.3.3.2 Morals Primers

Moving on from sinograph primers, boys next studied from one or more morals primers.¹⁷⁸

Though the primary content of these primers was instruction on the fundamentals of Confucian morality, with the commonest topic being Confucianism's Five Relationships (*oryun* 五倫), various morals primers might also include other topics including simple exhortations to proper comportment and cleanliness, advice on how best to study, practical sinological knowledge, and brief surveys of Chinese and Korean history. While several morals primers originating in China were used over the course of the Chosŏn dynasty, the vast majority were produced in Korea. Chŏng (2013) lists nearly forty such primers produced from early Chosŏn into the early colonial period,¹⁷⁹ and Sim (2012) details another eleven.¹⁸⁰

Before examining the more prominent morals primers used in Chosŏn it will be helpful first to examine the final book to be learned in primary-level education, the *Sohak* (*Elementary*

¹⁷⁸ This is not to say that other text types that we are not here calling “morals primers” did not teach morals. As Oh (2013, 27) writes: “Even primers for teaching Chinese characters such as the *Thousand-Character Classic* (*Qianziwen* 千字文) contained moral lessons and principles in their texts. Philological studies of the classics were also fundamentally ethical expositions. The implication of this notion that all knowledge is ethical knowledge was profound: All texts are ethical texts.”

¹⁷⁹ Chŏng, *Sŏdang ūi sahoesa*, 319–20.

¹⁸⁰ Sim, *Han'guk Hanmun kich'ohaksa*, 461–86.

Learning), as no other text had a greater influence on Chosŏn-era morals primers. While sometimes credited solely to Zhu Xi, it was compiled at his behest by a disciple, Liu Qingzhi 劉清之 (1130–1195), who had previous experience compiling texts for children’s education. After Zhu Xi edited the text and added his own preface, it was published in 1187.¹⁸¹ As will be discussed further below, *Sohak* was known and studied in Korea from the late Koryŏ dynasty and widely revered throughout the Chosŏn dynasty.

As to its contents, Michael Kalton (1988) gives the following pithy summary: “The *Elementary Learning* is a compilation of 386 passages, a little more than half of which are drawn from the Classics and the remainder from the writings of outstanding Confucians of the postclassical period, including a liberal selection from the early Sung dynasty Confucians. Its purpose was to present the most fundamental teachings and values of the Confucian tradition for the instruction of the young; it includes extensive materials dealing with the Five Relationships, which constitute the core of traditional Confucian ethical teaching.”¹⁸² As explained by Theresa Kelleher (1989), the text is divided into four “Inner Chapters” and two “Outer Chapters.” The first three of the Inner Chapters are expositions on three main topics: the first chapter, “Establishing the Educational Process” (*ipkyo p’yŏn* 立教篇, *C. lijiao pian*), describes the basic principles of a Confucian education, laying out what students are to be taught and at what age; the second chapter, “Illuminating Human Relations” (*myŏngnyun p’yŏn* 明倫篇, *C. minglun*

¹⁸¹ M. Theresa Kelleher, “Back to Basics: Chu Hsi’s *Elementary Learning* (Hsiao-Hsüeh),” in *Neo-Confucian Education: The Formative Stage*, ed. William De Bary and John W. Chaffee (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 221–23.

¹⁸² Yi Hwang and Michael C. Kalton, *To Become a Sage: The Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning*, Neo-Confucian Studies (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 65.

pian), addresses the proper nature and social function of the Five Relationships;¹⁸³ and the third chapter, “Reverencing the Self” (*kyǒngsin p’yǒn* 敬身篇, C. *jingshen pian*), details the correct conduct, the proper manners of mind and body, and the appropriate dress and grooming expected of a disciple of the Confucian Way. The last of the Inner Chapters, “Examining the Classics” (*kyego p’yǒn* 稽古篇, C. *jigu pian*), does exactly as its title suggests and draws on literary and historical anecdotes taken from the Classics and Chinese antiquity to illustrate each of these three topics. Finally, the two Outer Chapters further develop these three topics by citing the “admirable sayings and exemplary deeds” (*kaǒn sǒnhaeng* 嘉言善行, C. *jiayan shanxing*) of sages and worthies from the Han to the Song dynasty as exemplars and models of these teachings. Whether just one, two, or all three, these topics were consistently covered by Chosŏn-era morals primers which also drew on classical history and legend to illustrate them.

Despite its being intended as an introduction to basic Confucian morals and conduct, even Zhu Xi allegedly deemed the language and style of the *Sohak*’s many extracts from early sources to be too detached and difficult for beginning learners. He is said for this reason to have created a more basic text, the *Tongmong suji* 童蒙須知 (*Essential Knowledge for Children*; C. *Tongmeng xuzhi*), to fill this gap.¹⁸⁴ Popular enough to have received around ten printings in Korea, mostly during early to mid Chosŏn, the *Tongmong suji* is a short treatise on education similar in structure to the “Establishing the Educational Process” chapter of the *Sohak*. It comprises five sections expounding on proper dress and grooming (*ũibok kwan’gu* 衣服冠履, C. *yifu guanju*), proper speech and conduct (*ǒnǒ poch’u* 言語步趨, C. *yanyu buqu*), the necessity of

¹⁸³ Namely, the relationships between father and son, sovereign and subject, husband and wife, older and younger persons, and between friends.

¹⁸⁴ Sim, 465.

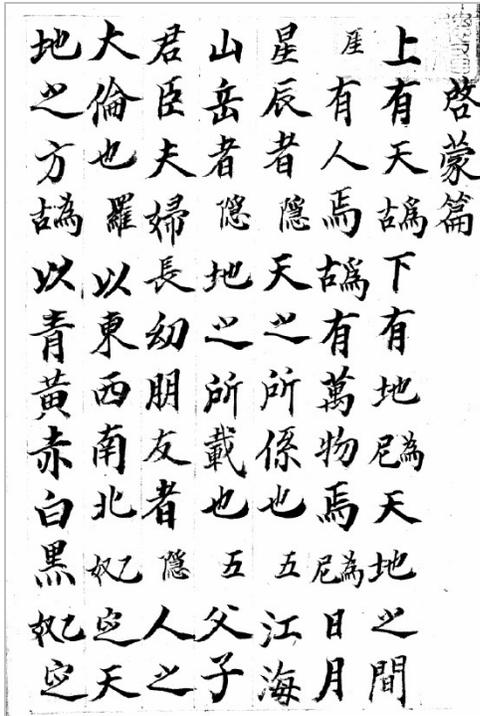


Figure 2.5. Opening page of a manuscript copy of *Kyemongp'yŏn*. Date unknown. Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

the early seventeenth century, and with a postface written by Song Siyŏl 宋時烈 (1607–1689) in 1670 and a preface by King Yŏngjo in 1742, it was given a scholarly and royal imprimatur that propelled its use through the remainder of Chosŏn and into the Japanese colonial period. Sim (2012) lists thirty-two known printings of *Tongmong sŏnsŭp* from the mid-sixteenth century till annexation in 1910.¹⁸⁷ According to Pak Raebong (1977) who surveyed the texts used in *sŏdang* throughout North Chŏlla Province during the colonial period, the typical amount of time spent studying (i.e. reciting and memorizing) the *Tongmong sŏnsŭp* was eight months.¹⁸⁸

By late in the dynasty, another morals primer, *Kyemongp'yŏn* 啓蒙篇 (*Children's Primer*, literally “volume for enlightening the ignorant”), was taught sometimes in tandem with or sometimes instead of *Tongmong sŏnsŭp*. *Kyemongp'yŏn* consists of an introduction (*sup'yŏn* 首篇) plus four topical sections: “The Heavens” (*ch'ŏnp'yŏn* 天篇), “The Earth” (*chip'yŏn* 地篇), “Things” (*mulp'yŏn* 物篇), and “Mankind” (*inp'yŏn* 人篇). While its final section covers

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 469–70.

¹⁸⁸ 朴來鳳「日本統治下書堂教育の具休相 I–VI」『韓』34(1974)・36(1974)・58(1976)・70(1977)・81(1978)・100(1980). Cited in Fujimoto Yukio, “Nik-Kan ryōkoku ni okeru dōmōsho ni tsuite [Children's Primers in Both Japan and Korea],” in *Shūkō 40-shūnenkinen nikkān gakujutsu kōryū no genjō to tenbō: Dai 3-kai nikkān jimbun shakai kagaku gakujutsu kaigi [The current status and future prospects of academic exchanges between Japan and Korea on the 40th anniversary of the resumption of diplomatic relations: Proceedings of the 3rd Japan-Korea Humanities and Social Science Academic Conference* (Kashiwa, Japan: Nihon Reitaku Daigaku, 2006), 91–97.

the Five Relationships as well as the proper habits of mind and body showing the influence of *Sohak*'s "Illuminating Human Relationships" and "Reverencing the Self," the ordering of its content prioritizes practical sinological knowledge. As Rutt (1960) notes, "after reading it a boy would know all about the five elements, the five colors, the five tastes, the names of the notes of music, and a little about mathematics, the basics of the calendar and natural science."¹⁸⁹

Kyemongp'yŏn's author and date of composition remain unknown, though Rutt's informants insisted on its relatively recent provenance.¹⁹⁰ Fujimoto Yukio (2006) confirms that the woodblocks used in a late eighteenth century printing of *Kyemongp'yŏn* are still extant, meaning that its origins cannot be placed any later than that time.¹⁹¹ Given certain contextual clues, Kwŏn Chŏngan (2004) speculates that it was written by Yi I's scholarly descendants in the Kiho School during the time of Hyŏnjong (r. 1659–1674).¹⁹² According to Pak Raebong the typical amount of time spent on the *Kyemongp'yŏn* was six months. As Rutt further observes and as Figures 2.4 and 2.5 confirm, both *Tongmong sŏnsŭp* and *Kyemongp'yŏn* were usually printed with the grammatical glosses (*t'o* 吐) included in unabbreviated *kugyŏl* graphs.

Yi I's *Kyŏngmong yogyŏl* 擊蒙要訣 (*Important Methods of Eliminating Ignorance*), originally written in 1577,¹⁹³ is a treatise on education and a manual for personal conduct and proper ritual. It consists of ten chapters that reflect the influence both of the *Sohak* and

¹⁸⁹ Rutt, 36.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Fujimoto "Nik-Kan ryōkoku ni okeru dōmōsho ni tsuite," 96.

¹⁹² Kwŏn Chŏngan, "Chŏnt'ong kich'o hanmun kyojae ūi t'ŭksŏng kwa han'gye e taehan yŏn'gu [The Peculiarities and Limits of Korea's Traditional Hanmun Primers]," *Yugyo sasang munhwa yŏn'gu* 20 (2004): 172–73.

¹⁹³ Sim, 472–73.

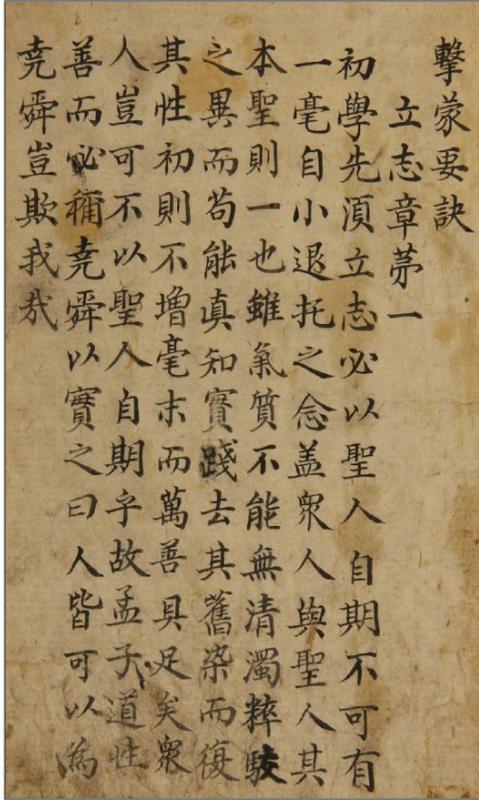


Figure 2.6. Opening page of a manuscript copy of *Kyöngmong yogyöl*. Date unknown. Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

Tongmong suji: “Establishing a Determination [to Learn]” (*ipchi chang* 立志章), “Reforming Old Habits” (*hyökkusŭp chang* 革舊習章), “Personal Conduct” (*chisin chang* 持身章), “Reading Books” (*toksŏ chang* 讀書章), “Serving Parents” (*sach’in chang* 事親章), “Funerary Rites” (*sangje chang* 喪制章), “Ancestral Rites” (*cherye chang* 祭禮章), “Home Life” (*kŏga chang* 居家章), “Meeting People” (*ch’ŏbin chang* 接人章), and Social Intercourse (*ch’ŏse chang* 處世章). Though not created as a children’s primer, it was used as such by Yi’s disciples and scholarly descendants throughout the remainder of the dynasty and into the colonial period,

circulating in both manuscript and multiple print editions.¹⁹⁴

The one prominent exception to the influence of *Sohak* on Korea’s morals primers is *Myöngsim pogam* 明心寶鑑 (*Precious Mirror for Illuminating the Mind-and-Heart*), a collection of topically arranged quotations and aphorisms extracted from various Chinese sources including Confucian, Buddhist, and Taoist works from Chinese antiquity to the Song dynasty. The text came to Korea early in the Chosŏn period, and according to the preface and postface of the first Korean printing in 1454, its compilation was completed in 1393 by the otherwise unknown early-Ming author Fan Liben 范立本. This 1454 version comprised twenty topical sections with

¹⁹⁴ Yu Pongho, *Han’guk kyoyuk kwajöngsa yŏn’gu* [*A study of the history of Korea’s education curriculum*] (Seoul: Kyohak yŏn’gusa, 1992), 6.

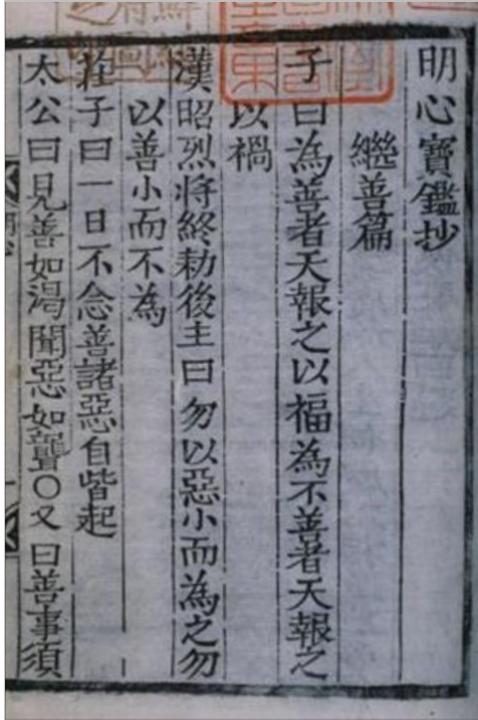


Figure 2.7. Opening page of an abridged edition of the *Myŏngsim pogam*. Date unknown. Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

a total of 771 passages. In 1601 an abridged version was published with nineteen sections and only 251 passages, and it was this widely popular version that served as the basis for all subsequent printings (around ten) through the end of the dynasty.¹⁹⁵ According to Kim Tonghwan (1999), content omitted in the abridged version falls into one of four categories: 1) passages, particularly from Buddhists and Taoist sources, at odds with prevailing Neo-Confucian orthodoxy, 2) passages containing overly redundant content, 3) passages that were either excessively long or short in length, and 4) portions from certain long though important passages that were edited

to decrease their length.¹⁹⁶ Despite the omission of the more overtly Taoist and Buddhist passages from the abridged *Myŏngsim pogam*, however, its presentation and justification even of Confucian principles still differs markedly from the more orthodox Neo-Confucian justifications found in *Sohak* and the morals primers that follow from it. For example, whereas *Sohak* teaches that filial piety is owed by a child to his parents—regardless their virtue or lack thereof—in gratitude for their having sired or born him, Pak Kyŏngyŏn (1999) notes that *Myŏngsim pogam* emphasizes instead the karmic rewards of goodness and virtue; that if a child is not filial to his

¹⁹⁵ Kim Tonghwan, “Ch’oryakpon *Myŏngsim pogam* ŭi kanhaeng kyŏngwi wa kŭ naeyong [The Publication of the Abridged *Myŏngsim pogam* and Its Contents],” *Sŏjihak yŏn’gu* 18 (1999): 175.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 182–83.

parents his own children will not be filial to him.¹⁹⁷ According to Pak Raebong the typical amount of time spent on the *Myōngsim pogam* was ten months.

2.3.3.3 Historiography primers

One or both of two historiography primers were studied in the final years of primary-level schooling: *Sipp'al saryak* 十八史略 (*Eighteen Abbreviated Histories*, C. *Shiba Shiliue*) and *T'onggam chōryo* 通鑑節要 (*Essentials of the Comprehensive Mirror*, C. *Tongjian jieyao*).¹⁹⁸ Neither were true children's primers in the sense that they were not originally compiled with the intent of being used in primary education; however, both were abridged versions of much longer historiographical compilations and so were pressed into service to familiarize children with the history of China.

Compiled in 1297 by the early-Yuan historian Zeng Xianzhi 曾先之 (n.d.), *Sipp'al saryak* is a three-volume heavily abbreviated abridgement of seventeen of the “orthodox histories” of Chinese dynasties ranging from the *Shiji* 史記 (*Records of the Grand Historian*) to the *Wudai Shiji* 五代史記 (*Historical Records of the Five Dynasties*) plus the *Xu Song biannian zizhi tongjian* 續宋編年資治通鑑 (*Continuation of the Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in*

¹⁹⁷ Pak Kyōngyōn, “Chosōn sidae ch'ohak kyojae rosō ūi *Myōngsim pogam* sōnggyōk yōn'gu [Characteristics of the Chosōn dynasty Children's Primer *Myōngsim pogam*],” *Kyoyuk sahak yōn'gu* 9 (1999): 87.

¹⁹⁸ The full titles are respectively *Kogūm yōktae sipp'al saryak* 古今歷代十八史略 (*History Ancient and Modern from Eighteen Abbreviated Histories*, C. *Gujin lidai shiba shiliue*) and *Somi t'onggam chōryo* 少微通鑑節要 (*Summary of the Comprehensive Mirror by Master Shaowei*, C. *Shaowei tongjian jieyao*).

Government *Covering the Song Period*).¹⁹⁹ Sim Kyōngho (2007) notes that it is well attested as a school primer from mid-Chosŏn through the end of the dynasty. According to Pak Raebong the typical amount of time spent on the *Saryak* was one year.

T'onggam chōryo is an abridgement in fifty volumes of the 294-volume *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government) by Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086). It was compiled during the reign of Emperor Huizong of Song (r. 1100–1126) by Jiang Zhi 江贄 (fl. 1111) and later given the approval of Zhu Xi. It was first printed in Korea in 1381 and was widely used throughout the Chosŏn dynasty,²⁰⁰ though of its use in children's education Rutt (1960) observed that, "Not many of the boys read through all the [volumes]. What they did read was more for the sake of imbibing *mulli* (文理, grammar), than for the sake of learning history, although the early part of the book is about the Chou (周) dynasty, of which the Koreans are, as devout followers of the sage, very fond."²⁰¹ According to Pak Raebong the typical amount of time spent studying the *T'onggam* was one year and six months.

2.3.4 *Sohak* and the Confucian Canon

Sohak was revered and studied in Korea from the late Koryŏ period. It was elevated to quasi-canonical status early in the Chosŏn dynasty by Kwŏn Kūn 權近 (1352–1409) who required that those who sat for the classics licentiate examination and wished to be admitted to the

¹⁹⁹ For a brief sketch of the contents and origins of *Sipp'al saryak*, see Sim Kyōngho, *Hanhak immun [An introduction to Korean Sinology]* (Seoul: Hwangso chari, 2007), 428–29.

²⁰⁰ For a brief sketch of the contents and origins of *T'onggam chōryo*, see *Ibid.*, 426–27.

²⁰¹ Rutt, 37.

Sönggyun'gwan first prove their mastery of the *Sohak*.²⁰² Early-Chosŏn kings from Sejong to Chungjong promoted its learning and commissioned multiple printings of it in various commentarial editions.²⁰³ The renowned early-Chosŏn scholar Kim Koengp'il 金宏弼 (1454–1504) boasted “that he devoted himself exclusively to the *Elementary Learning* until he was thirty years old and was a member of a club of prominent scholars and officials dedicated to maintaining and practicing the principles taught in it.” Yi Hwang 李滉 (1502–1517), in his “Rules of Isan Sŏwŏn” (Isan Wŏn'gyu 伊山院規) admonished that students should study *Sohak* as the gateway to the Four Books and Five Classics: “For all students, the Four Books and the Five Classics should be studied as the roots and origins [of all things], while the *Elementary Learning*... should be studied as the door.”²⁰⁴ Finally, in the “Section on Reading” of his *Kyŏngmong yogyŏl*, Yi I included *Sohak* as part of the canon proper, and so rather than as the Four Books and Five Classics, he instead referred to the Five Books and Five Classics.²⁰⁵

Given that *Sohak* focuses so intensely on the fundamentals of Confucian morality and behavior and given also the significant influence that it had on subsequent children's morals primers, *Sohak* could itself be classified simply as a morals primer. However, due to its placement as a bridge text between primary and higher-level instruction, its frequent inclusion as

²⁰² Son, *Han'guk kyoyuksa yŏn'gu*, 342.

²⁰³ Sim Kyŏnggho shows that it was four Ming-dynasty commentaries that most significantly influenced Chosŏn's *Sohak* scholarship and publication. These were *Xiaoxue jicheng* 小學集成 (K. *Sohak chipsŏng*, 1423) by He Shixin 何士信 (n.d.), *Xiaoxue jijie* 小學集解 (K. *Sohak chiphae*, n.d.) by Wu Na 吳訥 (1372–1457), *Xiaoxue jizhu* 小學集註 (K. *Sohak chipchu*, 1473) by Chen Xuan 陳選 (1429–1486), and *Xiaoxue jishuo* 小學集說 (K. *Sohak chipsŏl*, 1486) by Cheng Yu 程愈 (1438–1497). Sim, *Han'guk Hanmun kich'ohaksa*, 452–53.

²⁰⁴ Yŏng-ho Ch'oe, “The Private Academies (Sŏwŏn) and Neo-Confucianism in Late-Chosŏn Korea,” *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 21, no. 2 (2008): 153.

²⁰⁵ Pak and Yi, *Hyŏnt'o wanyŏk Tongmong Sŏnsŭp / Kyŏngmong yogyŏl*, 95.

the first of the canonical texts, and its function as an introduction to the commentarial tradition of the Zhu Xi school of Neo-Confucianism, *Sohak* might more rightly be considered a canon primer; that is, an introductory text for studying the Four Books and Five Classics making up the Confucian canon proper. And as Rutt observes, the *Sohak* “brought the young scholar unequivocally under the influence of Chu Hsi.”²⁰⁶

Instruction in the Confucian canon was often referred to as the Nine Courses (*kujae* 九齋) and, as discussed above, proceeded no more than one text at a time with students allowed to move on to the next text in the order only after demonstrating mastery of their current text. First, the Four Books were studied in the following order: *Taehak* 大學 (*Great Learning*, C. *Daxue*), *Nonŏ* 論語 (*Analects*, C. *Lunyu*), *Maengja* 孟子 (*Mencius*, C. *Mengzi*), and *Chungyong* 中庸 (*Doctrine of the Mean*, C. *Zhongyong*).²⁰⁷ Next, students learned the Five Classics: *Sigyŏng* 詩經 (*Classic of Poetry*, C. *Shijing*), *Sŏgyŏng* 書經 (*Book of Documents*, C. *Shujing*), *Chuyŏk* 周易 (*Changes of Zhou*, C. *Zhou yi*), *Yegi* 禮記 (*Book of Rites*, C. *Liji*), and *Ch'unch'u* 春秋 (*Spring and Autumn Annals*, C. *Chunqiu*).²⁰⁸

Though non-Confucian texts were anathematized,²⁰⁹ the canon could be supplemented by further instruction in other Confucian texts that varied depending on the school and period. For

²⁰⁶ Rutt, 38.

²⁰⁷ This order to the Four Books was established by Zhu Xi and is reflected in Yi I's “Section on Reading.” Pak and Yi, 90–96. On how this order contributed to Zhu Xi's “reprogramming of the classics,” see Oh, *Engraving Virtue*, 27–28.

²⁰⁸ The order in which the Five Classics were studied was more flexible than with the Four Books and by mid-Chosŏn, with changes to the civil service examination that made *Book of Rites* and *Spring and Autumn Annals* optional, increasingly the “Five Classics” were reduced to the “Three Classics.”

²⁰⁹ The Sŏnggyun'gwan Regulations expressly forbade the reading of Taoist and Buddhist material (Son, 426), and in his “Section on Reading,” Yi I likewise admonished that only the works of the Confucian sages should be studied: “In the case of heretical, miscellaneous, or

example, Zhu Xi's *Kŭnsarok* 近思錄 (*Reflections on Things at Hand*, C. *Jinsilu*) and the *Samgang haengsil-to* 三綱行實圖 (*Illustrated Guide to the Three Relations*) were often taught at secondary schools,²¹⁰ while various Chinese histories, such as *Sagi* 史記 (*Records of the Grand Historian*, C. *Shiji*), *Hansŏ* 漢書 (*Book of Han*, C. *Hanshu*), and *Samgukchi* 三國志 (*Records of the Three Kingdoms*, C. *Sanguozhi*) were taught at the Sŏnggyun'gwan. At the private academies, though still excluding non-Confucian texts, the books supplementing the canon were somewhat more varied, often reflecting those favored by a particular scholarly faction. For example, Yi Hwang and his factional disciples after him first studied the *Sohak*, the *Kŭnsarok*, and the *Hyogyŏng* 孝經 (*Classic of Filial Piety*, C. *Xiaojing*) prior to the Four Books and Five Classics. Yi suggested they follow the classics with such texts as the *Chuja taejŏn* 朱子大全 (*Complete Works of Zhu Xi*, C. *Zhuzi Daquan*) and Zhen Dexiu's 眞德秀 (1178–1235) *Simgyŏng* 心經 (*Classic of the Mind-and-Heart*, C. *Xinjing*). In his "Section on Reading," Yi I suggested a slightly different set of texts be read after completing the Five Classics. His suggestions included the *Kŭnsarok*, *Chuja karye* 朱子家禮 (*Master Zhu's Family Rituals*, C. *Zhuzi jiali*), *Simgyŏng*, *I Chŏng chŏnsŏ* 二程全書 (*Complete writings of the Brothers Cheng*, C. *Er Cheng quanshu*), *Chuja taejŏn*, and *Chucha ōryu* 朱子語類 (*Conversations of Master Zhu, Arranged Topically*, C. *Zhuzi yulei*).²¹¹

unorthodox books one cannot browse them even for a moment." 若異端雜類不正之書，則不可頃刻披閱也. Pak and Yi, 95.

²¹⁰ Oh, 81–82.

²¹¹ Pak and Yi, 95.

2.3.4.1 Ŏnhae

While *ŏnhae* editions of Buddhist sutras began to be produced immediately following the invention of the Korean alphabet, *ŏnhae* editions of the Confucian canon took well over a century to produce.²¹² The creation of *ŏnhae* first entailed inscribing a set or standard oral reading of a text; meaning that for the original text both the Sino-Korean readings (*ŭm*) of each sinograph and the parsing of a text with *t'o* glosses were explicitly inscribed and thus fixed. As noted above, textual parsing affected textual interpretation, and so even if *ŏnhae* set a standard for only the oral reading of a canonical text, the fractious nature of Chosŏn's factional politics would have ensured high stakes in their creation. *Ŏnhae*, however, went one step further than merely setting a standard oral reading by including also a translation-like paragraph-by-paragraph vernacular explication of its source text. As Peter Kornicki (2018) writes, "This caused few problems in the case of most texts, but it created huge difficulties in the case of canonical works like the Four Books. The reason for this was that some scholars were very uneasy about the idea of establishing a set of official translations for the Chinese classics and printing them, for that would fix the interpretation of those texts for good, and it would leave scholars little room for debating the meaning of difficult passages and coming up with alternative interpretations. Thus when the first draft of a version of part of the Five Classics was prepared, a dispute broke out between those who favoured the interpretations of Zhu Xi, and those who

²¹² As noted above, by mid-Chosŏn the standard examination canon had been reduced to the Four Books and Three Classics. Reflecting this change, only the Three Classics (*Poetry, Documents, and Changes*) were ever rendered in *ŏnhae* editions. Thus, the *ŏnhae* editions of the examination canon were referred to collectively as the *Ch'ilsŏ ŏnhae* 七書諺解 (*Vernacular Explications of the Seven Books*). For an annotated bibliography of the *ŏnhae* and other texts produced using the Korean alphabet in the first centuries following its invention, see An Pyŏnghŭi, "Chungse-ŏ ŭi han'gŭl charyo e taehan chonghapchŏgin koch'al [A Comprehensive Examination of Middle Korean Han'gŭl Materials]," *Kyujanggak* 3 (1979): 109–47.

favoured other interpretations. This was no storm in a teacup, for one of the participants argued that the dissenters on the other side should be executed.”²¹³

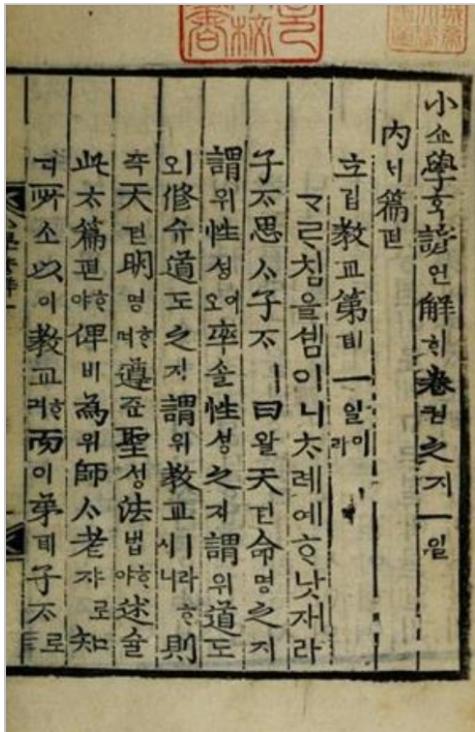


Figure 2.8. Opening page of the *Sohak ōnhae*. Date unknown. Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

When the court finally succeeded in producing *ōnhae* editions of the Confucian canon in the late sixteenth century, the texts produced were unlike previously produced Confucian hybrid texts such as the *Samgang haengsil-to* (1481) and *Pōnyōk Sohak* 翻譯小學 (*Translation of the Elementary Learning*, 1518). These previous works were aimed at a general audience with the purpose of inculcating Confucian praxis among the people, and their hybridity can be characterized as a tool for bringing Confucian texts down to the level of the laity, allowing for access to the doctrinal content without necessarily requiring access to the LS original. In

contrast, the authorized *ōnhae* editions of the Confucian canon functioned more as examination cribs or “study editions” intended to bring the student to the LS original. With their *ŭm* glosses and a parallel vernacular rendition or exegesis added to the already existing *t’o*-glossing practices, the *ōnhae* editions of the Confucian canon functioned as a recapitulation of the entire process of LS literacy instruction inscribed within a single volume; that is, they began with a presentation of the LS source text (*wōnmun* 原文) with explicit indications of its proper recitation (*toksō* 讀書) and parsing (*kudu* 句讀), and ended with an authorized

²¹³ Kornicki, *Languages, Scripts, and Chinese Texts in East Asia*, 201.

explication/exegesis (*kangsŏ* 講書). For this reason, Si Nae Park (forthcoming) characterizes these *ŏnhae* as possessing a “tutor’s voice” and inscribing the “sounds of learning.”²¹⁴

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that Korea’s traditional LS literacy instruction for boys began from an early age with privately organized sunup-to-sundown instruction either from a tutor in the home or at the village *sŏdang*. The boys memorized a series of primers through rote recitations beginning with the *Ch’ŏnjamun* and ending with the *Sohak*, and though attrition was high, for those boys who advanced to secondary education, the curriculum of canonical Confucian texts was intended to prepare them for the civil service examinations. Study of the canon was aided by the mid-sixteenth-century creation of *ŏnhae* editions of the Four Books and Three Classics which encapsulated nearly the whole of the LS instructional process between their covers. Composition instruction began in the final years of primary education—crucial to which was instruction in reading and writing verse—and eventuated in compositional competency in multiple genres of LS poetry and prose. Education was organized around the sometimes contradictory and sometimes complementary aims of public service and private self-cultivation, with the hybrid system of public and private educational institutions reflecting these aims. Core to achieving these aims was the seriousness with which both the state and private actors took the reinterpretations of the classical textual tradition by the Zhu Xi school of Neo-Confucianism in which education was ultimately intended to bring about a well-ordered country and peace throughout the kingdom.

²¹⁴ Si Nae Park, “The Tutor’s Voice in the Vernacularized Classics and the Sound of Learning in Chosŏn Korea,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Forthcoming.

As will be shown in the chapters that follow, the rise of new language ideologies and Western-style schooling in the final decades of the Chosŏn dynasty fundamentally altered the use of and attitudes toward LS literacy. By the time of Korea's annexation, LS instruction in the form of Hanmunkwa was much reduced in purpose and scope and thus deviated significantly from the aims, content, and methods of traditional LS literacy instruction presented above. Hanmunkwa aimed for no more than passive LS reading comprehension that when performed over several educational cohorts initiated the transformation of LS literacy into a legacy literacy limited to providing backward compatibility with old forms of knowledge.

Chapter 3: Innovations in Literary Sinitic Learning and Use from Kanghwa to Kabo, 1876–1894

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is an examination of changes to LS learning and use during the eighteen years from Korea's opening in 1876 to the Kabo reforms initiated with the onset of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894. During this period, LS continued as the primary medium of Korea's public and private documents, its centrality to the civil service examinations persisted as the exams continued to function as the primary means for *yangban* men to attain government office and maintain their class status, and throughout the country it continued to be learned via the time-honored method of rote recitations using the traditional primers and classical texts detailed in the previous chapter. It may seem, then, that little if anything changed in Korea's educational and inscriptional practices during this period. And yet, the Kabo-era (1894–1896) reforms that are often treated as ground zero in the modern transformation of Korean inscriptional and educational practices—the declaration that vernacular writing was to replace LS in public documents, the abolition of the traditional examination system, and the creation of a new educational system that included LS literacy instruction as only a marginal part of its curriculum—did not simply fall out of the sky in 1894. Rather, the groundwork for these mandates was laid in the nearly two decades of Korea's interaction with Japan and the West prior to 1894.

The opening of Korea to Western-style treaty relationships—first with Japan and shortly thereafter with the U.S. and European countries—was a fundamental departure from Korea's previous relationships with its neighbors and the world beyond. Though these new treaty

relationships did not immediately overturn Korea's sense of itself as an integral part of the Chinese world order and an inheritor and protector of 'This Culture of Ours' (*samun* 斯文), they did however entail new encounters with foreign peoples and ideas that would greatly challenge this world view. Seeking to gain an equal footing with its new treaty partners, the Korean court struggled against both intractable traditionalists and radical reformers as it initiated modest and sometimes halting efforts at reform during this period. These reforms included the establishment of a government newspaper intended to introduce new ideas and technical knowhow coming from the West via China and Japan and the founding of new educational institutions to train up interpreters and officials for diplomatic service. Both these efforts impacted the status and use of LS in sometimes subtle though profound ways. First, the government's newspaper efforts, which were primarily carried out through the medium of LS, expanded the role of LS, making it not only a vehicle of the Confucian Way but also a tool for the dissemination of new knowledge of Western origin. These efforts also introduced a new style of mixed-script writing that, while not gaining widespread adoption during this period, would eventually supplant LS to become the pre-colonial period's primary written medium, both of the state and of the popular print media that the state helped foster. Second, the period's new educational institutions, both state and private, were operated primarily by Western educators and missionaries whose views on the value of vernacular literacy and mass education were vastly different and often in opposition to traditional Korean views on literacy and education. These views would eventually be adopted by Korean reformers who, as will be seen in the following chapter, joined with Westerners in working to promote vernacular literacy and marginalize LS learning and use.

This chapter will first examine the marginalization of the ideologies of status quo isolation from the West that followed Korea's opening in 1876 and will then detail the

emergence of two new competing ideologies of governmental and social reform and the impact they had on Korea's language situation prior the Kabo reforms. Next will be examined the origins of stand-alone mixed-script writing style within the writings of a small coterie of officials who had spent time in Japan and the early, limited use of that style within a government-backed newspaper. Finally, the early efforts first of the Korean government and then of Western missionaries to introduce Western-style educational institutions and the impact of those institutions on Korean literacy instruction and inscriptional practice will be examined. The purpose of this chapter is to detail the meaningful transformations in the status and use of LS that were already underway prior to 1894. As this and subsequent chapters will show, though the new language ideologies, inscriptional practices, and educational policies introduced in this period were not intended to lead inexorably toward radical change, they nevertheless laid the groundwork for future educational and literacy reforms that would significantly transform Korea's educational and inscriptional practices thereafter.

3.2 Ideologies of the Status Quo: *Serve the Great and Neighborly Relations and Protect the Right and Reject the False*

Notwithstanding invasions of Korea in the late sixteenth-century by Japan and in the early seventeenth-century by the Manchu founders of the Qing dynasty, the Chosŏn dynasty's traditional foreign relations could be characterized with the phrase "serving the great, neighborly relations" (*sadae kyorin* 事大交隣), which meant maintaining "tributary relations with China and restricted neighborly relations with Japan."²¹⁵ Over the course of the nineteenth century, this

²¹⁵ Martina Deuchler, *Confucian Gentlemen and Barbarian Envoys: The Opening of Korea, 1875–1885* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977), 4.

policy further entailed isolation from the West, whose imperial nations had become increasingly active in East Asia, as well as the attempted internal extirpation of Western “heterodoxy” chiefly in the form of violent persecution of Roman Catholics.²¹⁶ Isolation from the West and the rejection of Catholicism was supported under the banner of “protect orthodoxy, expunge heterodoxy” (*wijǒng ch’ōksa* 衛正斥邪),²¹⁷ a discourse originating in the anti-Buddhist polemics of Chosŏn’s founding era and revived at times throughout the dynasty,²¹⁸ until in the mid-nineteenth century it was taken up by a movement of *yangban* scholars who, seeing chaos arise in China due to the invasion of Western peoples and ideas, warned against allowing such to take place in Korea. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Chosŏn state took very seriously the Neo-Confucian dictum that a peaceful world and well-ordered state were a macrocosm of the well-ordered or rather self-cultivated individual, and that individual self-cultivation was based in the “extension of knowledge” and the “investigation of things.” It was the state’s obligation, then, to expunge heterodoxy, since false teachings threatened to disrupt proper self-cultivation and were thus a danger to the well-ordered state. Thus, the calls of the *wijǒng ch’ōksa* movement for the continued promotion of Cheng-Zhu learning as state orthodoxy and its protection from

²¹⁶ Catholicism had first been brought to Korea by a *yangban* converted while on an embassy to China in the late eighteenth century. On the discourses justifying the state’s persecution of Catholics in the nineteenth century, see Franklin Rausch, “Like Birds and Beasts: Justifying Violence against Catholics in Late Chosŏn Korea,” *Acta Koreana* 15, no. 1 (2012): 43–71.

²¹⁷ Also sometimes reversed as *ch’ōksa wijǒng* 斥邪衛正, “expunge heterodoxy, protect orthodoxy.”

²¹⁸ Prior to the nineteenth century policy of isolation from the West, this phrase had also been used to great affect by Yi Hwang 李滉 (1502–1571) and his later followers in their rejection of alternative schools of Neo-Confucian thought such as the Lu Xiangshan or Wang Yangming schools. On this see Martina Deuchler, “Reject the False and Uphold the Straight: Attitudes toward Heterodox Thought in Early Yi Korea,” in *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea*, ed. William De Bary and JaHyun Kim Haboush, Neo-Confucian Studies (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 375–410.

the corrupting influence of false teachings was no marginal view, but as Chai-sik Chung (1980) writes, “the values expressed by [the movement’s] followers were the dominant values in traditional [Chosŏn] society, and they were highly congruous with those held by the ruling elites”²¹⁹ in the period leading up to Japan’s forced opening of Korea in 1876.

Under the ten-year regency (1863–1873) of the Taewŏn’gun, the father of King Kojong (r. 1863–1907), Korea had rebuffed attempts by the Americans, Germans, and Japanese to establish diplomatic and trade ties, and had successfully repelled a French punitive force seeking redress for the execution of French Catholic priests. Korea’s success resisting outsiders ended in 1876, however, when Japan invaded Kanghwa Island, insisting Korea apologize for having fired unprovoked on a Japanese warship the previous year and demanding also that it enter a treaty relationship with Japan on the model of Western commercial and diplomatic treaties. The Koreans acquiesced and concluded the Treaty of Kanghwa on February 26th.

At the time of its signing, the Korean court understood the implications of the treaty rather differently than the Japanese. For example, the first article of the treaty begins with a declaration that “Chosŏn, being an independent state, enjoys the same sovereign rights as does Japan.”²²⁰ For the Japanese the treaty was a means of prying the peninsula away from the Chinese sphere of influence—a first step in its effort to reorient the balance of power in the region in its favor—and therefore this declaration of Korea’s independence was understood by the Japanese to implicitly mean that Korea was severing its traditional relationship with China. The Koreans, however, had no wish to overturn their traditional foreign relationships, nor did

²¹⁹ Chai-sik Chung, “In Defense of the Traditional Order: Ch’ŏksa Wijŏng,” *Philosophy East and West* 30, no. 3 (1980): 368.

²²⁰ This and other excerpts from the English-language translation of the Treaty of Kanghwa are from Henry Chung, *Korean Treaties* (New York: H.S. Nichols, 1919), 205–9.

they seek to change their stance on isolation from Western peoples and trade and rejection of Western ideas. Though they would not have elected to enter into the treaty but for Japan's threat of force, the act of negotiating and concluding a treaty with Japan could be understood—and was in fact justified by the court to the treaty's conservative detractors—within the framework of Korea's traditional “neighborly relations” since Korea had always acted independent of China in relations with Japan.²²¹ Thus, in their negotiations over the terms of the treaty itself—that is, in its very terminology—the Koreans sought to maintain their status quo relationships and the ideologies that supported them.

This is most clearly demonstrated in the negotiation over the wording of Article 3, which dealt with the languages to be used in official communications between the two countries. The article's first draft as prepared by the Japanese stipulated simply, “Henceforth, in official correspondence between the two countries Japan shall use the writing of its country (*ki-kungmun* 其國文) and Chosŏn shall use *hanmun*.”²²² From the Japanese perspective this was a straightforward pronouncement that Japan now placed its own writing on equal footing with LS as a medium for diplomatic correspondence, whereas official communication between the two countries had previously been conducted via LS. This assertion of diplomatic parity and the use of the term “*hanmun* 漢文” also denied LS any special position above and beyond its status as the writing of China. Though the Koreans were unable to demand that Japan stick with LS-only communications in official correspondence, for practical purposes they sought and received a concession from the Japanese who agreed to append an LS translation to their official

²²¹ On the divergent views the Koreans and Japanese had about the import and implications of the Treaty of Kanghwa, see Deuchler, *Confucian Gentlemen and Barbarian Envoys*, 48–50.

²²² Quoted in Korean translation in Hwang Hodŏk, “Kŭndae neisyŏn kwa kŭ chaehyŏn yangsik tŭl [The Modern Nation and Its Representations],” *Han'guk sasang kwa munhwa* 19 (2003): 136.

correspondence for ten-year's time. The Koreans also recognized the discursive bind into which the Japanese use of the term "*hanmun*" placed them. LS was much more to them than mere "Chinese writing." It was the true vehicle for transmitting the Confucian beliefs at the core of their state ideology and was also a shared medium through which the Koreans bound themselves to a shared civilizational project with China. They did not yet view their country and its foreign relationships according to the Western internationalist paradigm adopted by Japan—as an independent, autonomous member nation of the family of nations. At the Koreans' insistence the Japanese acquiesced to their preference for referring to the Korean use of LS as "*chinmun* 眞文" ("true writing"), and thus in its final form, Article 3 of the treaty reads:

“Henceforth, in official correspondence between the two countries Japan shall use their country’s writing (*ki-kungmun* 其國文), and for a period of ten years from the present date shall specially provide an accompanying *hanmun* translation. Chosŏn shall use *chinmun*.”²²³

This awkward co-occurrence of "*hanmun*" and "*chinmun*," despite both parties undoubtedly knowing that both terms referred to LS, shows how the literal terms of the treaty reflected the divergent world views of Japan and Korea and is illustrative of the gap that existed in the two countries' language ideologies.²²⁴

²²³ Korean text: 嗣後兩國往來公文, 日本用其國文, 自今十年間, 別具譯漢文一本, 朝鮮用眞文. Japanese text: 嗣後兩國往復スル公文ハ日本ハ其國文ヲ用ヒ今ヨリ十年間ハ添フルニ, 譯漢文ヲ以テシ朝鮮ハ眞文ヲ用フヘシ. Original Korean and Japanese texts with English translation in "Treaty of Kanghwa with Japan and Regulations, etc. (1876–1881)," *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, no. 62 (1984): 43-.

²²⁴ In Wells (2011, 25), I speculated that the reason the Koreans rejected the term "*hanmun*" to denote their use of LS may have been because they viewed the Japanese use of LS to be of a different quality than theirs, given the separate tradition and linguistic apparatus (i.e., systems other than *idu*, *kugyŏl*, or the Korean alphabet) used in Japan for rendering LS intelligible to a Japanese reader. I suggested that it might be more accurate, then, to transcribe "漢文" in the treaty as "*kanbun*" to denote the Japanese-ness of the term. Though I still find this interpretation possible, it seems more likely to me now that the Koreans insisted on the term "*chinmun*" for the ideological reasons described above. There may also have been a measure of simple

Despite efforts to maintain its status quo relationships, ideologies, and practices, the Korean court's internal discussions about the treaty reveal that they knew that change was in the offing, specifically around the language of diplomacy and the training of interpreters. Korea's traditional diplomatic exchanges with Japan, though not nearly as frequent, were not wholly unlike its diplomacy with China in that it was highly ritualized and involved the exchange of specially composed LS poetry and other carefully crafted LS documents known as *kuksŏ* 國書.²²⁵ Unlike these ritualized exchanges, the treaty negotiations were not conducted in LS, but through interpreters. In an audience with the king, Sin Hŏn 申櫛 (1810–1884), the chief Korean negotiator, related the difficulties and misunderstandings that had arisen during the treaty negotiations due to the lack of competent interpreters and recommended that the court begin immediately to focus on better training Japanese-language interpreters:

Truly it will be most regrettable should we incur many more mishaps of this sort due to there being none of our current interpreters who understands and is proficient in their country's writing (*ki-kungmun* 其國文) and in interpreting their language. We must specifically direct [interpreters] to study and become proficient [in the Japanese language]. This is a pressing matter.

conservatism at play as well since “*chinmun*” had been the Koreans' accepted term for LS since at least the invention of the Korean alphabet. For a more extensive discussion of this divergence in the language ideologies of the Japanese and Koreans at this time and the impact it had on the development of Korea's modern vernacular writing style, see Hwang Hodŏk, “Kukka wa ŏnŏ, kŏndae neisyŏn kwa kŏ chaehyŏn yangsik tŭl [The nation and language: the modern nation and its modes of representation],” in *Kŏndaeŏ, kŏndae maech'e, kŏndae munhak: kŏndae maech'e wa kŏndae ŏnŏ chilsŏ ŏi sanggwansŏng* [Modern language, modern media, modern literature: the face of modern media and language hierarchy], 2006, 13–42. For a discussion in English, see Daniel Oliver Pieper, “Korean as a Transitional Literacy: Language Education, Curricularization, and the Vernacular-Cosmopolitan Interface in Early Modern Korea, 1895–1925” (Ph.D., University of British Columbia, 2017), 224–50.

²²⁵ Informal exchange would of course also occur via brush talk or through the aid of specially trained interpreters. On the history of brush talk in diplomatic exchanges with Japan, see Rebekah Clements, “Brush Talk as the ‘Lingua Franca’ of Diplomacy in Japanese–Korean Encounters, c. 1600–1868,” *The Historical Journal*, October 2018, 1–21.

Questioning whether the novel nature of the treaty negotiations presaged an end to the traditional ritualized diplomacy between Japan and Korea, Kojong asked Sin Hŏn, “Will this be the elimination hereafter of *kuksŏ*?” To which Sin replied:

“Yes. Our government and theirs have already amicably agreed to mutual exchanges between our Ministry of Rites and their Foreign Office. However, their method of education is to enter school at age eight and study (“recite texts” [*toksŏ* 讀書]) only till the age of sixteen, after which they value only technical learning; therefore, it’s said that from then on, their *hanmun* [ability] tends to grow gradually duller. One of the treaty articles stipulates that *hanmun* translations [of their correspondence] will be limited, ending after ten years. Thus, it would truly be no small matter if in ten years we are unable to understand them. It is essential then that we learn their writing so as to be able to understand their thoughts and discuss their affairs.²²⁶

It is unclear if any immediate steps were taken to better train Japanese-language interpreters, but as we will see, in the decade that followed the Treaty of Kanghwa, as Korea entered treaties with Western nations, a new focus on training interpreters would propel the limited adoption of certain Western educational practices. Also, as the above exchange between Kojong and Sin Hŏn shows, though the Koreans rejected the term “*hanmun*” in the text of the treaty to denote their use of LS, they well understood its meaning. In the following decade “*hanmun*” would overtake “*chinmun*” as the term of choice for LS within court documents and in the writings of government officials.

²²⁶ 今之譯員，亦無解習其國文與譯語者，當此多事之會，實爲可悶，必當另飭學習精通，亦是急務矣。上曰，從今國書無之乎？櫛曰，然矣，我國政府，與彼太政府，禮曹與外務省，互相往復，已爲敦定矣，彼教人之法，八歲入學，至十六歲讀書，而以後則專尙名物度數之學，故漢文，從此漸至昧方云矣，至於條規中，漢文繙語，止十年爲限，然則十年之後，莫可曉解，實非細事，必當嫻習彼文，可通其情而論其事矣。 *Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi* 承政院日記 v. 2822, Kojong 13(1876).2.6 #17.

3.3 Ideologies of Reform: *Civilization and Enlightenment and Eastern Way and Western Tools*

The marginalization of *wijöng ch'öksa* ideology began following the Treaty of Kanghwa as the Korean court sought to reform both its foreign and domestic affairs, and the more complete sidelining of its adherents came as Kojong embarked on a program of reforms recommended by China. In the summer of 1880, the court sent Kim Hongjip 金弘集 (1842–1896) on a diplomatic mission to Japan as part of the two countries' on-going negotiations over the further opening of Korean ports to Japanese trade. Japan's formal annexation of the Ryukyu Islands the previous year had made clear to both China and Korea that Japan was not interested in maintaining traditional relations with its neighbors, and the Chinese had begun to encourage the Koreans to begin a program of self-strengthening reforms to protect against the threat of imperialist expansion.²²⁷ While in Tokyo, Kim received a treatise of policy recommendations written by an official in the Chinese embassy, Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲 (1848–1905), titled *A Policy for Chosön* (*Chosön ch'aengnyak* 朝鮮策略, C. *Chaoxian celue*), which recommended that Korea begin internal reforms and enter into treaty relationships with Western powers, specifically the United States, in order to check the expansionist designs of both Japan and Russia. The only way for Korea to avoid imperialist aggression, counseled Huang, is to “remain close to China, forge ties with Japan, establish a treaty relationship with America, and thereby pursue self-strengthening.”²²⁸

²²⁷ Deuchler, *Confucian Gentlemen*, 86–89.

²²⁸ 親中國，結日本，聯美國，以圖自強而已。Kim Hongjip, “Susinsa ilgi 修信使日記 [Diary of the Special Envoy],” in *Susinsa kirok: chön* [The Complete Records of the Special Envoys], ed. Kuksa p'yöngch'an wiwönhoe, Han'guk saryo ch'ongsö (Seoul, Korea: T'amgudang, 1971), 161.

At his return audience that October, Kim shared Huang's treatise with King Kojong, who "immediately grasped the urgency of Huang's argumentation,"²²⁹ and had it widely disseminated. Doing so sparked a flood of intensely oppositional memorials from conservatives throughout the winter months, reaching a crescendo with the February 1881 *Yōngnam maninso* 嶺南萬人疏 ("Memorial of Ten Thousand Men of Yōngnam"). The memorialists railed against Kim Hongjip for even bringing Huang's treatise to Korea and called for him to be punished for deluding the people with "a false Way" (*chwado* 左道). Huang had recommended that Korea begin a self-strengthening program, admonishing them to "pursue Western learning, sparing no effort to gain wealth, sparing no effort to promote agriculture, and sparing no effort to improve productivity."²³⁰ This they rejected, arguing that the agricultural, commercial, and other methods handed down from the legendary sage rulers, Yao and Shun, provided sufficient designs and precedents for securing the people's well-being. Instead, they accused Huang of being a despoiler of the Way handed down from those sage rulers and alleged that he secretly wished for the spread of Christian heterodoxy within Korea:

More grievous still is that, though this Huang Zunxian fellow claims to have been born in China, he is a mouthpiece for Japan, and his claim that the evil Jesus is a "good god" (*sōnsin* 善神) is the first signal (whistling arrow) of his being a despoiler [of This Culture of Ours]... Also, why did he place at the very tail end of his treatise the statement that the transmission of their teachings would be harmless? What is in his heart is nothing more than a desire for the spread of their heterodoxy in our country.²³¹

²²⁹ Deuchler, 90.

²³⁰ 從事於西學, 盡力於致財, 盡力於勸農, 盡力於通工夫. *Ilŏngnok* 日省錄, Kojong 18(1881).2.26.

²³¹ 尤可痛者彼遵憲者, 自稱中國之產, 而爲日本說客, 爲邪蘇善神, 其作亂賊之嚆矢... 又何以傳教無害之說, 尾之於後也. 其心所在, 不過布其邪教於我國之意也. *Ilŏngnok*, Kojong 18(1881).2.26.

Despite the on-going furor caused by the dissemination of Huang's treatise, Kojong was determined to implement its recommendations, and he sidelined many of the *wijŏng ch'ŏksa* memorialists through banishment.²³² In January 1881, the court agreed to open Inch'ŏn to Japanese trade, and in February, Kojong communicated to Chinese officials his court's desire to conclude a treaty with the United States.²³³ That same month Kojong secretly dispatched an inspection mission to Japan, the so-called "gentleman's observation group" (*sinsa yuramdan* 紳士遊覽團), where for four months they studied and wrote detailed records of their observations of Japan's reforms to its military, industry, economy, culture, and education system. Comprising twelve mid-ranked officials and their assistants, translators, and servants, the sixty-four-man mission met with many leading government officials, important leaders in business, banking, and industry, and prominent education reformers. The reports and observations resulting from this four-month mission to Japan numbered more than eighty volumes and became the "primary materials used by Korean authorities in their quest for 'self-strengthening' and 'opening' in the 1880s, when they needed to assess Japan's posture on Westernization."²³⁴

Though the king had moved decisively in favor of reform, what its precise nature and extent would be was yet uncertain. While at times the boundaries between them were fuzzy and their discourses overlapped, two general positions on reform emerged—one, heavily influenced by intellectual movements in Japan, sought radical change, while the other, committed to the

²³² On the conservative reaction to Huang's treatise and Kojong's response, see Deuchler, 104–7.

²³³ Deuchler, 116.

²³⁴ Donghyun Huh, "The Korean Courtiers' Observation Mission's Views on Meiji Japan and Projects of Modern State Building," trans. Vladimir Tikhonov, *Korean Studies* 29, no. 1 (January 2005): 30–31.

country's traditional relationship with China and the preservation of Confucian learning and culture, sought more limited reform.

Advocates of radical reform favored changes to Korean society modeled closely on Japan's on-going modernization-*cum*-Westernization. Sometimes known as the "enlightenment party" (*kaehwap'a* 開化派) for their embrace of the so-called "civilization and enlightenment" (*munmyǒng kaehwa* 文明開化; J. *bunmei kaika*) discourses emanating from Japan, this position was initially held by a small group of mostly young low-level officials, many of whom, beginning with the 1881 inspection mission, had spent time traveling to and studying in Japan. While in Japan, the mission met with the prominent early Meiji author, educator, and publisher Fukuzawa Yukichi 福澤諭吉 (1835–1901), who had himself been a member of the first Japanese missions to the West.²³⁵ Fukuzawa was a popularizer of Western thought in Japan and through his many translations of Western works was the originator of much of the *munmyǒng kaehwa* / *bunmei kaika* discourse there.²³⁶ At least two of the mission's twelve primary officials, Ō Yunjung 魚允中 (1848–1896) and Hong Yǒngsik 洪英植 (1855–1884), were greatly impressed by Fukuzawa, with Ō leaving his teenaged assistant, Yu Kilchun 兪吉濬 (1856–1914), behind to attend Fukuzawa's school.²³⁷ Thereafter, Fukuzawa became a mentor and eager tutor to Koreans who came to study with him.

²³⁵ To America in 1860 and to Europe in 1862.

²³⁶ On Fukuzawa's writings and thought and their impact on Japanese modernization, see Albert M. Craig, *Civilization and Enlightenment: The Early Thought of Fukuzawa Yukichi* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).

²³⁷ Founded by Fukuzawa in 1858, Keiō Gijuku 慶應義塾 was the first institution of modern higher learning and the precursor to today's Keio University. Fukuzawa seems to have seen something of his younger self in the Koreans who came to study with him. Writing to a friend after meeting with the gentleman's observation group he wrote: "In the early part of this month a number of Koreans arrived to observe conditions in Japan, and two of them are enrolled in our

In their writings and reports after their mission to Japan, in which they strongly advocated that Korea follow Japan's example and make sweeping societal changes, it is clear that Hong and Ō were not only impressed with Fukuzawa the man but were influenced by his thinking as well. Both described the current state of the world as a struggle between peoples for survival, mirroring the Social Darwinist ideas expressed in Fukuzawa's *Seiyō Jijō* 西洋事情 (*Conditions in the West*, 1867). Such a view was expressed by Ō, for example, in his return audience with the king:

Compared with today's greater Warring States period, in ancient Chinese history that was just a lesser Warring States period. All countries are competing with each other by their intellect... In this situation, only enrichment and strengthening will keep the country safe, and the rulers should unite with the ruled in the self-strengthening efforts.²³⁸

That states and peoples struggled against others "by their intellect" for military and commercial dominance meant that Korea was in danger of losing this competition if it did not embrace the "new knowledge" and skills that was key to the West's—and increasingly Japan's—wealth and power. In his written report Ō claimed that it was Korea's reverence for Confucianism that bred weakness and poverty. "All the ancients considered poverty 'comfortable' and preached 'enjoyment of poverty,'" he wrote. "Once the people are made to think that poverty is 'comfortable,' they are not made to search for the ways of making better living; how will they sustain their mouths and bodies?" Ō's solution was the rejection of this "old learning" by abolishing the Confucian civil service examinations. Doing this, he argued, would lead to

academy.... When I think about myself twenty-odd years ago, I cannot help feeling sympathy and compassion for them.... When I hear them talk, it is Japan of thirty years ago." In Kamigaito Kenichi. *Nihon ryūgaku to kakumei undō*. (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai), 1982, quoted in Peter Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895–1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 53.

²³⁸ Quoted in the above English translation in Huh, "Korean Courtiers' Observation Mission," 38.

“crowds of public-spirited, enterprising people” going abroad to acquire “new knowledge” and skills that could be brought back to enrich and strengthen the country. “But if the traditional Confucian examinations are not abolished,” he argued, then “no talents will appear; the people will satisfy themselves with old learning and will not strive for progress in knowledge.”²³⁹

Ö’s proposed abolition of the traditional examination was a radical proposal for its time. As discussed previously, the examination system and the Neo-Confucian orthodoxy that supported and was supported by it was the organizing principle of the state system of educational institutions from the county schools to the Confucian Academy. Thus, calling for the abolition of the traditional examination would entail both the disestablishment of Confucianism as state orthodoxy as well as a revolution in Korea’s educational systems and ideologies. Furthermore, Ö’s juxtaposition of “old” and “new” knowledge and the equating of the former with weakness and poverty and of the latter with progress and strength was a key tenet of the *munmyöng kaehwa* (“civilization and enlightenment”) discourses of the radical reformers and would be wielded by them many times over the coming decades to disclaim traditional education and its medium of instruction, LS.

Other of the mission’s officials were much less sanguine about Japan’s reforms than Ö Yunjung and Hong Yöngsik. Recognizing that its self-strengthening reforms had been funded by debt and that Japan had incurred large deficits in its trade with the West, they feared that following the Japanese model would be financially ruinous and lead to the subjugation of Korea to Western powers. Furthermore, being committed Confucians, they adamantly opposed Japan’s adoption of Western customs and the decay in Confucian teachings and practice. Thus, though they were genuinely impressed with many of Japan’s reforms and its adoption of Western

²³⁹ Ibid. 52, footnote 17.

technical knowhow, “they advocated selective introduction of the industrial, agricultural, and military technologies needed to guarantee the state’s survival and the people’s economic wellbeing, so long as basic traditional values were not touched.”²⁴⁰

A formal articulation of this selective approach to reform was made in December 1881 by Sin Kisŏn 申箕善 (1851–1909). Sin formulated what has come to be known as the “Eastern Way, Western Tools” doctrine (*tongdo sŏgi-ron* 東道西器論) in the introduction to a new book on Western agricultural techniques translated and compiled by An Chongsu 安宗洙 (1859–1896) from texts that An had acquired while in Japan as a member of Kim Hongjip’s mission in 1880.²⁴¹ This doctrine was a justification of the selective adoption of Western technology and technical skills based in Neo-Confucian discourses that continued to affirm the state’s obligation to improve the people’s livelihood on the one hand and maintain the traditional social order with its attendant values and doctrines on the other. Sin thus assured his readers that Western knowhow could be selectively adopted without doing harm to the traditional order. He cited as an example the Chinese themselves, who had long ago adopted Western astronomy, geography, and mathematics, and more recently the steam engine and other machines all to the benefit of their people and without detriment to the country’s Confucian customs and beliefs.²⁴² Still, Sin

²⁴⁰ Ibid. 40.

²⁴¹ According to No Taehwan (2005), the intellectuals who held to this ideology did not characterize themselves with the term *tongdo sŏgi*. Rather the term was first used by Han Ugŭn (1968) to identify this group as one faction of those who embraced the *munmyŏng kaehwa / bunmei kaika* discourses coming at that time from Japan. See No Taehwan, *Tongdo sŏgiron hyŏngsŏng kwajŏng yŏn’gu* [A study on the formation process of the Eastern Way, Western Instruments ideology] (Seoul: Ilchisa, 2005), 9.

²⁴² Recall that many of Chosŏn’s scholars retained a lingering distrust of the “barbarian” Qing dynasty, and that Sin’s argument here may therefore have had little purchase or even have been counterproductive among such an audience.

reassured his audience that An was orthodox in his views and motivated by enhancing good governance and the welfare of the people:

An Chongsu, bright of mind and powerful of memory, conversant in the books of Cheng-Zhu learning, and intent on promoting good governance, traveled east to Japan in the spring of this year and acquired a number of Chinese and Western books on agriculture.²⁴³

Declaring that An was fully schooled in Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy and was possessed of the proper Confucian motives was an implicit declaration of the state's role in sending qualified scholars abroad to gather knowledge to benefit the people. Doing so thus signaled that the limited acquisition of useful Western skills would not upset the traditional social order. Sin continued in this vein, again touting the benefits of Western skills:

Having returned, An has translated [these books] into *hanmun*, dividing and categorizing this diverse and complicated collection into a four-volume book titled *Nongjǒng sinp'yǒn* 農政新編 (“A New Compendium of Agricultural Management”).... If this book is widely disseminated, farmers shall have an abundance of grain and women shall have an abundance of cloth, so that the common people shall be neither hungry nor cold.²⁴⁴

Still, Sin anticipated continued opposition to the adoption of any Western knowledge or skills, writing as he was in the immediate aftermath of the *wijǒng ch'ōksa* memorialists' backlash to the court's moves toward reform:

Some might say, ‘These methods, many come from those of the Westerners, and the methods of the Westerners [come from] the Jesus Doctrine. Imitating their methods is a submission to their doctrines; I would rather eat the ferns of Mt. Shouyang! How can you wish for a full belly and warm living while following heretical methods?’²⁴⁵

²⁴³ 安宗洙聰明強記, 講洛閩之書, 懷經濟之志, 今年春東遊日本, 得中西農書若干篇. Sin Kisŏn, “Nongjǒng sinp'yǒn sŏ 農政新編序 [Introduction to *Nongjǒng Sinp'yǒn*],” in *Nongjǒng Sinp'yǒn* 農政新編 [*A New Compendium of Agricultural Management*], trans. Chongsu An (Korea: unknown, 1905), 1–3.

²⁴⁴ 以歸, 譯以漢文冊, 其繁冗彙分條析, 編爲四卷, 命之曰《農政新篇》... 是書之行, 庶幾農有餘粟, 女有餘布, 黎民其不飢不寒矣. *Ibid.*

²⁴⁵ 或曰: ‘是法多出於西人之法, 西人之法耶蘇之教也. 效其法是服其教也. 寧食首陽之薇. 豈可志飽煖倣異法乎?’ *Ibid.* The ferns of Mt. Shouyang are a reference to the story of Boyi and

He countered this anticipated opposition by emphasizing a prominent theme in Neo-Confucian metaphysics: the distinction between *to* 道 (“the Way”, C. *dao*) and *ki* 器 (“tools/instruments”, C. *qi*). As Sin explained it, *to* is equivalent to metaphysical principles and ethical teachings that are eternal and unchanging, while *ki*, on the other hand, are those physical phenomena—tools and technologies, music and ritual, clothing and customs, etc.—that follow from and are manifestations of the Way, but that are not themselves unchanging:

Ah! This is a failure to recognize the distinction between *to* 道 and *ki* 器. That which cannot change through time and eternity, is *to*, and that which changes with time and cannot remain constant, is *ki*. What is it we call “*to*”? It is simply the Three Principles, the Five Virtues, and the Four Injunctions. The *to* of Emperors Yao and Shun, of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius shines as the sun and the stars, and even when among barbarian tribes one cannot abandon it. And what is it we call “*ki*”? It is simply ritual and music, punishments and administrations, dress and accessories, utensils and tools. Even under Yao and Shun and during the Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties these things were modified; so, wouldn’t they have changed even more so now, thousands of years later? So long as they truly fit with the times, and so long as they truly benefit the people, even if they are the methods of the barbarians, we may implement them.²⁴⁶

The *wijǒng ch’ōksa* memorialists had insisted that the methods for securing the people’s welfare ascribed to the Emperors Yao and Shun were sufficient and did not need Western inputs to improve them. Sin, however, while affirming the inviolability of Yao and Shun’s ethical teachings, insisted instead that the sage rulers’ “ritual and music, punishments and administrations, dress and accessories, implements and tools” changed with time and so could be replaced or improved upon even by imitation of barbarians so long as doing so would be of

Shuqi who, rather than serve in the court of the new Zhou dynasty who had usurped the Shang, retired to Mt. Shouyang and survived for a time on fiddlehead ferns.

²⁴⁶ 噫! 是不知道與器之分也。夫亘古窮宙而不可易者道也。隨時變易而不可常者器也。何謂道? 三綱五常孝悌忠信是已。堯舜周孔之道炳如日星, 雖之蠻貊之邦, 不可棄也。何謂器? 禮樂刑政服飾器用是已。唐虞三代尚有損益, 況於數千載之後乎。苟合於時, 苟利於民, 雖夷狄之法可行也。Ibid.

benefit to the people's welfare. He justified this pragmatic approach by an appeal to the classics, but then went further to claim that because the Chinese perfect the metaphysical (*hyǒng i sang* 形而上, literally "above/prior to form," i.e. *to*) while the Westerners perfect the material/phenomenal (*hyǒng i ha* 形而下, "below/following form," i.e. *ki*), the combination of Chinese metaphysical knowledge and Western material skill would bring unbounded prosperity and well-being:

The *Book of Documents* says: "rectifying [the people's] virtue (正德), benefitting from the useful (利用), and enriching [the people's] well-being (厚生) must be harmoniously attended to." By enacting our *to*, we thereby rectify virtue, and by imitating the *ki* of others, we thereby benefit from what's useful to enrich the people's well-being. These work in parallel and do not contradict one another... Today, if those who wish to benefit from what's useful in order to enrich the people's livelihood do not make complete use of the vital energy of the heavens nor harness the nature of the earth to its fullness, then they cannot obtain the power of human intellect as the Westerners have done. And as it is in agriculture, naturally this is the case with all kinds of people's everyday tools. The Chinese illuminate what is prior to form (形而上), and it alone is worthy of reverence throughout the world. But the Westerners illuminate what has form (形而下), and so their *ki* is unrivaled in all the world. Implement the *ki* of the West on the basis of China's *to*, and the five continents of the globe will not be sufficient to contain it.²⁴⁷

Seeking to find a middle way between the recalcitrance of *wijǒng ch'ōksa* reactionaries and the radicalism of enlightenment party reformers, the court embraced this *tongdo sǒgi* doctrine and, as can be seen in Kojong's August 1882 defense of his court's decision to conclude a treaty with the United States, it became the prevailing ideology justifying the government's reform efforts:

Some discussants say that by making treaties with Western nations we will be infected with [their Christian] doctrines. This reflects a sincere concern for This Culture of Ours

²⁴⁷ 書曰：‘正德利用 厚生惟和。’行吾之道所以正德也。效彼之器所以利用厚生也。此所謂并行而不相悖者也... 今之欲利用厚生者，非用天之氣盡地之性竭，人之智力如泰西人之爲者不可得也。豈徒農桑爲然舉凡民生日用皆類是也。蓋中土之人明於形而上者，故其道獨尊於天下，西國之人明於形而下者，其器無敵於天下。以中土之道，行西國之器，則環球五洲不足定之。Ibid.

(*samun* 斯文) and for our long-standing mores, but the making of treaties [with them] is one thing, and the forbidding of their doctrines is another. Establishing a treaty on trade is simply acting in accordance with international law and nothing more. So long as we forbid from the outset the dissemination of their doctrines within the interior, then, how can the people, being well practiced in the teachings of Confucius and Mencius and long steeped in ritual and propriety, all in one morning suddenly abandon orthodoxy (*chǒng* 正) and pursue heterodoxy (*sa* 邪)? And should the foolish man or the ignorant commoner learn and share [heterodoxy] with each other, so long as there are just statutes that punish this without leniency, how can we fear that there will be no way to revere [the right] and repudiate [the false]? Also, should we observe that there is some aspect of imitation of Western methods in the manufacture of machinery, to point to this as an instance of infection by heterodoxy is a misunderstanding in the extreme. As their doctrines are false, then, just as with licentious songs and beautiful women, they should be kept at a distance. But if their tools (*ki*) are beneficial, if they can actually bring benefit from the useful to enrich [the people's] livelihood (利用厚生), then why should we fear to make use of them in agriculture, medicine, military, ship-building, or transportation? Rejecting their doctrines and copying their tools can surely be done simultaneously without any contradiction!²⁴⁸

The above articulations of the *tongdo sǒgi* approach to reform, with their assurances that Confucian orthodoxy could be protected, and heterodoxy expunged, even as trade with the West and the adoption of its technical knowhow proceeded apace, show that assuaging the opposition of *wijǒng ch'ǒksa* conservatives was a top priority. The court may well have had little choice but to enact a program of “self-strengthening” reforms and to enter into treaty relations with Japan, but by sidelining the ideologies of the status quo in order to enter into new and unprecedented relationships with countries marginal to or outside of the Chinese world order, the court embarked, wittingly or not, on a reappraisal and renegotiation of the country's place within that world order. That is, it opened up for debate the question of whether the culture and institutions

²⁴⁸ 議者又以聯好西國，謂將漸染邪教。此固為斯文為世教深長慮也。然聯好自聯好，禁教自禁教。立約通商，只據公法而已。初不許傳教內地，則爾等素習孔孟之訓，久沐禮義之俗，豈或一朝捨正而趨邪乎？設有愚夫蚩氓，潛相傳習，則邦有常憲，誅殛不赦，何憂乎崇闢之無其術也？且見器械製造之稍效西法，則輒以染邪目之，此又不諒之甚也。其教則邪，當如淫聲美色而遠之，其器則利，苟可以利用厚生，則農桑，醫藥，甲兵，舟車之製，何憚而不為也？斥其教而效其器，固可以竝行不悖也。 *Kojong sillok* 高宗實錄, v. 19, Kojong 19(1882).8.5 #5

the country held in common with China—including the shared writing and other norms, or *tongmun tonggwe* 同文同軌—were a help or hinderance to the Korean state and society. And since the value of that shared culture and its institutions was the taken-for-granted proposition undergirding the Korean desire to participate in and protect ‘This Culture of Ours,’ allowing for that value to be questioned²⁴⁹ necessarily entailed the introduction and evaluation of alternative world views.

This would be borne out only two years later when leading individuals among the enlightenment party reformers, dissatisfied with the slow pace of reform and the court’s continued reliance on China, attempted a coup d’état in late 1884. When the coup failed after only two days, two of its leaders were captured and executed and the remainder fled to Japan. Others known to have affiliated with or suspected of having sympathies for the coup’s participants and their ideas were subsequently arrested and banished. For the next decade, the state’s efforts in education, in the publication of a newspaper, and in the introduction of Western technologies and knowhow was directed by *tongdo sŏgi* partisans. However, the *munmyŏng kaehwa* ideologies that motivated the coup of 1884—a sort of “Western Way, Western Tools” approach positing that the superficial adoption of Western medical, military, industrial, or other technical knowhow “was less important than understanding the principles of Western civilization and that true ‘civilization and enlightenment’ required adaptation of these principles to the realities of Korea”²⁵⁰—did not go away. With the backing of the Japanese military in 1894 at the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War, many of the radical reformers in exile returned from Japan

²⁴⁹ By, for example, not immediately banishing or executing Kim Hongjip as called for by the *wijŏng ch’ŏksa* memorialists.

²⁵⁰ Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword*, 79.

or were released from banishment in the countryside and formed a government and initiated a series of major reforms now known as the Kabo reforms, which, as noted above, included major changes to Korean education and language policy.

3.4 The First Newspapers

3.4.1 An Expanded Role for Literary Sinitic in “Translating the West”

As the court proceeded to open to Japan and then the West, anti-foreign and anti-Western sentiment grew, and in July 1882, two months after the signing of the Korea-U.S. treaty, many commoners joined what had begun as a soldiers’ riot, expanding it into a more general anti-foreigner and anti-government riot. The Japanese legation was overrun, several Japanese were killed, and the minister to Korea and his aides were forced to flee back to Japan. With the help of Qing troops, the uprising was suppressed by late August. Kojong “granted a general amnesty to calm the anxious and disturbed populace” and at the same time admitted to mistakes in governance, calling for a “new beginning” and soliciting proposals for how best to move forward in the wake of the destructive riots.²⁵¹ More than a hundred memorials were submitted in response, many with practical suggestions encouraging such measures as the reformation of the tax system, the strengthening of the military, and the adoption of Western technologies and machinery. Particularly common was the call for the government to establish a process for selecting and training able men to carry out these efforts.²⁵² A memorial by Chi Sögyöng 池錫永 (1855–1935) is one prominent example. Chi recommended that the government establish a new

²⁵¹ Deuchler, *Confucian Gentlemen*, 150.

²⁵² On the nature of these memorials and their common themes, see Deuchler, 150–52.

national academy of sorts where the top scholars from each village in the provinces would be selected to train in Western knowledge from books on law, politics, history, and science and in the reverse engineering of Western machines, with the mastery of both books and machines constituting a new qualification for government office:

In my humble view, the works of foreigners such as *Wanguo gongfa* 萬國公法, *Chaoxian celue* 朝鮮策略, *Pu-Fa zhanji* 普法戰紀, *Bowu xinbian* 博物新編, *Gewu rumen* 格物入門, and *Gezhi huibian* 格致彙編, as well as the works of our own countrymen such as *Kihwa kŭnsa* 箕和近事 by Kim Okkyun of the Office of Special Advisors, *Chigu togyŏng* 地球圖經 by former royal secretary Pak Yŏnggyo 朴泳教, *Nongjŏng sinp'yŏn* 農政新編 translated by the literary licentiate An Chongsu, and *Kongbo ch'oryak* 公報抄略 compiled by former district magistrate Kim Kyŏngsu 金景遂 are all works that are useful for breaking out of our rigid constraints and developing our understanding of current affairs.

I humbly petition that an agency be created to collect these books and to purchase modern foreign implements such as water wheels, farm equipment, weaving machines, steam engines, military equipment, and the like. Each village in all the provinces should select one scholar-official of renown and send him to this agency in order to study these books and machines for a period of two months.... Those who have thoroughly studied these books and acquired a deep understanding of world affairs, or those who are able to build replicas of foreign machines and have mastered their complexities, should be hired in accordance with their ability and skill... Those who come to the agency for study will then become eager to learn the principles of these machines and to investigate current affairs; all of them, without fail, will experience a great awakening.

If a person should attain this awakening, his son, his grandson, and his neighbors who respect him will all follow his lead and be transformed. Is this not a shortcut in converting and developing the people? Is this not a good method for benefiting from what's useful to enrich the people's well-being? When the people are freed from their bewilderment and their minds are set at ease, it will be the best strategy in strengthening ourselves and guarding against foreign threats.²⁵³

²⁵³ 第伏念各國人士所著《萬國公法》《朝鮮策略》《普法戰紀》《博物新編》《格物入門》《格致彙編》等書及我國校理臣金玉均所輯《箕和近事》前承旨臣朴泳教所撰《地球圖經》進士臣安宗洙所譯《農政新編》前縣令臣金景遂所錄《公報抄略》等書,皆足以開發拘曲,瞭解時務者也。伏願殿下,急置一院於都下,使有司搜集上項等諸書及近日各國水車·農器·織組機·大輪機·兵器等樣子,一一購貿,行關於各道每邑。以善解文有雅望而爲一邑之翹楚者儒吏,各抄一人,送赴于該院,使之觀其書籍,玩其器械,而留院之日,以兩箇月爲定...有人能通書籍,深知世務,有能做樣造器,畫其奧妙,有能刊印書籍者,隨其功能之高下,分明闡用...則凡入院者,無不欲先解器械之理,深究時局之宜,而莫不翻然而悟之矣。此人一悟,則凡此人之子若孫及隣黨之素所敬服者,率皆從風而化之矣。疑懼之心瓦散,訛謗之說冰消,開化之期,昇平之日,可翹足而待也,茲非化民成俗之妙法,利用厚生之首謀乎?民既解惑安

Chi's list of books and other similar works introducing and expounding Western knowledge were all either translations into Sinitic of Western works or original works composed in Sinitic by Western missionaries in China, by Chinese reformers, and by Koreans who had traveled abroad. Though no agency of the sort Chi advocated for was ever founded, his memorial shows that Western knowledge, mediated through Sinitic translation, had begun making its way into Korea. Thus, the status of LS was not only maintained but its domain of use was expanded to include the dissemination of knowledge about the West, its technology and knowhow.²⁵⁴

This spread of Western knowledge mediated through LS translation was expanded by the publication of Korea's first ever modern newspaper following a final observation mission to Japan in 1882. To repair relations with the Japanese following the summer's deadly riots, Kojong

奠, 則凡自強禦侮之策, 具載於易言一部書, 臣不敢贅進焉云云. 省疏具悉. 爾言時務, 瞭然有條理, 可以措之於事, 予甚嘉之. 疏辭, 下議政府, 裁稟施行. *Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi*, v. 2903, Kojong 19(1882).8.23 #36. The above English-language translation is based on Peter H. Lee et al., eds., *Sources of Korean Tradition*, vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 247–48. The English titles, authors and publication dates for the above works are as follows: *Wanguo gongfa* (William A.P. Martin's translation of Henry Wheaton's *Elements of International Law*, 1863), *Chaoxian celue* (*A Policy for Chosŏn*, by Huang Zunxian, 1880), *Pu-Fa zhanji* (*Record of The Franco-Prussian War*, by Wang Tao, 1871), *Bowu xinbian* (parallel English title: *Natural Philosophy*, by Benjamin Hobson, 1855), *Gewu rumen* (parallel English title: *Introduction to the Sciences*, compiled by William A.P. Martin, 1868), *Gezhi huibian* (parallel title: *The Chinese Scientific Magazine*, 1876–1892), *Kihwa kŭnsa* (*Recent Events in Korea and Japan*, 1882), *Chigu togyŏng* (*World Atlas*, 1880), *Nongjŏng sinp'yŏn* (*A New Compendium of Agronomy*, 1881), *Kongbo ch'oryak* (*Abridged Excerpts from The Globe Magazine*, 1879).

²⁵⁴ Citing Chŏng Yagyong who “familiarized himself with a book on construction techniques by the Jesuit Johann Terrentius and a pamphlet on smallpox inoculation, both written in Sinitic,” Kornicki (2018, 150–51) makes the point that works in LS by Westerners in China had made their way to Korea over a century previous, and thus “Sinitic texts were... not only a conduit for Buddhism, medicine, and ancient systems of thought, but also for new forms of knowledge, including technologies and ideas, and some but not all of these came from Western sources well before the beginning of the nineteenth century.” While acknowledging this fact, however, it must be emphasized that the number of such texts and the scale of their influence in late-nineteenth-century Korea was unprecedented.

sent Pak Yŏnghyo 朴泳孝 (1861–1939) on a mission of apology to Tokyo in October 1882, and also tasked him with further observing and reporting on Japan’s modernizing institutions. Pak was affiliated with the radical reformers, including Kim Okkyun 金玉均 (1851–1894), who accompanied Pak’s embassy. Earlier that year Kim had traveled to Japan on his own and stayed with Fukuzawa Yukichi and his students. After returning to Korea, Kim published *Kihwa kūnsa*, mentioned in Chi Sŏgyŏng’s memorial, which described Japan’s modernization efforts and advocated that Korea follow suit with its own wholesale reform of its society and institutions.

On this his second visit to Japan, Kim again stayed with Fukuzawa and reported to Pak on the goings on there, including Fukuzawa’s recent efforts founding a daily newspaper, the *Jiji shinpō* 時事新報 (*Current Events*). Impressed by Japan’s growing newspaper culture, Pak was convinced that newspapers would be an important tool for spreading reformist thought and spurring modernization in Korea. With Fukuzawa’s encouragement Pak recruited several of his students and other associates to travel to Korea to assist with modernization efforts, particularly with establishing a newspaper. In all, seven Japanese returned with Pak, including Inoue Kakugorō 井上角五郎 (1860–1938), who later recalled about his decision to go to Korea: “The purpose of my going to Korea was in a word to make Korea move toward civilization. The reason I had that purpose was because I had stayed for three years in Fukuzawa’s house and was much influenced by his discussions.”²⁵⁵

When Pak returned to Korea in January 1883, he was appointed commissioner of Seoul. Inspired by what he had witnessed in Japan, he began implementing several modernizing

²⁵⁵ *Jiji shinpō*, August 27, 1910, quoted in Hilary Conroy, *The Japanese Seizure of Korea, 1868-1910: A Study of Realism and Idealism in International Relations*, University of Pennsylvania Press (Philadelphia, PA, 1960), 137.

initiatives, including the founding of a newspaper. With funding and permission from King Kojong he established a publication office, the Pangmun'guk 博文局 (Office of Culture and Information), in mid-March. Pak tasked Yu Kilchun, who had himself recently returned from Japan and was now a secretary in the Foreign Affairs Office, with writing and gathering articles for the newspaper with the help of Inoue Kakugorō and the other Japanese who accompanied him. Along with Inoue, Yu had lived in Fukuzawa's house while attending his school, and over the previous year as Fukuzawa had commenced his newspaper project, both had gained first-hand experience with the ins and outs of newspaper publishing. Yu had even published an editorial in Fukuzawa's newspaper on the very topic of newspapers themselves arguing for their power and effectiveness in enlightening a nation's people.²⁵⁶

For their planned first issue, Yu, familiar with the Japanese mixed-script style used in Fukuzawa's newspaper, prepared an inaugural editorial in a Korean mixed-script writing style. This planned editorial, however, was never published in the newspaper.²⁵⁷ Pak Yōnghyo was dismissed from his post in Seoul in late April after his reform initiatives met with political opposition, and without Pak's supervision and support Yu became disinterested in the newspaper project, electing instead to join the Min Yōngik embassy to the United States that July.²⁵⁸ In the

²⁵⁶ Yu Kilchun, "Shinbun no kiryoku o ronzu 新聞の氣力を論ず [On the Power of Newspapers]," *Jiji shinpō* 時事新報, 21 April 1882. For a summary of Yu's editorial, see Lee and Ch'oe Yong-ho, "Newspaper Publication in the Late Yi Dynasty," *Korean Studies* 12, no. 1 (1988): 63.

²⁵⁷ King, "Nationalism and Language Reform in Korea," 36, 50. See also Hilary Conroy, *The Japanese Seizure of Korea, 1868-1910: A Study of Realism and Idealism in International Relations*, University of Pennsylvania Press (Philadelphia, PA, 1960), 137. It has since been published in Yu Kilchun chōnsō p'yōnch'an wiwōnhoe, ed., *Yu Kilchun chōnsō [The complete works of Yu Kilchun]* (Seoul, Korea: Ilchogak, 1971) volume 4.

²⁵⁸ While in America Yu enrolled in the Dummer Academy north of Boston where he stayed until returning to Korea after receiving news of the failed coup organized by Kim Okkyun, Pak Yōnghyo, and other progressive reformers in December 1884.

meantime, the newspaper office was reopened in August 1883 and placed under the Foreign Office controlled by *tongdo sŏgi* reformers. Still, Inoue continued to assist with the newspaper's publication and the first edition of the *Hansŏng sunbo* 漢城旬報 ("Seoul Thrice-Monthly," *Sunbo* hereafter) was published on October 31. The newspaper's introductory editorial read in part:

Today's [international] climate is one of gradual opening, so that day by day human knowledge and skill advances. Ships speed across the oceans, electric lines connect the four quarters of the earth, international law has been formulated to establish diplomatic exchange, and ports and harbors have been constructed to conduct trade. Whether at the poles or in the tropics there is no land on the face of the earth that is not in contact. Incidents and objects fantastical and subtle appear in their hundreds and there are vehicles, clothes, tools, implements, skills, and knowhow of all sorts, such that one with a mind to keep abreast of world affairs cannot afford to be uninformed. Therefore, the royal court has opened a newspaper office and appointed officials to widely disseminate translations of foreign newspapers, as well as to inform the country and other nations of our domestic affairs.²⁵⁹

The *Sunbo* was the first media organ of what a decade later would eventually become a thriving public press. Published wholly in LS rather than in a mixed-script style as Pak *et al.* had initially conceived, the paper disseminated knowledge about the West and its technical knowhow mediated through LS translations of Western newspapers and other works. Besides government notices, royal edicts, and news on domestic, regional, and world affairs, the *Sunbo* also published over 180 essays on science, geography, economics, education, law, military, international governance and diplomacy, and Western history, geography, and culture during its fourteen-month run. The paper drew primarily from Chinese and Japanese newspapers for much of its

²⁵⁹今風氣漸闢智巧日長輪. 舶馳駛環瀛電線絡四土至於定公法修聘問築港補通交易, 而窮髮燠齒羊胛稜面無殊聯壤. 事變物類幻詭百出, 車服器用技巧萬端固留, 心世務者所不可不知也. 是以, 我朝廷開局設官廣譯外報, 并載內事領示國中派分列國... "Sunbo sŏ 旬報序" [Introduction to the *Hansŏng sunbo*], *Hansŏng sunbo*, 1883.10.1. issue 1, p. 1.

content,²⁶⁰ and whether extracted from Chinese newspapers or translated from Japanese ones, these articles were filled with new sinographic coinages used to translate concepts, expressions, and materials found in Western works.²⁶¹

Since before the Meiji Restoration, Japan's Rangaku 蘭學 (“Dutch learning” i.e. “Western learning”) scholars had been coining new terms as part of the translation of Western works through their limited contact with the Dutch. These terms were primarily of two types: 1) sinographic calques of Western terms where wholly new coinages were constructed using Sino-Japanese roots, and 2) loan-shifts where existing LS terms with classical derivations were given new or extended meanings.²⁶² This process of lexical acculturation through the translation of Western works accelerated during the Meiji period and many of these new coinages made their way back to China in the LS translations of Western works (often translations of Japanese translations) and in original works in LS expounding Western knowledge. With Korea's LS translations of excerpts from foreign, primarily Japanese, works beginning in the 1880s, the Korean lexicon likewise underwent an acculturation to Western knowledge and ideas. Because these new terms could be written using sinographs and thus pronounced with a Sino-Korean

²⁶⁰ For an analysis of the foreign newspapers sourced for articles in the *Hansǒng sunbo* see Han Poram, “1880 nyǒndae Chosǒn chǒngbu ūi kaehwa chǒngch'aek ūl wihan kukche chǒngbo sujip: *Hansǒng sunbo* ūi kwallyǒn kisa punsǒk [The Chosǒn Government's Gathering of International Information for Enlightenment Policies during the 1880s: Analysis of the Articles in the *Hansǒng sunbo*,” *Chindan hakpo* 100 (2005): 109–64.

²⁶¹ Ch'oe Yǒngch'ŏl and Hō Chaeyǒng, “Kaehang ihu hakche toip ijǒn kkaji ūi Han'guk kǔndae hangmunnon kwa ōmun munje - *Hansǒng sunbo* wa *Hansǒng chubo* rǔl chungsim ūro [Modern Epistemology and the Language Question in Korea, 1876–1894 - Focusing on the *Hansǒng sunbo* and *Hansǒng chubo*],” *Inmun hwahak yǒn'gu*, 2014.

²⁶² Victor Mair calls these “round-trip” words. See Robert Ramsey, “The Polysemy of the Term Kokugo,” in *Schrift-Festschrift: Essays in Honor of John DeFrancis on His Eightieth Birthday*, ed. Victor H Mair, vol. Sino-Platonic Papers (Philadelphia: Department of Oriental Studies, University of Pennsylvania, 1991), 38.

reading, they were not perceived as being so foreign as outright loans from Western languages. For this reason, they were much more easily assimilated into the Korean lexicon. Thus, as an early vector for an enormous flood of new vocabulary into Korean, the *Sunbo*'s LS translations played a crucial role in the modern lexical acculturation of the Korean language; a truly momentous change in the history of the language.²⁶³

3.4.2 The Origins of Mixed-Script Style

The *Sunbo* ceased publication in December 1884 when a mob, furious over the enlightenment party's attempted coup d'état, burned down the newspaper office. The coup's leaders, Kim Okkyun, Pak Yŏnghyo, and other of their co-conspirators, including Inoue Kakugorō, fled to Japan.²⁶⁴ The Pangmun'guk, however, was reestablished in mid-1885, again under the auspices of the Foreign Office, and Inoue was allowed to return to Korea to assist with newspaper publication. Changed to a weekly newspaper and renamed the *Hansŏng chubo* 漢城週報 (*Seoul Weekly*, hereafter *Chubo*), the first issue was printed on January 25, 1886. Like its predecessor, the *Chubo* continued the process of lexical acculturation by publishing articles in LS from Chinese newspapers along with LS translations of articles from foreign, primarily Japanese, newspapers. With its original content, however, the *Chubo* went beyond the *Sunbo*, publishing articles not only in LS, but in a vernacularized mixed-script style and even a pure Korean-alphabetic style during the first year of its publication. This was a revolutionary practice.

²⁶³ On the similar process of linguistic acculturation in China, see Lydia H. Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900–1937* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995).

²⁶⁴ Hong Yŏngsik and Pak Yŏnggyo 朴泳教 (1849–1884), the brother of Pak Yŏnghyo, were both captured and executed.

Though mixed-script and pure Korean-alphabetic writing had long existed in Korea, they did so within highly restricted domains. This was the first time that either were used with any regularity in such an official publication. Also, the publication of articles in a mixed-script style would have accelerated the adoption of new coinages as it served to inject these sinographical neologisms directly into the vernacular bloodstream.

In a retrospective account some fifty years later, Inoue Kakugorō wrote that it was at his insistence that the *Chubo* included these articles, and the historical records bear him out. As Hō Chaeyōng (2004) shows, it was only from January to October 1886, the first thirty-two issues, that the *Chubo* published articles in either a mixed-script or pure Korean-alphabetic style, coinciding with Inoue's time working on the newspaper. From the time that Inoue returned to Japan at the end of 1886 until the *Chubo* ceased publication in early 1888, it featured articles only in LS.²⁶⁵

To whom goes the credit for originating stand-alone mixed-script writing and who or what were the inspirations for it are not settled issues.²⁶⁶ Historically, mixed-script writing occurred primarily within the translation portions of the *ōnhae* texts described previously in chapter 2 and was not used as a stand-alone writing style but a translational style dependent on an LS original. Scholars such as Hwang Hodōk (2006) mark the modern origins of mixed-script

²⁶⁵ Hō Chaeyōng, “Kūndae kyemonggi ūi ōmun chōngch'aek (1): Kaehwagi *Hansōng sunbo* (*chubo*) rŭl chungsim ūro [The Language Policy of Korea's Modern Enlightenment Period: Focusing on the *Hansōng sunbo* and *Hansōng chubo*,” *Hanminjok munhwa yōn'gu* 14 (2004): 63.

²⁶⁶ It must be noted that what is today grouped under the label “*kukhanmun*” or mixed-script writing is not single unified style, but a wide variety of stand-alone styles used from the early 1880s, which mixed together the Korean script with sinographs. These ranged from *kugyōl*-style LS where the *t'o* alone were written using the Korean script rather than with the traditional sinographic phonograms to very modern-vernacular-like styles where Korean syntax predominated and only sinographically derived terms were written in sinographs.

style with Pak Yŏnghyo's mixed-script experimentations in early October 1882 within the diary of his embassy to Japan, *Sahwa kiryak* 使和記略 (*A Concise Report of the Embassy to Japan*).

These experimentations, however, came in response to Pak's encounter with the Japanese mixed-script style, and were not stand-alone passages but translations of LS or Japanese originals.²⁶⁷

Other scholars instead credit Yu Kilchun's unpublished *Sunbo* editorial as the first official document to be written in a stand-alone mixed-script style.²⁶⁸ This may well be the case, but not having been published till much later it was not a model for subsequent mixed-script composition. Scholars also sometimes point to Yu's statement in the introduction to his most well-known work, *Sōyu kyōnmun* 西游見聞 (*Observations on a Journey to the West*, 1895), to argue that modern Sino-Korean mixed-script styles have their ultimate origins in the vernacular translation style of Korea's *ōnhae* editions of the Confucian canon. There on his choice of mixed-script writing style Yu writes:

I've completed this book mixing and combining our script and sinographs. The style of writing is unadorned, and I strove to use vernacular language to focus on conveying its meaning...

Several days after completing the manuscript, I showed it to a friend asking for his critiques, whereupon that friend stated the following:

"You truly worked hard on this, but by writing in a mix of our script and sinographs deviating from the proper course of a writer you will be unable to escape the criticism and ridicule of those of discernment."

To which I responded:

"There is a worthwhile reason for this. First, because I have made my primary concern the bare conveyance of the meaning of what I wish to say, I have [used mixed script] so that even those with only a little knowledge of writing may be able to easily understand [the book's contents]. Second, I have done this in order to make the writing easy, as I am not well read and am an unseasoned writer. Third, for the sake of making it a precise and clear record it generally imitates the style of our country's vernacular explications of the Seven Books (*ch'ilsŏ ōnhae* 七書諺解) ...

²⁶⁷ On the importance of Pak's mixed-script writing in *Sahwa kiryak* to the development of the very idea of a distinct Korean writing style, see Hwang Hodŏk, "Kukka wa ōnŏ," 2006.

²⁶⁸ See Minsu Kim, *Kugŏ chŏngch'aek non* [*On Korean language policy*], 2nd ed. (Seoul: T'ap Ch'ulp'ansa, 1984), 72.

Our script is a civil(ized) transformation created by our former king, while sinographs, they are to be used with China. I regret, then, that I could not use our script wholly unmixed.²⁶⁹

Yu's claim that his *Sōyu kyōnmun* writing style was an imitation of the *ōnhae* translational style sharply divides scholarly opinion today.²⁷⁰ Though we can be sure that Yu, having received a traditional LS literacy education, would have been well acquainted with *ōnhae* texts and the style of their vernacular translations, we know too that he was familiar enough with the Japanese mixed-script writing style championed by Fukuzawa Yukichi to have written in that style for the *Jiji shinpō* in April 1882, well before every writing in Korean mixed script.²⁷¹ Also, though Yu never makes any mention of Fukuzawa's influence, a large portion of *Sōyu kyōnmun* is a translation of Fukuzawa's *Seiyō jijō* 西洋事情 (*Conditions in the West*, 1866), and as such there are numerous rhetorical and stylistic similarities.²⁷² Given that Yu began writing *Sōyu kyōnmun*

²⁶⁹ 書를成호디我文과漢字를混集하야文章의體裁를不飾하고俗語를務用하야其意를達하기로主하니... 書既成有日에友人에示하고其批評을乞하니友人이曰子の志는良苦하나我文과漢字의混用함이文家の軌道를越하야具眼者の譏笑를未免하리로다余應하야曰是는其故가有하니一은語意의平順함을取하야文字를略解하는者라로易知하기를爲함이오二는余가書를讀함이少하야作文하는法未熟하故로記寫의便易함을爲함이오 三은我邦七書諺解의法을大略倣則하야詳明함을爲함이라... 我文은卽我先王朝의創造하신人文이오漢字는中國과通用하는者라余는猶且我文을純用하기不能함을是歎하노니...

²⁷⁰ On the current state of research regarding the writing style of *Sōyu kyōnmun*, see Han Yōnggyun, “*Sōyu kyōnmun* munch’e yōn’gu ūi hyōnhwang kwa kwaje [The current status of research on the writing style of *Sōyu kyōnmun*],” *Kugōhak* 62 (2011): 225–69.

²⁷¹ Worth noting as well is that Yu was so influenced by the Japanese *kundoku* writing style that he later developed his own Korean “*hundok*” style which he employed in his *Nodong yahak tokpon* (*Workers’ Nightschool Reader*, 1908).

²⁷² While Yu's syntax differs from Fukuzawa's in many instances, there are also many cases in which it is nearly identical. And as for its conceptual vocabulary, *Sōyu kyōnmun* only rarely departs from *Seiyō jijō*, the latter being the point of origin for many of the sinographical coinages introduced into East Asia by Fukuzawa. This linguistic influence can be plainly seen, for example, in one of the very passages in which Yu discusses his stylistic choices, which turns out to be a partial rewriting of Fukuzawa's discussion of *his* choice in writing style:

From *Sōyu kyōnmun*'s introduction:

shortly after his return from America in late December 1885 while under house arrest due to his suspected sympathies with the perpetrators of the 1884 coup,²⁷³ we can perhaps forgive him his reluctance to mention the work's Japanese influences. And yet, in eliding these influences and ignoring the impact of Japan's then ongoing debates over language standardization and literary vernacularization, Yu did what would become common among Korean writers in the debates that would follow about their own language and writing practice.²⁷⁴

Unlike Yu when writing his *Sōyu kyōnmun* introduction in 1889, Inoue Kakugorō in the 1936 retrospective mentioned above is not shy about claiming credit for originating the mixed-

munjang ūi ch'aejae rāl pulsik hāgo sogō rāl muyong hāya kiūi rāl tal hāgiro chu hāni
 文章의體裁를不飾하고俗語를務用하여其意를達하기로主하니

[I] did not adorn the style of writing, but in striving to use vernacular language, focused on conveying its meaning...

From *Seiyō jijō*'s introduction:

bunshō no teisai o kazarazu tsutomete zokugo wo yō hitarumo tada tatsui o motte shu tosuruka tamenari
 文章ノ體裁ヲ飾ラス勉メテ俗語ヲ用ヒタルモ只達意ヲ以テ主トスルカ為ナリ

[I] did not adorn the style of writing, but strove even to use vernacular language in order to make only the conveyance of meaning the focus...

Elsewhere in *Sōyu kyōnmun*, Yu's style is not so closely imitative of Fukuzawa's in *Seiyō jijō*; however, syntactically and even more so terminologically (to say nothing of content and ideological orientation) he was clearly heavily influenced by it. For an in-depth comparison of the writing styles of these two works, see Im Sangsōk, "A Comparative Study of *Gukhanmun* Style in *Seoyu Gyeonmun* and Mixed Style in *Seiyo Jijo*: On the Formation of *Gukhanmun* Style in Korea," *Korea Journal* 54, no. 2 (2014): 105–127. For an analysis of how the ideological content of Fukuzawa's writing influenced Yu, including his departures from Fukuzawa, see Vladimir Tikhonov, *Social Darwinism and Nationalism in Korea—the Beginnings (1880s–1910s): "Survival" as an Ideology of Korean Modernity* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010), 21–35.

²⁷³ The bulk of *Sōyu kyōnmun* was completed by 1889 when he wrote its introduction, though he would continue to edit it until publication in 1895. On Yu's writing process and the book's early publication history, see Hō Kyōngjin, "Yu Kilchun kwa *Sōyu kyōnmun* 西遊見聞 [Yu Kilchun and *Observations on a Journey to the West*]," *Ōmun yōn'gu* 32, no. 1 (2004): 427–53.

²⁷⁴ As Ross King (1998) writes of the Korean debates about language use and practice in this period: "Little learned reference is made to the language situations of countries outside East Asia. Even Japan's intense language debates during the Meiji era receive little notice in the Korean discussions. Rather, Japan and Japanese writing are invoked in general terms only, as support for those advocating a mixed *kukhanmun* style." Ross King, "Nationalism and Language Reform in Korea," 62.

script writing style used in the *Chubo* and pointing directly to Sino-Japanese mixed-script writing and to Fukuzawa's use and promotion of it as his inspiration:

At first, what was published [at the Pangmun'guk] was the *Hansŏng sunbo* written only in sinographs, and among the Koreans and even some of the Chinese there was criticism of it. But as new issues continued to be put out, even the public gradually came to see its necessity. However, for it to more fully reach the common people I felt strongly that we must publish not only in *hanmun*, but that *ŏnmun* should be mixed in with *hanmun*.

Ōnmun had long been Korea's script, but being captive to the idea of worshipping China, the upper class used only *hanmun*, while *ŏnmun* was used only by the so-called lower classes... I therefore created a writing style to be spread and used among the Koreans that utilized Korea's *ŏnmun* in a way similar to our country's use of *kana*-mixed writing (*kana majiribun* 仮名交り文), so that by our two countries having a common writing style we might impart [to them] civilization and knowledge. Taking seriously the precedent of Fukuzawa who strived within Japan to transform the outmoded ideas of the past, I published the newspaper with a writing style that incorporated *ŏnmun* with *hanmun*. That newspaper was the *Hansŏng chubo*.²⁷⁵

If we understand mixed-script writing to have been any style that mixed the Korean script together with sinographs, then Inoue's claim to have created mixed-script style is clearly false; as we have already seen, others employed a mixed-script style prior to Inoue. But as noted above, in this precolonial period there never was a single standard mixed-script style but a range of styles from *kugyŏl*-style to fully grammatical Korean with only sinographically-derived terms written

²⁷⁵ 先づ、こゝで發行せられたのが漢字のみで書かれた漢城旬報で、之に對しては、朝鮮人、或は支那人中からも、彼是と非難があつたのであるが、號を逐ふに従つて、世間からも追々その必要を認められることゝなつた。併しながら、更に一般に普及せしむる爲には、漢文體のみでなく、漢文に諺文を混用しなければならぬと、私は痛感した。

諺文は古來の朝鮮文字ではあるが、支那崇拜思想に囚はれ、上流者は漢文のみを用ひ、諺文は所謂下民にのみ用ひられてみたのである...そこで、私は、朝鮮の諺文を以て、我國の仮名交り文の如き文體を創めて、之を普ねく朝鮮人に使用せしめて彼我兩國を同一文體の國柄たらしめ、以て文明の知識を與へ、日本に於て舊來の固陋なる思想を一變せしめようと企てられた福澤先生の意を體して、漢文に諺文を交へた文體に依り、新聞を發行することゝした。之が即ち漢城週報である。Inoue Kakugorō, "Kyōryoku yūgō, fukushi no zōshin o hakare," in *Chōsen tōchi no kaiko to hihan* (Keijō (Seoul): Chōsen shinbunsha, 1936).

in sinographs.²⁷⁶ Written at the height of Japan's domination of Korea, Inoue's account of having created a Sino-Korean mixed-script style that closely imitated the Japanese for the purpose of imparting "civilization and knowledge" may well be read as a late apologia of Japan's then current rule of Korea. Still, given that the events described fit with the historical record and that his description is consistent with his 1910 statement that he went to Korea in order to "make Korea move toward civilization," it is likely a true reflection of Inoue's original motivation for publishing mixed-script articles.

In another retrospective account headlined "'I Created the Mixed-Script Style.' Venerable Man of Eighty Sheds Tears of Gratitude" and written two years later in the newspaper *Maeil sinbo* 毎日申報 (*Daily News*), Inoue again pointed to Fukuzawa's influence and gave added detail about the role King Kojong played in encouraging and promoting Inoue's use of mixed-script writing in the *Chubo*:

"The pioneers of the peninsula's press are actually Fukuzawa Yukichi and Gotō Shōjirō, as it was from these my two teachers that I received the commission in 1883 to go to Korea to immediately begin plans for newspaper publication. I received an appointment from the king as an advisor in the Foreign Office, and under the auspices of the Pangmun'guk we published the *Hansōng sunbo* the next year.... Due to the Kim Okkyun rebellion, the Pangmun'guk was burned down and for a time the paper had to cease publication. In the meantime, I created the mixed-script style, using it to write a biography of a Japanese cabinet minister, a history of the abolition of the American slave system, and works of various other sorts that I gave to His Majesty the King for his perusal.

"To be specially informed of conditions overseas, starting with Japan and China, His Majesty had the Tokyo newspapers and others, of which he gave me clippings to put in *ōnmun* next to the *kana*; and being so very pleased [with this] he would send a eunuch to find me time and again [to do this for him]. Afterward, with the command of His Majesty the King to publish a mixed-script newspaper I returned [briefly] again to Japan in 1885 to make preparations, and in January 1886 published the first edition of the *Hansōng chubo*.

²⁷⁶ On the various styles of mixed-script writing in the precolonial period through the twentieth century, see Im, *20-segi kuk-hanmunch'e ūi hyōngsōng kwajōng* [*The formation process of 20th-century kuk-hanmun style*].

“Of what was their first experience with a page of mixed-script writing, the *yangban* were of course contemptuous, being that it used *ǒnmun* rather than the Chinese writing, but the common folk greatly welcomed it...

“In December 1886, I returned to Japan. Afterward, the regular use of this writing style began following the Japan-Qing war, and several years after that daily newspapers again began to be published thanks to Sō Chaep’il and Yun Ch’iho. Come now all these years later and when I see the mixed-script style flourishing today, my heart is deeply moved even now at the age of eighty by the foresightedness and favor of my teacher Fukuzawa who charged me with this important work on behalf of Korea’s development. And even now I can see the sensei’s visage and the peninsula’s mountains and streams before my eyes.”

So saying, tears poured from Mr. Inoue’s aged eyes.²⁷⁷

As already noted, the *Chubo* ceased publishing articles in mixed script in October 1886 just before Inoue left Korea, confirming Inoue’s account. So too was it the case that mixed-script writing did not again receive regular use in public until the Sino-Japanese war. And of the style of mixed-script writing that began to be used in Korean government documents at that time, Hwang Hyōn 黃珉 (1855–1910) wrote in December 1894 at the height of the war: “At this time,

²⁷⁷ “漢諺混合文은 내가 作成한것” 八十老翁感淚滂沱

半島의 新聞界의 先覺者는 實로 福澤諭吉 後藤象二郎 兩先生으로 나는 明治十五年 先生의 命을 受하야 渡鮮 直時 新聞發行의 計劃에 着手하였다. 나는 國王의 信任을 어더 外衙門 顧問이 되자 博文局 主催로 그 翌年 漢城旬報를 發行하였는데... 金玉均의 內亂으로 因하야 博文局은 火災를 當하고 또 얼마 동안 休刊할 수밖게 업섯다. 이 사히에 나는 漢諺混合文을 作成하야 大日本 內閣大臣列傳 米國奴婢制度廢止의 歷史等을 數種 著하야 國王殿下의 御閱覽에 供하였는데 殿下에서는 日本, 支那等을 비롯하야 海外의 事情을 特히 알려 하시는 故로 東京 其他의 新聞을 오려서 日本(假名)여페다 諺文을 달어 드리기로 하였는데 꼭 기뻐하시여 內官이 屢次 나를 차져 왔섯다. 그 後 漢諺混合의 新聞을 發行하라는 國王殿下의 命令에 依하야 그 準備次로 十八年 更히 歸朝 十九年 一月 漢城週報 第一號를 發行 漢諺混合文의 紙面을 처음으로 試驗하였든 바 當時의 兩班들이 諺文을 中國文이 아니 라하야 蔑視하고잇섯슴에도 不拘하고 一般○크게 歡迎하야주엇다... 明治 十九年 十二月 歸朝 그 後 이 文體가 一般的으로 使用되기 始作한것은 日清戰爭以後이데 更히 數年後 徐載弼 尹致昊의 兩人에 依하야 日刊新聞이 發行되엇다. 爾來 幾星霜 漢諺文體는 今日의 隆盛을 보게 되여 朝鮮 開發을 爲하야 이 重大 事業을 나에게 附托하신 福澤 先生의 先見과 恩義를 나는 八十歲가 된 只今도 마음 기피 색여두고 先生의 溫容과 어엿는 半島의 山河를 눈아페 그려 볼 수잇다.” 이러케 말하는 氏의 老眼에는 눈물까지 ○나고잇섯다. *Maeil sinbo* 每日申報, March 5, 1938.

the *Official Gazette* as well as official documents from the provinces combine LS and the vernacular script together into phrases in *imitation of the Japanese writing style*” (emphasis added).²⁷⁸ Hwang Hyōn, the top passer of the 1885 literary licentiate examination, was a thoroughly literate man, whose writings, both LS poetry and prose, are still studied today for their historical and literary value. He would have had long firsthand experience with Korea’s *ōnhae* texts and been well acquainted with the nature of the mixed-script translational style thereof. And yet, despite such direct experience, rather than linking the new mixed-script style used in government documents to *ōnhae*, he instead characterizes it as an imitation of the Japanese writing style.

There are two key takeaways from the above examination of the origins of the precolonial Korean mixed-script style. The first is that even in this period prior to any direct interference in Korean language or education policy and despite Yu’s eliding of the fact, we can plainly see the impact that Japan’s developing language ideologies and inscriptional practices were having on those in Korea. Whether to credit Yu Kilchun or his schoolmate and colleague Inoue Kakugorō with the origins of Korea’s stand-alone mixed-script style may well be a moot point. What is clear in either case is that both were heavily influenced by the views and practices of Fukuzawa Yukichi who, well before even his mixed-script newspaper project, wrote in a Sino-Japanese mixed-script style he called *sezoku tsūyō no zokubun* 世俗通用の俗文 (“familiar,

²⁷⁸ 時京中官報及外道文移, 皆眞諺相錯, 以綴字句, 盖效日本文法也. Hyōn Hwang, *Maech’ōn yarok [Maech’ōn’s unofficial record]* (Seoul, Korea: Munhak kwa chisōngsa, 2005), 173.

common colloquial writing”), which “in vocabulary, phrasing and script... was intended for the ordinary person.”²⁷⁹

The second important takeaway is that the mixed-script writing practices originating in this period formed the nascent beginnings of a viable replacement for LS as the writing style of public documents and the medium of instruction in schools. As LS learning and use waned in the closing years of the Chosŏn dynasty it was the learning and use of a mixed-script style with clear ties to Japanese use and practice that would take its place. And as Koyama (2003) states, Korea’s mixed-script style would eventually become so closely imitative of Japanese writing that, “Japanese texts and [the] Japanese empire’s nationalist ideologies, inscribed in Sino-Japanese varieties, were almost verbatim translated into Sino-Korean varieties, most importantly by the Japanese Protectorate government from 1905, and by the Japanese Government-general of Korea from 1910 onward.”²⁸⁰

²⁷⁹ Nanette Twine, *Language and the Modern State: The Reform of Written Japanese* (London; New York: Routledge, 1991), 83.

²⁸⁰ Koyama, “Language and Its Double,” 721. An example of the eventual near interchangeability of Korean mixed-script style with Japanese mixed-script style can be seen in the November 17, 1905 Protectorate treaty. The two versions of Article 1, for example, read as follows:

Japanese original:

Nipponkoku seifu kyō Kankoku seifu wa ryō teikoku wo ketsugō suru rigai kyōtsū no shugi o kyōko narashimemu koto o
 日本國政府及韓國政府ハ兩帝國ヲ結合スル利害共通ノ主義ヲ鞏固ナラシメムコトヲ
 yoku shi Kankoku no fukyō no jitsu o nin muru ji ni itaru made simoku-teki oite hidari no jōkan o yakutei seri
 欲シ韓國ノ富強ノ實ヲ認ムル時ニ至ル迄此目的ヲ以テ左ノ條款ヲ約定セリ

Korean original:

Ilbon'guk chōngbu kŭp Han'guk chōngbu nānyang cheguk ūl kyōrhap hānān ihae kong'ong ūi chuūi rāl konggo k'e hām ūl
 日本國政府及韓國政府ニ兩帝國을結合하ᄃᄂ利害共通의主義를鞏固케함을
 yok hāya Han'guk uy pugang chi sil ūl in hāl shi e chi hāgi skaji chamok-chōk ūropsō chwa gae chogwan ūl yakchōnghām
 欲하ᄃᄂ야韓國의富強之實을認ᄃᄂ할時에至하ᄃᄂ기까지此目的으로ᄃᄂ左開條款을約定함

English translation:

The Governments of Japan and Korea, desiring to strengthen the principle of solidarity which unites the two Empires, have with that object in view agreed upon and concluded the following stipulations to serve until the moment arrives when it is recognized that Korea has attained national strength. (English translation from Chung, *Korean Treaties*, 205–9.)

3.5 Early State Efforts in New Education

The first Koreans to directly encounter Japan's new Western-style schools first hand were the members of the Kim Kisu mission sent to Japan in May 1876, a few short months after the conclusion of the Treaty of Kanghwa.²⁸¹ The mission met with Japanese officials who were eager to demonstrate the benefits of the Meiji government's program of reforms. And yet, because at the time of the mission the Korean court still understood the Treaty of Kanghwa as having a narrow regional import that entailed no more than a renewal of their country's relationship with the Japanese, the envoy who headed the mission, Kim Kisu 金綺秀 (1832-?), was reluctant to go beyond his official diplomatic mandate. In his return audience with King Kojong, Kim was circumspect with his observations and cautioned against following Japan's reforms.²⁸²

In addition to other of Japan's reform institutions, Kim's written report included a brief description of several of its new Western-style schools. Of these schools Kim wrote:

The method of instruction at their so-called “*hakkyo*” 學校 is to gather, from the age of seven or eight, the children of the gentry along with talented commoners to teach them to read and write. First the Japanese script is taught followed by instruction in sinographs, and finally from the age of sixteen they are no longer made to recite the Classics. Their major studies are astronomy, geography, and arithmetic with minor instruction in agricultural machinery, military machinery, and drafting; all done through direct observation and hands-on enquiry with not an idle moment. Even for girls there are *hakkyo* where their major studies are astronomy, geography, soldiery, and farming, and minor instruction in poetry, literature, writing, and painting, with all [the girls] made to focus on a handicraft.²⁸³

²⁸¹ In the exchange excerpted above of Sin Hōn relating details of the Kanghwa treaty negotiations to King Kojong, Sin gave a brief description of certain elements of Japan's modern educational practice that had been relayed to him by the Japanese that match those observed by Kim Kisu.

²⁸² Deuchler, *Confucian Gentlemen and Barbarian Envoys*, 52–53.

²⁸³ 其所謂‘學校’教人之法，士大夫子弟以及民之俊秀，自七八歲，教之學書習字。初教日本文字，次教漢字。至十六歲，不復使之讀經傳，大而天文地理句股之學，小而農器·軍器·圖形

The curricular and organizational characteristics of these new schools encountered in Japan were a major contrast to those of Korea's traditional educational institutions. First, new schools gave precedence to acquiring vernacular literacy rather than LS. Second, they had a multi-subject curriculum in which the Confucian canon played an increasingly marginal role as students aged. Third, they placed a primary focus on the acquisition of technical and professional skills rather than on teaching explicit morals or self-cultivation. And fourth, they were established for both girls and boys of all social classes.²⁸⁴ Kim's brief observations of Japan's new schools did not lead to any change in Korea's language or education policies. However, by the early 1880s as the court began to implement its "self-strengthening" program, new educational institutions were established that incorporated certain elements of Western-style education such as a multi-subject curriculum and professed class-blind admissions.

A goodwill embassy sent to the United States after the U.S.-Korea treaty came into effect in June 1883, triggered interest in pursuing Western-style education reforms. Headed by Queen Min's nephew, Min Yŏngik 閔泳翊 (1860–1914) with Hong Yŏngsik as vice-envoy, the embassy arrived in early September and spent almost three months in America observing the country's commercial, industrial, and military institutions and seeking advisement in

之說, 眼閱手調, 未之暫掇. 以至女子, 亦有學校, 大之天地兵農, 小之詩文書畫, 皆專一藝.” Kim Kisu, “Iltong kiyu 日東記遊” [A Record of Travels to Japan], in Kisu Kim, Kim Hongjip, and Pak Yŏnghyo, *Susinsa Kirok: Chŏn [The Complete Records of the Special Envoys]*, ed. Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe, Han'guk saryo ch'ongsŏ (Seoul, Korea: T'amgudang, 1971), 108.

²⁸⁴ The bare idea of universal male education was not unknown in Korea, though it was of course never previously implemented. In the eighteenth century, Hong Taeyong 洪大容 (1731–1783) had proposed that the state build many more schools at the provincial and county level where boys could be educated from an early age, with talented students rising only by their merit and trained to eventually be given government office. About Hong's proposal, see Yu Pangnan, “Han'guk kŭndae kyoyuk ūi tŭngjang kwa paltal [The Origin and Development of Modern Education in Korea]” (Ph.D., Seoul National University, 1995), 70.

implementing reforms. In Washington, D.C. the mission met with U.S. Education Commissioner, John Eaton (1829–1906), who provided them “with a history of the Bureau, the 1882 annual report and pamphlets concerning education.”²⁸⁵ Led by Hong, half the mission returned via San Francisco in late October, arriving back in Seoul in late December. The other half crossed the Atlantic, visiting Paris, London, and Rome, returning to Korea via the Suez Canal and arriving in Seoul in May 1884. In his return audience with King Kojong, Hong made special mention of the focus the mission had given to learning about American education, and strongly advised that Korea follow the U.S. model:

From the time of our arrival, because we did not speak their language and because our scripts are not the same, what we heard and saw was recorded but not always fully understood. And yet, there was nothing, whether machine production, ships, trains, the postal and telegraph systems, etc., that did not press itself upon our immediate attention. We especially regarded as our most important focus the country’s education system. If we model the American system, working to the utmost to cultivate our able men, then we shall have no troubles. We therefore must surely follow their methods.²⁸⁶

A further introduction to Western-style education was published in the *Hansŏng sunbo* shortly after Hong’s return. It was the first widely dispersed description of Western education, and a full-throated endorsement of its adoption in Korea. The article begins with a general and straightforward description of the organization and curriculum of the West’s school types (primary, secondary, and university), then gives further details about teacher training, subsidies for poor students, and night schools established for workers:

²⁸⁵ Gary D. Walter, “The Korean Special Mission to the United States of America in 1883,” *Journal of Korean Studies* 1, no. 1 (1969): 106, 136.

²⁸⁶ 臣等到彼言語不通文字不同,耳目所觀記把握了無所解,然一切機器製造及舟車郵電之屬,無非有國之所急務,而最是教育一事若由其法,養人材應百爲恐無甚難切須效法者矣. Kim Wŏnmo, “Charyo: kyŏnmi sajŏl Hong Yŏngsik pongmyŏng mundap [Materials: Vice-Envoy Hong Yongsik’s Report of the 1883 Korean Embassy to the United States],” *Sahakchi* 15 (1981): 226.

In the Western nations, every country has established schools to teach the people, and their schooling methods are mostly the same. Generally, schooling is divided into three levels, university, secondary school, and primary school. Primary schools are established within villages and conduct common education, teaching knowledge foundational to the everyday lives of the people.... Without regard for their social station, all boys and girls from the ages of five to thirteen may enroll.... Secondary schools are established two to three in every district and county, and those fourteen and older who have already completed common school attend. The secondary schools teach subjects in agriculture, industry, commerce, and English, and students take an emphasis in one subject that will advantage their future occupation. The universities are established in the nations' major cities and they teach such subjects as natural science, chemistry, law, and medicine. Students are all persons of great intellect and ability who aspire to a future in national administration and statecraft.

There are also special schools established called teachers' schools, where primary school subjects and pedagogy are taught, and those who complete these courses are appointed as primary school teachers. In all the various schools, each of the courses are divided into several grades and students are promoted based on their course marks, with the studious advanced and loafers expelled.

If students from poor families cannot enroll, the county or district government pays their school fees and supplies their uniforms and food to allow them to enroll. Also, for those with no time for school due to daytime labor, separate night schools are established for their instruction.²⁸⁷

The article goes on to paint a rosy picture of the salutary effects these schools had on increasing the literacy, wealth, and power of Western nations and peoples, and to not only encourage that Korea should follow suit but to claim that doing so would be a panacea for the ills afflicting the country:

All the schools are regulated by an education ministry that manages their affairs, and because of this schools increase year by year and students advance day by day. No street is without children clutching a volume, no home is without boys and girls reading books, and those with ability are without a sigh of regret, for to the nation's benefit they are fashioned into men of achievement....

²⁸⁷ 泰西諸國莫不建學校教人民，其法大畧相同，凡學校分爲大中小三等，小學校設之於閭井之間其教曰普通皆生民日用之資也.....不論貴賤男女齡五歲至十三歲許令就學.....中學校則府縣各設二三處使齡十四以上既通小學校之業者就學焉。有農業·工業·商業·洋語等科各令專究一業以資生利。大學校設於國都之中，有理學·化學·法學·醫學等諸科，而生徒皆聰明才器有志於治國經世者也。又別立學校曰師範學校，教小學校之業及教授程式待其精通以補小學校之教師。凡諸學校分其學科爲數級。察能否獎勵生徒考勤惰黜陟教師。若有貧乏不能就學者，則自府縣政府頒其楮管給其衣糧○令就學。若有晝勤生業無暇啣唔者，另建夜學校以教之... “Hakkyo [Schools],” *Hansöng sunbo*, 1884.3.19.

The order or chaos of the nation and the corruption or flourishing of public morality are related to the abundance or scarcity of able men... When I look to the Western school system, I see that the wealth and power of the Western countries is due to their creating men who have skills... If we follow the West's [educational] methods with each learning his occupation and being apportioned work according to his intellect and ability, then day by day able men will thrive, government will be enlightened, and we will be able to designate a day by which our Way will shine bright. We must cultivate, foster, sow, and protect men of vast achievement...²⁸⁸

The article's anonymous author, though clearly eager to praise Western-style education, nevertheless maintains a Neo-Confucian commitment to education as a means of moral self-cultivation in service ultimately to the state's mission of maintaining social order and bringing peace throughout the kingdom. And as we will see below, despite the differences in subsequent calls for education reform during this period, each shared this "Neo-Confucian faith in the civilizing function of education and moral self-improvement."²⁸⁹

3.5.1 The Interpreters' School and The Royal English Academy

The court's first efforts to introduce Western education were not a systematic overhaul of its educational institutions, but rather the establishment of a language school for training interpreters. After concluding the Korea-U.S. treaty in 1882, the Korean court began recruiting foreign advisers and experts in various fields, including military, education, customs, and commerce. As the roles and responsibilities of these foreign advisors within the Korean

²⁸⁸ 皆自文部省統之監督事務, 故學校歲增生徒日進, 道無不挾冊童幼, 戶宇不讀書男女, 有才無不充之歎爲國享作人之功.....國家之理亂世教之汙隆惟係人材之衆寡.....余觀西國學制推以知西國之富強由於作人之有術也.....如西國之法各受其業賢能分職, 俊彥日章治教之熙治, 吾道之光明指日可期, 而蓄養植庇待人宏功... Ibid.

²⁸⁹ Kenneth M. Wells, *New God, New Nation: Protestants and Self-Reconstruction Nationalism in Korea, 1896-1937* (Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, 1990), 12.

government grew, so did the need for interpreters who could help them carry out their work.²⁹⁰ In September 1883, an interpreters' school, known as the Tongmunhak 同文學 (School of Combined Learning), was established for the training of English language interpreters, and in addition to English, Japanese and arithmetic were also sometimes taught.²⁹¹ The Chosŏn dynasty's Sayŏgwŏn 司譯院 (Office of Interpreters and Translators) had of course long trained specialists in the languages of Korea's regional neighbors, including Chinese, Japanese, Mongolian, and Jurchen/Manchu. But as the previously cited exchange between Kojong the Kanghwa Treaty's chief negotiator, Sin Hŏn, shows, the traditionally trained interpreters were not well equipped to handle the demands of modern diplomatic exchanges such as treaty negotiations. Thus, though this effort is notable for being the first time a European language was taught in Korea, just as unprecedented and perhaps more significant was that fact that this new effort in training language specialists broke from past practice by operating separate from the Sayŏgwŏn. The new school was instead controlled by the newly founded Foreign Office, a powerful government entity founded in the wake of the 1882 riots to institute and manage reforms to the country's diplomatic and commercial affairs.

²⁹⁰ According to a December 1883 report in the *Hansŏng sunbo*, twenty-eight foreign advisors were employed by the Korean government in Seoul, Pusan and Wŏnsan. See Pak Sŏngnae, "Han'guk kŭndae ūi sŏyangŏ t'ongyŏksa: 1883 nyŏn put'ŏ 1886 nyŏn kkaji [The History of Interpretation of Western Languages in Korea: 1883-1886]," *Kukche chiyŏk yŏn'gu* 7, no. 1 (2003): 361–62.

²⁹¹ Named for a similarly named Chinese educational institution, the *Tongwen guan* 同文館, the interpreters' school was organized under the direction of King Kojong's new German advisor, Paul Georg von Möllendorff (1847–1901). English instruction was conducted by two Chinese acquaintances of Möllendorff, Wu Zhongxian 吳仲賢 and Tang Shaowei 唐紹威, who had both studied English in the United States, as well as by a British sailor and telegraph officer, Thomas E. Halifax (1832–1908), who had previously taught English intermittently for four years while in Japan.

Evidence of the Foreign Office's reforming influence can be seen in its directive that the new interpreter's school accept as students "even the sons of farmers, industrialists, businessmen, and merchants, and, considerations shall be given to (the applicants') academic aptitude irrespective of class background."²⁹² Whether the sons of farmers, industrialists, businessmen, and merchants ever actually enrolled in the school is unclear, but in at least several cases the sons of *yangban* did, which was itself was a novel development. Throughout the Chosŏn dynasty, translators and interpreters came from the hereditary class of technical specialists known as the *chungin* 中人 (middle people) whose class segregation from the *yangban* was well established by mid Chosŏn and grew stronger with time. One driver of this segregation was that the technical learning and occupations of the *chungin* were considered beneath the dignity of the *yangban*, who valued instead the lofty, generalist learning of Confucian moral philosophy and self-cultivation. Still, for certain *yangban* with less disdain for technical learning, the establishment of the interpreters' school allowed them to pursue government office and career advancement outside of the traditional path of the civil service examinations. A February 1886 *Hansŏng chubo* article noted the interpreters' school's success in gaining government appointments for its graduates:

The Foreign Office established the Tongmunhakkyo and appointed the Englishman Thomas E. Halifax as instructor. Bright boys fifteen years and older were selected and taught to write and speak the English language.... Every year in June and December their skills are tested, and the outstanding men are promoted. Among those of the top rank who have already been appointed to an office are Namgung Ŏk 南宮億, Sin Nakkyun 申洛均, Kwŏn Chungnin 權鍾麟, Hong Ugwan 洪禹觀, Sŏng Igyŏng 成翊永, and Kim Kyuhŭi 金奎熙. It is reported that they are of great benefit to the furtherance of our commercial trade. Yi Ch'ŏrŭi 李喆儀, Yu Hŭngnyŏl 柳興烈, Yi Chayŏn 李子淵, and Song Talhyŏn

²⁹² EunGyong Kim-Rivera, "The Government's Role in the Early Development of English Language Education in Korea (1883–1945)" (Ph.D., The University of Texas at Austin, 2001), 37.

宋達顯 have been dispatched to the Electrification Bureau and are studying concurrently. They are said to be both agile and proficient and are regularly employed.²⁹³

Namgung Ŏk (1863–1938) mentioned here is perhaps the school’s most well-known graduate. From a *yangban* family, he had studied since childhood to sit for the civil service exam when at age twenty he decided instead to enroll at the new interpreters’ school to study English.²⁹⁴ After graduating in the top of his class, he was appointed as a clerk at the Home Office. In 1887 he travelled as the chief secretary to the envoy of a diplomatic mission to England, Germany, and Russia, a position normally given to an examination passer. Given his training prior to attending the interpreters’ school, Namgung would have of course been literate in LS, but his success in gaining government office and advancing his career without passing the civil service examination is an early example of the way new educational avenues to office and career were being opened as a result of the state’s reform efforts.²⁹⁵ Though the interpreters’ school lasted only three years before its function was taken over by a new state school, protestant missionary

²⁹³ 總理衙門設立同文學校延○英人奚來百士選職俊子第十五歲以上人教之以英文英語... 每歲夏季冬臘藝攷講援尤漢進其中優等 學徒 南宮櫨·申洛均·權鍾麟·洪禹觀·成翊永·金奎熙已府官○用交際商務將見裨益. 李喆儀·柳興烈·李子淵·宋達顯電局學習行走通敏○○俱堪○進去. “Tongmunhakkyo [The Interpreters’ School],” *Hansŏng chubo*, 1886.2.22.

²⁹⁴ According to Yuh (2008), other “famous graduates of the school are Min Sang-ho, Yun Chŏngsik, Sin Nakkyun, [and] Yi Chinho who was a provincial governor in the 1910’s and who held the highest position in the colonial government for a Korean in the 1920s...”

²⁹⁵ Namgung would go on to even further career heights as a journalist, an educator, and an independentista. Following the murder of Korea’s Queen Min and the removal of King Kojong to the Russian legation in 1896, Namgung became a founding member of the Independence Association along with Sŏ Chaep’il 徐載弼 (1864–1951) and Yi Sangjae 李商在 (1850–1927). In 1898 he helped found, then served as president of, the influential daily the *Hwangsŏng sinmun* 皇城新聞 (*Capital Gazette*). In 1905 he was appointed as county magistrate in Yangyang, founded Hyŏnsan School there a year later, and in 1908 founded the education magazine *Kyoyuk wŏlbo* 教育月報 (*Education Monthly*) that published in a pure Korean-alphabetic style.

Daniel Gifford would record a decade after its closing that fifteen of the school's former students still held positions in the country's various ports and government offices.²⁹⁶

When Min Yŏngik finally returned to Korea in May 1884, like Hong Yŏngsik, he too “recommended the establishment of an educational system modelled after American education,”²⁹⁷ and in July, Kojong requested “U.S. Minister Foote to recommend three American teachers to come to Korea to teach and help establish a western-style school.”²⁹⁸ The attempted coup d'état in December that year and the slow response of the U.S. State Department to Kojong's request would delay the establishment of a school for two more years, but the request for instructors was eventually passed on to John Eaton, who recruited Homer B. Hulbert (1863–1949), Dalzell A. Bunker (1853–1932), and George William Gilmore (1841–1912).²⁹⁹ In September 1886, the Yugyŏng kongwŏn 育英公院, commonly known as the Royal English Academy, was founded, replacing and expanding on the functions of the interpreters' school. This new school was divided into two divisions, a “left class” made up of ten younger low-ranking officials and a “right class” of twenty talented young men aged fifteen to twenty. The multi-subject curriculum set forth in the school's founding regulations began with basic English language literacy and arithmetic and advanced to subjects in higher mathematics, medicine, agriculture, geography, astronomy, history, political economy, and international law. The

²⁹⁶ Daniel L. Gifford, “Education in the Capital of Korea, I,” *The Korean Repository* 3, no. 7 (July 1896): 284–85.

²⁹⁷ Leighanne Yuh, “Guns, Farms, and Foreign Languages: The Introduction of Western Learning and the First Government Schools in Late Nineteenth-Century Korea,” *Paedagogica Historica* 52, no. 6 (2016): 585.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁹ Lark-June George Paik, “The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910” (Ph.D., Yale University, 1927), 135.

regulations also specified, however, that “such [subjects] as *hanmun* and the Classics and Histories must be continued from the beginning to the end [of the curriculum].”³⁰⁰ The American instructors of course did not teach these subjects, and it is unclear whether instruction in LS or lectures on Confucian texts by native instructors were ever taught at the school. What is clear from the admonition that students continue in their traditional learning is that, in line with the court’s then dominant *tongdo sŏgi* ideology, the knowledge and skills offered at the academy school were not intended as a replacement for a traditional education centered on mastering the LS-based Confucian canon, but rather as a supplement to it.

Throughout its eight years of operation, the school struggled to recruit and retain students. Its first cohort was recruited from the Seoul-based *yangban* families, but in subsequent years *chungin* students too were enrolled. Leighanne Yuh (2015) explains how the old class-based prejudices of the *yangban* students against technical studies, which they associated with the *chungin*, served as a disincentive for *yangban* to enroll or remain at the school: “Due to the fact that modern Western education was more analogous to the practical and technical education of the *chungin*, the subjects of study the American instructors imported to Korea in 1886 to the classically trained Korean *yangban* appeared demeaning, if not disgraceful.... After centuries of eschewing technical training, it is unsurprising the *yangban* would regard American teaching methods with a healthy amount of distrust.”³⁰¹ Yuh further explains that despite the American instructors’ praise for the hard work and excellence of the younger students, many of whom were *chungin*, only *yangban* graduates were appointed to high positions close to the court. “The

³⁰⁰ 如漢文, 經史, 原始終不已. *Kojong sillok*, v. 23, Kojong 23(1886).08.01 #2.

³⁰¹ Leighanne Kimberly Yuh, “The Royal English Academy: Korea’s First Instance of American-Style Education and the Making of Modern Korean Officials, 1886–1894,” *Sungkyunkwan University Journal of East Asian Studies* 15, no. 1 (2015): 123–24.

continued marginalization of the *chungin* and their denial of employment to the highest government positions despite their commendable academic performance almost guaranteed their eventual discouragement and decline in enrollment.”³⁰² Still, like the interpreter’s school before it, the Royal English Academy provided a path for some students to career and social advancement through education in non-traditional knowledge and skills taught in a language other than LS, marking it as an important precedent for the eventual marginalization of LS.

3.6 Further Calls for Education Reform and the Place of Literary Sinitic

The on-going question of how and to what extent Western learning and educational methods should be integrated with Korean education was a matter that continued to be addressed in articles published in the *Chubo* and in memorials to the King. Central to the proposals made in these articles and memorials was the question of what the medium of instruction should be. Two lengthy 1886 *Chubo* articles calling for education reform and an 1888 memorial submitted by Pak Yŏnghyo from his exile in Japan each addressed this question.

The first of the *Chubo* articles, “On School Administration” (“Non Hakchŏng 論學政”), was serialized in three parts from January 25th to February 15th. The second article, “Spreading Schools” (“Kwang hakkyo 廣學校”), published October 15th, was a reprint of an essay in the Chinese newspaper *Zilin hubao* 字林滬報³⁰³ on proposed education reforms in China. Like the 1884 essay in the *Sunbo*, both 1886 essays gave detailed descriptions of the basic curriculum and organizational structure of Western educational systems, both emphasized that education in

³⁰² Ibid., 124.

³⁰³ Published in Shanghai from 1882–1900, the *Zilin hubao* was the Chinese edition of the *North-China Daily News*.

Western skills and knowhow would be vital to the future strength and prosperity of their respective countries, and both encouraged a reformation of their countries' educational systems modeled in part on Western systems. They differed significantly, however, in their suggestions for what the medium of instruction should be and how best to incorporate Western learning into the curriculum.

Part one of "On School Administration" was largely a rewrite of the 1884 *Sunbo* article, including the rosy depiction of a West with 100% child literacy rates and the appeal to Western education as a cure-all for the country's current problems. Different from the *Sunbo* article, however, the anonymous author added an additional framing to the proposed adoption of Western education as being not a rejection of Korea's past but a restoration of a golden age when Korean education is supposed to have been effective in bringing prosperity and good governance from the King's palace to every provincial village. Such a framing served to make the call for reforming education more Confucian in its character, since a prominent trope in Confucian discourse was that any current ills were the result of having deviated from a golden-age past. With this new framing, then, the author sought to justify the adoption of Western-style education by depicting it not as an abandonment of revered tradition, but as a restoration of past practice. Part two described Western technical education in agriculture, medicine, industry, and commerce, advocating for its adoption in Korea, while in part three the place of Western learning within the curriculum and the medium of instruction was the primary focus. Here the author takes square aim at traditional LS literacy instruction arguing that schools should train students first in vernacular literacy. He briefly described the Western alphabet, comparing it to the Korean alphabet, and explained that its simplicity allowed for students of whatever means to quickly acquire vernacular literacy. He also contrasted the simplicity and efficiency of vernacular

literacy training with the laborious and time-consuming rote recitations required of students

learning LS:

The universities, secondary schools, and primary schools of Europe all teach using their own country's script and language, and there is nothing about which they do not know. Their script has twenty-six graphs, and words are made by the linking together of graphs so that sounds are variously formed according to their arrangement—not any differently than our country's *õnmun*. Beginning students are drilled in these letters so that they can read and write straightway in only two- or three-months' time. And since all their books are written therein, it is possible to understand their meaning clearly without investing effort at the beginning in oral recitations. Even the poor who have no resources can learn in one month to use words and expressions adequately. If we compare this to the education system of the East, the gap in convenience is greater than that between heaven and earth.³⁰⁴

Given the convenience of vernacular literacy, the author recommended that schools be established where students are first taught to read and write in the vernacular with Confucian and Western works taught side by side using vernacular translations, thus proposing a severing of the deep connection between LS literacy and Confucian learning. Instead, he suggested that LS could be taught after basic vernacular literacy was acquired to those with the means and desire to spend further decades becoming expert Confucians. Such a proposal would reverse the relationship between LS and the vernacular, making LS literacy supplemental to a foundational literacy in vernacular writing:

Therefore, our country too should establish schools and use *õnmun*, so that, from the works of Confucius and Mencius to the Westerners' works on commercial techniques, we may teach students to read them all using *õnmun* translations. Then, if there are those without financial hardship who can afford decades more of study, they may be trained in

³⁰⁴ 凡歐洲大中小學校皆教以本國文字言語，事物無有所沮而其文以二十六子母相連相生分合成聲與我國諺文尾無殊異，以之教習初學者費工二三朔便可讀書作文以之記迷凡百書籍初不用力於誦讀，亦可曉解義理。或為貧民無資者雖學一朔文辭足用，比於東洋學制則便否不○脊壤也。“Non Hakchõng, Che Sam 論學政 第三 [On School Administration, part 3],” *Hansõng chubo*, 1886.2.15, issue 3, pp. 7–9.

hanmun secondarily to become great Confucians (*hongyu* 鴻儒). In doing this, schools will become common and convenient, and education will be thoroughly harnessed.³⁰⁵

Finally, knowing that the creation and distribution of a large corpus of vernacular translations of both Confucian and Western works would be a massive undertaking, the author asked that “those in authority discuss the special establishment of a government translation bureau (*pōnyōkch’ō* 繙譯處) where each field of scholarship may be entirely recorded in *ōnmun* and published in separate works distributed throughout the country; thereby instilling in *yangban* and commoner alike an appreciation for the convenience [of *ōnmun*].”³⁰⁶ Having spent so many pages arguing that its education systems were the cause of the West’s technological and civilizational progress, the author ended by assuring his audience that Korea too might attain comparable civilizational progress if only it embraced vernacular literacy. Citing praise supposedly heard in the West, the article meant to foster a sense of national pride in the Korean alphabet. In so doing it may well be the original articulation of Korea’s modern script nationalism:

In the West it is heard said: “Korea has a form of writing in their country, that is superior to any of the Eastern nations in simplicity and convenience. If Korea’s scholars and commoners alike used the country’s writing so that all might realize its usefulness, then their government and education would surely be the crown of the Orient.”³⁰⁷

Published in mid-October eight and a half months after “On School Administration,” the editors’ introduction to the second essay, “Spreading Schools,” makes it clear that its publication

³⁰⁵ 然則我國設立學校，亦當以諺文教習學生，自孔孟聖賢之書以至歐人殖貨之術皆用諺文繙誦之，數十年就學無累於家計者則傍令學習漢文可做鴻儒，如是則學校普遍教化周治矣。Ibid.

³⁰⁶ 我國素無分類學科之制，況於近時始開之學術教之以諺書，則學士大夫舉皆耻於入學矣。惟願秉軸諸公議自政府特設繙譯處，盡以諺文記述各種學科另成一冊頒布國內，使士民周知其便。Ibid.

³⁰⁷ 西語曰：“朝鮮有邦文，比於東洋各國尤為簡便，若朝鮮士民利用邦文咸得其宜，則其政學政必冠於東洋”云。Ibid.

is a direct response, even a corrective, to “On School Administration.” Important here to note is that these two essays bookend the period of Inoue Kakugorō’s involvement with the *Chubo*, as it was shortly after the publication of the second essay that he returned to Japan. As discussed previously, Inoue claimed that it was with Kojong’s encouragement that he had played a key role in restarting the newspaper’s publication following the destruction of the *Sunbo*’s office and press. Besides his insistence on including mixed-script and vernacular-only articles in the paper, we may guess that his presence also had an influence on the paper’s editorial stance, which, as we have seen, was more bullish on progressive reform early on. Unlike the first essay’s enthusiastic advocacy for the wholesale adoption of a Western-style education system that taught LS literacy as ancillary, even optional to a foundation in vernacular literacy, this second essay instead fit with a *tongdo sŏgi* approach to education; perhaps a cause or consequence of Inoue’s departure. The introduction reads:

There is nothing more important to the nation’s cultivation of able men than schools. For this reason, the very first issues published by this newspaper featured a three-part essay on school administration. However, its wording was inarticulate and its [proposed] regulations were unclear, such that we continue to regret the narrowness of its ideas. Recently, we have read Wang Shaotang 王芍棠 in the *Zilin Hubao* on the spreading of schools. His powerful words and impressive arguments on the one hand rush headlong into both past and present, but also cover the width and breadth of both East and West to propose an education system appropriate for the current situation. Having read his writings we have realized that our previous views were frivolous. We therefore present his writings here.³⁰⁸

With this endorsement of Wang’s ideas, his essay was then printed in full. Wang began with a scathing rebuke of Confucians whom he accuses of rejecting Western learning simply on the grounds that it bears the name “Western.” If only these Confucians were more widely read,

³⁰⁸ 國家之植養人材莫先乎學，故本館於初刊之初著，有論學政三篇，然言譚未暢條規未○尚恨管蠡之局於褊不近。閱滬報載王芍棠先生廣學校，一則其雄辭宏辯馳騁古今，縱橫東西因○制宜洞中時局，讀來不覺宵喪茲庸，登錄於此。“Kwang Hakkyo [Spreading Schools],” *Hansŏng chubo*, 1886.10.11, issue 32, p. 7.

he claimed, they would realize that so-called “Western learning” has its actual origins in the learning of China:

In the fostering of able men, if we are to attack the West’s shield then we must borrow their spear. How then can we throw out what we call “Western learning”? Besides, Western learning is not merely the learning of Westerners. By its being called “Western learning” Confucians consider its incompatibility to be something shameful. But if they knew that its origins were in Chinese learning, then these same Confucians would surely take their ignorance of it to be shameful.³⁰⁹

Wang then detailed a number of Western sciences and technologies—including astronomical and calendrical sciences, chemistry, mechanics, optics, steam power, and electricity—which he claims have their origins in Chinese learning. For example, according to Wang, the West’s astronomical and calendrical sciences have their origins in the cosmological theorizing found in such Han Dynasty works as the *Gnomon of Zhou* (*Zhoubi suanjing* 周髀算經) and the lost apocryphal text *Embracement of the Original Mandate in the Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu yuanming bao* 春秋元命苞). “The West’s scholars,” wrote Wang, “having pursued and developed [these fields and technologies] to their root causes have created what we may call ‘strange and wanton technologies’ (*jiqi yin qiao* 奇技淫巧), but we cannot escape that their origins are in the works of China.”³¹⁰

Next, he detailed the curriculum and organizational structure of Western schools and then turned to how the Chinese government ought to go about integrating Western knowledge and technologies into its national curriculum:

In recent years the Foreign Office has sent youth to the West who travel vast distances for study. This is a very good method, but the thinking underlying it is utterly wrong. What does a child even know? Their youthful passions are yet unsettled, and so they are

³⁰⁹ 培養人材攻彼之盾即藉[借]彼之矛維謂西學可廢哉? 又況西學者非僅西人之學也。名爲西學則儒者以非類爲耻, 知其本出於中國之學則儒者當以不知爲耻。Ibid.

³¹⁰ 泰西智士從而推衍其緒, 而精○名言奇技淫巧, 本不能出中國載籍之外。Ibid.

temperamentally more susceptible to corrupt scheming. They are more likely to lose their foundations and completely throw out their previous learning, so that we fear [the West's] learning will turn them completely into barbarians.³¹¹

This fear of the corrupting influence that traveling abroad could have on the young was a live issue in Korea too. It was not yet two years since a cadre of young officials who had travelled to Japan for study had, after returning to Korea, attempted to violently overthrow the government. It is not difficult to understand why then the *Chubo* editors would embrace Wang's more cautious approach to imparting Western learning to the young as a safer alternative:

It would be better to acquire the West's useful books, analyzing them carefully point by point and publishing clear translations of them in Chinese writing (*hwamun* 華文) to be placed in every government office and school. Then in each school establish a separate course specifically taught by someone well-versed in [Western] astronomy, geography, shipping and navigation, chemistry, medicine, language, writing, and law—perhaps someone who has completed their studies in the West and returned home.... Were this done, then able men would increase almost daily, and the atmosphere would daily become more enlightened such that not only would we be able to learn the strengths of the Westerners, but what difficulty would we have in besting them?³¹²

Rather than sending young students to the West where they might be corrupted and abandon their foundation in Chinese learning, Wang reasoned that Western learning should be selectively brought to the students. To do this, useful Western books should be acquired, carefully analyzed so as to be understood properly, and then translated into Sinitic. To his original Chinese audience this proposal to translate Western works into Sinitic would have been self-evident. When reprinted and endorsed in the *Chubo*, however, this was a major reversal. It ran completely counter to the paper's previous proposal to translate both Confucian and Western works into

³¹¹ 在近年[雍]我朝總理衙門派幼童出洋學習萬里從游,法至良意至苦矣。但童子何知,血氣未定,性情心術愈○○愈失其本來盡棄其學,而學恐盡變於○者也。Ibid.

³¹² 不如將西國有用之書,條分縷晰譯以華文刊行各置省書院,每院特設一科○精於泰西之天算·地球·船政·化學·醫學及言語·文字·律例者爲之教習或○以出洋學習之學成返國者當之...庶幾人材日廣風氣,日開不○○西人○○,何難○西人而上之哉? Ibid.

vernacular Korean, with LS literacy relegated solely to advanced Confucian training. By their endorsement of Wang's proposal, the *Chubo* editors were calling for a strengthened role for LS in Korea, and in line with this proposal, from its subsequent edition to the end of its run in March 1888, the *Chubo* ceased publishing mixed-script and pure Korean-alphabetic style articles.

A final proposal for education reform during this period that addressed the language question was Pak Yŏnghyo's 1888 memorial to King Kojong written while in exile in Japan. The memorial dealt with a wide range of issues and laid out numerous proposals for social and governmental reform. On the matter of education reform, Pak argued that a properly constituted education system teaching the right subjects and skills would be vital to addressing and solving the country's other problems: "To get at the roots of the problem teach the people proper skills, virtue, culture, and arts." He then gave ten proposals for education reform, the first four of which were as follows:

1. Establish primary and secondary schools allowing boys and girls six and older, to all attend school and take classes.
2. Establish schools for adults and using *hanmun* or perhaps *ŏnmun* translations of [Western] books on government, finance, domestic and international law, history, geography, arithmetic, physics, chemistry, etc. teach young officials, or recruit mature scholars from the eight provinces and teach them. Then, once they finish their studies, test them using the method of the state examinations to select and appoint civil officials.
3. First teach the people the national history (*kuksa* 國史), the national language (*kugŏ* 國語), and the national writing (*kungmun* 國文). (By not having taught the history and writing of this country, teaching instead only the history and writing of China, the people consider China to be the root and so attach importance to it. We have, therefore, arrived at a situation in which they do not know the writings of their own country. Thus, what this can be called is a case of "abandoning the roots to deal with the branches.")
4. Hire foreigners to teach the people law, finance, politics, medicine, natural science, and other abilities and skills.³¹³

³¹³ 教民才德文藝以治本:

一 設小中學校, 使男女六歲以上, 皆就校受學事.

With regard to the intersection of education and language policy, many of these proposals were not new. Pak's call for the establishment of a system of primary and secondary schools offering universal childhood education regardless of sex and class had been proposed in the 1884 *Sunbo* article. Also, save for the additional suggestion that the vernacular too might be used in the translation of Western materials, his proposal that civil officials be chosen through a state examination system that tested them on their knowledge of Western works translated into either LS or the vernacular is similar to Chi Sōgyōng's recommendation in his 1882 memorial discussed previously. Both argued that selection to government office should be based on officials' acquisition of Western learning through the medium of LS translation. Next, his recommendation that vernacular literacy be taught to the people prior to LS was a key argument in the first of the *Chubo* articles. And finally, his call for the hiring of foreign teachers came as the government was already employing foreigners to teach on Western educational subjects at the Royal English Academy and had been doing so since the 1883 founding of the interpreters' school.

一 設壯年校, 以漢文或以諺文譯政治·財政·內外法律·歷史·地理及算術·理化學大意等書, 教官人之少壯者, 或徵壯年之士于八道以教之. 待其成業, 以科學之法試之, 而擇用於文官事.

一 先教人民以國史及國語國文事. 【不教本國之歷史文章, 而但教清國之歷史文章, 故人民以清爲本而重之, 至有不知自國之典, 故者此可謂捨本取末也.】

一 雇外國人 教人民以法律財政政治醫術窮理及諸才藝事.

Gaimushō, "Pak Yōnghyo Kōnbaeksō 朴泳孝建白書 [Pak Yōnghyo's Memorial]," in *Nihon Gaikō Bunsho* 日本外交文書 [Documents on Japanese Foreign Policy], vol. 21 (Tokyo, Japan: Gaimushō, 1945), 292–311. The remaining proposals were to 5) found type, manufacture paper, establish a press, and copiously publish books; 6) establish a museum to expand the public's knowledge; 7) have knowledgeable persons periodically give public lectures on world affairs in order to change the people's outdated views; 8) make foreign language learning more universal so that diplomatic exchange and goodwill are more convenient; 9) change regulations to allow the public to establish, print, and sell newspapers; and 10) regardless of the religion allow for religious tolerance, granting the people freedom of thought.

What *is* new in Pak’s memorial is the introduction of ethno-nationalist ideology into Korean discourse on language and education. This can be seen in his insistence that the nation—its history, language, and writing—be the primary subject of the peoples’ early education, and in his use of new terminology for these subjects that would have a profound impact on language ideologies in the decades to come. Pak employed the term “*kungmun*” for vernacular writing and paired it with the terms “*kugŏ*” (“national language”) and “*kuksa*” (“national history”). These terms previously would have taken some qualifying determinative for their antecedent to be understood.³¹⁴ In Japan, however, with the rise of its nationalist discourse these terms (respectively “*kokubun*,” “*kokugo*,” and “*kokusi*” in Japanese) came to have only a single possible antecedent, the Japanese nation. Pak had clearly been influenced by this discourse and his memorial is the beginning of its adoption in Korean.³¹⁵ As will be further discussed in the next chapter, after 1894, rather than denoting the writing of some unspecified place or country, the use of the bare term “*kungmun*” to mean solely the “national writing of Korea” excluded LS from that role and elevated vernacular writing to the status of national symbol. And when paired with “*hanmun*,” it facilitated the discursive marginalization of LS as just the writing of a foreign ethnic other.³¹⁶

³¹⁴ In the case of “*kungmun*” for example, one would typically expect something like the following: *pon-kungmun* 本國文 (“this country’s writing,” J. *hon-kokubun*), *a-kungmun* 我國文 (“our country’s writing,” J. *ga-kokubun*), *ki-kungmun* 其國文 (“their country’s writing,” J. *ki-kokubun*), etc.

³¹⁵ Pak’s introduction of these terms into Korean discourse looks to have been self-conscious and deliberate. In his parenthetical explanation for why he believes Korea’s history, language, and writing should be taught prior to China’s he seems to presume that his Korean audience might not understand the terms without clarification and so does not repeat them but instead glosses their meaning with the phrase “the history and writing of this country” (*pon-guk chi yŏksa-munjang* 本國之歷史文章).

³¹⁶ Pak’s mild anti-Chinese sentiment in the admonition to prioritize national history, language, and writing over Chinese history and writing was another aspect of his nationalist discourse.

A commitment to the reform of Korean education and the incorporation of Western learning within a new curriculum is evident in both *Chubo* articles and in Pak's memorial. Still, their proposals for how to do so and what role LS should play in instruction could not be more different. This evinces that for all its continuity in matters linguistic and educational, this period was nevertheless one of competing educational values and contested language ideologies.

What prevented these and other education reform proposals from being put into action, however, was not their differences but what they shared in common. Despite their differences, they all shared the view—a continuation of Korea's traditional state education ideologies, that the ultimate telos of education was the attainment of government office. This was a shared value of both the *tongdo sŏgi* and progressive reformers. As so clearly articulated in the 1884 *Sunbo* essay, this shared belief was that “[t]he order or chaos of the state and the corruption or flourishing of public morality are related to the abundance or scarcity of able men” and that “the wealth and power of the Western countries is due to their creating skilled men.” Even the progressive calls for education reform like Pak's, though they may have advocated a more class-egalitarian approach to recruitment, promoted education reforms that were to terminate in state examinations and the careful selection and training of able men for the purpose of staffing and leading government offices. This, argues Yuh (2015), is why the Royal English Academy struggled mightily to retain and recruit both students and instructors and ultimately failed to achieve its aims. With the aims of Chosŏn education still so fully directed at passing the civil service examinations and achieving government office, any course of study which either diminished one's ability to prepare for the exams or that added extra burdens to one's work or

Following the expulsion of Chinese troops and advisors from the peninsula and the return of the progressive reformers from exile in Japan after China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese war, anti-Chinese sentiment would cease in its mildness and become a central tenet of anti-LS writings.

study without clear benefits to career and status advancement was simply too unattractive to garner significant participation or support.

Yi Haemyŏng (1991) likewise argues that the greatest hindrance to the development of a modern education system in Korea was the disconnect between the kind of knowledge such an education provided and the social, political, or financial rewards offered for that knowledge.³¹⁷ Until the aims of education could be directed more fully away from preparation for the Confucian civil service examinations and eventual government office holding, little progress would be made in establishing modern educational institutions, to say nothing of an entire modern education system.

This disconnect reveals the underlying instability in the ideologies of both reform factions, but particularly in the *tongdo sŏgi* faction. The pace of political and social change in the region and the pressure brought by imperialist aggression made the preservation *in situ* of existing Confucian customs, ritual, and social ethics all but impossible. And the desire to adopt the West's beneficial technology and skills while excluding other of its doctrines and ideologies would prove untenable given that the West's technological knowhow were themselves a product of commercial, governmental, educational, and other systems rooted in Western modernity and its underlying ideologies. Thus, a Korean-founded system of modern educational institutions would prove to be possible only once significant elements of Korea's traditional institutions, particularly the mutually dependent and reinforcing civil service examination and *yangban* status systems were dismantled. It is unsurprising then that in this period it was the Protestant missionaries, with their very different education ideologies and ultimate aims, who were able to

³¹⁷ Yi Haemyŏng, *Kaehwagi kyoyuk kaehyŏk yŏn'gu* [A study of Korean Enlightenment-Period education reforms] (Seoul: Ŭryu munhwasa, 1991), 287.

establish Korea's first lasting modern education system. And it was within the mission schools that LS instruction first developed its modern character as a single, separate, and increasingly secondary subject within a multi-subject curriculum.

3.7 Missionary Schools and Literary Sinitic Instruction

Though the 1882 U.S.-Korea treaty did not expressly grant permission to evangelize, American Protestants, particularly the Methodist and Presbyterian churches, nevertheless saw an opportunity to eventually open the peninsula to mission work.³¹⁸ The writings of William Elliot Griffis³¹⁹ described the Korean cultural and educational situation as benighted and bigoted due to the pagan and superstitious doctrines and customs of Confucianism and Buddhism, but held out the promise to missionaries that the institutions of Western civilization, above all Christian churches and schools, could transform Korea:

It is evident from all the information gathered from sources within and without the hermit nation, that though there is culture of a certain sort among the upper classes, there is little popular education worthy of a name.... The Confucian temples and halls of scholars, the memorial stones and walls inscribed with historical tablets and moral maxims, the lectures and discussions of literary coteries, and the poetry parties concentrate learning rather than diffuse it. The nobles and wealthy scholars, the few monasteries and the government offices possess libraries, but these are but dead Chinese to the common

³¹⁸ Presbyterian Horace Grant Underwood, the first clerical missionary to enter Korea, would write in 1893 that the 1882 U.S.-Korea treaty was an act of God in answer to Christian prayers for the opening of Korea to evangelization: "The Church of Christ, realizing that God had commanded her to carry His Gospel to the ends of the world, bowed in prayer before her Father, asking that the seals might be broken and that the doors might be open to the Gospel, and in answer to her prayers God opened Korea by treaty in 1882." Horace Grant Underwood, "The 'To-Day' from Korea," *The Missionary Review of the World* 16, no. 12 (November 1893): 813.

³¹⁹ Recall from the introductory chapter that Griffis was an early educator and missionary in Japan and would not travel to Korea until the 1920s. Griffis' *Corea: The Hermit Nation* (1882) was an especially influential work. Reissued in nine updated editions between 1882 and 1911, Griffis would write in the preface to the seventh edition in 1904 that, "this book, besides enjoying popular favor, has been made good use of by writers and students, in Europe and America, and has also served even in Korea itself as the first book of general information to be read by missionaries and other new comers."

people.... Science and the press, newspapers and hospitals, clocks and petroleum, and, more than all, churches and school-houses, have yet a mighty work to do in the Land of Morning Calm.³²⁰

Presbyterian medical missionary Horace Newton Allen (1858–1932), was the first missionary to enter Korea, arriving there in late September 1884. While serving as “the physician to the U.S. Legation until full opportunities open to prosecute active Christian work,”³²¹ Allen’s medical intervention saved the life of Min Yŏngik and others severely wounded in the December coup, thus demonstrating the effectiveness of Western medicine and endearing him to King Kojong and the royal family.³²² Despite the political unrest, Griffis proclaimed confidently that Korea was ripe for a Christian conversion that would strengthen and enlighten the nation:

The recent disturbances in the capital are not likely seriously to retard the spread of the gospel. Its steady propagation is sure to go on. The heathen gates, unbolted and already ajar, will soon be flung open wide, and Christian churches stand on the soil so long cursed with superstition. The interior too, we hope, may soon be traversed by the bearers of an open Bible and Christ’s free Evangel. Then will Corea take her place among the nations which, once sitting in darkness, have seen a great Light.³²³

Allen was soon joined by fellow Presbyterian missionary Horace Grant Underwood (1859–1916) who arrived in early April 1885, “to engage in English school-work until he should be permitted to freely preach the Gospel.”³²⁴ In early May the first Methodist medical missionary

³²⁰ William Elliot Griffis, *Corea, the Hermit Nation* (New York: Scribner, 1882), 344.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, 302.

³²² Gunshik Shim, “Methodist Medical Mission in Korea,” *Methodist History* 46, no. 1 (2007): 36.

³²³ Griffis, 303.

³²⁴ See Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *The Forty-Eighth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (New York, NY: Edward O. Jenkin’s Sons, 1885), 130. Underwood would report of this early English-language teaching that his aim in doing so was to learn about the people and their language: “Desirous, then, of having as many opportunities as possible for the study of the Koreans as well as of Korean, one of the first means that suggested itself to us was that of starting classes for the study of English.” Horace Grant Underwood, *The Call of Korea: Political, Social, Religious* (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908), 104.

William B. Scranton (1856–1922) arrived in Seoul with the intent to establish a Methodist hospital and dispensary, but for a short while worked with Allen at the government hospital. In the meantime, another Methodist missionary, Henry Gerhard Appenzeller (1858–1902) arrived in Seoul in July.³²⁵ Around the time that Scranton was ending his work at the government hospital to begin work establishing the mission hospital and dispensary, he was approached by two young men who “expressed a desire to become physicians. Dr. Scranton informed them that, in the first place, they must study English, for only so could they have access to suitable medical literature. These men, holding positions in the hospital, must of necessity belong to the influential class. They at once applied to Brother Appenzeller to teach them English, which he has undertaken to do.”³²⁶

King Kojong showed great interest in the potential for Appenzeller’s educational work to supplement state efforts to establish what would become the Royal English Academy and so granted Appenzeller “[f]ull and unconditional permission... to open a school for the purpose of giving young Koreans an education on ‘the American plan.’”³²⁷ Appenzeller began teaching his

According to Paik (1927), until beginning his own separate educational efforts, Underwood taught chemistry and physics to students whom Allen had recruited for medical training. See Lark-June George Paik, “The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910” (Ph.D., Yale University, 1927), 137.

³²⁵ Appenzeller had first arrived in Korea on the same ship as Underwood, but due to the political turmoil in Seoul and being accompanied by his wife, Ella Dodge Appenzeller, he was counseled against going on to Seoul and so returned to Japan. Underwood, who was yet unmarried, continued on to Seoul. In mid-June, Appenzeller and his wife again arrived in Korea, this time accompanied by Scranton’s wife and child and his mother Mary F. Scranton, the first female missionary to Korea. The Appenzeller’s stayed in Chemulp’o (today’s Inch’ŏn) until they had purchased property in Seoul, moving there in July.

³²⁶ *Sixty-Seventh Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1885*, (1886): 238.

³²⁷ Henry Appenzeller, “The Pai Chai Hak Tang of Korea,” *The Gospel in All Lands*, March 1890, 115.

first class with six students in June 1886, and by October had eighteen students attending.³²⁸ In a further show of support for the school Kojong gave it the name “Paejae haktang” 培材學堂 (“Academy for the Rearing of Useful Men”; hereafter Pai Chai as per its now common English spelling) and provided a personally inscribed name board, an act reminiscent of the traditional grant of royal charter to *yangban*-founded *sŏwŏn*.³²⁹ Like the two prospective medical students Scranton had sent to Appenzeller, Pai Chai’s first students belonged to “the influential class” of aspiring officials. Early on the school’s curriculum consisted solely of English language instruction in order eventually to facilitate the study of other subjects. Appenzeller reported a general enthusiasm among the students for learning “the new tongue” as it was considered “a stepping stone to something higher.” Confirming Koreans’ continued commitment to education for the sake of gaining government office, he further reported: “Ask a Korean, ‘Why do you wish to study English?’ and his almost invariable answer will be ‘To get rank.’”³³⁰

Three other missionary schools were established shortly after Appenzeller began classes at Pai Chai. In May 1886, Mary Fletcher Scranton (1832–1909), mother of William B. Scranton, began teaching “the concubine of an official who was desirous his wife should learn English,

³²⁸ *Sixty-Eighth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1886*, (1887): 267.

³²⁹ Reporting on the name given to the school and of the court’s approval of his efforts, Appenzeller wrote: “His majesty, having our school represented to him by the president of the Foreign Office, gave it the name of *Pai Tyai Hak Dang*—“Hall for rearing useful men.” This name, written in large Chinese characters, has been properly framed and now hangs over the large front gate, the silent guardian of our educational work. That the Government approves of what we are doing is shown by the fact that one of the students is used occasionally as an interpreter at the royal palace and six others received appointments.” *Sixty-Ninth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1887*, (1888): 313.

³³⁰ *Sixty-Eighth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1886*, (1887): 267.

with the hope that she might sometime become interpreter for the Queen.”³³¹ Scranton informed the court of her desire to open a girls’ school corresponding to the mission’s boy’s school, to which Kojong gave his approval, adding, however, “that the class of girls I would want lived in seclusion and therefore cannot attend school.” With this directive Scranton chose instead to move “in the direction of the poor,” and so opened her school based on the model of an orphanage with an attached day-school.³³² By June, the Methodist mission had completed construction of a building for the school and its first permanent student was enrolled. As with Pai Chai, the court showed its approval by giving the school a name: “Ihwa haktang” 梨花學堂 (“Pear Blossom Academy”, hereafter Ewha as per its now common English spelling).³³³

The Presbyterian mission began its education efforts more slowly than did the Methodists. Rather than a school, Underwood first established an orphanage in May 1886. A boy’s day-school attached to the orphanage, later to be known as Kyöngsin hakkyo 敬新學校 (hereafter Kyungshin as per its now common English spelling) was eventually established as well, and in its first full year of operation in 1888 had twenty-five students.³³⁴ A year later an

³³¹ Mary Fletcher Scranton, “Woman’s Work in Korea,” *The Korean Repository* 3, no. 1 (January 1896): 4.

³³² Mary Fletcher Scranton, “From Correspondence,” *Heathen Woman’s Friend* 17, no. 10 (April 1886): 249.

³³³ Mary Scranton was not altogether pleased with this choice of name: “The school-name is in no degree wonderful; it is only the royal setting which gives it importance. The Koreans call women (when they wish to be specially sweet and poetic) pear-flowers; so our school is the ‘Pear Flower School.’ I am told that at first they gave it a name which would have suited me exactly; namely, ‘Entire Trust School.’ Probably this meant less to Korean officials than it would have meant to me. At any rate, they appear to think they have done a better thing by changing it to the one which now hangs over the big gate.” *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1887* 18 (1887): 50.

³³⁴ *The Fifty-First Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (New York, NY: Edward O. Jenkin’s Sons, 1888), 171.

affiliated girls' school, known as Chōngsin yō-hakkyo 貞信女學校 (hereafter Chungshin as per its now common English spelling) was also established. The students at Kyungshin, being primarily orphans, did not at first come from the same "influential class" as those that were recruited by Pai Chai, but from 1890 this changed as the school's operations were taken over by Samuel Austin Moffett (1864–1939). The orphanage was transformed into a regular boys' school and its focus turned to educating a less needy class, or as put in a mission report, "the eleemosynary element which attracted a certain kind of patronage has been gradually diminished, and instead a class of boys have been admitted who bid fair to be of some service to the cause..."³³⁵

From the beginning of their efforts the missionaries were keenly aware of the fact that they were not moving into an educational void.³³⁶ "The nobility, and all freemen in general," William Griffis had written, "take great care of the education of their children, and put them very young to learn to read and write, to which that nation is much addicted."³³⁷ Griffis had noted that LS literacy training was the first step to gaining official rank: "If the Korean lad aspires to government service, he begins early the study of the 'true letters' or 'great writing.'" He had also described the Korean educational and language situations, noting in particular that Korea's

³³⁵ *The Fifty-Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (New York, NY: Edward O. Jenkin's Sons, 1894), 159–60.

³³⁶ In his biography of Appenzeller, Griffis suggests that Appenzeller's decision to go to Korea was influenced in part by having read one or more of Griffis' own works on the country. See William Elliot Griffis, *A Modern Pioneer in Korea: The Life Story of Henry G. Appenzeller* (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell, 1912), 81.

³³⁷ William Elliot Griffis, *Corea, Without and Within: Chapters on Corean History, Manners and Religion*. (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1885), 140.

belletristic literary practices were “extra-vernacular,” favoring Chinese-derived precedents and style rather than cultivating the vernacular:

The accomplished scholar of Seoul who writes a polished essay in classic style packs his sentences with quotable felicities, choice phrases, references to history, literary prisms, and kaleidoscopic patches picked out here and there from the whole range of ancient Chinese literature, and imbeds them into a mosaic—smooth, brilliant, chaste, and a perfect unity. This is the acme of style. So in the Korean mind, the wise saws and ancient instances, the gnomic wisdom, quotations and proverbs, political principles, precedents, historical examples, and dynasties, are all Chinese, and ancient Chinese. His heaven, his nature, his history, his philosophy, are those of Confucius, and like the Chinaman, he looks down with infinite contempt upon the barbarians of Christendom and their heterodox conceptions of the universe. Meanwhile his own language, literature, and history are neglected.³³⁸

While free with his reproach of Confucians’ contempt for “the barbarians of Christendom,” Griffis was himself particularly ill-disposed toward Confucianism, blaming it for what he characterized as “the hermit-like seclusion and foolish pride of Korea.” Confucianism “has no element of progress in it,” he wrote, “but is a mode of thought and practice calculated to stereotype the human intellect and petrify a civilization into unvarying routine.” In Confucianism Griffis saw “the unyielding foe of Christianity”—a “pagan agnosticism” whose “force is all conservative.” Thus, though he was sure the West’s Christian civilization would advance in Korea, he was just as sure that the “chief enemies of truth, progress and spiritual religion in Korea... for generations to come will be, Confucianists. Christianity, that levels the pride of man, must by its nature arouse the wrath of the literati.”³³⁹

Of course, missionary hostility to Confucian ethics and education was not original to Griffis but given how widely read he was among the early missionaries in Korea it is little wonder that we see his views closely reflected in their writings. James Scarth Gale (1863–1937),

³³⁸ William Elliot Griffis, *Corea, the Hermit Nation* (New York: Scribner, 1882), 339–40.

³³⁹ William Elliot Griffis, *Corea, Without and Within: Chapters on Korean History, Manners and Religion*. (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1885), 166–67.

for example, wrote of Korean education and Confucianism in a manner much like Griffis, echoing many of his views. Of his early days in Korea, Gale wrote that though the Korean scholars he met were “intelligent and interesting,” it was mysterious to him why “so many bright minds can be content with so low a civilization...” His explanation was that these bright minds were somehow dulled by their adherence to Confucianism: “It is certainly due in some way to the damaging influence of the Chinese classics.”³⁴⁰ He described the differences between the aims of Western and Korean education as being “at the antipodes”; for while the Western pedagogue sought “the development and preparation of the student in a practical way for life before him,” Korea’s Confucian scholar aims instead “to fix or asphyxiate the mind, in order that he may shut the present out and live only in the past. Development is our idea; limitation his,” and he rejoices “in the fact that he knows nothing of any subject but the reading and writing of Chinese characters.”³⁴¹ Thus, like Griffis, Gale believed the Confucian scholar and his mode of education to be a primary obstacle to Christian evangelism: “With us education is an exercise of the faculties, in order that the mind may grow; in Korea it is like a foot bandage or plaster of paris jacket for the mind: once fairly put on, and all growth and development is at an end. Hence the fact, Confucian scholars more than any others oppose the preaching of Christianity.”³⁴²

Another early missionary, Daniel Lyman Gifford (1861–1900), who taught at Kyungshin, saw Korea’s Confucian education as inimical to progress, calling it “a type of Education which in its unmixed form seems to hypnotize its votaries under the spell of the past...”³⁴³ He described

³⁴⁰ James Scarth Gale, *Korean Sketches* (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1898), 23.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 176–77.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, 177.

³⁴³ Daniel L. Gifford, “Education in the Capital of Korea, II,” *The Korean Repository* 3, no. 8 (August 1896): 304.

the traditional LS instructional practices and their Confucian content as backward and inadequate to Korea's current needs:

Imagine yourself, please, in a factory where a planing machine and three or four circular saws are tearing the air into shreds with their din. You can then form some conception of the noise of a native Korean school room when the pupils are conning their lessons. Let us take a look into such a school. Perhaps a dozen bright-faced lads are sitting cross-legged upon the floor, their Chinese books laid before them. The upper parts of their bodies are swaying violently, each with his own time and motion, some from side to side, others forward and back, and all of them vociferating, in every musical pitch, the lesson assigned for the day...

From early dawn till the sun goes down these lads drone away, now studying aloud, now writing the characters, now reciting to the master the contents of the Chinese classics, filled with the lore of the ancient sages and a pseudo-history, but scarcely an idea to lead them to understand the world in which they live...³⁴⁴

Other early missionaries would give similar descriptions of LS literacy training; most of them with the same disapproving tone.³⁴⁵ And yet, despite these negative evaluations of Korea's traditional education and the ill effects ascribed to the learning of LS and the Confucian classics, in each case the early missionary schools included LS instruction in their curricula from very early on and would continue to do so right up to the time of annexation in 1910.

Given the early missionaries' general disdain for Confucian learning and its attendant LS literacy instruction, why would the mission schools include these subjects in their curricula at all? Perhaps the simplest explanation is that offered in a February 1892 article in the *Korean Repository* on Korea's traditional schools: "It hardly need be said that a knowledge of the native language is not considered education. It is only the man who knows Chinese who is regarded a

³⁴⁴ Gifford, "Education in the Capital of Korea, I," 281.

³⁴⁵ See for example, "Korean Schools," *The Korean Repository* 1, no. 2 (February 1892): 40; Homer Bezaleel Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea* (New York, NY: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1906), 335–36; and James Scarth Gale, *Korea in Transition* (New York, NY: Eaton & Mains, 1909), 141–43.

scholar.”³⁴⁶ In other words, Koreans simply did not consider someone ignorant of LS to be properly educated, and so if the missionaries hoped to attract students, they could not help but offer LS literacy training. George Gilmore, one of the three Americans who taught at the Royal English Academy, made a similar observation: “Those who make any pretensions to scholarship must read easily and write correctly the Chinese. This is the medium of promotion to official position. It is that without which no one can hold office.”³⁴⁷

Though the missionaries certainly knew and understood this reasoning, it was not their favored justification. In an 1889 report for the missionary community in Korea and likely also to be seen by certain Korean officials, Appenzeller described the inclusion of LS training and the study of the Confucian canon in the Pai Chai curriculum but gave no specific reasoning or justification for it. He wrote that the purpose of the school was to provide students with instruction in Western science and letters, but that this is not to be done to the exclusion of Confucian learning. Though most subjects would be taught in English, he explained that the Confucian classics were to occupy a privileged position and all students would be required to study them.³⁴⁸ In a report to a much wider ecclesiastical audience in America the following year, Appenzeller discussed the inclusion of LS in the curriculum much differently, making no reference to Confucian learning. Rather than affirming a place of priority for the Confucian canon, he instead justified the inclusion of LS on three grounds: 1) that the prestige and advancement possible only through acquiring LS literacy appealed to the upper classes or those

³⁴⁶ “Korean Schools,” *The Korean Repository* 1, no. 2 (February 1892): 37.

³⁴⁷ George William Gilmore, *Korea from Its Capital: With a Chapter on Missions* (Philadelphia, PA: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1892), 63–64.

³⁴⁸ This first annual report was for the years 1888–1889. See Yi Manyŏl, Henry Gerhard Appenzeller, and William Elliot Griffis, *Ap’enjellŏ: Han’guk e on ch’ŏt sŏn’gyosa [Appenzeller: The First Missionary to Korea]* (Seoul: Yŏnse Taehakkyo Ch’ulp’anbu, 1985), 331.

who wished to raise their social status; 2) that the very act of learning LS exercised one's mental faculties, making other learning, particularly English language learning, easier; and 3) that given its ubiquity, LS literacy was required of Koreans hoping to participate fully in their country's literary and documentary culture:

The Koreans are a literary people. They have schools. Every body who makes any pretensions to literary standing is trained in Chinese. Most of the men and boys who come to us are from this class, and their previous training in Chinese is a great help to them in acquiring English. They are studious. The surest way to pass from a lower to a higher rank in the social scale is to possess a good education. The scholar, though of lower rank, is always respected and honored.

In the Pai Chai Hak Tang both Chinese and English are taught. To a Korean a knowledge of English without a knowledge of Chinese would be useless. Public and private documents are all written in Chinese."³⁴⁹

Since it was boys and young men of the upper classes who were the first to attend Pai Chai, and since the upper classes were accustomed to the notion that LS literacy was a means of social advancement, appealing to this class through the inclusion of this well-developed and time-honored method of education with its attendant content, aims, and status rewards made sense. But since the other three missionary schools early on drew their students from their attached orphanages the matter of status maintenance or career advancement would not have been as compelling a justification for them during this period. Appenzeller's other two justifications, however, were and they would be brandished by other missionaries in defense of including LS literacy training in their schools. Louise Rothweiler, for instance, argued for keeping LS in the Ewha curriculum using these justifications:

Shall we teach Chinese or not? Since we can hope only in very exceptional cases to have girls make enough progress in Chinese during their few school years to enable them to read Chinese with much benefit it is denounced by some as utterly useless. But may it not be useful as a drill for mind and memory? Will it not help them understand the numberless Chinese expressions met with in all books and letters and even in

³⁴⁹ Henry G. Appenzeller, "The Pai Chai Hak Tang of Korea," *The Gospel in All Lands*, March 1890, 115.

conversation to know even by ear only the *Hanmoun (sic)* and its corresponding *Enmoun (sic)* reading which will cling even though the character be forgotten?³⁵⁰

Even Daniel Gifford, who had so negatively depicted traditional LS instruction and described the inadequacy of Confucian learning to address the challenges of modern times, likewise tempered his critique of LS and defended its continued instruction employing these justifications:

I would by no means condemn it as an utter failure. Let no one beguile himself into thinking that the educated Koreans are a dull class of people. The study of the Chinese classics has much the same educational value for the Korean that a classical course in Latin and Greek has for the student in the Occident. The effort to master the difficult language is in itself a mental discipline. The writings of Confucius and Mencius, as a system of mere ethics, together with much that is defective and disproportioned stress laid upon the virtue of filial piety, contain also much that is undoubtedly beautiful and true. Then again, to such an extent have the Chinese words and phrases embedded themselves in the native speech, that no Korean can obtain mastery of his own language without a preliminary study of the Chinese.³⁵¹

For Horace Underwood, traditional LS instruction had its faults, but it was “the equal of mathematics as a form of mental drill and discipline,” and “it has placed to our hand a raw material of fine quality ready to be developed.”³⁵²

3.7.1 Materials and Methods

Though each of the four Protestant mission schools taught LS early on, they did not all use the same materials or methods. At Pai Chai from 1886 to 1888, the curriculum consisted of English, the Korean script, and LS; the intent being to first train enough students in basic English and vernacular literacy so that other subjects could be introduced using English- and Korean-language materials. LS was of course included for the reasons already discussed above and

³⁵⁰ Louisa Christina Rothweiler, “What Shall We Teach in Our Girls’ Schools?” *The Korean Repository* 1, no. 3 (March 1892): 91–92.

³⁵¹ Gifford, “Education in the Capital of Korea, I,” 281–82.

³⁵² Underwood, *The Call of Korea*, 72–73.

taught using traditional primers and methods. The first regular LS instructor was early convert Yu Ch'igyŏm 俞致兼 (n.d.), who began studying English at the school when it opened, was baptized by Appenzeller in December 1887, and began teaching LS the following year.³⁵³ By 1889, instruction was expanded, and the curriculum divided in two; a two-year preparatory curriculum teaching basic literacy in English, Korean, and LS to young boys just starting their education, and a three-year regular curriculum for those advancing from the preparatory curriculum or for older boys and young men coming to the school having already received at least the rudiments of traditional education.³⁵⁴ The regular curriculum included courses in LS (teaching from *Mencius*), English, geography, arithmetic, physical science, and chemistry. The following year the regular curriculum expanded further with the addition of astronomy, biology, and the Bible, and LS was listed as being taught from the “classics and histories.”³⁵⁵ In 1891, Appenzeller reported that “the Chinese New Testament is part of the course now,”³⁵⁶ but did not offer any detail on the nature of its inclusion—whether students were taught to recite from the text or were merely lectured to from it. On the method used for teaching LS from the traditional texts we have the report of Mattie Wilcox Noble (1872–1956) who in January 1893 wrote in her diary a detailed description of the manner of LS instruction at Pai Chai which she had witnessed immediately following a Sunday sermon at the school:

Jan. 21, 1893. This morning I attended for the 1st time Chapel at the Boys' School (College). Rev. Geo. H. Jones led the devotional exercises.... When the Chapel exercises were ended, Arthur & I remained to visit the Chinese class which was held in that room.

³⁵³ Yu Pangnan, “Han’guk kŭndae kyoyuk ūi tŭngjang kwa paltal,” 49.

³⁵⁴ Yi Manyŏl, et. al. *ibid.*, 332.

³⁵⁵ Yu Pongho, *Han’guk kyoyuk kwajŏngsa yŏn’gu [A study of the history of Korea’s education curriculum]* (Seoul: Kyohak yŏn’gusa, 1992), 49.

³⁵⁶ *Seventy-Third Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1891*, (1892): 271.

The teacher of Chinese is a Korean. There were about twenty Korean boys in this class. They all sat down on the floor, placed their books in front of them, & began swinging their bodies, & singing their lessons at the top of their voices.... It was review in Chinese today. The teacher wanted to review one boy alone, so the rest stopped studying, & this boy who was to be reviewed, came & sat down on his feet before his teacher with his back to the teacher, & began to sing out his review, all the while swinging his body. It was very interesting to watch.³⁵⁷

From the boys' loud song-like recitations to their vigorous swaying with the rhythm of their chants to the instructor's "recite with back turned" (*paegang* 背講) testing of the boys one by one, Noble's description shows that traditional methods were the *modus operandi* of Pai Chai's LS instruction. Thus, though Pai Chai emphasized English and Korean-language learning and had a multi-subject curriculum that taught practical knowledge and skills, as Appenzeller had indicated five years prior, the Confucian classics taught using traditional LS instructional methods still held a prominent place in the curriculum.

While Appenzeller's designs for Pai Chai were to establish a school on "the American plan" teaching Western science and letters within a multi-subject curriculum, Kyungshin began as an orphanage with much different aims.³⁵⁸ Still, it was the Presbyterian mission's intent from the beginning to provide their charges with an education in basic LS and vernacular literacy. In February 1886, when seeking permission to establish their orphanage, the mission submitted a request to the government through the U.S. legation laying out their plans for the institution:

... we propose to open and carry on a sort of orphanage or industrial home, such as is so common in most large Foreign cities, where they can be taught to read and write Eunmun

³⁵⁷ "Jan. 21, 1893" in Mattie Wilcox Noble and Han'guk Kidokkyo Yōksa Yōn'guso, *The Journals of Mattie Wilcox Noble: 1892-1934*. (Seoul, Korea: Han'guk Kidokkyo Yōksa Yōn'guso, 1993), 27.

³⁵⁸ Underwood considered different methods of "building up for Korea a Christian youth," including the founding of a school, but believed that given the mission's restricted funding it would not be able to compete for students with the government's Royal English Academy, and so decided instead to establish an orphanage. See Underwood, et al., *Horace Grant Underwood Papers*, vol. I: 1885-1892 (Seoul: Yōnse Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 2005), 365-66.

and Chinese and when old enough, some trade which shall render them capable of self support. These children will be fed and clothed after the Korean style and provided with clean and comfortable apartments. A Korean teacher will be employed to instruct them in Korean and it is our intention also, if possible, to teach them English.³⁵⁹

The government responded positively and asked that in addition to LS and vernacular literacy that they also teach practical industrial skills useful to the nation.³⁶⁰ In June the following year, in a letter to the Mission Board reporting on the progress at the boys' school Underwood wrote that the students were doing well in their studies, and had taken part in several regular examinations of their progress where the Korean officials had "praised them for their knowledge of the Chinese character."³⁶¹ LS was taught from traditional *sōdang* primers including *Ch'ōnjamun*, *Tongmong sōnsūp*, and *T'onggam*.³⁶² In September 1890, Horace Underwood's wife, Lillias Horton Underwood (1851–1921), gave the following description of the school's daily study schedule, testifying to the emphasis given to LS instruction:

There are about twenty-five boys in the orphanage... They rise at 5:30 A.M., and after putting themselves and their rooms in good order for the day, study Chinese until eight, when they have morning prayers with one of the Foreign teachers, after which they have breakfast. Perhaps this will seem a very late breakfast after so much work, but most Koreans breakfast between ten and eleven, and take only two meals a day, especially the poorer classes from whom these boys come. After breakfast follow a few English lessons (we have decided to teach very little English, as the best experience of the oldest missionaries in the field is against it) and a Bible lesson. These recitations are interspersed with short recesses and the afternoons are given to play and study hours, and Chinese, which is a most important factor in the education of Koreans.³⁶³

³⁵⁹ Letter to H. E. Lieut. C. C. Foulk, Charge d'affaires U.S. Legation February 12, 1886, in Underwood, et al., 377.

³⁶⁰ Yu Panggan, 53.

³⁶¹ Underwood, et al., 424.

³⁶² Yu Pongho, *Han'guk kyoyuk kwajōngsa yōn'gu*, 51.

³⁶³ Lillias Horton Underwood, "Death of Dr. Heron – The Need of More Helpers in This Field," *The Missionary Review of the World* 13, no. 12 (December 1890): 943.

Horace Underwood would later remark on the discomfort caused by teaching students at a Christian school from these “heathen” materials, stating that, “No little difficulty was found in providing Christian text-books, and at the start the only thing to be done was to strive to eliminate from the heathen books their heathen features.”³⁶⁴ In early 1891 when the Underwoods went on furlough to America, Samuel Moffett took over operation of the orphanage and began its transition to a regular boys’ school. Moffett would drop English language instruction from the curriculum altogether³⁶⁵ and begin to shift Kyungshin’s LS instruction away from Confucian materials. His 1892 report on the school’s operations contains the fullest description of the nature of LS instruction at Kyungshin during this period:

The two older boys have read three to five volumes of Mencius and will soon be ready for the Confucian Classics. They have at the same time read an equal amount of Scripture, viz-Ephesians and Galatians and most of Genesis. Others of the larger boys are still reading the Historical Annals which form the groundwork in Chinese before taking up the Classics. They have also at the same time read the Gospels of Matthew and John in the Chinese.

These larger boys under my instruction completed the Geographical History (Sa Min Pil Chi) in En Mun (Korean character) and have been examined in it. I have also given them an hour’s instruction a week in arithmetic using the Arabic numerals but all instruction has been in the vernacular, using both the native and Chinese characters. During the summer, according to native methods of instruction, considerable time was given to writing and composition and one hour a day is so spent throughout the year.

The smallest boys have been reading the elementary Chinese books, writing Chinese and En Mun and under my instruction have been reading the “Peep of Day” and “Conversation with a Temple Keeper”; two Christian tracts, the object of their use being to teach them to read well and to teach the principles of Christianity. In Chinese they have also a class in the Catechism [which] has been held.³⁶⁶

³⁶⁴ Underwood, *The Call of Korea: Political, Social, Religious*, 112.

³⁶⁵ Gifford, “Education in the Capital of Korea, II,” 308.

³⁶⁶ “The Boys’ School Report, 1892-’93, Presbyterian Annual Meeting” In Samuel Austin Moffett and Sung-Deuk Oak, *Samuel Austin Moffett papers*, vol. 1: 1868–1894 (Seoul: Turanno Ak’ademi, 2011), 366.

Of the younger students he taught LS using Christian tracts published by missionaries in China, including *Xuner zhenyan* 訓兒真言, an 1882 Sinitic translation of Favell Lee Mortimer's *The Peep of Day* (1817), and Ferdinand Genähr's *Miaozhu wenda* 廟祝問答 ("Dialogues with a Temple Keeper", 1859). Moffett wrote that his use of these texts was not only for the purpose of teaching the students to read LS, but also the doctrines of Protestantism.³⁶⁷ The Presbyterian mission report from the same year confirms Moffett's and notes that other Christian texts by Protestant missionaries in China were also being used:

The course of study has included the Bible in the Chinese language, and also the Chinese classics. This is for the reason that the Chinese is, to a very large extent, the educational language of Korea. The younger boys have been taught the introductory Chinese books, with the Ten Commandments, Three Character Christian Classic, and "Life of Jesus in Verse."³⁶⁸

Eventually in 1893, under the headmastership of Frederick S. Miller (1867–1939), instruction using Confucian texts was fully halted, and LS was instead taught using only the Bible and LS versions of other Christian texts: "Some of the Chinese books which were at first introduced have given place to those of a more positive Christian character."³⁶⁹

Moffett's instruction using Protestant tracts from China points to the then ongoing joint efforts of the Methodist and Presbyterian missions to translate and publish Protestant literature in Korea. As Sung-Deuk Oak (2006) describes, in 1889, the two missions founded the Religious Tract Society which published reprints of Protestant tracts in Sinitic from missionaries in China and also published vernacular Korean translations of at least fifty of these tracts. The Sinitic

³⁶⁷ Moffett's report is excerpted in Yu Pangnan, 55.

³⁶⁸ *The Fifty-Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (New York, NY: Edward O. Jenkin's Sons, 1892), 176–77.

³⁶⁹ *The Fifty-Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (New York, NY: Edward O. Jenkin's Sons, 1894), 160.

editions were intended specifically to appeal to the *yangban* and other traditionally educated LS literates, and thus, as had been occurring since Kim Hongjip's 1880 mission to Japan, Sinitic translation was once again being leveraged to introduce Western knowledge into Korea.³⁷⁰

At Chungshin LS was taught from early on. A 1890 report confirmed that the curriculum consisted of LS (using *Myǒngsim pogam* and other *sǒdang* primers), history, geography, art, copywork, calisthenics, music, and housekeeping,³⁷¹ and the Presbyterian mission reported the following year that, "The Girls' School, under the care of Miss S.A. Doty, has at present nine pupils... Seven are studying the Chinese language, which is the literary language of the country."³⁷² However, though it is not clear exactly when or for what reason, LS instruction was dropped at Chungshin sometime before 1896 when Daniel Gifford wrote of the curriculum there that, "At first the little girls were set to singing the Chinese characters; but this was presently given up and now all the instruction is conveyed through the medium of the Unmun (or native characters)."³⁷³

³⁷⁰ Sung-Deuk Oak, "Chinese Protestant Literature and Early Chinese Protestantism," in *Christianity in Korea*, ed. Robert E. Buswell and Timothy S. Lee (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 2006), 75. Citing one example of the impact that this Protestant literature in Sinitic had in Korea, Oak writes that, "from 1903 to 1904, more than a dozen political leaders—including Syngman Rhee, who would later become the first president of South Korea—were converted in a Seoul prison after reading Chinese-language Protestant books and tracts" (ibid.).

³⁷¹ Yu Pongho, 51.

³⁷² *The Fifty-Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (New York, NY: Edward O. Jenkin's Sons, 1891), 136. In the same Lillias Underwood letter from September 1890 cited above in which she described LS instruction at Kyungshin, she wrote the following about instruction at Chungshin: "The girl's school, now under Miss Doty's charge, consists of nine little girls, most of whom are about eight years old. They also do as much as possible of their own work, learn to cook and sew in Korean fashion, are taught no English, but to read Chinese and their own native "Enmun" language, and, above all, are taught the Gospel and Gospel living. It is a great mistake to unfit these girls by a foreign education for the homes they are to fill, and we only seek to make Christian Koreans of them, not American ladies." Underwood, "The Need of More Helpers in This Field," 943.

³⁷³ Gifford, "Education in the Capital of Korea, II," 307.

LS instruction at Ehwa followed a similar trajectory to that at Chungshin; it was taught from early on³⁷⁴ and Louise Rothweiler, who had argued in March 1892 that it be retained in the curriculum, reported a year later that, “Chinese has been taught to about twenty, and some have been doing very well in it.”³⁷⁵ Only shortly thereafter, however, Mary Scranton reported that LS instruction had ceased: “Formerly we devoted considerable time to the study of Chinese, but as a suitable Korean woman could not be found as a teacher, we have abandoned the study altogether. The school has become in the main, a Bible school.”³⁷⁶ Haeweol Choi (2009), citing a longer report by Scranton around the same time in which she gives greater detail as to why LS was dropped from the curriculum,³⁷⁷ explains that: “In her explanation of the change in the curriculum, Scranton implies a practical consideration in that there was a potential loss of students. Some older students at Ewha dropped out of the Chinese classes because of the

³⁷⁴ In recounting the story of Kim Chōmdong (Esther Pak), Korea’s first female physician and a student at Ewha in its first years, Rosetta S. Hall wrote that while there, Pak “studied the Bible and Catechism in Korean and she also studied Chinese and English...” Rosetta Sherwood Hall, ed., *The Life of Rev. William James Hall, M.D.: Medical Missionary to the Slums of New York, Pioneer Missionary to Pyong Yang, Korea* (New York, NY: Press of Eaton & Mains, 1897), 197–99.

³⁷⁵ “Woman’s Work in the Methodist Episcopal Mission in Korea,” *The Gospel in All Lands*, March 1893, 106.

³⁷⁶ *Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1892–1893* 24 (1893): 78.

³⁷⁷ Scranton’s longer report read: “Early in the season we changed our plan of study. From the beginning of the school until this year we have devoted considerable time to the study of Chinese. Our older girls however dropped out of the Chinese classes more than a year ago, because according to the customs of the country it was no longer proper for them to receive instruction from a male teacher, and a Korean woman capable of taking his place was not to be found. Some of the girls had made commendable progress and yet they had not advanced far enough to be greatly benefited by the instruction they had received. Under such state of affairs we decided to give up the study altogether and turn their attention [to] other things.” Mary Scranton, “Korean Work: Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society,” *Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Korea Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (1893): 79. Quoted in Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea*, 109.

impropriety of being taught by male teachers.”³⁷⁸ It is not inconceivable that a similar situation may have played out in the case of Chungshin.

While with Pai Chai we know that the materials and methods of LS instruction adhered closely to the traditional mode and at Kyungshin we know something of the non-traditional Christian texts used, we know almost nothing—save for a brief mention of *Myōngsim pogam*'s use at Chungshin in an 1890 report—about the materials and methods used for LS instruction at the girls' schools. Still, we do know that LS *was* taught, meaning that not only were these the first schools in Korea ever established for girls' education, but their inclusion of LS instruction also made for the first time in Korea's long history that girls were taught LS in as systematic way within a formal educational setting. Also, though LS instruction ceased toward the end of this period, as we will see in the next chapter, by 1897 at Ehwa and at around the same time at Chungshin, LS instruction was put back into the curriculum at the students' insistence, and as missionary and affiliated church schools multiplied in the wake of the Sino-Japanese War, girls throughout the country learned LS the same as their boy peers.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that although the official status of LS had not changed prior to the Kabo reforms of 1894, real and—as subsequent chapters will show—consequential changes in its use and learning were introduced to Korea after supporters of the status quo isolation from Western peoples and ideas were sidelined in the early 1880s. Key changes included the publication of a government newspaper that, on the one hand expanded the role of LS, making it a vehicle of Western learning and discourse, and on the other introduced Sino-Korean mixed-script writing

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

styles that would come to replace LS as the primary writing of government and education. They also included the introduction of both government and private schools that taught LS as one subject—though still a central subject—within a multi-subject curriculum. Finally, though restricted to four relatively small schools in Seoul, the missionary schools introduced major changes to LS literacy instruction—changes that in the subsequent decades would be both expanded into new missionary and church-affiliated schools and mirrored in government as well as non-Christian private schools. These included instructing both boys and girls in LS literacy and teaching LS using explicitly Christian or other non-Confucian works.

Beyond changes in actual policy and practice, the period also saw the introduction of anti-LS discourses—mild in the case of the *Chubo*'s “On School Administration” article and sharp in the case of Western missionaries’ observations. These discourses would increase drastically following the Kabo reforms and eventually be adopted by Korean reformers who joined with Westerners in working to promote vernacular literacy and in some cases abolish LS learning and use altogether. Though the new language ideologies, inscriptional practices, and educational policies introduced in the period under examination in this chapter were not intended to lead inexorably toward radical change, the remaining chapters will show that they nevertheless laid the groundwork for future educational and literacy reforms that would significantly transform Korea’s educational and inscriptional practices.

Chapter 4: Interwar Innovations in Literary Sinitic Learning and Use and the Missionary Foundations of Hanmunkwa, 1894–1904

4.1 Introduction

The period under consideration in this chapter, the decade from 1894 to 1904, was bookended by the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). Unlike the previous period in which the influence of Japan on Korea's language situation was mostly indirect, this period saw direct Japanese efforts to shape Korea's internal affairs, which significantly impacted developments in the peninsula's language and educational situations. The greatest impact was felt during the eighteen-month Kabo Reforms (Kabo Kyōngjang 甲午更張),³⁷⁹ during which a newly formed governing cabinet backed by Japan and comprised mostly of Enlightenment-party exiles issued over 200 laws and edicts affecting every aspect of Korean political and social life.³⁸⁰ Most important for our purposes here, were three areas in particular: 1) the abolition of the traditional civil service examination system (*kwagō*) and institution of new methods of recruitment for government office, 2) the official demotion of LS as the language of state, and 3) the establishment of a new school system.

Japan's control over the Korean government was short lived, and the reform cabinet was dissolved as a reaction set in against the nature and pace of the Kabo Reforms. Though none of the above three reforms were repealed, the impact of the last two were significantly weakened by the deliberate efforts of conservative government officials. The Kabo-era reform with the

³⁷⁹ Named for the year in the sexagenary calendar in which reforms began.

³⁸⁰ For a short survey of the nature and scope of the Kabo Reforms, see Michael J. Seth, *A Concise History of Modern Korea: From the Late Nineteenth Century to the Present*, 2nd edition (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2016), 26–28.

greatest immediate and long-term impact on LS use, then, was the abolition of the civil service exam. Because the *kwagǒ* was the state's primary mechanism for enforcing and rewarding Confucian learning, its abolition effectively constituted the disestablishment of Confucianism as the official state ideology. Combined with the severing of Korea's traditional relationship with China following the latter's defeat to Japan, the elimination of the *kwagǒ* dealt a severe blow to Korea's Sinocentric worldview and thus to the rewards and logic of LS learning.

Having had a hand in orchestrating it, the radical reformers understood the implications of the shattering of the traditional order. After the fall of the reform government, with access to the levers of state cut off to them, their energies were channeled into a rapidly expanding public press seeking to present their case for reform to the general population. No longer constrained by expectations that Confucianism be respected, or special deference be given to China, they inveighed against the world view of Korea's Confucian traditionalists—that Korea was a special co-inheritor of the sagely civilization of Chinese antiquity bound with China by shared culture and writing. They argued that China's weakness vis-à-vis Japan and the West was evidence that its reverence for Confucian learning, which the reformers deemed “old knowledge” (*kusik* 舊識), was inferior to the West's “new knowledge” (*sinsik* 新識) “on which Japan based the reform programs enabling its victory.”³⁸¹ As expressed in an editorial in the *Tongnip sinmun*, “the most iconoclastic paper of the time,”³⁸² whereas Koreans previously lacked this evidence of China's backwardness, they might be excused for judging China (and thus themselves, considering the traditional *so-chunghwa* discourse) to be on the civilizational pole of the traditional Sino-barbarian dichotomy; but now, Korea had been open to the West for nearly two decades, “and we

³⁸¹ Schmid, *Korea between Empires*, 57.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, 47.

have welcomed guests coming from all places. With our ears we can hear and with our eyes we can see the customs and laws of Western countries. We can now generally judge which countries are the civilized ones and which countries are the barbarous ones.”³⁸³ Korea had a chance to avoid China’s barbarism, the newspapers argued, but only if it acted swiftly to free itself from old knowledge and the shared culture and writing that bound it to China. In a very literal sense, the medium was the message. Since LS was too difficult and too time consuming to learn, it was an unfit vessel for the urgently needed new knowledge. Like the Western nations with their quick and simple alphabet, Korea must use its alphabet, bequeathed to them by the sagely King Sejong, to train its people in learning and enterprises that would enrich and strengthen the nation.

The period also saw the rapid growth of Christianity, especially in the northern regions, and as the government’s efforts in new education stalled, missionary and church-affiliated schools greatly expanded to fill the gap. Also, without reliable educational institutions of its own to teach the new knowledge that men now required to gain government office, the state turned to the missionary schools to train its officials. Still, LS instruction continued within the missionary and church-affiliated schools. Despite the link between government office holding and LS literacy being severed and despite the fulminations of Korean reformers and Western missionaries against LS, in a country where for a thousand years education had been synonymous with literacy in LS, Korean parents continued to insist that, in addition to the new subjects, their children be instructed in LS. The Methodists and Presbyterians took different approaches to teaching LS. The Methodists, who from the start had been more accommodating

³⁸³ 각처에서 오는 손님을 영접 함이 그제야 서양 각국의 풍속이 엇더한지 법률이 엇더한지 괴로 뜻기도 하고 눈으로 보기도 해야 엇더한 나라는 문명국이요 엇더한 나라는 야만이라 할것을 대강 짐작 하는 고로... “Nuösyö ch’im pannän il 누어서 침 밧는일,” *Tongnip sinmun*, June 5, 1899. Quoted in the above English translation in Schmid, 57.

of traditional LS instruction and the use of classical texts, continued to allow for traditional primary-level LS instructional methods and materials to be used at Pai Chai in facilities separate from the main hall where its secondary students learned from a Western-style curriculum in Western-style facilities. The Presbyterians, in contrast, innovated LS instructional methods and materials by integrating its learning into the curriculum for reading and writing at Kyungshin, treating it as just one of several on a continuum of Korean literary styles. And as the Presbyterian mission had been reluctant to teach from “heathen” Confucian works this meant preparing LS textbooks that excluded Confucian content and consisted instead of Christian and secular new learning as well as historical writings on non-Confucian topics.

This chapter will examine in turn each of the three areas laid out above—the Kabo reforms and their aftermath, the anti-Literary Sinitic discourse that arose in the new press, and the developments in LS instruction within missionary and church-affiliated schools. The purpose of this examination is to show both the continuities with and changes to the status, learning and use of LS that followed the formal end of Korea’s traditional relationship with China and the severing of the link between LS literacy and office holding. As this and the final chapter will show, though the prestige of LS was not wholly upended and though many if not most LS instructional practices remained unchanged, the rise of anti-LS discourses and the innovations introduced by Presbyterian missionaries in this period were foundational elements in shaping the nature of LS instruction within new schools in the final years of the Chosŏn dynasty. And it is in the foundations laid by this discourse and these innovations that we may locate many of those features of LS instruction that came to define Hanmunkwa thereafter.

4.2 Kabo Reforms and Literary Sinitic

In the spring of 1894, a peasant revolt originating in Korea's southern provinces threatened to turn into a full-scale civil war as peasant forces seized Chŏnju, the capital of Chŏlla province. With government forces unable to retake the city from the peasant army, in early June the Korean court turned to the Chinese for military assistance. The Chinese obliged, sending land and naval forces to the peninsula. In response to the Chinese mobilization, Japan dispatched 400 marines to Seoul, followed several days later by 3,000 regular troops, ostensibly to protect the Japanese legation and Japanese citizens from a repeat of the loss of life and property that had occurred in the wake of the failed 1884 coup. Following its request for Chinese reinforcements, the Korean government had managed in the interim to negotiate a truce with the peasant army and China agreed to withdraw its forces.³⁸⁴ The Koreans asked the Japanese to do the same. Believing, however, that Korea's political and social instability threatened its interests on the peninsula and in the region, Japan instead proposed to the Chinese that their two countries undertake a joint effort to administer social and governmental reforms in Korea. The Chinese refused this proposal, and in late July the Japanese seized the opportunity to occupy the capital, take custody of the king, dismiss the pro-Chinese Min clan and their allies from government, and install a pro-Japanese reform government, thus sparking the Sino-Japanese War. By the following April, Japan had achieved a total military victory, and in the Treaty of Shimonoseki ending the war China renounced any claim of suzerainty over the peninsula.

Japanese influence over the composition and agenda of the government lasted from late July 1894 to early February 1896, during which time a steady stream of reforms was issued

³⁸⁴ Kirk W Larsen, *Tradition, Treaties, and Trade: Qing Imperialism and Chosŏn Korea, 1850-1910* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2008), 233.

affecting every aspect of Korean political and social life. Central state institutions and local administrative systems were reorganized, the military, judicial, and financial systems were overhauled, and the traditional social status system, including slave and *yangban* status, was abolished. A number of reforms, including the abolition of the traditional examination system, an edict mandating that all public documents be based in the vernacular writing, and the establishment of a new education system would have lasting impacts on Korean language and literacy practices.

The new Japanese-backed government was headed by Kim Hongjip and included political exiles like Pak Yŏnghyo and Sŏ Kwangbŏm 徐光範 (1859–1897), who had fled to Japan after their participation in the failed 1884 coup, as well as others who had studied in Japan or traveled abroad as part of the early observation missions, such as Ŏ Yunjung, Yu Kilchun, Yun Ch’iho 尹致昊 (1866–1945), and Pak Chŏngyang 朴定陽 (1841–1904). These reformers were, however, not of a unified political or ideological bent. Political machinations and intense disagreements on what the nature of reform should be both within the government as well as between the government and its Japanese backers led to the rise and fall of several reform cabinets over the course of the next year and a half.³⁸⁵ These ideological differences and the political maneuvering for power also meant that there was not a unified vision of reform. As we will see, this lack of a unified vision meant that the different policies and regulations issued on language and educational matters sometimes worked at cross purposes or were blatantly contradictory.

³⁸⁵ Young I. Lew, “The Reform Efforts and Ideas of Pak Yŏng-Hyo, 1894-1895,” *Korean Studies* 1 (1977): 21–61.

4.2.1 Abolition of the *Kwagŏ*

The palace examination for what would ultimately be the final administration of the *kwagŏ* was held on June 18th, 1894 with a certain Sin Chongik 愼宗翼 (n.d.) earning the top *munkwa* degree among fifty-nine total passers.³⁸⁶ On August 3rd, ten days after Japan's occupation of Kojong's palace, the newly installed government issued the following resolution:

The recruitment of officials via examination essays is a system established by the royal house, but it is difficult to make appointments of those with practical abilities using useless essays (*hŏmun* 虛文, literally, “empty writings”). Therefore, modifications to the state examination procedure shall be made with the King's approval and alternative regulations for selecting officials shall be formulated hereafter.³⁸⁷

These “usless essays” or “empty writings” were of course the LS literary compositions and policy essays that had been the primary means of assessing fitness for government office for the entirety of the Chosŏn dynasty's five hundred-year existence. A rejection of Korea's past literary practice was therefore at the very heart of the Kabo government's justifications for abolishing the *kwagŏ*. Thus, the abolition of the *kwagŏ* was inherently a language-reform policy, and its demise would have a profound impact on the status of LS and the justifications for its continued use going forward.

The promised modifications to the examination procedure and regulations for government recruitment were issued on August 12th. The “Personnel Appointment Regulations” (Sŏn'gŏ chorye 選舉條例) stipulated that the head of each government agency or office was to appoint as prospective officials under his jurisdiction “those with proper decorum, abilities, skills, and knowledge of current affairs without regard for their social station, whether they are

³⁸⁶ 設式年文武科殿試于春塘臺. 文, 取愼宗翼等五十九人; 武, 取申永均等一千一百四十七人. *Kojong sillok*, v. 32, Kojong 31(1894).5.15, #2.

³⁸⁷ 科文取士, 係是朝家定制, 而難以虛文收用實才, 科舉之法, 奏蒙上裁變通後, 另定選舉條例事. *Kojong sillok*, v. 32, Kojong 31(1894).7.3, #4.

from the capital or the provinces, or whether high or low born.”³⁸⁸ These appointees were to have their qualifications for office tested via a two-tiered examination system. A new Personnel Selection Office (Chŏn’goguk 銓考局) was to first administer a common examination (*pot’ong sihŏm* 普通試驗) to all appointees “without exception in the subject areas of *kungmun*, *hanmun*, calligraphy, arithmetic, domestic policy, foreign affairs, and foreign relations.”³⁸⁹ To those who passed the common examination, a position-specific special examination (*t’ŭkpyŏl sihŏm* 特別試驗) would be administered “covering single topics pertaining to an ability or skill indicated in the recommendation papers carried by the appointee.”³⁹⁰ Though still to be tested as part of the first-tier common examination, LS was now only one among many tested subjects. The inclusion of vernacular writing, its priority in order among the three literacy-related subjects, and its titular elevation to the status of “national writing” reinforced the relative diminution in LS’s importance and status. Furthermore, it was left unclear how LS was to be tested. We may suppose that examinees were to compose an essay, but if so, whether these were exegetical essays or policy essays is unknown. If the former, what texts were to be examined, or if the latter, what topics were to be undertaken are also unknown.

Homer Hulbert, who received a copy of the government’s reform resolutions prior to their final approval by Kojong, believed that the *kwagŏ*’s abolition was the most fundamental of all the proposed reforms: “If there is any innovation that will break up the old foundations more than any other it is this.” Doing away with the *kwagŏ* would, he wrote, “eliminate a most

³⁸⁸ 無論朝野紳士, 京鄉貴賤, 有品行, 才諳, 藝術兼識時務者... *Kojong sillok*, v. 32, Kojong 31(1894).7.12, #2.

³⁸⁹ 國文, 漢文, 寫字, 算術, 內國政, 外國事情, 內情外事, 俱發策. *Ibid.*

³⁹⁰ 准該人所帶選狀內所註明適用才器, 單舉發題. *Ibid.*

fundamental factor from Korean life of to-day. It will be like taking from the Swiss his alpine horn, from the Englishman his Christmas, from the Spaniard his bull-fight, from the Italian his carnival, and from the Turk his Mecca.”³⁹¹

One immediate effect would be that the many thousands of individuals who had spent sometimes a decade or more reciting and explicating LS texts and practicing LS compositions in preparation for the *kwagǒ* would have a primary aim of their education eliminated with this single reform. The reform also affected the status and role of traditional educational institutions and their curricula. Since at least the middle of the Chosŏn dynasty, the traditional state-sponsored education system of county schools, the Four Academies, and the Sŏnggyun’gwan had not functioned properly as the conduit to gaining office as was originally intended. However, the power and prestige conferred by the *kwagǒ* had continued to set the country’s educational agenda, reinforcing a common curriculum for *yangban* students that mirrored the *kwagǒ*’s sole focus on the Confucian canon and Chinese histories. This curriculum shunned specialized or technical knowledge, valorizing instead generalist humanistic learning and the inculcation of Confucian ethics, contributing mightily to the Confucianization of Chosŏn society. The new testing regime conspicuously absented Confucian content from its list of examination subjects and instead prioritized specialized, technical knowledge. The end of the *kwagǒ* system thus not only went hand in hand with the abolition of the official class status system,³⁹² but also constituted the disestablishment of Confucianism as state-enforced orthodoxy and was the

³⁹¹ Homer B. Hulbert, “Korean Reforms,” *The Korean Repository* 2, no. 1 (January 1895): 2–9.

³⁹² The reform government’s first resolution calling for the end of the class system had explicitly coupled it with open government recruitment: “The Great Lineages and the *yangban* and commoner statuses are to be eradicated, and without adherence to their nobility or meanness, able men are to be selected [for government service]. [劈破門閥班常等級, 不拘貴賤, 選用人材事.] *Kojong sillok*, v. 31, Kojong 31(1894).6.28, #5.

beginning of its marginalization in the curricula of the country's schools. Though the traditional curriculum of LS primers, Confucian texts, and Chinese histories was not eliminated, the abolition of the *kwagŏ* severed the link between this learning and state power and was thus a major blow to the prestige of the entire system built up for the learning and propagation of Confucian knowledge.

4.2.2 Inscriptional Reform Policies and the Demotion of Literary Sinitic

As already seen in the directives reforming the examination system, Korea's vernacular writing was elevated within official state discourse to the status of *the* "national writing" for the first time. A mid-December edict, "The Format of Public Documents" (Kongmunsik 公文式), sought to reinforce the elevation of vernacular writing not only discursively but in actual practice. Setting forth the protocols and procedures for how cabinet ministers and their respective offices were to propose, format, and publish reform laws and edicts moving forward, Article 14 of the edict read simply: "Laws and edicts shall all be based in *kungmun* with an attached translation in *hanmun* or with the mixed use of *kungmun* and *hanmun*."³⁹³ Indicative of the vast gap between discourse and reality was the fact that this edict was itself composed solely in LS rather than in the vernacular as mandated.³⁹⁴ In early January 1895 when at Japanese insistence King Kojong visited the Royal Ancestral Shrine to renounce Korea's ritual relationship with China and to swear a fourteen-point oath promising reforms, the government did publish the text of both his

³⁹³ 法律, 勅令, 總以國文爲本, 漢文附譯, 或混用國漢文. *Kojong sillok*, v. 32, Kojong 31(1894).11.21, #2.

³⁹⁴ Like the discursive liability of the term "*hanmun*" for those who would defend LS's learning and use, in the next chapter we will see that the use of LS to make both pro-vernacular and anti-LS arguments was a liability to pro-vernacular reformers.

declaration of dynastic independence (*Chongmyo sŏgomun* 宗廟誓告文) and his fourteen-point oath of national reforms (*Hongbŏm sipsa-jo* 洪範 14 條) in the *Official Gazette* (*Kwanbo* 官報) in LS, in full vernacular, and in mixed-script style.³⁹⁵ However, no further measures were ever put in place to enforce the *kungmun*-first policy. Instead the immediate effect was the rapid mainstreaming of the mixed-script style, which quickly became the default style of the *Official Gazette* during the Kabo-reform period. Thus, in late May 1895 when the government published a newly amended version of the “Format of Public Documents,” though the edict contained the same *kungmun*-first directive that all laws and edicts be based in vernacular writing, the reissued edict was itself rendered in only a mixed-script style.³⁹⁶

Despite the lack of efforts to implement the government’s vernacular-first policy, the term “*kungmun*” stuck. The implications of this shift in terminology were readily understood by Hwang Hyŏn, who, shortly after the king’s visit to the Royal Ancestral Shrine, wrote about the change in the government’s language policy in his *Maech’ŏn yarok*. Hwang not only connected the nature of the mixed-script writing style used in the *Official Gazette* to Japanese writing style (as was discussed in the previous chapter) but he also connected the use of the terms “*hanmun*” and “*kungmun*” to a consequential discursive shift driven by “those who pursue current trends” seeking to promote the vernacular and abolish LS:

At this time, the *Official Gazette* as well as official documents from the provinces combine the true (*chin* 眞) and the vernacular (*ŏn* 諺) writing together into phrases in imitation of the Japanese writing style. In the language of our country we have long called Chinese writing “*chinsŏ*” 眞書 and *hunmin chŏngŭm* we have called “*ŏnmun*” 諺文, with the two together commonly called “*chin-ŏn*.” From the year Kabo, (Kojong 31 [1894]), those who pursue current trends have greatly promoted the vernacular writing, calling it “*kungmun*,” and considering the true writing to be something foreign, call it

³⁹⁵ *Kwanbo* 官報, *Kaeguk* 503(1894).12.12.

³⁹⁶ 法律命令은 다 國文으로써 本을 삼고 漢譯을 附히며 或國漢文을 混用함. *Kojong sillok*, v. 33, Kojong 32(1895).5.8, #4.

“*hanmun*.” Accordingly, the three-graph term “*kukhanmun*” 國漢文 has been coined and the terms “*chinsŏ*” and “*ŏnmun*” have finally disappeared. These fools have introduced the argument that *hanmun* ought to be abolished, but the current situation has constrained and prevented it.³⁹⁷

As discussed in the previous chapter, following the Treaty of Kanghwa the term “*hanmun*” was quickly adopted in official discourse; as, for example, in the government’s repeated use of the term when declaring LS its official language of diplomacy within its treaties with Western nations.³⁹⁸ Though “*hanmun*” indexed the “Chineseness” of LS from the very start, because the period was one of increased reliance on China, because the scope of LS’s use greatly expanded during the 1880s through the publication of newspapers and LS translations of Western texts, and because vernacular writing continued to be referred to by the then still neutral term “*ŏnmun*” 諺文 (“vernacular writing”), the term “*hanmun*” was not politically or socially marginalizing. What Hwang could see clearly, however, was that with the elevation of vernacular writing from “*ŏnmun*” to “*kungmun*” the foreignness that “*hanmun*” indexed was negatively foregrounded. By elevating vernacular writing to the “national writing,” the reform government sought to make it a symbol of Korean nationhood. Thus, when paired with “*kungmun*,” LS as “*hanmun*” could no longer unquestionably occupy the preeminent position within the nation’s inscriptional hierarchy. LS was thus discursively displaced despite the current situation constraining and

³⁹⁷ 時京中官報及外道文移, 皆真諺相錯, 以綴字句, 盖效日本文法也. 我國方言, 古稱華文曰‘真書’, 稱訓民正音曰‘諺文’, 故統稱‘真諺’, 及甲午(高宗三十一年) 後趨時務者盛推諺文曰‘國文’, 別真書以外之曰‘漢文’, 於是‘國漢文’三字遂成方言, 而‘真諺’之稱泯焉, 其狂佻者倡漢文當廢之論, 然勢格而止. Hwang Hyŏn, *Maech’ŏn yarok [Maech’ŏn’s unofficial record]* (Seoul, Korea: Munhak kwa chisŏngsa, 2005), 173.

³⁹⁸ The one exception is the 1882 treaty with the U.S. in which LS is referred to using the term “*hwamun*” 華文 (literally “efflorescent writing” “efflorescent” (*hwa* 華, C. *hua*) or “central efflorescence” (*chunghwa* 中華, C. *zhonghua*) being a term for Chinese civilization and culture, especially vis-à-vis the non-civilized “barbarians” (*i* 夷, C. *yi*)).

preventing its abolition. This displacement was furthered by the pejoration of things Chinese subsequent to China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese war, after which LS's "Chineseness" was negatively indexed by the term "*hanmun*."³⁹⁹

4.2.3 Literary Sinitic Instruction in the New Education System

The impact on the reform agenda of government officials' differing ideological orientations and competing political interests can best be seen in the educational regulations implemented during the remainder of the Kabo era. In particular, what the nature of language and literacy training was to be within the new educational system was a matter about which there was obvious disagreement, with different policies and practices contradicting each other and working at cross purposes. This can already be seen in two early documents produced by the government laying out the justifications for and principles by which educational reform was to take place. The first document by the new Minister of Educational Affairs, Pak Chōngyang, came in September 1894, and the second, issued in the name of King Kojong, came less than six months later in February 1895.

Since the existing education system did not train students in the specialized knowledge and skills that the government now wanted its officials to possess,⁴⁰⁰ and since the new personnel regulations made it clear that the training of able men for government office was still to be a primary aim of state education, the end of the *kwagŏ* necessitated the establishment of a new

³⁹⁹ See Schmid, *Korea between Empires*, 55–100.

⁴⁰⁰ Because it had abolished the *kwagŏ* prior to the actual establishment of a new education system, the government mandated that "prior to the widespread establishment of schools to prepare able men, the Council of State shall direct the five major cities and the eight provinces to submit candidates via a method of local recommendation." 廣設學校作成人材之前, 由議政府, 關飭五都, 八道, 依鄉貢法薦升. *Kojong sillok*, v. 32, Kojong 31(1894).7.12, #2.

education system. Plans for a new Educational Affairs Department (Hangmu Amun 學務衙門) were first drawn up on July 30th to replace the educational functions of the Board of Rites, which had traditionally regulated everything from ancestral rites and the sending of embassies to China to the administration of the state's school and examination systems.⁴⁰¹ A month later, on September 1st, Pak Chōngyang announced the department's plans to establish a new education system. The announcement was not a detailed plan but an explanation of why a new system was needed and of what its priorities would be. "Considering now the radical transformation of our current political situation," he wrote, "the entirety of our institutions will be reformed afresh, and so the education of men of eminent ability is the most urgent matter."⁴⁰² Though committed to reform, Pak's ideas were not in the radical reformist mold. As a member of the 1881 Gentlemen's Observation Mission he was an early witness to Japan's reforms and their impact, but unlike Ō Yunjung and Hong Yōngsik, he was part of the mission's majority in embracing the complementarian *tongdo sōgi* (Eastern Way, Western Tools) approach to reform. That he still held to this approach is evident from the nature of his proposed educational reforms and the justifications he gave for them. He began with an explicitly Confucian justification for reform, a paraphrase from Mencius about the delight to be taken in finding and educating talented men: "Mencius said, 'Kings have three delights and getting men of eminent ability and educating them is one of these delights.'"⁴⁰³ He then announced the government's intent to first establish

⁴⁰¹ *Kojong sillok*, v. 32, Kojong 31(1894).6.28, #4.

⁴⁰² 顧今時局丕變凡百制度咸與維新, 而教育英材尤爲第一急務也. Pak Chōngyang et al., *Pak Chōngyang chōnjip [The collected writings of Pak Chōngyang]*, vol. 4 (Seoul, Korea: Asea Munhwasa, 1984), 376.

⁴⁰³ 孟子曰: '王者有三樂, 得英材而教育之一樂也.' *Ibid.*, 373. The original quote is from *Mencius*, Book 7A20: 孟子曰: '君子有三樂, 而王天下不與存焉. 父母俱存, 兄弟無故, 一樂也. 仰不愧於天, 俯不忤於人, 二樂也. 得天下英才而教育之, 三樂也. 君子有三樂, 而王天下不與存焉.' "Mencius said, 'The noble person has three delights, and being ruler over

primary schools and a teachers' school. His suggested curricula for both schools would continue to prioritize Confucian learning and LS literacy as foundational knowledge to be supplemented with the addition of Western school subjects:

At this moment as we undertake the reform of all our laws and institutions, to delight in the education of men of eminent ability is our most urgent task. We shall therefore establish a primary school, and, operating first in Seoul, shall select boys seven years and older to be sent to the school. There they will study the Five Relationships, *chinmun* 眞文, moral self-cultivation, and scripts. Additionally, they will learn national and world geography and history along with other introductory learning...

Considering all the urgent matters right now, none comes before the education of eminently able men, but the way to educate is to sincerely take care in obtaining worthy teachers. Thus, we shall establish teachers' schools, and, operating first in Seoul, shall select young men between ages fifteen and twenty who have acquired some facility in *hanmun* to be [trained as] teachers. They will be instructed in *õnmun* orthography, *kungmun* articles, and *chinmun* articles and essays. Additionally, they will also learn national and universal history and geography, economics, law, arithmetic, and other such learning. If they pass their studies, they shall be made primary school teachers...⁴⁰⁴

This centering of Confucian learning and LS literacy to be supplemented by Western learning was a hallmark of the *tongdo sōgi* approach to reform. Worth noting too is Pak's switching back and forth between the terms "*chinmun*" and "*hanmun*" and between "*õnmun*" and "*kungmun*," appearing either to have not yet fully assimilated the new terminology or to have not acquiesced to the implications of this terminological shift. In concluding his announcement Pak again

the world is not among them. That his father and mother are both alive and his older and younger brothers present no cause for concern—this is his first delight. That he can look up and not be abashed before Heaven, look down and not to be ashamed before others—this is his second delight. That he can get the most eminent talents in the world and educate them—this is his third delight. The noble person has three delights, and being ruler over the world is not one of them.” *Mencius*, ed. P.J. Ivanhoe, trans. Irene Bloom (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2011), 148.

⁴⁰⁴ 當此百度更張之時，樂育英才第一急務也。茲制定小學校先行於京內，而將擇男子年七歲以上皆入此學，肄習五倫行實·眞文·修身·文字，及我國與萬國地誌·歷史·初步等學……顧今切急之務莫先於教育英才，而教育之道實在乎得賢師也。茲制定師範學校先行於京內，另擇年十五歲以上二十歲以下男子，稍有漢文之力學者爲學員，講習諺文綴字·國文記事·眞文記事·論說及我國與萬國之歷史·地理·經濟·法律·博物算數等學，攷藝技尤將爲小學校師範... Pak Chōngyang et al., *Ibid.*, 374–75.

reiterated his plans to center traditional learning and LS literacy within the primary and teachers' schools:

The way to govern a nation is to make the preparation of able men its very foundation... For this reason, this ministry shall establish primary and teachers' schools first to be operated in Seoul, and from the sons of high officials on down to gifted commoners all shall enter the schools together where they shall learn the Classics (經書), the works of the Masters (子傳), the Six Arts (六藝), and the writings of the Hundred Schools (百家之文), reciting it in the morning and mastering it the evening.⁴⁰⁵

On the matter of what place Confucian learning and LS instruction would have in the new school system, Pak's announcement could not have been more different from the proclamation on education issued by Kojong on February 26, 1895. This proclamation was not a policy document but a declaration of the importance of education as a foundation for the prosperity and strength of the nation. Though written in the first person and addressed with intimacy and urgency to "you, my subjects" (*i sin-min* 爾臣民), the rhetoric of the proclamation is clearly influenced by the *munmyōng kaehwa* ("civilization and enlightenment") discourse of Enlightenment-party officials. Like the announcement establishing a new system for recruiting officials, which repudiated the *kwagō*'s "empty essays," Kojong's proclamation took square aim at the product of traditional LS literacy instruction and literary production, or what it called "usless/empty words" (*hōmyōng* 虛名):

If we do not teach the people, then it will be extremely difficult to fortify the nation. Looking out on the current state of the world, those nations that are prosperous and powerful—that are independent and have command of world affairs—in each [we find that] their people's knowledge is enlightened, and the enlightenment of their knowledge is a product of good education. Indeed, education is the foundation for preserving a nation. Therefore, from my position as both king and teacher, I bear a personal responsibility to educate, but even education has its methods. We must first establish a distinction between empty words and what is actually useful; for one who recites his books and practices his sinographs, who collects only the scraps of the ancients but is

⁴⁰⁵ 國家致治之道，以作成人材爲本... 茲由本衙門立小學校師範學校先行京內，上自公卿大夫之子下至凡民俊秀皆入此學，經書·子傳·六藝·百家之文朝誦暮習。Ibid. 375–76.

blind to the great trends of the present day, even were his writings greater than any past or present, he will be an utterly useless scholar (*sōsaeng* 書生).⁴⁰⁶

The empty words (虛名) that were the final product of years of recitations and copywork were an impediment to cultivating an enlightened populous and must be replaced by practical pursuits, since the people's education was the foundation upon which national prosperity and strength were to be built.

The establishment of schools and the training of able men which I have commanded of the government, shall bring about great achievements for the revival of the nation through the learning of you, my subjects. You, my subjects, be loyal to your king, and with a heart of devotion for your country cultivate yourselves morally, physically and intellectually. The safety of the royal family depends upon your education. The prosperity and power of the nation too hangs upon your education. If your education does not attain a state of excellence, then how can I claim that my rule is successful, or how can my government dare claim that it has fulfilled its responsibilities?⁴⁰⁷

According to Yi Haemyōng (1991), the proclamation was clearly influenced, perhaps even composed, by the likes of Yu Kilchun, who was influential in early Kabo cabinets and whose known writings make frequent mention of the need to eliminate “empty words” and pursue “actually useful” pursuits in order to advance *munmyōng kaehwa* and achieve a prosperous and powerful nation.⁴⁰⁸ As we will see below, Kojong was not particularly exercised over the

⁴⁰⁶ 嗚呼라 民을 敎치 아니면 國家를 鞏固케 하기 甚難하니 宇內의 形勢를 環顧하건디 克富하 며 克強하야 獨立雄視하느 諸國은 皆其人民의 知識이 開明하고 知識의 開明함은 敎育의 善美함으로 以함인 則敎育이 實로 國家保存하느 根本이라. 是以로 朕이 君師의 位에 在하야 敎育하느 責을 自擔하노니 敎育도 또하 其道가 有하지라. 虛名과 實用의 分別을 先立함이 可하니 書를 讀하고 字를 習하야 古人의 糟粕만 掇拾하고 時勢의 大局에 矇昧하 者는 文章이 古今을 凌駕하야도 一無用하 書生이라. 今에 朕이 敎育하느 綱領을 示하야 虛名을 是祛하고 實用을 是崇하노니... *Kojong sillok*, v. 33, Kojong 32(1895).2.2, #1.

⁴⁰⁷ 朕이 政府를 命하야 學校를 廣設하고 人材를 養成함은 爾臣民의 學識으로 國家의 中興大功을 贊成하기 爲함이라. 爾臣民은 忠君, 愛國하느 心性으로 爾德, 爾體, 爾智를 養하라. 王室의 安全함도 爾臣民의 敎育에 在하고 國家의 富強함도 爾臣民의 敎育에 在하니 爾臣民의 敎育이 善美하 境에 抵치 못하면 朕이 엇지 굶으디 朕의 治가 成하다하며 朕의 政府가 엇지 敢히 굶으디 其責을 盡하다 하리오? *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁸ Yi Haemyōng, *Kaehwagi kyoyuk kaehyōk yōn'gu*, 153–54.

learning and use of LS by his officials, allowing them post Kabo to revert to LS in their memorials and official reports. Whoever the actual author of the king's proclamation was, the differences in ideological orientation and attitudes toward traditional learning found in it and those expressed in the previous announcement by Pak were vast and would eventually be reflected in contradictory policies and curricular guidelines that weakened the effectiveness of the Kabo-era educational reforms.

As already noted, Pak's announcement and Kojong's proclamation were not detailed policy documents laying out the specifics of school regulations or curricular guidelines. These specifics would have to wait until April 19, 1895, two days after the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki ending the Sino-Japanese War, when efforts to establish the new educational system finally began in earnest. The Educational Affairs Department was renamed the Education Ministry (Hakpu 學部) and a new set of ministry organizational regulations were promulgated. Two offices within the ministry were created to oversee the administration of the new school system, the Educational Affairs Office (Hangmu-guk 學務局) responsible for schools' organizational regulations and curricular guidelines, and the Publications Office (P'yŏnjip-kuk 編輯局) responsible for the translation, compilation, screening, and printing of school textbooks.⁴⁰⁹ Laying the foundation for a new primary education system and the training of

⁴⁰⁹ The specific duties given to the Educational Affairs Office were as follows: 1) matters relating to primary schools and the attendance of school-aged children, 2) matters relating to the teachers' schools, 3) matters relating to secondary schools, 4) matters relating to foreign language schools, vocational schools, and technical schools, and 5) matters relating to students studying abroad. The Publications Office's duties were as follows: 1) matters relating to the translation of textbooks, 2) matters relating to the editing and compilation of textbooks, 3) matters relating to the screening and approval of textbooks, 4) matters relating to the procurement and maintenance of books, and 5) matters relating to the printing of books. See Han Kiŏn et al., eds., *Han 'guk kyoyuk saryo chipsŏng: kaehwagi p'yŏn [Historical Korean*

teachers to staff its schools, the Education Ministry first issued organizational regulations and curricular guidelines for a teachers' school, the Hansŏng Normal School (Hansŏng Sabŏm Hakkyo 漢城師範學校), and for primary schools in May and September respectively.⁴¹⁰

4.2.3.1 Primary Schools

Though funding had often been insufficient, state support for educational institutions was hardly new. As seen in chapter 2, however, the operation of primary schools and the basic LS literacy instruction that took place therein had always been a private effort performed at a village *sŏdang*. With the issuance of the Primary School Ordinance (Sohakkyo-ryŏng 小學校令) on September 7, the state moved for the first time into the business of elementary education. The ordinance, divided primary schools into two levels, an ordinary or lower course (*simsangkwa* 尋常科) with three grades for students aged eight to ten, and a higher-level course (*kodŭngkwa* 高等科) also with three grades for students aged eleven to fourteen.⁴¹¹ This division allowed individual schools to be established as an ordinary primary school, a higher primary school, or both.

In late September, the Education Ministry issued curricular guidelines specifying the primary schools' subjects of instruction and detailing the methods and content for each class. The curriculum of the ordinary course was to comprise the following classes: Morals, Reading and Composition, Copywork, Arithmetic, and Physical Exercise. To these the higher course added: Geography, Korean History, Natural Science, and Drawing. At both levels, when

Educational Records: Enlightenment-Period Collection], vol. IV, Ilban Charyo Ch'ongsŏ 93–1 (Kyŏnggi-do Sŏngnam-si: Han'guk chŏngsin munhwa yŏn'guwŏn, 1993), 6.

⁴¹⁰ For the founding regulations for of these schools, see Han et al., 5 and 13 respectively.

⁴¹¹ See “Sohakkyo-ryŏng 小學校令” in *Ibid.*, 15.

appropriate, foreign language classes could be added, and for girls, sewing classes.⁴¹² The guidelines began with the directive that “Knowledge and skills ought to be applicable to sure and practical uses, and therefore [schools] shall have an obligation to select and teach on matters necessary in everyday life, repeatedly practicing them until their application comes naturally.”⁴¹³ The directive that students’ learning be oriented toward “knowledge necessary in daily life” (*ilsang suji* 日常須知) was replete throughout the guidelines, reflecting again the emphasis on “practical learning.” Thus, the multi-subject curriculum laid out in these guidelines made no room for separate instruction in the “empty writings” (i.e. LS compositions) denounced in King Kojong’s February proclamation. Furthermore, the curricular guidelines for Reading and Composition and for Copywork—the only two literacy-focused classes—contained little of anything that could be considered LS instruction.

The guidelines mandated that the Reading and Composition class was to proceed “from the familiar to the unknown, from the simple to the complex,” and that students were to first be taught “the ability to read and decipher the meaning of common language and of the sinographs, phrases, and grammar indispensable in everyday life.”⁴¹⁴ Beginning in the ordinary course, students were to be taught the mechanics of reading and writing the Korean alphabet, and then, with the gradual introduction of vernacular writing mixed with LS vocabulary or de-grammaticalized LS holophrases, they were to be instructed in how to read and write in mixed-script style: “During the Reading class, teach *kungmun* as well as writings with simple *hanmun*

⁴¹² See “Sohakkyo kyochik taegang 小學校教則大綱” in *Ibid.*, 21.

⁴¹³ 智識과 技能을 確實히야 實用에 適함을 要하는 故로 日常生活에 必要한 事項을 擇히야 教授하고 反復練習히야 應用이 自在케 함을 務함이 可함. *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁴ For the original text of the curricular guidelines for both the reading and composition class and the copywork class with an English translation, see Appendix C.1.

mixed in, and during composition instruction, teach *kungmun*, writings with simple *hanmun* mixed in, and everyday documents.” In the higher course, Reading and Composition was to begin and end with mixed script: “Reading instruction in the higher course shall be in mixed-script writing. Composition shall be instruction in mixed-script writing and in the documents used in everyday life.” The topics covered in the reading and composition class were to connect to other areas of the curriculum and to other topics encountered in daily life: “Composition and Reading shall deal with subject matter taught in the other classes, as well as matters students encounter in everyday life and those that are necessary for getting on in society.” The planned reading textbooks too were to emphasize practical learning: “Subjects [covered in the readers] shall include morals instruction, geography, history, natural sciences, and other subjects necessary in everyday life.” As with reading and composition instruction, copywork was to proceed in a graduated manner and the learning of sinographs was meant only to facilitate literacy in mixed-script writing style. In the ordinary course, students were to be “drilled in short phrases of *kungmun* mixed with simple sinographs, in everyday sinographs used in the names of persons, places, and things, and in everyday documents.” In the higher course, sinographs “suitable to everyday use” were to be gradually added by “expanding on subjects from the lower course,” and students were to be “drilled in writing everyday documents.”

Much was new in these guidelines. They introduced a graduated, analytical approach to literacy education focused on grasping the constituent parts of the common (i.e. standard) language relevant to practical knowledge; they excluded any instruction in full LS content, beginning instead with instruction in how to use the vernacular alphabet and terminating in instruction in mixed-script writing. As already discussed, LS literacy training traditionally began with the rote recitation of texts seen or unseen, in a language unfamiliar to the learner.

Traditional copywork began and proceeded in whatever order sinographs were encountered in one's sinograph primer, typically the *Ch'ōnjamun*. It did not proceed from simple to complex graphs, nor was it separated from the context of LS literacy training but was an integral part thereof. Also, the content of traditional learning focused not on the practical skills and knowhow “necessary in everyday life” but on knowledge necessary for self-cultivation; a microcosmic task leading, in the formulation of the *Taehak*, to the macrocosmic aim of a well-ordered country and peace throughout the kingdom.

4.2.3.1.1 Government Primary School Readers

Whether, and if so, how these curricular guidelines issued by the Educational Affairs Office were implemented in the classroom is not clear, but the four readers published by the ministry's Publications Office could not have made their implementation easy, if even possible. In order of publication, the four readers were *Kungmin sohak tokpon* 國民小學讀本 (*People's Elementary Reader*, 1885.8), *Sohak tokpon* 小學讀本 (*Elementary Reader*, 1895.12), *Yumong hwip'yōn* 蒙彙編 (*A Collection for the Enlightenment of Children*, 1895.12), and *Sinjōng simsang sohak* 新訂尋常小學 (*A New Ordinary Primary School [Reader]*, February 1896). None of these textbooks presented topics, sinographs, or grammar in the graduated “familiar-to-unknown, simple-to-complex” arrangement that the curricular guidelines called for.

With regard to their content, two of the readers, *Kungmin sohak tokpon* and *Sinjōng simsang sohak*, were overwhelmingly cribbed or translated directly from American and Japanese textbooks and so incorporate the practical, everyday topics that the curricular guidelines deemed

necessary for students to “get on in society.”⁴¹⁵ *Sohak tokpon* and *Yumong hwip’yŏn*, by contrast were comprised wholly of Confucian and other traditional sinological knowledge and history; in tone, content, and format, they were more like traditional morals primers than contemporary Japanese and American readers.⁴¹⁶ For example, *Sohak tokpon*, like the traditional morals primer *Kyŏngmong yogyŏl*, begins with a chapter titled “Establishing a Determination [to Learn]” (*ipchi* 立志) laying out reasons for why education is important and seeking to strengthen the learner’s resolve to attain knowledge. This is followed by four more topical chapters, each beginning with a short introductory exposition of a topic followed by illustrative examples from the words and deeds of Chosŏn luminaries. In this regard the text resembles the Outer Chapters of the *Sohak* which present the “admirable sayings and exemplary deeds” (*kaon sŏnhaeng* 嘉言善行) of figures from Chinese history illustrating and exemplifying the principles taught in the Inner

⁴¹⁵ Numerous articles and books have been written on both these textbooks, comparing them to each other, to the other two readers published in this period, and to the American and Japanese texts from which they were cribbed. In English see Leighanne Kimberly Yuh, “Moral Education, Modernization Imperatives, and the *People’s Elementary Reader* (1895): Accommodation in the Early History of Modern Education in Korea,” *Acta Koreana* 18, no. 2 (2015): 327–355; in Korean, on the sources used to compile these two readers see Pak Sŭngbae, “Kabo kaehyŏkki Hakpu p’yŏnch’an kyogwasŏ chŏja ka hwaryong han munhŏn kojŭng [Historical Research on the References Used by the Textbook Editors of the Ministry of Education during the Kabo Reforms Era],” *Kyoyuk kwajŏng yŏn’gu* 30, no. 3 (2012): 141–164; Pak Sŭngbae, “Kabo kaehyŏkki Hakpu p’yŏnch’an kyogwasŏ chŏja ka hwaryong han munhŏn kojŭng (II) [Historical Research on the References Used by the Textbook Editors of the Ministry of Education during the Kabo Reforms Era (II)],” *Kyoyuk kwajŏng yŏn’gu* 31, no. 3 (2013): 77–94; and on the educational ideologies apparent from their content and format, see Pak Sŭngbae, “Kabo kaehyŏkki kyogwasŏ e nat’anan kyoyuk kwajŏnghak inyŏm yŏn’gu [A Study of the Curriculum Ideology Found in the Textbooks of the Kabo Reforms Period],” *Kyoyuk kwajŏng yŏn’gu* 29, no. 3 (2011): 1–22.

⁴¹⁶ For reprints of each of these four readers along with an explanatory introduction and a Korean translation of their content, see Hakpu P’yŏnjipkuk, *Kungmin sohak tokpon*, trans. Kang Chinho, (Kwangmyŏng-si, Korea: Tosŏ Ch’ulp’an Kyŏngjin, 2012); Hakpu P’yŏnjipkuk, *Sinjŏng simsang sohak*, trans. Ku Chahwang, (Kwangmyŏng-si, Korea: Tosŏ Ch’ulp’an Kyŏngjin, 2012); Hakpu P’yŏnjipkuk, *Sohak Tokpon : Yumong Hwip’yŏn*, trans. Yu Imha, (Kwangmyŏng-si, Korea: Tosŏ Ch’ulp’an Kyŏngjin, 2015).

Chapters.⁴¹⁷ The content and format of *Yumong hwip 'yŏn* shows the influence of *Kyemongp 'yŏn* and *Tongmong sŏnsŭp*. Like *Kyemongp 'yŏn*, it begins with a three-chapter overview of traditional sinological conceptions of nature and the cosmos and the place of humans in relationship to heaven and earth. Like *Tongmong sŏnsŭp*, its remaining sections expound on Confucianism's Five Relationships followed by a longer general essay introducing further sinological knowledge covering briefly the history of China from the mythical past to the early Qing dynasty. Though neither *Sohak tokpon* or *Yumong hwip 'yŏn* deal with the “matters students encounter in everyday life and those that are necessary for getting on in society” touted by the curricular guidelines, both nevertheless show the imprint of the period's rising nationalist discourse and the educational emphasis on practical learning. *Yumong hwip 'yŏn*, for example, reorders the Five Relationships placing the relationship between ruler and subject prior to the traditionally paramount relationship between father and son, and emphasizes that the righteous subject's duty to defend king and country with his life is the ultimate filial duty. And on practical learning, though careful not to fault past monarchs or scholars for their support of or participation in the *kwagŏ*, chapter three of *Sohak tokpon* gives justifications for its abolition on the grounds that it did not address current needs and instead elevated the pointless or “empty” (*hŏ* 虛) over the practical (*sil* 實).

It is important to note that the Education Ministry's four readers were not simply filling different niches in a complementary distribution of subjects. That is to say, the curricular

⁴¹⁷ Though keeping to this format, the final two chapters excerpt heavily from the Ming-period educational text *Caigentan* 菜根譚 (“Cabbage Root Talks”) without acknowledgement and repeatedly misattribute sayings from that text to Chosŏn figures. See Hakpu P'yŏnjipkuk, *Sohak Tokpon : Yumong Hwip 'yŏn*, 15–16. Also, given that much of the content of these chapters are translated from an LS original, their writing style could be characterized as *ŏnhae*-translational style rather than as a stand-alone mixed-script style.

guidelines' directive that the subjects covered within the readers should "include morals instruction, geography, history, natural sciences, and other subjects necessary in everyday life" was not meant to be fulfilled in part by some readers and in part by others. Rather, *Kungmin sohak tokpon* and *Sinjŏng simsang sohak* were designed to cover the full spectrum of subjects listed in the guidelines, while *Sohak tokpon* and *Yumong hwip'yŏn* were not. Also, on those subjects in which these two types of readers did overlap, they did not speak with one voice. On the subject of Confucianism and its impact on China's civilization, *Yumong hwip'yŏn* is positive, as we might expect. *Kungmin sohak tokpon*, however, while allowing that the original Confucian writings were an advance for Chinese culture at the time they were written, ties China's apparent backwardness to the continual worship of those "empty writings" and people's resultant inability to grow in knowledge:

The writings of Confucius and the worthies of his era gradually opened and advanced [China's] culture, planting the morality of that generation in people's hearts. The learning that came thereafter, however, did not genuinely investigate the practicality of those teachings, and did nothing more than worship empty writings (*hŏmun* 虛文). And so, because this latter learning could not fathom the meanings of prior scholars and its relevance was lost and could not be recovered, it has finally become an established practice for one to give up [on learning] in despair. For this reason, people's knowledge has not been able to grow and they do not understand the spirit of the times nor how it is to be reflected in educational aims. And yet, still China aggrandizes itself as the "Central Efflorescence" and considers outsiders to be barbarians. This is the prejudicial view of the Chinaman (*China-in* 支那人).

Despite China having passed through many dynasties, Confucianism has continued uninterrupted till it is these empty writings that have become the country's foundation, and only secondarily are the Imperial House and the state itself recognized. Thus, it is natural that they themselves are not of a mind to honor their ruler and love their nation.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁸ 孔子와 前後 賢人の 論說은 그 나라 文化를 開進하야 世道人心의 扶植하마 | 라. 後學이 그 敎의 實地를 眞正 窮究치 아니하고 ㅎ갓 虛文만 崇尚하며 ㅎ은 前人の 뜻을 忖度지 못하야 그 맛당함을 일코 日新치 못하기로 맞춤니 스스로 暴棄함으로 習을 成ㅎ지라. 이런 古로 스릅의 智慧가 開達치 못하야 時勢를 조차 敎義에 適用함을 아지 못하고 다만 “中華이라” 自尊하며 外國을 “夷狄이라” ㅎ니 此는 곳 支那人의 偏見이니라.

Recalling that *Sohak tokpon* and *Yumong hwip'yŏn* were published after *Kungmin sohak tokpon*, we can understand their publication in part as having come in reaction to negative portrayals of traditional learning such as this, showing that even at the height of this progressive period of reform, the intended changes to educational content and practices were not uncontested; traditional Confucian and sinological knowledge were not so easily dismissed.

In regards to the language and writing style of the readers, none proceeds from a pure Korean-alphabetic style to a mixed-script style as the curricular guidelines had directed, each featuring only writings in mixed script.⁴¹⁹ If the directive to advance from pure alphabetic to mixed-script style was to be followed, then, it would mean that teachers were to begin their instruction in reading and writing in the Korean alphabet without the aid of these textbooks. Also, despite the guidelines' directive that "the grammar of reading textbooks shall be kept simple as it must serve as a model of standard *kungmun* so that students may easily understand," in the first three readers, though Korean syntax predominates, the style is heavily LS-influenced. This included the LS vocabulary and holophrases that we may presume was meant by the guidelines' "writings with simple *hanmun* mixed in," but also such elements as LS conjunctions (e.g. 及 and 則), personal pronouns (e.g. 吾, 我, 汝), relative pronouns (e.g. 者), and demonstrative pronouns (e.g. 是, 此, 其, 彼), and single-syllable LS-verb + *-hǎ-* constructions (e.g. 教 ㅎ - [KYO hǎ-] for colloquial 가르치- [karŭch'i-]) typical of the *ŏnhae* style that sought

支那國은 여러 皇統을 經 ㅎ야 儒教 | 綿綿 不絶이라. 못 츨니 虛文으로 本을 숨고 皇室社稷을 其次로 아라 스스로 尊主愛國의 마음이 업기닌 自然 ㅎ 일이니라. Hakpu P'yŏnjipkuk, *Kungmin sohak tokpon*, 51–52.

⁴¹⁹ Of the eighteen textbooks published by the Kabo government all but four used mixed script. Of those four that did not employ mixed script, three used LS and only one, a geography textbook, used a pure Korean-alphabetic style. For a list of Kabo-era textbooks, see Appendix D.

to adhere closely to an LS original. Thus, though a primary school student could not have learned how to read or compose in LS using these readers, we cannot expect either that a student would have been able to comprehend the writing of these textbooks without the aid of a teacher who was himself an LS literate. In short, while they did not teach LS, to be fully comprehended these primary school readers would have nevertheless required LS literacy. The writing style of the fourth reader, *Sinjŏng simsang sohak*, adheres much more closely to colloquial Korean. It does not employ LS prepositions or conjunctions and has comparably fewer Sino-vocabulary and single-syllable LS-verb + *-hǎ-* constructions. Like the other three readers, however, sinographs are not introduced in the “simple, everyday sinographs first” arrangement called for in the curricular guidelines.

The writing style of the readers also demonstrates that despite the curricular guidelines and other of the government’s stated efforts to enact a *kungmun*-first language policy, mixed-script writing style was the definitive victor of Kabo-era writing reforms. This was accomplished first by the Kabo government’s acquiescence to the use of mixed-script style as the default medium of its official documents and school textbooks and finally by its redefinition of the term “*kungmun*” to include mixed-script styles. Whereas the edict on public documents and the curricular guidelines had carefully delineated between vernacular writing and mixed-script writing—using “*kungmun*” for the former and variously “*kukhanmun*” 國漢文, “*hanmun kyo hǎnǎn mun*” 漢文交 混 文, and “*hancha kyomun*” 漢字交文 for the latter—the introduction to *Sinjŏng simsang sohak* calls its mixed-script writing style “*kungmun*.” By the time of its publication in February 1896 at the end of the Kabo era, “*kungmun*” could thus be understood to mean not simply writings in pure Korean-alphabetic style, but syntactically colloquial Korean represented orthographically either fully in the Korean alphabet or with mixed script.

The introduction to *Sinjŏng simsang sohak* is also worth examining for other reasons, and so is translated below:

[Through this reader,] the student will not learn only of the past, venerating nothing but *hanmun*, but reckoning with current trends, he will, on the contrary, use *kungmun* to learn also of the present and thus expand his knowledge. Our country's King Sejong the Great, seeing that every nation of the world had its own national writing whereby the people learned things and that we alone were without one, specifically created *hunmin chŏngŭm* for the purpose of making what should be widely known among the people easily understood by all.

With today's interactions between the nations of the earth and with the efforts being made for the sake of civilizational progress, the very task of education is at present a most pressing matter. For this reason, the Japanese advisors Takami Kamei 高見龜 and Asakawa Matsujirō 麻川松次郎 have worked together to compile a primary school textbook that makes use of the writings and current affairs of all the nations under heaven, that uses diagrams and natural metaphors, illustrations and *kungmun* with the intent first and foremost of making learning easy for a variety of children.

[This reader] will also provide an education that advances gradually toward *hanmun*, and so it is our great hope that our people will emulate the nation's sincere efforts in education and work diligently to quickly develop their abilities, becoming familiar with the circumstances in every nation, working together for independence, and thus making our nation's foundation firm as a mountain and solid as a rock.⁴²⁰

First, note the division made between past and present learning and the tying of LS literacy to the former and vernacular literacy to the latter. The claim being made is that the past, along with its practices and knowledge transmitted through a medium ill-suited for the modern world are to be superseded by vernacular literacy, which is the key mechanism for gaining and expanding

⁴²⁰ 學^ㅎ는者 | 전혀 漢文만 崇尚^ㅎ야 古를 學^ㅎ을 쓴 아니라, 時勢를 헤아려 國文을 叅互^ㅎ야 또한 今도 學^ㅎ야 智識을 넓^ㅎ닐 것시니, 我國의 世宗大王게 오셔 ^ㅎ샤대 世界 各國은 다 國文이 有^ㅎ야 人民을 開曉^ㅎ되 我國은 홀노 업다 ^ㅎ스, 特別히 訓民正音을 지으스 民間에 廣布^ㅎ심은 婦孺와 與僮라도 알고 卼^ㅎ닷기 쉬운 緣故 | 라. 卽, 今 萬國이 交好^ㅎ야 文明의 進步^ㅎ하기를 힘^ㅎ쓰는 敎育의 一事가 目下의 急務 | 라. 茲에 日本 補佐員 高見龜와 麻川松次郎으로 더부러 小學의 敎科書를 編輯^ㅎ시 天下萬國의 文法과 時務의 適用^ㅎ者를 依樣^ㅎ야 或 物象으로 譬喻^ㅎ며 或 畫圖로 形容^ㅎ야 國文을 尙用^ㅎ은 여러 兒孩들을 우선 卼^ㅎ닷기 쉽고 卼^ㅎ힘이오. 漸次 또 漢文으로 進階^ㅎ야 敎育^ㅎ을 거시니 卼^ㅎ 우리 羣蒙은 國家의 實心으로 敎育^ㅎ심을 몸바다 恪動^ㅎ고 勉勵^ㅎ야 才器를 速成^ㅎ고 各國의 形勢를 諳練^ㅎ야 並驅 自主^ㅎ야 我國의 基礎를 泰山과 磐石 갓치 措置^ㅎ하기를 日望^ㅎ노이다. “*Sinjŏng simsang sohak sŏ*” 新訂尋常小學序.

knowledge within the progressive present; thus, Sejong's script can finally be put to its originally intended use. This temporal bifurcation of knowledge was in stark contrast to the traditional view. From the *Tongmong sŏnsŭp* children were taught that "the way of learning is none other than to desire to comprehend past and present and to arrive at the principles of human affairs, incorporating it in one's heart and mind and embodying it in one's person."⁴²¹ The correct "transmission of the Way" at the core of Confucian ideologies of education valued above all else a continuation of the past in the present. *Sinjŏng sŏmsang sohak* in contrast took up the new discourse of an epistemological rupture between the backward past with its "old knowledge/learning" and the progressive present with "new knowledge/learning."

Finally, the introduction's claim in its concluding statement that the textbook would "also provide an education that advances gradually toward *hanmun*" is hard to square with its previous rejection of LS learning as backward. Except as a throw-away line tacked on to appease parents still expecting LS literacy to be included in a primary education, what to make of the statement's intent is unclear. As we have already seen, it contradicts the curricular guidelines' directives that literacy training was to terminate in mixed-script writing. And besides, of the government's four readers, the writing style of *Sinjŏng sŏmsang sohak* was the least influenced by LS and thus the least able to stand as the first step in a gradual advancement to LS literacy. This might indicate a grudging acknowledgement by the writer/s of the *Sinjŏng sŏmsang sohak* introduction that LS literacy was still necessary, but only as a sort of legacy literacy providing backward compatibility with old knowledge. It was no longer to give privileged access to the essential new knowledge of the here and now. The introduction shows, then, that to the geographic and ethnic

⁴²¹ 學問之道無他，將欲通古今，達事理，爲之於心，體之於身。Pak Semu and Yi I, *Hyŏnt'o wanyŏk Tongmong Sŏnsŭp / Kyŏngmong Yogyŏl*, 33.

othering already indexed by “*hanmun*” could be added a temporal-epistemological othering of LS as a medium of old learning that conveyed backward knowledge.

4.2.3.2 The Seoul Teachers’ School

The Hansŏng Normal School Organizational Regulations were issued on May 10, 1895.⁴²² The school was to have a two-year regular course for students aged 20 to 25 years. Due, however, to the immediate need for trained teachers to begin teaching in the new primary schools, an intensive six-month course for students aged 22 to 35 years was also established. The school’s entrance examination tested applicants in reading and composition in both vernacular writing and LS.⁴²³ Unlike at the primary schools, LS instruction was also to be included as its own separate class in the curriculum, which for both the regular and intensive courses was to comprise the following thirteen subjects: Morals, Education Theory, Kungmun, Hanmun, History, Geography, Mathematics, Physical Science, Natural History, Chemistry, Copywork, Composition, and Physical Exercise.⁴²⁴ Unlike for each of the other subjects, the organizational regulations did not stipulate what the content of the school’s LS instruction was supposed to be, listing simply “explicated reading” (*kangdok* 講讀), but Presbyterian missionary Daniel Gifford’s 1896 report on education in Seoul indicates that “the Chinese classics” were indeed a part of the curriculum:

“The normal school, located in Kyo Tong, was organized last year with a Japanese instructor in charge. Two Korean teachers now guide their studies. The subjects taught consisted of history (Korean and universal), simple arithmetic, geography, Chinese and

⁴²² See “Hansŏng sabŏm hakkyo kwanje 漢城師範學校官制” in Han et al., *Han ’guk kyoyuk saryo chipsŏng*, 5.

⁴²³ Those applying to the intensive curriculum were additionally tested on their knowledge of Korean geography and history; see “Sabŏm hagwŏn kwŏndo kwanggo 師範學員勸赴廣告” in *Ibid.*, 7.

⁴²⁴ The regular curriculum would of course cover each of these subjects at greater length and thus in more depth; see “Hansŏng sabŏm hakkyo kyuch’ik 漢城師範學校規則” in *Ibid.*, 15.

Unmun (or Korean) composition, and the Chinese classics. Candidates for admission to the normal school must be able to read and write Chinese...”⁴²⁵

Thus, though Gifford does not describe what the method of instruction was supposed to be, and though no further pedagogical directives were ever issued, it is reasonable to suppose that “*hanmun kangdok*” would have consisted of the traditional directed recitation and explication of the Confucian canon.

What is unexplained by either the organizational regulations or Gifford’s report, however, is why LS literacy was tested in the school’s entrance examination and included in its curriculum given its exclusion from the primary schools. While none of the Kabo-era language and educational policies called explicitly for the abolition of LS, a policy of gradually phasing out LS literacy is implied by the lack of LS instruction in the six years of primary school. But given that the pool of early teachers’ school applicants would have been primarily LS literates, the inclusion of LS literacy testing in the school’s entrance examination was logical so long as this testing was to be phased out as the pool of applicants shifted to those trained only in vernacular writing and mixed-script style. And yet, listed there as a permanent part of the teachers’ school curriculum is LS composition and study of the classics. If students of government primary schools were not to learn LS from age eight to fourteen, and if the teachers’ school entrance examination and curriculum was to remain unchanged, when would government-school educated students be expected to learn LS should some portion of them hope to enroll at the teachers’ school? Here again, the seeming explanation is that we have Kabo-era language and educational policies working at cross purposes.

⁴²⁵ Gifford, “Education in the Capital of Korea, I,” 283.

4.2.3.3 Reforming the Sōnggyun'gwan

Another educational institution worth examining in this period is the Sōnggyun'gwan. Even though from mid-Chosŏn its function as a conduit for the training and recruitment of officials had weakened considerably, it was still the country's top educational institution at the time of the Kabo Reforms.⁴²⁶ However, the abolition of the *kwagŏ* and the reform of the recruitment system together with the establishment of new educational institutions called into question the place and purpose of the Sōnggyun'gwan. Residing and studying at the Sōnggyun'gwan were no longer necessary for appointment to an official post (even theoretically), nor were the Confucian learning and exegetical skills taught there any longer a precondition for office. And yet, unlike with the Royal English Academy, which the Kabo government closed and whose functions as we will see were contracted out to the Pai Chai Academy, the government chose not to shutter the Sōnggyun'gwan but to reform it.

At the very beginning of the Kabo reform period the cabinet discussed a resolution to abolish the Sōnggyun'gwan and establish a university but, concerned about provoking a countrywide backlash from the country's Confucian traditionalists, the discussion was deferred.⁴²⁷ Within the Educational Affairs Ministry an office responsible for the upkeep of the

⁴²⁶ An 1892 description of the Sōnggyun'gwan in the missionaries' *The Korean Repository* describes how on the eve of the Kabo reforms, its educative functions were more or less defunct: "The Chinsa Hak Dong (*sic*) is considered of first importance by the Koreans. There is only one school of this kind. It is located in Seoul and is open to those only, who have the title 'Chinsa.' This school is fed by numerous schools of a lower grade which are scattered throughout the country.....The studies pursued in these various schools including the head school are the same. There are no teachers. The whole routine has more the appearance of play than work, of a club than a school. The scholars assemble in groups of few or many, read, chat, smoke a friendly pipe and have a generally good time." "Korean Schools," 37–38.

⁴²⁷ *Kyōiku jiron* 教育時論 [*Current Events in Education*], vol. 337, August 25, 1894, cited in Yu Pangnan, "Han'guk kŭndae kyoyuk ūi tŭngjang kwa paltal [The Origin and Development of Modern Education in Korea]" (Ph.D., Seoul National University, 1995), 104.

Sŏnggyun'gwan, *hyanggyo*, and *sŏwŏn*, and the maintenance of the “shrines and texts of the sages and worthies” was established,⁴²⁸ but after the ministry's 1895 reorganization, this office was slated for closure. Confucian traditionalists petitioned King Kojong in strong opposition to the closing of this office, believing that it would mean the eventual shuttering of the Sŏnggyun'gwan. A late July memorial of Yi Chaegon 李載崑 (1859–1943), then a secretary in the Royal Privy Council, was representative of this opposition. Yi noted that none of the recently issued educational reforms and school regulations included the Sŏnggyun'gwan. “Why is it” he asked, “that only our country is to give no consideration for the crucial role of This Culture of Ours and that only after we treat it as completely obsolete are we to be able to begin the study of prosperity and power?”⁴²⁹ Though Yi agreed that reform required the culling of useless government institutions and official posts, he disagreed that the Sŏnggyun'gwan was one such institution. Noting that the government had made sure the new school system included instruction in Confucian relations and morality so that high officials and the Confucian literati could “not claim that our Way had suddenly collapsed,”⁴³⁰ Yi worried that if commoners and the illiterate saw day after day the Sŏnggyun'gwan empty and its doors closed they would “claim that the Sŏnggyun'gwan had been abolished and that the Way of Confucius and Mencius was no longer to be taught.”⁴³¹ Yi proposed that the Sŏnggyun'gwan be reformed with an expanded curriculum, but urged that classical learning (*kyŏngsul* 經術) be the basis of all study: “If the

⁴²⁸ 成均館及庠校書院事務局, 掌保守先聖, 先賢祠廟及經籍等事務. *Kojong sillok*, v. 32, *Kojong* 31(1894).6.28, #4.

⁴²⁹ 奚獨我邦, 不顧斯文關鍵, 一切弁髦而後, 始可學富強乎? *Kojong sillok*, v. 33, *Kojong* 32(1895).6.10, #1.

⁴³⁰ 不謂吾道便墜於地. *Ibid.*

⁴³¹ 謂太學廢而孔, 孟之道, 不復講矣. *Ibid.*

subjects taught make their single foundation the learning of the classics, then This Way will shine brightly and may achieve a Great Peace.”⁴³²

In response to Yi's and the other memorials like his, the government chose to preserve but reform the Sōnggyun'gwan. Issued on August 21, the Sōnggyun'gwan Organizational Regulations reaffirmed that it was to function as “a place for the overseeing of the Confucian Shrine and for the practice and pursuit of Classical studies,” and placed it under the direct supervision of the Minister of Education.⁴³³ Then on September 27, the government issued the Sōnggyun'gwan Classical Studies Regulations detailing the curriculum, testing regime, and other aspects of the classical studies course.⁴³⁴ The core of the curriculum was to be the explicated reading of and lectures on the Four Books and Three Classics, instruction in the history of the Song, Yuan, and Ming dynasties, and training in composition of everyday documents, articles (*kisa* 記事), essays (*nonsŏl* 論說), and classical exegesis (*kyŏngŭi* 經義). To this, instruction in Korean and universal history and geography, and instruction in arithmetic were added.

The reform of the Sōnggyun'gwan was a compromise between the radical reformers' impulse to abolish it outright, replacing it with a Western-style university, and the *tongdo sŏgi* reformers' desire to see the venerable institution and the Confucian learning and practice it signified continue to play an important role in Korean education and society. Its reform fit within a *tongdo sŏgi* paradigm of education reform, and of all the Kabo-era educational institutions its curriculum most closely adhered to the curricula envisioned by Pak Chŏngyang for the primary and teachers' schools.

⁴³² 教育之目, 一以經術爲本, 則斯道煥然, 太平可基矣. *Ibid.*

⁴³³ 成均館은 學部大臣의 管理에 屬호야 文廟를 度奉호고 經學科를 肄習호는 處로 흠. “Sōngyun'gwan kwanje 成均館官制” in Han et al., 12.

⁴³⁴ See “Sōngyun'gwan kyŏnghakkwa kyuch'ik 成均館經學科規則” in *Ibid.*, 18.

4.3 Post-Kabo Reaction and Resurgent Literary Sinitic

The pro-Chinese faction ousted from government at the beginning of the Kabo reforms was comprised overwhelmingly of the relatives of Queen Min and their allies, and in his fourteen-point oath of early January 1895, Kojong swore that the queen and her relatives would no longer interfere in government affairs. The queen, however, continued to resist Japan's growing power and influence in Korea, and in early October, fearing that her continued resistance to Japanese-backed reforms would lead Kojong to ally with the Russians against Japan, the Japanese consul, Miura Gorō 三浦 梧楼 (1847–1926), secretly ordered the assassination of the queen as part of an attempted coup to finally overthrow Min influence.⁴³⁵ Though the coup failed, the queen was brutally murdered. Anti-Japanese sentiment grew as news of the murder and Japan's suspected involvement spread. Weakened now by its association with the Japanese, the legitimacy of the reform government was permanently damaged by a zealously issued dress and grooming edict requiring that all Korean men cut off their topknots as “a measure both advantageous to the preservation of health and convenient for the transaction of business.”⁴³⁶ Anger at Japanese involvement in the queen's murder and the issuance of the topknot edict led to widespread rebellion and the formation of “righteous armies” (*ũibyǒng* 義兵) who attacked Japanese military garrisons and cut telegraph lines.⁴³⁷ Kojong, still sequestered in the palace and under Japanese custody, finally sought the assistance of the Russians, and on February 11, 1896, fled with the

⁴³⁵ Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword*, 108–12.

⁴³⁶ English translation from Isabella Bird Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbors: A Narrative of Travel, with an Account of the Recent Vicissitudes and Present Position of the Country* (New York, NY: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1898), 363. The original reads: “今此斷髮함은 生을 衛함에 利하고 事를 作함에 便하기 爲하야...”

⁴³⁷ Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword*, 117.

crown prince to the Russian legation. Once in the legation, the reform government was dissolved and Kojong reasserted the prerogative to appoint his own government.⁴³⁸ Though reform did not end altogether, its pace slowed greatly and many education reforms, though not repealed, were significantly weakened or reinterpreted.

Perhaps no individual had a greater impact on this weakening and reinterpretation than Sin Kisŏn, who was appointed as Education Minister in March. Sin had earlier served in the Kabo government, first as Minister of Industry and then as Minister of War and had memorialized the king on several occasions in opposition to what he viewed as excesses in the reform agenda. This was the same Sin Kisŏn who had so forcefully defended the introduction of Western agricultural techniques and other useful Western instruments in his articulation of the *tongdo sŏgi* ideology over a decade previous. However, as he had qualified in his introduction to the *Nongjŏng sinp'yŏn*, adopting the “methods of the barbarians” was acceptable only “so long as they truly fit with the times, and so long as they truly benefit the people...” In a December 1894 memorial Sin had opposed the *kwagŏ*'s abolition, the elimination of *yangban* status, and other reforms that he believed harmed Korea's Confucian social order or needlessly pushed aside Korean custom and practice with no material benefit. He argued that reform should correct and strengthen Korea's traditional institutions rather than replacing them with Western or Japanese ones. Appropriating the Japanese discourses of reform in the name of national independence and enlightenment, Sin articulated a vision of Korean independence and enlightenment based on strengthening rather than undermining Confucian morality and social order:

“I hear it said that the Japanese are encouraging our independence and teaching us enlightenment. Independence, how is it not a good thing? And enlightenment too, what a beautiful word! ... But what gets called “enlightenment” is nothing more than expanding

⁴³⁸ Three members of the final reform cabinet, Kim Hongjip, Ŏ Yunjung, and Chŏng Pyŏngha were arrested and executed.

public justice and working to eliminate private bias; nothing more than ensuring that officials do not hold sinecures and that the people do not eat the bread of idleness; nothing more than expanding the source for enriching well-being by taking advantage of the useful; and nothing more than making full use of the techniques for enriching the nation and strengthening the army. How are we supposed to have enlightenment once we tear down the officialdom and follow barbarian customs?⁴³⁹

For Sin, Korean enlightenment and independence meant the fulfillment of the ideals of Confucian morality and governance. Certainly Koreans should “take advantage of what is useful for enriching the people’s well-being” (*iyong husaeng* 利用厚生), learning from Western science and adopting Western skills and technical knowhow in order to achieve a “prosperous nation and powerful army” (*puguk kangbyōng* 富國強兵), but for Sin the needless adoption of Western customs and practices, such as Western dress or the Gregorian calendar, undermined Korean independence rather than strengthening it. Likewise, Japan’s forceful imposition of radical reforms on Korea despite public sentiment against their speed and volume contradicted the very notion of Korean independence:

In short, since the beginning of the world it has never been the case that you can be a nation while accepting the control of a foreign nation, and it has never been the case that in opposition to popular will and in defiance of public sentiment, you can institute new laws without foundation and without a gradual approach.⁴⁴⁰

In August 1895, Sin resigned his post in protest of the adoption of Western-style uniform and grooming standards for the army, police forces, and government-school students and teachers,

⁴³⁹ 臣聞日人勸我自主, 教我開化. 自主豈非好事? 開化固亦美談.... 夫所謂開化者, 不過曰恢張公道, 務祛私見, 使官不尸位, 使民不遊食, 開利用厚生之源, 盡富國強兵之術而已. 安有毀冠冕, 從夷狄之俗然後爲開化也哉? *Kojong sillok*, v. 32, Kojong 31(1894).10.3, #2.

⁴⁴⁰ 要之, 剖判以來, 未有受制外國而能爲國者, 又未有拂人心, 違衆論, 無本無漸而能行新法者. *Ibid.*

objecting to the fact that as Korea's "institutions have been utterly transformed, so too has writing (*muncha* 文字) been altered."⁴⁴¹

In April 1896 after his appointment as Education Minister, Sin again memorialized King Kojong in opposition to Kabo-era reforms, including the dress and grooming standards, the adoption of the Gregorian calendar, and the suggestion that the country establish a constitutional monarchy. Then, singling out the government's continued use of mixed-script style he wrote that, "using *kungmun* and *hanmun* together will be the ruin of writing and the abolition of the Classics."⁴⁴² Of the promotion of the Korean alphabet and absence of the classics from school curricula he wrote further that, "if young scholars use *kungmun panjöl* 國文反切⁴⁴³ with the Classics imprisoned and pursued at a remove from their lofty place, then this will turn men into beasts. It is adding fuel to a fire that will cause the rapid demise of the state and This Culture of Ours."⁴⁴⁴

The newly formed Independence Club, whose membership was comprised primarily of the pro-Western faction of former Kabo-government officials,⁴⁴⁵ was adamantly opposed to

⁴⁴¹ 制度盡變而文字亦幻. *Kojong sillok*, v. 33, Kojong 32(1895).6.20, #1.

⁴⁴² 國漢文之并同, 將以壞文字而廢經傳也. Sin Kisŏn, "Chŏsŏng oesa Hakpu Taesin so 抵城外辭學部大臣疏 [Memorial Submitted by the Education Minister upon Arriving Outside the City Wall]," *Yangwŏn yujip*, kwŏn-sam 陽園遺集 卷三 [*The Collected Works of Yangwŏn*, vol. 3], April 1896.

⁴⁴³ Recall that the term *ŏnmun panjöl* 諺文反切 ("vernacular script *fanqie*") was a common name for the Korean alphabet that signaled a conceptualization of the alphabet as being—like the cumbersome and self-referential *fanqie* "spelling system" used to indicate the pronunciations of sinographs—a tool to aid LS literacy. Sin's use of the term *kungmun panjöl* 國文反切 juxtaposes this previous conceptualization of the alphabet with its new conceptualization as *the* national script.

⁴⁴⁴ 課髦士以國文反切, 筮籀經傳, 而從事於下喬遷幽之學, 則是化人爲獸. 束薪赴火, 以速宗社斯文之亡也. *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁵ Lew, "The Reform Efforts and Ideas of Pak Yŏng-Hyo, 1894-1895," 35.

Sin's stance on the Kabo language policies and literacy curriculum. Writing in their new newspaper, the *Tongnip sinmun*, which employed a pure Korean-alphabetic style, they rebuked Sin for his opposition to the Kabo reforms and especially for his views on Korean alphabetic writing, accusing him of disloyalty by equating his pro-LS advocacy to pro-Qing toadyism:

We have heard that in the memorial of the Education Minister, Sin Kisŏn, he claims that the cutting of the topknot and the wearing of Western garb is the beginning of the enlightened man's decent into barbarism, that he says using the Chosŏn writing made by Sejong the Great changes and makes beasts of men, that he insists we not use the Western calendar but continue to accept the Chinese calendar, and that he has called all the acts done by those in the previous [Kabo reform] government the work of traitors.... What we call "*kungmun*" is Chosŏn writing. It was made by Sejong the Great. It is one hundred times better and more convenient than *hanmun*, and so, if my country has something good, it is right to use it. For Sin to have said that using the Chosŏn writing is like making beasts of men is to dishonor our former king and is also not in the interest of the Chosŏn people. ... If Minister Sin is of a mind to serve the Qing emperor, then he should go to China and become a Chinese subject, for it seems that he has no wish to be the subject of His Majesty the King of Chosŏn.⁴⁴⁶

An editorial several days later in the *Tongnip sinmun*'s English-language pages, acknowledged that Sin's opposition to the Kabo reforms "was at least an extreme expression of a feeling that undoubtedly exists among the older members of the community," but that the general feeling among the foreign community was one of dismay: "They cannot understand how a 'Minister of Education' could pen such an illogical, retrograde and altogether unwise document."⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁶ 학부 대신 신기선씨의 상쇼를 들으니 머리 짝고 양복 낚는거시 기화헌 사름이 야만이 되는 시초요 조선 세조 대왕이문드신 조선 글쓰는거슨 사름을 변 하여 즘승을 문드거시라 하였고 태양역을 쓰지 말고 청국 정삭을 밧들자고 하였고 이런 일을 모도 허기를 이왕 정부에 잇던 역적들이 현 일이라고 하였스니 ... 국문이란 거슨 조선 글이요 세조 대왕씩셔 문드신거시라 한문 보다 빅비가 낮고 편리 현즉 내 나라에 죠흔게 잇스면 그 거슬 쓰는거시 올치 이 쓰는 일은 사름을 즘승 문드는것과 굿다고 하였스니 선왕의 디점도 아니요 조선 사름을 위하논것도 아니라... 청국 황테를 그러케 섬기고 스포 뜻시 잇스면 청국으로 가서 청국 신하되는 거시 맞당 하고 조선 대군주 폐하의 신하 될모리는 업슬듯 허더라. "Chappo [General News]," *Tongnip sinmun*, June 4, 1896.

⁴⁴⁷ "Editorial." *The Independent*, June 6, 1896.

Over the following weeks, the *Tongnip sinmun* continued to fulminate against Sin in articles, editorials, and published letters to the editor, including a call for students at the teachers' school to threaten to quit their studies in protest of Sin's views.⁴⁴⁸ Ignoring these rebukes, Sin issued a late-June directive to the teachers' school and other schools as applicable, requiring that "the geography and history textbooks used heretofore are ill-suited to early learners, and therefore *Samin p'ilchi* 士民必知 shall hereafter be used as a textbook for both subjects."⁴⁴⁹ The directive further allowed for the cessation of physical exercise during fall and winter months (or their full cessation at teachers' discretion), ordered the restoration of native dress and grooming standards for teachers and students, and required that a Korean teacher be present in the classroom in those cases where a foreign teacher had to be called upon due to a lack of qualified natives. This directive was aimed squarely at reversing or at the very least undermining the Westernizing aspects of the Kabo education reforms, including the restoration of LS as the primary medium of instruction. *Samin p'ilchi* 士民必知 was an 1895 LS translation by the Education Ministry's Publications Office of *Sāmin p'ilchi* 스민필지 (*Essential Knowledge for Scholars and Commoners*), Homer Hulbert's geographical world gazetteer written in the pure

⁴⁴⁸ See "Syabōm hakkyo hakto tūri [Students of the Teachers' School]" *Tongnip sinmun*, June 11, 1896. Despite its opposition to Sin's program, *The Independent* offered grudging respect, if not exactly admiration, for Sin's "thick-hided" disregard of the newspaper's views: "The Minister of Education, Sin Ki Sun possesses one quality of statesmanship in common with statesmen of America and Europe and that is he does not mind the newspaper criticisms. We venture to say that he is the most thick-hided man in the Government." *The Independent*, no. 32, June 18, 1896.

⁴⁴⁹ The directive was summarized and commented on in *The Independent* on June 23, 1896. The original text of the directive was published in "Chōsen gakuji ihō [Chosōn Educational Affairs Bulletin]" *Kyōiku jiron* [Current Events in Education], vol. 405, July 15, 1896 (Meiji 29), pp. 37–8, quoted in Korean translation in Kim Kyōngmi, "Kabo kaehyōk chōnhu kyoyuk chōngch'aek chōn'gae kwajōng yōn'gu [A Study of the Development of Kabo Reform Education Policy]" (Ph.D., Yonsei University, 1999), 126.

Korean-alphabetic style.⁴⁵⁰ All but two of the Education Ministry's other geography and history textbooks used a mixed-script style,⁴⁵¹ and so by directing that *Samin p'ilchi* be substituted for these textbooks in mixed-script, Sin was positioning LS as the default medium of instruction for geography and history classes.

Ninety-eight students and three of their native teachers at the English language school signed and delivered a petition opposing Sin's directive:

We imagine the Minister has issued the instruction from a notion that the peremptory stopping of all progress in matters of Education will allay the discontent and trouble of the brigands and insurgents in the country.⁴⁵² That idea is entirely wrong. The Minister as a loyal servant of His Majesty, ought not to countenance or in any way truckle to these bands of insurgents whose only aim is trouble, rapine and plunder. The remedy is not to be found in abolishing foreign shaped uniforms, discontinuing drill and physical exercise, objecting to the use of mixed script, or enforcing the wearing of *manguns* [網巾] and top knots.⁴⁵³

Nevertheless, Sin persisted. In July, the regulations governing the Sŏnggyun'gwan were revised to establish a yearly examination, the passers of which were to be eligible for appointment to government office. After summarizing the changes to the Sŏnggyun'gwan's operation, William Henry Wilkinson, then the British Acting Vice-Consul at Chemulpo, opined that these changes were "apparently to reintroduce the old literary examination for office in a somewhat modified form."⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵⁰ For more on the publication history and use of *Sămin p'ilchi*, see Daniel Oliver Pieper, "Korean as a Transitional Literacy: Language Education, Curricularization, and the Vernacular-Cosmopolitan Interface in Early Modern Korea, 1895–1925" (Ph.D., University of British Columbia, 2017), 346–58.

⁴⁵¹ See Appendix D.

⁴⁵² This refers to the "righteous armies" (*ũibyŏng*) formed in rebellion of government reforms following the topknot cutting edict.

⁴⁵³ *The Independent*, June 27, 1896.

⁴⁵⁴ William Henry Wilkinson, "The Korean Government," *The Korean Repository* 4, no. 2 (February 1897): 49. *The Independent* reported that the Minister of War declined to carry out the new regulations to appoint Sŏnggyun'gwan graduates: "The Minister of Education requested the

Further angering the Independence Club and this time also their allies among the foreign community, in late September Sin published his own school textbook, *Yuhak kyōngwi* 儒學經緯 (*The Warp and Woof of Confucianism*), in which he described Christianity as “vulgar, shallow, and erroneous and... an instance of the vileness of barbarian customs, which is not worthy of serious consideration.” Christians “worship the heavenly spirits,” he wrote, “but make no sacrifice to parents. They insult heaven in every way and overturn the social relations.” European missionaries “have planted this spawn in every country of the globe” and “we are surprised to find that now even the Chinese scholars and people have not escaped contamination.”⁴⁵⁵ When describing Europeans themselves, Sin wrote that “the people are all large in stature, with sunken

different Departments to appoint the graduates of the Confucian school to good positions in the Departments. The War Office replied that the Department does not need such men in the service, as the Confucian knowledge is of very little use. Therefore, the Department regrets to say that it is impossible to appoint the person recommended.” *The Independent*, 2:16, February 9, 1897.

⁴⁵⁵ “And as for the so-called “Jesus Doctrine” of the present-day Westerners, it is no more than a vulgar, shallow, and farcical instance of the baseness of barbarian customs and is not worthy of our consideration. The teachings of Jesus for what it calls the “heavenly realm” and its theory of misery and happiness are similar to offshoots of the Buddha; so their admonishments to morality and what they teach people is nothing more than what the riff-raff in the alleyways go on about. They worship a god in heaven but perform no rites for father and mother. They make all manner of insults against heaven and overturn social custom. Truly these are the base customs of barbarians. They are fundamentally unworthy even of being placed on the list of heterodox teachings, and at present their teachings are even somewhat on the wane. However, outside of China the Europeans have planted this spawn in every country of the globe where everyone honors their teachings, and we are surprised to find that now even the Chinese scholars and people have not escaped contamination.” 若近世西人之所謂耶蘇教者，鄙俚淺妄，乃夷俗之陋者耳，不足與辨也。耶蘇之教，其所謂天堂禍福之設，近於佛氏之支流，而所以勸善，而教人者，不過閭巷淺俗之談耳。禮拜天神，不祀父母，種種誣天亂論之風，自是夷狄之陋俗耳。本不足以處異端之目，而近日，則其教亦小衰矣。然中州諸國之外，丸地球上，歐邏種子尚皆尚其教，而中國士民有染之者，亦獨何哉！ Sin Kisōn, *Yuhak kyōngwi*, 41.

eyes, prominent noses, green eyes, and curly hair. The sound of their speech is like the chirping of birds and the braying of beasts, and their writing is like the tadpole script.”⁴⁵⁶

Having obtained a copy of the textbook, *Tongnip sinmun* published a short review of its contents in its English-language pages and warned that since the book was printed at government expense by a cabinet minister, it would have a negative impact on Korea’s diplomatic relationships: “This book is gotten up at the expense of the Korean government and it will hardly do for this government to cast aspersions on [countries] with which the government is in friendly relations. Mr. Sin has a fine contempt for Europe and Europeans but... his sovereign is the guest of one [of] these “low-down, bird-chirping Europeans.”⁴⁵⁷ Shortly after its publication, Sin was forced to withdraw the textbook and resign his post to prevent a diplomatic row. *Tongnip sinmun* and its missionary and foreign allies at the *Korean Repository* were pleased not too subtly by this development:

Our readers will be sorry (?) to hear that the Minister of Education Mr. Sin Ki Sun has resigned his position, and intends to go back to his native heath where he will commune with his genial friends the “righteous army.”⁴⁵⁸

We are told the book was no sooner put on the market than it was taken off again; that the venerable author was rebuked by the king for his rash utterances and as a consequence he had to resign his office.... Let us not throw too many stones at the Ex-Minister. He probably never heard the words of one of the ancients, “O that mine enemy would write a book.”⁴⁵⁹

Despite his resignation, however, Sin’s opposition to the use of mixed-script writing in government documents and his views in favor of Confucian learning and LS literacy training

⁴⁵⁶ 人皆長大, 深目, 高準, 綠睛, 卷毛. 語音啁啾若禽鳥, 其文如科斗. Sin Kisŏn, *Yuhak kyŏngwi*, 41.

⁴⁵⁷ “Editorial,” *The Independent*, September 29, 1896.

⁴⁵⁸ “Local Items,” *The Independent*, October 3, 1896.

⁴⁵⁹ “Notes and Comments” *The Korean Repository* 3, no. 10 (October 1896): 421.

forming the core of the instruction in government primary schools continued to be represented in the post-Kabo government policy. For example, less than a month after Sin's resignation, in response to a complaint that officials could not understand the mixed-script style used in government reports, Kojong allowed officials to revert to using LS, undermining the government's use of mixed-script writing mandated by the 1894 edict on the format of public documents.⁴⁶⁰ Also, a shift in educational policy toward a re-centering of Confucian learning and LS literacy training can be seen from a January 1897 article in a Japanese educational magazine describing the curriculum of a public elementary school in Seoul. According to the article this shift was attributable to Sin's policies:

Drill and physical exercise classes were ended after Minister Sin's appointment, and though Japanese language courses had earlier been added, these were ended. Furthermore, while reading and other courses had previously used elementary school readers published for that purpose by the Education Ministry, and instruction was to occur only in the mixed-script style, this too ended following the appointment of Minister Sin and only *hanmun* was encouraged.⁴⁶¹

The article further reported that reading was taught using the traditional *sōdang* primers *Ch'ōnjamun*, *Tongmong sōnsūp*, *Kyōngmong yogyōl*, and *Sohak*, that composition too was taught in LS, and that morals instruction was also conducted using the *Oryun haengsil-to* 五倫行實圖 ("Illustrated Guide to the Five Relations", 1797) and *Sohak*. Showing that this re-centering of

⁴⁶⁰ The following entry from the *Sūngjōngwōn ilgi* shows Kojong granting permission to an official to submit his reports and memorials in LS rather than in the mixed-script style: "Cho Pyōngse said: 'I sincerely cannot understand the *kukhanmun* mixed-script style of writing. So for those reports which I am to submit I shall carry them out according to the former regulations.' The King responded: 'So let it be done.'" 秉世曰, '國漢文交書之式, 臣誠莫曉矣. 臣之所掌凡奏, 當以舊規舉行矣.' 上曰, '如是爲之也. *Sūngjōngwōn ilgi*, v. 3075, October 31, 1896(Kojong 33), #23.

⁴⁶¹ "Keijō shōgakkō [A Seoul Elementary School]" *Kyōiku jiron [Current Events in Education]*, (424): 37–8, Meiji 30.1.25 [1897.1.25], quoted in Korean translation in Kim Kyōngmi, "Kabo kaehyōk chōnhu kyoyuk chōngch'aek chōn'gae kwajōng yōn'gu [A Study of the Development of Kabo Reform Education Policy]" (Ph.D., Yeonsei University, 1999), 127.

traditional learning was neither short-lived nor limited only to Seoul, a report by a visiting Japanese official in 1903 similarly described a government primary school in the southern city of Chinju:

The school has a western classroom with desks and chairs, as well as a Korean-style room and a teacher's room, and a school yard with swings and calisthenics equipment, which is different from what is found in the *sōdang*, where all the learning is done in a single narrow room environment... In the Korean-style room they sat around the teacher in a circle, and moving their bodies vigorously from front to back and forth, and loudly recited. It was a very athletic reading method... The textbooks... were largely Chinese Classics... almost completely like *sōdang* education. However, it did go beyond the village academies in that it taught out of the two Education Ministry textbooks, a national language reader and a geography textbook.⁴⁶²

In 1898, Sin was brought back into the cabinet as Justice Minister. Then, in early 1899, he was reappointed Education Minister and again began efforts to reinstate Confucian learning and LS instruction in other of the state-sponsored educational institutions. In April 1899, the Education Ministry established a secondary school. The school's regulations, issued in September the following year, directed that applicants be tested in LS reading and composition, vernacular reading and composition, arithmetic, history, and geography.⁴⁶³ The secondary school's main pool of applicants was to be graduates of the five government primary schools in Seoul, meaning that, despite not having updated the Kabo-era primary school curricular guidelines, the Education Ministry expected students to have been instructed well enough in LS

⁴⁶² Furukawa Akira. *Kyūkanmatsu kindai gakko no keisei* [*The formation of modern schools in the late Chosŏn period*]. Kurashiki: self-published, 2002, quoted in the above English translation in Andrew Hall, "First Steps Towards Assimilation: Japanese-Run Education in Korea, 1905-1910," *Acta Koreana* 18, no. 2 (2015): 360–61. Another 1903 report by a British writer visiting primary schools in Seoul similarly described primary schools with Western-style classrooms and schoolyards, but rather than a separate "Korean-style" classroom where traditional LS learning was done at a physical remove from the site of "new learning," all learning occurred in the same classroom, and "learning by heart" (i.e. recitations of classical texts) was one classroom subject among several, including reading, copywork, arithmetic, composition, history, and geography. See J. Paske, "The Corean School System," *East of Asia Magazine*, 1903, 25–26.

⁴⁶³ "Chunghakkyo kyuch'ik 中學校規則" in Han et al., 152.

while in primary school to pass an entry exam where it was the first of five examination subjects. Like with the secondary school, new regulations for foreign language schools issued in 1900 also required that applicants be tested in LS reading and composition. Additionally, the new curricular guidelines also required that, together with their foreign language instruction, students were to receive continued instruction in LS reading and composition and that Korean history and geography classes too were to be taught in LS.⁴⁶⁴

4.4 The New Press and the Origins of Anti-Literary Sinitic Discourse

Sin Kisŏn's April 1896 memorial arguing that human degradation awaited should students train in Korean alphabetic literacy to the exclusion of the Classics, came in the very same month that the *Tongnip sinmun* began publication. The newspaper had spent much of its inaugural editorial making the case that the use of a pure Korean-alphabetic style would allow for easy mass literacy for both men and women of whatever social class and that the knowledge gained thereby would make one better off than those trained in LS:

Being unable to read *hanmun* does not make one ignorant. Rather, we may suppose that one who is literate in only the national writing but who has knowledge of other matters and learning, is in fact more learned than he who knows only *hanmun* and has no other knowledge and learning. Of Chosŏn's women too, if one knows the national writing well and has gained a knowledge of various other matters so that her views are elevated and her behavior is honest, then we can expect that that woman, whether rich or poor, noble or mean, is a higher person than the a man of a noble family who, though expert at *hanmun*, knows nothing else.

Our newspaper is intended for both rich and poor, noble and mean to read the paper and learn of foreign matters and domestic affairs; and we predict that anyone, man

⁴⁶⁴ “Oegugŏ hakkyo kyuch’ik 外國語學校規則” in Han et al., 140–41. Sin Kisŏn continued to be an influential conservative force in education and language matters both in and out of government until his death in 1909. For more on this during the final decade of his life see Young Woo Park, “Traditional Scholar-Officials on the Wings of Modern Law and Statecraft : The Taedong Hakhoe and Its Vision for the Korean Ruling Class in the Final Years of the Taehan Empire, 1907–1909” (University of British Columbia, 2018).

or woman, young or old, high or low, noble or mean, who reads the paper each day will in several months' time gain a new perspective and new knowledge.⁴⁶⁵

The newspaper's forceful responses to and denunciations of Sin show just how much the Kabo reforms and China's defeat by Japan had changed the discursive landscape. While the *Hansŏng chubo* ran a follow-up article on education reform denouncing an earlier article that advocated a policy of vernacular-first literacy education and the use of vernacular translations of Confucian texts, the *Tongnip sinmun* not only attacked the use of LS in government documents and in schools, it also attacked Confucianism itself along with its continued adherents. Furthermore, as a tri-weekly newspaper in a pure alphabetic style its very existence was itself a repudiation of LS inscriptional practice; a proof of concept that Korea's written communicational needs could be met without recourse to either to LS or mixed-script style.

For nearly two years from its inaugural issue, the *Tongnip sinmun* would have the newspaper market to itself, during which time it framed the debate about the future of Korea's literacy instruction and inscriptional practice.⁴⁶⁶ This is not to say that the paper shaped

⁴⁶⁵ 한문 못 한다고 그사람이 무식한사람이 아니라 국문만 잘하고 다른 물정과 학문이잇스면 그사람은 한문만하고 다른 물정과 학문이 업는 사람 보다 유식하고 높은 사람이 되는 법이라 조선 부인네도 국문을 잘하고 각식 물정과 학문을 비화 소견이 높고 형실이 정직하면 무론 빈부 귀천 간에 그부인이 한문은 잘하고도 다른 것 몰으는 귀족 남즈 보다 높은 사람이 되는 법이라 우리 신문은 빈부 귀천을 다름업시 이신문을 보고 외국 물정과 니지 스정을 알게 하랴는 뜻시니 남녀 노소 상하 귀천 간에 우리 신문을 호로 결너 몇들간 보면 새지각과 새학문이 싱길결 미리 아노라. "Nonsŏl [Editorial]," *Tongnip sinmun*, April 7, 1896.

⁴⁶⁶ From November 1896 to July 1897, the *Tongnip sinmun*'s supporting institution, the Tongnip Hyŏphoe or Independence Club, also published a monthly journal, the *Tae-Chosŏn Tongnip Hyŏphoe hoebo* 大朝鮮獨立協會 會報 (*Bulletin of the Independence Club of Great Chosŏn*), that included several articles on the matter of literacy and inscriptional practice. Unlike the *Tongnip sinmun*, the journal published articles in LS and mixed-script styles in addition to articles in pure alphabetic style. Following the *Tongnip sinmun*, the first newspapers established in this period came in 1898; first, a daily newspaper (weekly for its first three months) in pure Korean-alphabetic style, the *Maeil sinmun* (*Daily News*), published from January 1898 to April 1899 by the Hyŏpsŏnghoe 協成會 (Mutual Friendship Society)—a debate club founded by

contemporary policy or brought about a revolution in literacy and inscription; but rather, that as a first mover in public media space, its articles on matters of script, writing, and language use largely set the terms of the debate, insomuch as those who wrote on the matter thereafter had to address the issues that had been raised by the *Tongnip sinmun*. This included, as we will see in the next chapter, even those who, when publishing Hanmunkwa textbooks during the protectorate period, felt it necessary to justify doing so in terms that answered critiques of LS learning in Korea first raised in the *Tongnip sinmun*.⁴⁶⁷

A particularly compelling two-part essay in the *Tongnip sinmun* titled “Kungmun-non” 國文論 (“On the National Writing”) written in April 1897 by the then twenty-one-year old Chu Sigyŏng 周時經 (1876–1914)—the revered scholar of Korean language and script—articulates many if not most of the critiques of LS learning that would be wielded by LS’s detractors and contended with by its supporters thereafter. For example, as Ross King (1998) shows, Chu began his essay by dividing writing systems into either phonographic systems “that record things according to the sounds of speech,”⁴⁶⁸ or pictographic systems “that record things by drawing a symbol for each word.” Chu then elaborated on this distinction, writing:

If what is spoken can be recorded by a combination of graphs, and then that combination of graphs can be read out and the word-breaks and grammatical endings and particles are clearly indicated and their vocalization is the same as when first spoken, only then is this true writing (*ch'am kulchă* 참 글쥌). By contrast, if you draw a particular graph for a

senior students at Pai Chai Academy; second, the *Cheguk sinmun* 帝國新聞 (*Empire News*), which ran from August 1898 till annexation in 1910 and published articles at first exclusively in the pure alphabetic style, then in mixed-script style and later still in LS; and finally, the *Hwangsŏng sinmun* 皇城新聞 (*Imperial Capital News*), which was founded by more conservative break-away members of the Independence Club and ran articles exclusively in mixed-script style from September 1898 until it was closed by the Japanese at annexation.

⁴⁶⁷ For further examinations of the successive flair ups in Korea’s language debate from Kabo through annexation see Kang Myŏnggwān (1985), Ross King (1998), and Andre Schmid (2002).

⁴⁶⁸ King, 43.

particular word without any other grammatical indications (such as whether a word is processive or descriptive) and if the sounds when first spoken and the sounds when read back are not the same, then it can only rightly be called pictures and not writing.⁴⁶⁹

The “pictures” Chu referred to were of course sinographs. His characterization of sinographs as pictures that combine “without any other grammatical indications” did not reflect any previous Korean understandings either of sinographs or of their use in LS texts.⁴⁷⁰ Instead, it was a restatement of the Western misconception of sinographs as symbols that convey ideas disconnected from words except through incidental associations in particular contexts. As can be seen in their writings, this ideographic myth was current among the Protestant missionaries at that time.⁴⁷¹ It is likely that Chu learned it while a student at Pai Chai Academy and had it reinforced while working as the typesetter for the Trilingual Press, publisher of the missionary-produced scholarly journal *The Korean Repository*.⁴⁷² His classification of writing systems into phonographic and pictographic would be repeated by later writers in other newspapers and journals and eventually becoming widespread.⁴⁷³

⁴⁶⁹ For the original essay with an English translation, see Appendix E.

⁴⁷⁰ Koreans of course recognized that sinographs possessed pictorial elements, but as already discussed, the principle of borrowed-graph transcription, whether in *idu* or *kugyŏl*, shows that from their very earliest use on the peninsula Koreans were fully cognizant of the ability of sinographs, even if clumsily, to transcribe the sounds of speech without reference to the graphs’ meanings.

⁴⁷¹ On the origins and spread of the ideographic myth of sinography, see J. Marshall Unger, *Ideogram: Chinese Characters and the Myth of Disembodied Meaning* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2004).

⁴⁷² On Chu Sigyŏng’s work at the Trilingual Press, see King, 39. Proof that these ideas were not only current among the missionaries but that Chu would have had opportunity to have learned it from their writings is an article in *The Korean Repository* published March 1897, just a month before Chu’s essay, in which sinographs were characterized as “ideographs where each character is both a word and an idea.” See J. Scott, “Sanskrit in Korea,” *The Korean Repository* 4, no. 3 (March 1897): 99.

⁴⁷³ Examples from this period include a June 30, 1897 article on writing in the *Tae-Chosŏn Tongnip Hyŏphoe hoebo*, “Hanmuncha wa kungmuncha ūi sonik yŏha 漢文字와 國文字의 損益如何 [On the Relative Merits of the Hanmun Script and the National Script] and a

Worth further note is Chu's denial of the status of writing to his misconceived notion of sinographs as mere pictures. If sinographs functioned either in recording LS writing or in mixed-script writing as Chu characterized, then a case could be made for denying them the status of writing, as modern grammatology often places non-glottographic sign systems outside the boundaries of real writing.⁴⁷⁴ However, more important to our discussion here is that by denying sinographs the status of writing and reserving the characterization of "true writing" (*ch'am kulchǎ* 참 글씨) for phonographic systems of which he later states "the Chosŏn script is the world's best, most ingenious" example, Chu not only reverses the traditional discourse of Korea's hierarchy of inscriptional practice, he obliterates it. Since the Korean alphabet's invention, LS and the sinographs used to inscribe it were the "true writing" (*chinsŏ* 眞書); Chu's claim is that was never the case.

Finally, Chu's article, especially in part two, is written with a sense of foreboding and urgency. He implores his fellow Koreans to use their alphabet, not only because it was bequeathed to them by Sejong "our Great Sage," but also because practical pursuits in industry, trade, finance, law, government and other areas of new knowledge were urgently needed and only possible acquirable with the use of an easy-to-learn-and-use written medium. Without the

September 28, 1898 *Hwangsŏng sinmun* article Kungmun-hanmun-non 國文漢文論 [On Kungmun and Hanmun]." On the latter, see King, 53.

⁴⁷⁴ John DeFrancis (1989) is perhaps the best-known defender of the "hard" definition of writing that excludes as "non-writing" pictorial systems that are not connected to speech. Ironically, as indicated by the title of his book, *Visible Speech*, DeFrancis would strongly agree with Chu's statement that "if what is spoken can be recorded by a combination of graphs, and then that combination of graphs can be read out... and their vocalization is the same as when first spoken, only then is this true writing." He would vehemently disagree, however, with Chu's characterization of sinographs as pictographic or non-glottic. See John DeFrancis, *Visible Speech: The Diverse Oneness of Writing Systems* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989).

rapid acquisition of this knowledge, Koreans risked losing their country, themselves and their descendants to foreigners. He writes:

Without a script that is easy to learn and use you will not know anything, since when studying those difficult, nasty pictures you can do nothing else and can develop no other abilities. Furthermore, of those who waste the ten or more years required to study, more than half do not succeed, and of those who wasted those ten years in study and *are* successful, what then do these scholars even know? ... To be told to study [*hanmun*] from the time you are fed at your parents' feet, and to then needlessly waste away your precious youth only to arrive at thirty or forty and be unable to achieve a position by which to sustain yourself, will you then wish to learn any longer?⁴⁷⁵ No matter how pitiful you are, will you not be furious?⁴⁷⁶ This is why the people are ignorant and poor, and this is why the country has naturally become dark and enfeebled. How could there be any greater hurt and harm than this?

This thing called writing ought not be anything more than symbols for speech; and yet, whether it is because we are mired in custom or because we impute some mysterious quality to the graphs of Chinese writing I cannot tell, but it is truly pathetic. If—as it seems will be the case—our country's people will continue to study nothing else and learn no other new subjects, then our nation will be incapable of breaking free from our dark and enfeebled state, and soon the land and homes we have inherited from our ancestors as well as our very bodies and those of our descendants will all fall into the hands of people of some other nation; and whether we become food for them, the proof of this happening is right before our eyes. It is shocking and distressing! How is this not a time for us to take great care!

If, rather than studying picture writing, we instead studied government, domestic and foreign affairs, finance, law, military affairs, navigation, sanitation, economics, technology, commerce, agriculture and other areas of knowledge, how could we not then learn in ten years all there is to know about at least one useful occupation from among these many subjects? And afterward, with everyone working diligently in his own occupation, everyone will become wealthy, and as learning advances our nation will become prosperous and powerful.

As will be discussed in the following chapter, this urgency to acquire new knowledge, though not always connected to calls for writing reform, nevertheless came to be shared widely among Koreans during the Japanese protectorate period.

⁴⁷⁵ Just what would Chu think of graduate students in Western universities who “arrive at thirty or forty and [are] unable to achieve a position by which to sustain [themselves and their families]?”

⁴⁷⁶ Yes, yes you will be.

4.5 Developments in Missionary Education and Literary Sinitic Instruction

The period from the Kabo Reform Movement beginning in 1894 to the Japanese takeover of Korean education in 1906 saw the expansion of missionary education both in Seoul and in other areas, especially in the country's north. In Seoul, the Methodist mission continued to strongly support both Pai Chai and Ewha academies as flagship institutions, and over time, as the mission began establishing additional primary schools in Seoul and other areas, the curricula and instruction at the two schools slowly became more advanced, taking on the character of secondary schools, with newly formed primary schools in outlying areas functioning as feeder schools. By contrast, the Presbyterian mission for a time shifted its Seoul-based efforts away from education and solely toward evangelism, and while the Chungshin girls' boarding school continued to operate, Kyungshin was closed in 1897.⁴⁷⁷ Meanwhile, as Presbyterian churches began to spread, the families of these churches frequently pooled resources to establish primary schools often independent of mission funding.⁴⁷⁸ As these church-affiliated schools grew in number in the Seoul area, the mission reopened Kyungshin in 1901 as a secondary boy's school under the headmastership of James Scarth Gale.

Both missions had begun sustained evangelization efforts in Pyongyang in 1893. In February 1894, prior to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, the Methodist mission's William

⁴⁷⁷ This reasoning was explained in an 1899 letter from Horace Underwood to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions: "In 1897 with the advice of a visiting secretary of the Board, as the evangelistic work appealed more strongly to all the members of the mission than educational, the school was suspended until such time as an educator should develop in Korea." H.G. Underwood "An Outline History of the Korean Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A." in Horace Grant Underwood et al., *Ŏndŏudŭ charyojip = Horace Grant Underwood Papers: The First American Missionary to Korea and the Founder of Yonsei University*, vol. II: 1893–1900 (Seoul: Yŏnse Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 2005), 419.

⁴⁷⁸ "Mission in Korea." In *The Sixty-Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (B.F.M.P.C. USA) (New York: Edward O. Jenkin's Sons, 1903), 221–22.

James Hall (1860–1894) established a primary school, the Kwangsŏng School 光成學校. This was followed two months later by a Presbyterian primary school, the Sungdŏk School 崇德學校, founded by Samuel Moffett and William Martyn Baird (1862–1931). These were the first mission schools outside of Seoul. The war brought disproportionate death and destruction to the northern regions of Korea, and the resulting dislocation was credited by the missionaries for the subsequent success of their mission efforts in the north.⁴⁷⁹ Presbyterian growth was particularly strong in the north, with church primary schools in the Pyongyang area numbering forty-five in 1904 with 635 boys and 206 girls attending.⁴⁸⁰ Sŏnch'ŏn, north of Pyongyang had another twenty-one boys' schools with nearly 400 boys attending.⁴⁸¹ In 1897, the same year Kyungshin was closed in Seoul, the mission established a boys' secondary school in Pyongyang, later named Soongsil Academy (Sungsil haktang 崇實學堂), the precursor to today's Soongsil University.

⁴⁷⁹ James Scarth Gale, for example, wrote that “The war passed like a cyclone over North Korea, leaving the country despoiled of its population, its ancestral groves (*sic*) and tablets. Confucianism binds a man to one piece of ground, separate him from that particular place and you have separated him from his gods; so the population that came back after the war, came back to a certain degree without their deities and shrines. Mr. Moffett, a missionary of well-deserved fame, was on the ground, with a knowledge of the language and a burning desire to have the people see Christ as Saviour, and the result has been that multitudes have come and a great revival has spread over the land. We trust that through much of the North the idols are gone never to be replaced.” James Scarth Gale, *Korean Sketches* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1898), 209.

⁴⁸⁰ “Mission in Korea.” In *The Sixty-Seventh Annual Report of the (B.F.M.P.C. USA)* (New York: Edward O. Jenkin's Sons, 1904), 213.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 219. The report makes specific mention of only one girls' school in Sŏnch'ŏn with thirty-seven girls enrolled. According to Leighanne Yuh, however, there were many more girls' schools than boys' schools established by churches at this time. See Yuh, “Education, the Struggle for Power, and Identity Formation in Korea, 1876–1910,” 139.

By 1904, the school had an enrollment of seventy-two while the reopened Kyungshin reported just thirteen.⁴⁸²

Both the new missionary-founded schools and the church-affiliated primary schools taught LS. William James Hall, reporting on the primary school he had founded in Pyongyang, wrote that, “We have commenced the first Christian school in the interior of Korea with a class of thirteen bright boys. We teach them doctrines of Christianity, Chinese and the native language.”⁴⁸³ In several of his letters to the mission board secretary written in 1900, Horace Grant Underwood detailed the growth of Presbyterian church schools in Seoul. In one of these letters he described the curriculum in one of the schools, noting that LS instruction was conducted using the “principle Chinese primary books:”

It is the mission policy that there shall be, wherever congregations warrant it, church-schools supported by the church, and under the supervision of the missionary in charge, or the stewards, deacons, or elders, as the case may be. The Chang Yun church above referred to has one school, which is attended by both the boys and girls of the congregation. This is entirely supported by the natives. This school takes the pupils through the principal Chinese primary books, Old and New Testaments, gives fair grounding in arithmetic, geography, universal history, and elements of natural science. The Sai Mun An church has two schools—one for boys with two teachers and one for girls with one teacher. The course aimed at is the same as that carried out in Chang Yun, and the church pays one-half of the expenses of the two schools and the mission pays the other half.⁴⁸⁴

It is tempting to assume that by “the principle Chinese primary books” he meant at least such common traditional LS primers as the *Ch’ŏnjamun* and *Tongmong sŏnsŭp*, and yet, in another

⁴⁸² “Mission in Korea.” In *The Sixty-Seventh Annual Report of the (B.F.M.P.C. USA)* (New York: Edward O. Jenkin’s Sons, 1904), 213 and 202 respectively.

⁴⁸³ Rosetta Sherwood Hall, ed., *The Life of Rev. William James Hall, M.D.: Medical Missionary to the Slums of New York, Pioneer Missionary to Pyong Yang, Korea* (New York, NY: Press of Eaton & Mains, 1897), 272.

⁴⁸⁴ Underwood et al., *Ŏndŏudŭ charyojip = Horace Grant Underwood Papers*, II: 1893–1900:704.

report about the Chang Yun church school from around the same time, Underwood gave greater detail about specific texts used but makes no mention of these traditional primers:

The Chang Yun school meets with general favor throughout the whole of that section. As noted in our former reports, it is under the care of Elder Soh and the board of deacons and lays great stress on Chinese and native script and carries its students through general arithmetic, Sheffield's Universal History and Hulbert's Gazetteer of the World, in both Chinese and Ermun (*sic*) and in part the Chinese classics. Specially do they lay great stress on the study of the Bible and the students are well versed in the Old and New Testament.⁴⁸⁵

It is not clear whether Underwood was listing subjects and texts in the order in which they were taught, but by “the Chinese classics” through which the curriculum carried students “in part” we could assume he meant at least the Four Books, in whole or in part. By “Hulbert's Gazetteer of the World” he meant Homer Hulbert's *Sămin p'ilchi* already mentioned briefly, which, according to his report, was studied using both his original pure Korean-alphabet version as well as the Education Ministry's LS translation. “Sheffield's Universal History” referred to Devello Zelotos Sheffield's (1841–1913) *Wanguo tongjian* 萬國通鑑 (*Comprehensive Mirror of the Nations*) first published in 1882 in Shanghai by the American Presbyterian Press. Centering the origins and doctrines of Christianity within a narrative of world history, *Wanguo tongjian* was widely used as a textbook in Protestant schools in China,⁴⁸⁶ and as with other of the literature produced by Protestant missionaries in China discussed in the previous chapter, it was also widely used as a textbook by Protestant missionaries in Korea.

Another important point to note about the first of Underwood's above reports is that at these church schools, whether in the co-educational Chang Yun school or in the sex-segregated

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., 633–34.

⁴⁸⁶ Daniel Bays and Widmer, *China's Christian Colleges: Cross-Cultural Connections, 1900–1950* (Stanford University Press, 2009), 67.

Sa Mun An schools, girls were taught LS the same as the boys. As these were church-run schools often funded exclusively by the church congregants, it is likely that the instruction of girls in LS was insisted upon by the parents themselves. And insistence such as this may well have been responsible for the eventual reinstatement of LS at the missionary-run girls' schools. As noted in the previous chapter, though Ewha and Chungshin girls' schools taught it intermittently in their first years of operation, LS instruction was dropped in the early 1890s at both schools, due in part to an inability to find female teachers capable of teaching it. At Ewha, as the impropriety of a man teaching girls became less of a concern, a May 1897 report noted that LS instruction had been reinstated as a fulltime subject at the insistence of the students.⁴⁸⁷ Though the exact date is unknown, at around the same time, Chungshin too reinstated LS instruction. Thus, even in the face of the earlier government efforts to remove LS from public documents and to eliminate or lessen its instruction in government schools, and in a milieu of increasing criticism of LS learning and use not just by foreign missionaries but by prominent Koreans well-known in the mission community, the mission schools, responding to the insistence of both parents and students, nevertheless taught LS to both boys and girls.

Finally, in another of Underwood's reports on the Chang Yun school, also from 1900, we see that though LS was taught at this and other primary church schools, Underwood conceived of LS literacy education as being useful mostly as a component of basic literacy learned as part of

⁴⁸⁷ "The Annual Meeting of the Methodist Mission" In *The Korean Repository* 4, no. 5 (May 1897): 192. By 1900, three men taught at Ewha Academy—two teaching vernacular writing and the third teaching LS. See Josephine O. Paine, "Report XI.—Work of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society" in Methodist Episcopal Church. Korea Mission, ed. *Official Minutes of the Sixteenth Annual Meeting, Korea Mission, Methodist Episcopal Church. With Reports of the Women's Conference* (Seoul, Korea: Methodist Publishing House, 1900): 64.

primary education. That is, since LS was still valued and used in Korean society, it was right to include it in primary school education, but it could only take a student so far:

They have one teacher and the local elder Mr. So Kyung Jo assists in Bible instruction. Reading of Chinese and native script, primary geography, primary history, primary astronomy, are all taught, but the ground work of all is a thorough study of the scriptures. With Chinese text books they carry the scholar to the point where they are practically ready for an academical course. For the last two or three years or four, boys are annually graduated from this school and in most cases the parents and relatives have been ready to send them to an academy, but there has been no school to which they could be sent.⁴⁸⁸

Underwood was hoping to convince the mission board to reopen Kyunghsin academy, and implicit in his statement that “With Chinese text books they carry the scholar to the point where they are practically ready for an academical course” is a belief that further academic progress in higher science, mathematics, geography and the like would be gained through a medium other than LS.

This approach to LS literacy instruction as being suitable only for primary education was even more clearly the case at Pai Chai Academy. In early 1895, the Korean government had contracted to send up to 200 students to Pai Chai, paying the students’ tuition and teachers’ salaries and leading to a significant boost in the school’s status and enrollments.⁴⁸⁹ According to Daniel Gifford’s August 1896 report, when the school opened in the fall of 1895, it had been reconstituted with two “departments”—an English department and a “native” or “Chinese and Unmun” department. These were not departments in the modern academic sense, but instead functioned like separate courses or schools; that is, students enrolled in the English department

⁴⁸⁸ Underwood et al., 459.

⁴⁸⁹ Daniel L. Gifford, “Education in the Capital of Korea, II,” *The Korean Repository* 3, no. 8 (August 1896): 310. Appenzeller would report to the mission board that “By the recognition gained during the past year from the Korean government our school stands on a par with the government school.” *Seventy-Seventh Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1895*, (1896): 245.

did not simultaneously take classes in the Chinese and Unmun department and vice-versa. The Chinese and Unmun department taught “the Chinese classics ad infinitum, Sheffield’s *Universal History*, also in the Unmun certain religious works,” and the average student was twelve years of age. The English department taught “reading, grammar, composition, spelling, history, arithmetic, and the elements of chemistry and natural philosophy,” and its students averaged eighteen years of age.⁴⁹⁰ The two departments thus functioned as a primary and secondary school, respectively, with the students of the English department expected to have already received an education in the knowledge taught in the Chinese and Unmun department. The Chinese and Unmun classrooms were also separated from the main hall, presumably so that students’ recitations of the LS texts would not disturb the instruction of the English department classes.

Dalzell Bunker, who had taught at the Royal English Academy from its founding until 1893 when he joined the Methodist mission and began teaching at Pai Chai, oversaw the school’s academic functions. In a report on the school’s operations in September 1896, a year into the government contract, Bunker wrote optimistically that even when discounting for “the wholesome uplift given to a crude boy by breathing the atmosphere of a Christian institution,”⁴⁹¹ the Chinese and Unmun department was still a net positive in other ways:

The most noticeable change in our Chinese and Unmun boys, after they have found a place in our work, is a gradual cleaning up. This good work stops far short of perfection, but is a move in the right way. Uncombed heads are combed once in a while and filthy hands and faces washed about as often.⁴⁹²

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., 310–11.

⁴⁹¹ Dalzell A. Bunker, “Pai Chai College,” *The Korean Repository* 3, no. 9 (September 1896): 361.

⁴⁹² Bunker, 361.

In a report to the mission board a year later, however, this optimism was gone. Now simply the “Chinese department,” what confidence there was that the department’s instruction could be made “satisfactory” was replaced with a resigned acceptance that continued LS instruction was necessary even if the missionaries preferred otherwise:

The Chinese department is not satisfactory. A language which we do not know is taught, and in a way we are unable to appreciate. But Chinese is a necessity in Korea as yet, and for that reason we must retain it. We are doing the best we can, and our school is, perhaps, as good as any, but we are not satisfied.⁴⁹³

4.5.1 New Textbooks for Literary Sinitic Instruction

Four years later still, this dissatisfaction had not dissipated. Bunker again reported that Pai Chai’s LS instruction was not to his liking, particularly given the fact that, despite originally being a Chinese and Unmun department, instruction was chiefly in LS with little if any vernacular writing taught:

Especial attention has been given to the Chinese department. This department has always been in a somewhat unsatisfactory condition. The Chinese rooms are a bit removed from the main building and are thus not so closely under the eye of the foreigner in charge. Again, our teachers of Chinese are ardent admirers of the Chinese language and have little use for their own, and therefore have little interest in teaching it. It has been the aim of the foreign teachers to overcome this obstacle and to place the Korean language on such a basis that it should be taught thoroughly—and that too in precedence of the Chinese. The Korean’s Bible is printed in the native character, and much of the best literature of the country is also in the same language. The Korean boy and girl should be taught first of all to read their own language.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹³ *Seventy-Ninth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for the Year 1897*, (1898): 246.

⁴⁹⁴ D.A. Bunker. “Report X.—Paichai High School.” In Methodist Episcopal Church. Korea Mission, *Official Minutes of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting, Korea Mission, Methodist Episcopal Church. With Reports of the Women’s Conference* (Seoul, Korea: Methodist Publishing House, 1901), 54–55.

The remedy the missionaries sought in this period for their dissatisfaction with the content and methods of LS instruction continued principally to be as it had been in the early 1890s: to press into service as LS primers and textbooks the Bible and other religious texts published in China by Protestant missionaries. Increasingly, however, works of an ostensibly secular nature, such as Sheffield's *Wanguo tongjian* and the Education Ministry's LS translation of Homer Hulbert's *Samin p'ilchi* mentioned above, were also used.⁴⁹⁵

Only two textbooks for LS instruction were ever produced by the missionaries in Korea, both during the period under examination here. The first was Samuel Moffett's *Chilli p'yöndok Samja kyöng* 眞理便讀三字經 (*True Reason Through an Easy-to-Read Trigraph Classic*) published in 1895, and the second was volumes three and four of James Scarth Gale's four-volume *Yumong ch'önja* 牖蒙千字 (English title: *The Thousand Character Series: Korean Reader*) first published in 1901 and 1904 respectively

From a mission report, we know the Presbyterian mission had been teaching from Griffith John's (1831–1912) *Christian Three-Character Classic* (*Yesu shengjiao Sanzi jing* 耶蘇聖教三字經) since at least 1892. Titled and formatted to mimic the *Sanzi jing* 三字經 (*Three-Character Classic*), a Ming-dynasty primer widely used in China, John's text was a Christian

⁴⁹⁵ Another of the “secular” works that received widespread use starting toward the end of this period was Ernst Faber's (1839–1899) *Zixi cudong* 自西徂東 (English title: *Civilization: Christian and Chinese*), first published in Hong Kong in 1884, but introduced to Korea after a 1902 printing. Faber argued that civilizational progress and Christianity were inherently linked, and thus the West's material and social advancement was not the result of technological and scientific progress but instead the flowering of Christian teaching and morality. This argument stood in opposition, then, to the *tongdo sögi* view that Western technical knowhow could be implemented without a corresponding adoption of Christian teachings. For more on the many Chinese Protestant books and tracts used in Korea from 1880 to 1900, see Sung-Deuk Oak, “Chinese Protestant Literature and Early Chinese Protestantism,” in *Christianity in Korea*, ed. Robert E. Buswell and Timothy S. Lee (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 2006), 72–93.

doctrinal primer.⁴⁹⁶ The format of the *Sanzi jing* and texts such as John’s which imitated it, are similar to that of the *Qianziwen/Ch’ŏnjamun*, except that rather than being based on four-word/graph phrases, the *Sanzi jing* and similar texts are based on three-word/graph phrases.

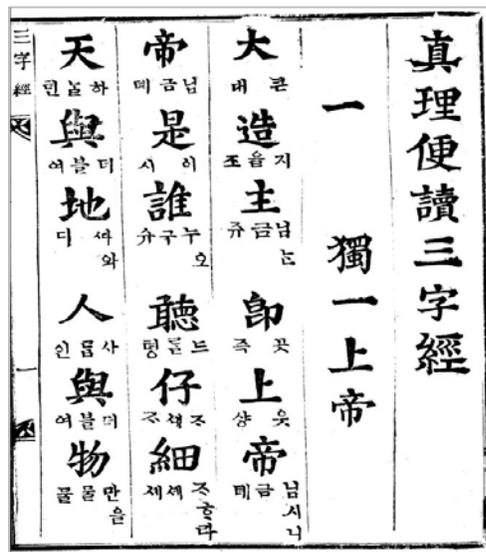


Figure 4.1. Opening page of *Chilli p’yŏndok Samja kyŏng*. Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

Hence, three-word phrases are combined into six-word lines, which are themselves paired into rhyming couplets.⁴⁹⁷

In 1895, Samuel Moffett published *Chilli p’yŏndok Samja kyŏng*, which appropriated John’s text with slight but meaningful modifications.⁴⁹⁸ Only the first sixteen of John’s original twenty-three chapters were used, minor changes in wording were introduced, and at the end of each chapter an “*ŏnhae*” or vernacular translation was included.⁴⁹⁹ *Sanzi jing*-like texts such as

⁴⁹⁶ Published in Hankou in 1880, John’s text was itself inspired by Walter Henry Medhurst’s (1796–1857) text of the same name. According to Chloë Starr, “Medhurst’s original was published in 1823, and reprinted numerous times. Alternative versions from other missionaries and commentary editions were soon supplemented by sequels and imitative versions.” Chloë Starr, “Reading Christian Scriptures: The Nineteenth-Century Context,” in *Reading Christian Scriptures in China*, ed. Chloë Starr (London; New York: T & T Clark, 2008), 35.

⁴⁹⁷ Unlike the *Ch’ŏnjamun*, however, these couplets are not grouped into topical monorhyme sections that shift in rhyme to signal a change in topic.

⁴⁹⁸ I say “published” and not “wrote” as we can be relatively certain that Moffett did not modify John’s text himself. Unfortunately, there is no record of who may have been his native “pandit.” By 1895, with five years in the country and a well-documented facility in the language, Moffett may have been capable of composing the vernacular Korean text, but as the vernacular text here is an “*ŏnhae*” of the LS original we can assume that he would have at least needed native Korean assistance to produce his translation.

⁴⁹⁹ According to Sim Kyŏngho (2012), the lengths of the various versions of the *Sanzi jing* differed, ranging from 177 lines (1,062 characters) to 266 lines (1,596 characters). See Sim, *Han’guk Hanmun kich’ohaksa*, 246. Moffett’s text then, at 563 lines and a total of 3,378

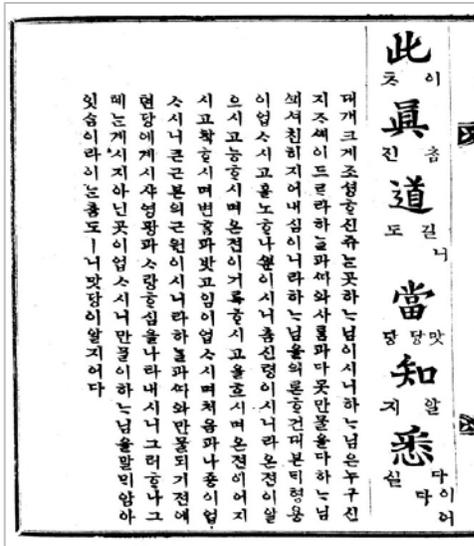


Figure 4.2. *Önhae* for *Chilli p'yöndok Samja kyöng*, lesson 1. Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

John's were as much or more doctrinal primers as sinograph primers, and so, unlike the *Ch'önjamun* or the Korean-made sinograph primers that imitated its format, John's text makes no compunction about frequently repeating sinographs. Nevertheless, Moffett's version of the text does include each graph's vernacular gloss (*sökh*) and Sino-Korean reading (*üm*) in the Korean alphabet, allowing it to more fully function as a sinograph primer in

the traditional Korean style. True again to its character as

a doctrinal primer, however, it also includes grammatical reading glosses (*t'o*) in the Korean alphabet for each three-graph phrase, making clear the text's proper reading (hence the "easy-to-read" appellation) and indicating that, as with traditional doctrinal or morals primers, its content was fit for memorization through vocalized recitations. Moffett's text was thus hybrid in several ways: It was a doctrinal primer, a sinograph primer, an LS primer teaching the basics of meter and rhyme, and through its "*önhae*" a vernacular writing primer. Widely used in the mission schools, *Chilli p'yöndok Samja kyöng* was reprinted in 1908 as part of Homer Hulbert's "Hulbert Educational Series" of textbooks.

James Scarth Gale's *Yumong ch'önja* was first printed as three volumes in 1901, the same year in which Kyungshin Academy was reopened under his headmastership.⁵⁰⁰ This strongly

characters, was much longer than what was typical of *Sanzi jing*-like texts, and John's was of course longer still.

⁵⁰⁰ Yi Sanghyön, et al., *Yumong ch'önja* 牖蒙千字 *yön'gu: kukhanmunch'e kihoeok üi yöksa wa kü hyöñjang* [A study of *Yumong ch'önja: a history of the design of mixed-script style and its setting*], 2017, 19.

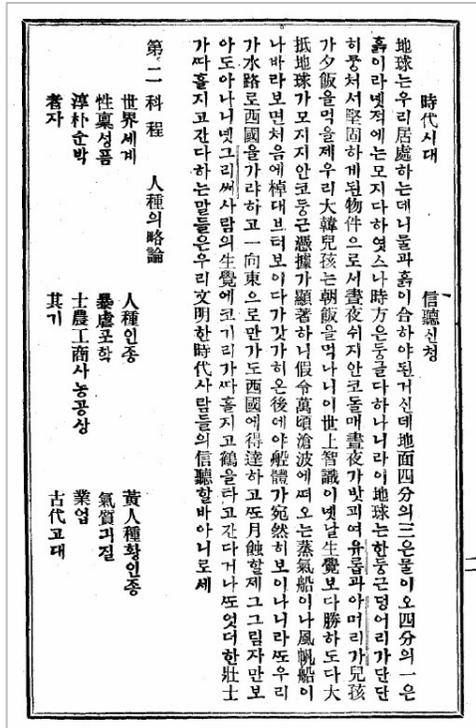


Figure 4.3. *Yumong ch'ŏnja*, volume 1, lessons 2 and 3. Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

suggests that the texts were prepared with the instruction of Kyungshin students in mind. The three volumes are translations largely from a series of elementary school textbooks from Ontario, Canada.⁵⁰¹ Volume one consists of twenty-five short but progressively more advanced chapters on topics as varied as personal hygiene, world cultures and customs, time keeping and clocks, astronomy, the weather and climate, geology, and other natural science topics. Volume two consists of thirty-three chapters translating selections of Western fiction,

Western history, and further

natural science topics. Both volumes one and two are composed in a mixed-script style. The style, however is not uniform between the two texts. In volume one, Korean syntax and colloquial style dominates, with only Sino-vocabulary being written in sinographs. In volume two, Korean syntax still predominates, but the style is much more LS-influenced, employing more LS phraseology and grammatical elements (pronouns, conjunctions, etc.). The third volume consists of thirty-one chapters translating Western short stories, novels,

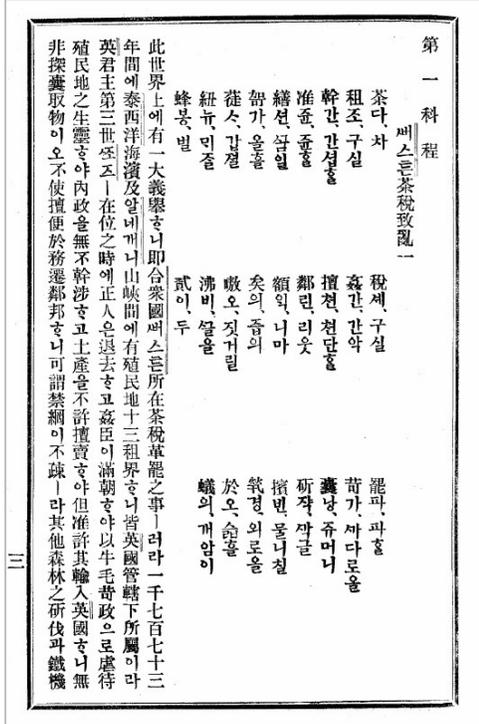


Figure 4.4. *Yumong ch'ŏnja*, volume 3, lesson 1. Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

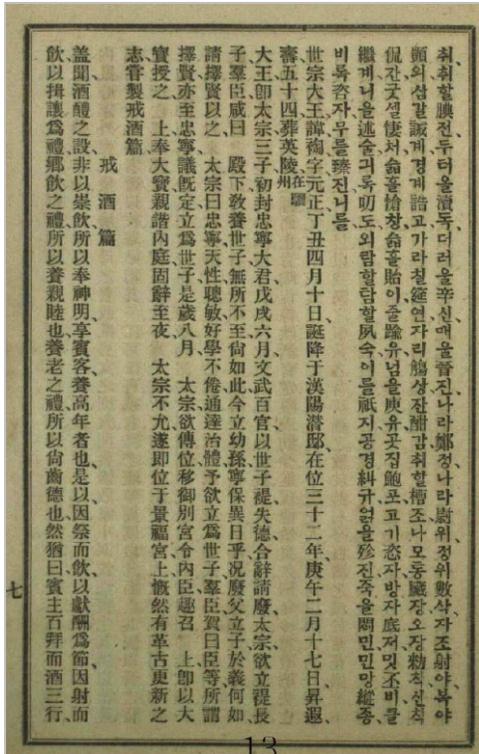


Figure 4.5. *Yumong sokpy'ŏn*, lesson 3, “Kyeju ron 戒酒論 (A Warning against Drink).” Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

and biographies of famous Westerners. At first glance it may appear to be composed in mixed-script style, but it is in fact a fully LS text with the Korean script used only to inscribe *t'o* glosses and to transcribe foreign personal and place names.⁵⁰² The fourth volume, separately titled *Yumong sokpy'ŏn* 牖蒙續編 (“*Yumong* [*ch'ŏnja*] supplemental volume”) was published in 1904. It is a chrestomathy of forty-one LS prose essays by twenty-six preeminent scholars of Korea’s past, including such luminaries as King Sejong, Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn 崔致遠 (857–900), Yi Kyubo 李奎報 (1168–1241), Chŏng Mongju 鄭夢周 (1338–1392), Yi I, and Song Siyŏl 宋時烈 (1607–

1689). Save for the first two chapters, volume four does not contain *t'o* glosses, though it is punctuated throughout. This would indicate that readers were expected to have learned how to properly insert the *t'o* glosses by the end of volume three, so that in volume four they would encounter an LS text without glosses and be able to vocally insert them on their own, as would a mature reader.

⁵⁰² The use of the Korean alphabet to “hang the glosses” (*hyŏnt'o* 懸吐) within otherwise fully LS compositions was a new feature of LS print materials during this period, the style of which is sometimes known as *hanmun hyŏnt'o-ch'e* 漢文懸吐體 (“hanging-gloss *hanmun* style”). The *t'o* were typically in half- or quarter-sized print and inserted or “hung” interlinearly on the right-hand side of a line of text, but even when printed in-line with the main text, their smaller size set them apart as *t'o* and made it visually clear that the text was composed in a glossed LS-style rather than a mixed-script style (i.e. *kukhanmun-ch'e*). Gale’s third volume prints the *t'o* in-line with the LS text and in full-sized print, giving it the appearance of the then typical *kukhanmun-ch'e* format. But were all the *t'o* removed, what would be left would be a fully comprehensible LS prose text.

The series integrates basic sinograph instruction into each chapter. At the beginning of a lesson a list of all Sino-Korean terms to be encountered is provided along with both their sinographs and vernacular reading in the Korean alphabet, and at the back of each volume is included a glossary of all the sinographs learned therein. Each of the first three volumes contains just over a thousand unique graphs: 1,005 in volume one, 1,008 in volume two, and 1,002 in volume three. Volume four contains another 772 for a series total of 3,387.⁵⁰³ Thus, as its title suggests, the series is not only a reader but also a sinograph primer of sorts.⁵⁰⁴

Gale had earlier expressed a negative, even hostile view of traditional Korean learning that would make him seem an unlikely champion of mixed-script writing, let alone one in favor of literacy instruction that progressed to full LS. In his 1898 book, *Korean Sketches*, he wrote that, “In education... we are at antipodes.... A Western student rejoices in a variety of attainments and the number of branches in which he has been introduced; while the Korean, in the fact that he knows nothing of any subject but the reading and writing of Chinese characters.”⁵⁰⁵ He would go on to describe how for the Confucian scholars of his acquaintance: “Chinese characters seem to have... a consuming fascination.”

Not so much the thought conveyed as the character itself, seems the object of veneration. From them he “builds” (*chita*) forms of expression and verses as a child builds enchanted castles from blocks of different sizes; and as there is no limit to the variations and combinations possible, so there is no limit to the charm they possess. Two scholars can find sufficient to interest them for a day in a single character, and as there are in use some 20,000 characters, they have a fund of interest to draw on that will last for half a century.

⁵⁰³ Ibid., 56.

⁵⁰⁴ With the “*ch’ŏnja*” in its title, the series certainly bills itself as a sinograph primer, but I say that it is a “sinograph primer of sorts” to note that it lacked any of the poetic or metrical arrangement that was a central feature of traditional Korean sinograph primers allowing for easier memorization through vocalized recitations. Demonstrating a proper vocalized reading of the main text may well have been part of a student’s learning task but chanting the character lists as one would do with a traditional sinograph primer, almost certainly was not.

⁵⁰⁵ Gale, *Korean Sketches*, 176.

No attempt is ever made to write more than original ditties or mottoes; anything approaching to an original work in Chinese would be like an attempt to outdo Homer in Greek—presumption unheard of. So the scholar plays his life away with this unending rosary of ideographs, that entwine not only his neck, but his mind, and heart, and soul.⁵⁰⁶

In light of these views, why would Gale undertake just three years later to publish a reader series that not only positioned the learning and use of sinographs at its center but that culminated in an anthology of historical LS texts?

A partial answer must surely be mere practicality. In 1894, Gale had completed a translation of John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* in a pure Korean-alphabetic style as part of the on-going missionary efforts to produce a body of vernacular Christian literature. Though it was well received and widely read,⁵⁰⁷ Gale could not change the fact that sinographic writing was expanding with the growth of mixed-script publications or that LS continued to be widely used and highly esteemed. For *Yumong ch'ŏnja* to be successful, it had to prepare students for the Korean literacy environment as it then was, rather than the environment Gale might wish there to have been. We might understand the style of his readers, then, as a partial acquiescence to current circumstance that nevertheless pushed the boundaries of literacy practice toward greater vernacularity.

This explanation, however, is, as already stated, partial. Unlike his translation of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, the first work of Western literature ever to be translated using only the Korean alphabet, Gale's reader series did not in fact expand the boundaries of Korean literacy toward any greater vernacularity, but rather reflected then-current literacy practice. It treated Korean literacy as comprising a spectrum of literary styles beginning not with a pure alphabetic

⁵⁰⁶ Gale, 185–86.

⁵⁰⁷ Wook-Dong Kim, "James Scarth Gale as a Translator," *Korea Journal* 56, no. 2 (2016): 52–54.

style, but with a colloquial mixed-script style that culminated in full LS. The series thus preserved the traditional inscriptional hierarchy, with sinography throughout and orthodox LS prose at the top. This cut against the general desire among the missionaries to raise the status and use of the pure Korean-alphabetic style.⁵⁰⁸ It was also contrary to the preference of the missions, as seen above, to limit LS instruction to primary schooling. The simplest explanation for this, especially given his earlier hostile remarks on sinographic writing, is that Gale's views had changed; that he had become more favorably disposed toward sinographic writing up to and including LS. The beginning of this change can clearly be seen in an article in 1900, in which he wrote that a comparison of the pure alphabetic style with the mixed-script style, "will show how much more full and rich the language [of the latter] is."⁵⁰⁹ Gale would not only go on to champion mixed-script style, but from the publication of *Yumong sokp'yŏn*, he would become an

⁵⁰⁸ On a number of occasions, Homer Hulbert articulated this view that the missionaries' literary efforts should be oriented toward raising the status of the Korean alphabet and eliminating LS and eventually sinography altogether. In an October 1904 article in the *Korean Review* he wrote: "The vital question then arises. How are we to wean the people away from the Chinese to the pure Korean? The Chinese is the medium through which all literary ideas have flowed into this Peninsula. The existing religion of the people, or at least the recognized cult, Confucianism, is embedded in Chinese. The ideograph and its study form the great barrier between the upper and lower classes, a barrier which the upper classes will be loath to see torn down. *There is one and only one way to attack this barrier and that is by giving the common people such a good literature in their own native character that the position will be reversed and it shall come to be acknowledged that genuine education lies with the many rather than with the few.* Pardon the italics but the supreme importance of this point warrants them. Works, written in the Korean can be made as fascinating and as stimulating as those written in Chinese, though in a different way." Homer B. Hulbert, "The Educational Needs of Korea," *The Korean Review* 6, no. 10 (October 1904): 449–50. We can know that this was a generally held view among the missionaries by the fact that, according to a December 1903 letter from Horace Underwood to the British and Foreign Bible Society, publication of the Bible in mixed-script was opposed by all but himself and Gale on the basis that it might retard the hoped-for progress toward inscriptional supremacy for pure alphabetic-style writing. See Horace Grant Underwood et al., *Ŏndŏudŏ charyojip = Horace Grant Underwood Papers: The First American Missionary to Korea and the Founder of Yonsei University*, vol. III: 1901–1908 (Seoul: Yŏnse Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 2005), 479–83.

⁵⁰⁹ James Scarth Gale, "The Influence of China Upon Korea," *Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1 (1900): 14.

ardent admirer of Korea's LS literature, translating numerous LS works throughout his missionary career.⁵¹⁰

The reason for this change of heart is almost certainly due to the close work with his "pundit" and co-author/translator Yi Ch'angjik 李昌植 (n.d.). Yi, whom Gale had met shortly after arriving in Korea, had worked with Gale on his translation of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and on other previous projects, including, Gale's dictionary, published in 1897, and his translation of the New Testament, published in 1900.⁵¹¹ Though a Christian convert, Yi was classically trained in LS and Confucian learning and undoubtedly heavily influenced Gale in his views on Korean literature and literary style.⁵¹² The reader series was Gale's first project in which the translation target was either a mixed-script style or LS prose style, rather than the pure Korean-alphabetic style of his earlier projects. Yi's LS compositional abilities would have been especially crucial in producing the LS translations in volume three. Also, given that by the time of its publication in 1904, Gale was still unfamiliar with the scope and contours of Korean literature in LS, we can

⁵¹⁰ Though Gale would continue to produce translations of Western works for a Korean audience, the publication of *Yumong sokpy'ŏn* coincided with a shift in his literary pursuits toward collecting and producing English translations of Korean literature in LS that would occupy him for the rest of his tenure in Korea. As Ross King writes: "Gale's attitudes toward Korean traditional literary culture and writing in Literary Sinitic underwent a profound change sometime between 1900 and 1910. In one article ("Why Read Korean Literature?"), published in August 1917 in the *Korea Review*, Gale laments his ignorance of entire Korean thought worlds because of his ignorance of *hanmun*: 'For example the writer had no idea, though he had lived with the Korean for a score of years, of the part the Taoist genii and the fairies play in his world....' Given that Gale arrived in Korea in 1888, this suggests that he was not truly initiated into the riches of *hanmun* literature until sometime between 1905 and 1910." King, "James Scarth Gale, Korean Literature in Hanmun, and Korean Books," 242.

⁵¹¹ On Yi's work as a co-translator of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, see Kim, "Gale as a Translator," 53. On his work on Gale's dictionary and the translation of the Bible, see Yi et. al, *Yumong ch'ŏnja yŏn'gu*, 36.

⁵¹² King, "James Scarth Gale, Korean Literature in Hanmun, and Korean Books," 242.

safely assume that the selection of essays for volume four was made by Yi.⁵¹³ Along with Gale, Yi is credited as an author in the introduction to volume one. It would be more accurate, then, to speak of the reader series as “Gale and Yi’s *Yumong ch’ŏnja*” rather than just Gale’s, as is so commonly the case.

A short introduction at the beginning of each of the first three volumes described the scope of the respective volume’s content and situated where in the graduated progression from mixed script to LS the volume’s writing style laid. The fourth volume began with two introductions, an English introduction by Gale and an LS introduction by Yi. The LS introduction was the longer and more insightful of the two when assessing the motives behind the volume’s (and by extension the series’) publication.⁵¹⁴ Yi began with an argument about nationhood and what it meant to be a nation. “If there are matters that take place in a nation,” he wrote, “then there ought to be writings composed about that nation.”⁵¹⁵ In other words, nationhood required a national literary canon. Throughout the world the forebears of a nation, “the ancients” (*koin* 古人), recorded events and conveyed their thoughts through literature that “allows those who come after to see their writings and to know what their country was like.”⁵¹⁶

⁵¹³ The composition in LS of authors’ biographies prior to their essays in volume four would have also been done by Yi.

⁵¹⁴ Since it was written in LS we can be sure that Yi either composed or translated it, and as Gale wrote a separate English-language introduction there is a high likelihood that the LS introduction is Yi’s original composition. Gale’s English-language introduction reads simply: “This volume completes the set and contains specimens of the Best Korean writing, though not all of the best writers are represented. Of some, it was impossible to obtain any selections; of others, no suitable ones were found for insertion in the book. Many of the very best writers however are represented, and all the selections, if we except that of Ki-ja, are of an interesting character as well as of high literary type. // Jas. S. Gale // Jan. 6th, 1904.”

⁵¹⁵ 凡有本國所行之事，則必有本國所著之文... “*Yumong sokp’yŏn-sŏ* 牖蒙續編序 [“Introduction to *Yumong sokp’yŏn*”]

⁵¹⁶ 使後之人，見其文而知其國之如何者.... Ibid.

“But alas!” Yi interjected, having adopted the writing practices of China, Korea’s literary history has been one in which the places, people, stories, and history of China have taken precedent:

From the time of Kija, we of the Eastern Quarter borrowed *hanmun* and thereafter mastered its use. Thus, when studying the passages and phrases written by the Chinese we have concentrated on selecting passages and phrases from previous writings and concerned ourselves with the grandiose and baroque. And whether about the government of Yao and Shun or about the scenery of the Dongting Lake and the Xiao and Xiang Rivers, we have had a ready answer for any question, having read and recited it from morn until eve. But when it comes to the affairs of our own country, it is no different than were we looking at flowers in the fog or wishing for spring in a dream; though you ask us a question we cannot answer it, and though we ponder an issue we cannot grasp it. An answer to which of [*our*] kings were sagely and which of [*our*] scholars were wise, or which of *our* rivers and mountains are elegant and beautiful is completely unheard. How can one help but groan exceedingly!?! Even the mature scholars or the august Confucians who are said to be knowledgeable are this way.⁵¹⁷

As already seen above, proponents of literary reform such as Chu Sigyŏng argued that LS literacy and literature, with their traditional focus on China and things Chinese, must be abandoned and replaced with a Korea-focused literature expressed in a pure Korean-alphabetic style. Yi and Gale however sought to jettison the traditional focus on China while preserving, celebrating, and building upon the unique literary achievements of Korean literature in LS. “In short,” Yi wrote, “even though writing was taken from China, in our achievements with it why should we defer to China?”⁵¹⁸ The solution Yi and Gale provided for students studying the new learning taught in mission schools was a new literary canon that embraced Korean precedents and excluded Chinese ones.

Where is a young student of new learning, who is ignorant of the way before him, supposed to find a model? [Our country’s] sage kings and wise scholars worthy of emulation are collected hereafter for the study of the past and research in the present.

⁵¹⁷ 嗟. 吾東方, 自箕子以後假借漢文, 以通其用. 故, 習於中國人所著章句, 或潛心於尋常[章]摘句, 或事從[從事]於浮誇放浪. 唐虞世代之治, 洞瀟等地之景, 隨問隨答, 朝讀暮誦, 而至如本國之事, 無異於霧中看花, 夢裡償春, 問不能答, 思不能得. 何君何士之聖哲, 某水某山之佳麗, 寥乎無聞, 可勝歎哉! 老士碩儒之稱爲有識者, 尙且如此... Ibid.

⁵¹⁸ 則文雖取於中國, 功何讓於中國乎? Ibid.

[Our country's] sublime mountains and rivers, halls and pavilions worthy of viewing are also written of herein so that we may be aware of their names and grasp their significance.⁵¹⁹

For Yi and Gale, the study of Korean literature in LS was compatible with the study of new learning. In volume three, this meant not only LS literature of the past, but current uses of LS to translate Western learning as well. And with volume four, this meant preserving the nation's literary patrimony (practically all of which was in LS), since one of the purposes of a national canon, according to Yi, was to be able to “assess the key aspects of previous periods of order and chaos and also to deconstruct the uninformed ideas of the people who came thereafter.”⁵²⁰

From the pure Korean-alphabetic style in Gale's translation of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, to the varied mixed-script styles of the first two volumes of *Yumong ch'ŏnja*, to the LS translational style of volume three, and to the historical LS prose writings in the final volume, Gale and Yi's literary projects embraced a literary canon of multiple inscriptional and literary styles with both old and new content. And yet, neither their *Yumong ch'ŏnja* nor other of Gale's literary efforts sought simply to preserve *in situ* Korea's traditional literacy instruction or literary content. That is, though Gale and Yi's approach to literacy training and canon formation allowed for an LS literacy that was relevant to both “old” and “new” learning, as committed Christians with a mission to spread the Christian gospel they did not embrace every aspect of Korea's traditional literacy practice or literary content and style. Thus, unlike the compatibilism of the *tongdo sŏgi* reformers who also embraced “old” and “new” learning and sought to adopt the new learning of Western technology and knowhow while preserving and buttressing old learning of Confucian

⁵¹⁹ 新學少生之懵於趣向者，何所效則乎？編次聖君賢士之卓然可法者，考古證今，并著山水堂窩之超然可觀者，顧名取義... Ibid.

⁵²⁰ 可以質前代治亂之要領，且以破後人聞見之孤陋... Ibid.

ideology and social hierarchy, Gale and Yi's efforts were aimed instead at grafting Christian doctrine (and where that was not possible, then secular learning) onto the tree of Korean culture and society, while at the same time pruning the extraneous branches of sinological learning.

Without any description of how it was to be used, it is unclear what methods were employed when teaching either reading or composition using Gale and Yi's textbook series. Still, we can note several innovations that the series introduced that departed from traditional pedagogy. First, with its graduated presentation of a variety of writing styles, the series treated Korean literacy as a varied though integrated whole that began with a colloquial vernacular style and culminated in full LS.

Next, the series integrated basic sinograph instruction with reading and composition instruction and thus began each lesson with a list of all new sinographs to be encountered in that lesson along with both their *sŏk* and *ŭm* transcribed in the Korean alphabet. Each volume also included a sinograph glossary at the back. This indicates that Gale and Yi anticipated that students could be taught from their textbook without having already studied with a sinograph primer. Also, since the series was ordered to progress from simple mixed-script compositions through to full LS works, students would first be made to learn sinographs as part of instruction in mixed-script literacy rather than as part of LS literacy instruction alone. Gale and Yi's text thus functioned to create a degree of separation between sinographic instruction and LS literacy instruction that was not typical of the traditional method.

Another innovation worth noting is that unlike traditional LS instruction in which poetry was the first step in composition instruction, Gale's series focused solely on prose. Gale did not explain his reason for excluding LS poetry from his textbooks, but it may have been due to the

period's emphasis on practical education, which would have considered LS poetry instruction to be frivolous.

Finally, with his last two volumes Gale demonstrated how LS could be used as a vehicle for both new Western knowledge and traditional Sinological knowledge and shows too that the work of Korea's own men of letters would do just fine as samples of excellent LS writing.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has examined both the changes to and continuities in the status, learning and use of LS in the ten-year period bookended by the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars. The period was truly eventful. Korea's tributary relationship with China was severed, the traditional civil service examination system was ended, the Korean alphabet was officially promoted to the status of National Writing, the foundations of a new education system were laid, and mixed-script writing was mainstreamed within a burgeoning public print media culture. Of all these reforms, none was more consequential for the future of Korean inscriptional practice than the demise of the *kwagŏ*. The effects of the period's educational and other inscriptional reforms could be weakened or rolled back in the post-Kabo-era; however, the abolition of the *kwagŏ* severed the link between Confucian learning and government office and was enduring. Much more than just bureaucratic reform, it was grounded in a rejection of "empty" examination essays, the writing of which was a cornerstone of Korea's past educational aims and literary practice. That is, those who abolished the *kwagŏ* intended not only to reform the system of recruitment but also to eradicate "old" or "outmoded" Confucian knowledge and to eliminate the inscriptional practices that were the primary vehicle for that knowledge.

Still, the traditional curriculum of LS primers, Confucian texts, and Chinese histories was not eliminated, and the powerful government official Sin Kisŏn worked to reconstruct a continuing basis for LS literacy and Confucian learning within the new state schools. Christian parents too continued to insist that their children, both sons *and* daughters, receive LS literacy instruction. The Methodists' Pai Chai Academy continued to include LS literacy instruction in the traditional mode for its primary-school-aged boys and the students at Ewha Academy insisted on the reinstatement of LS literacy instruction. The policy of Presbyterian mission and their church-affiliated schools to teach LS yet eschew traditional primers and non-Christian texts led their missionaries to create innovative textbooks for LS instruction. As the next chapter will show, Gale and Yi's *Yumong ch'ŏnja/sokp'yŏn* in particular bore many of the characteristics that would define the new and experimental Hanmunkwa textbooks published in the protectorate period.

Chapter 5: The Protectorate-Period Formation of Hanmunkwa, 1905–1910

5.1 Introduction

Kojong's 1896 flight to the Russian legation began a rivalry between Russia and Japan for dominance in Korea eventuating in war in February 1904. The war resulted in a total military victory for Japan. With Article II of the September 1905 Treaty of Portsmouth ending the war, Russia was forced to acknowledge that "Japan possesses in Korea paramount political, military and economical interests" and so agreed "neither to obstruct nor interfere with measures for guidance, protection and control which the Imperial Government of Japan may find necessary to take in Korea."⁵²¹ As no other power in Korea "had as compelling strategic or economic interests on the peninsula as Japan," the Western powers "appeared to have reached a consensus that the Koreans were no worse off under Japanese rule than they were under their own."⁵²² Without any challenge from the Western powers, Japan forced Kojong to sign of the infamous Ŭlsa Treaty in the early hours of November 17, making Korea a protectorate of the Japanese Empire.

The protectorate treaty made *de jure* Korea's *de facto* status since the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War. Seeking to prevent Korea from taking sides in the conflict against Japan, the Japanese government had to "cajole, intimidate, and manipulate the Korean leadership into signing a protocol permitting the Japanese to undertake military operations on Korean territory."⁵²³ Article I of the protocol had stipulated that "the Imperial Government of Korea

⁵²¹ From the English translation of the treaty in Sydney Tyler, *The Japan-Russia War: An Illustrated History of the War in the Far East, the Greatest Conflict of Modern Times* (Philadelphia: P.W. Ziegler co., 1905), 564.

⁵²² Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword*, 189.

⁵²³ Duus, 180.

shall place full confidence in the Imperial Government of Japan and adopt the advice of the latter in regard to improvements in administration.”⁵²⁴ In another agreement that August, an advisor “recommended by the Japanese Government” was to be posted to the Foreign Office “and all important matters concerning foreign relations shall be dealt with after his counsel has been taken.”⁵²⁵ These agreements granted Japan wide latitude in controlling both external and internal Korean affairs prior even to the signing of the protectorate treaty.

In late August 1906, Korea’s Education Ministry promulgated new educational regulations under the direction of the newly formed Japanese Residency-General in Korea (Tōkanfu 統監府, K. T’onggambu; hereafter RGK). These regulations replaced the previous laws that had governed state education since the Kabo Reforms. Japan’s victory over Russia and this takeover of Korean education precipitated a major shift in the view of many Koreans toward the necessity of embracing new knowledge. It was no longer disputable that the Meiji-era adoption of Western learning and the implementation of modernizing reforms had produced the military and industrial strength that allowed Japan to stand toe to toe with the European powers and to assert dominance in its region. Japan’s victory was considered by many Koreans as proof of concept that the Western model could be adapted successfully to an East Asian setting through an intense nation-wide effort. Even some leading Confucian traditionalists who had previously championed *wijŏng ch’ŏksa* ideology began to accept aspects of Western learning and technology or to modify their commitments to orthodox Confucianism.⁵²⁶

⁵²⁴ This English translation is from Chung, *Korean Treaties*, 213.

⁵²⁵ Chung, 214–15.

⁵²⁶ John B. Duncan, “The Confucian Context of Reform,” in *Reform and Modernity in the Taehan Empire* (Seoul: Jimoondang, 2006), 119–20.

The forced abdication of Kojong in July 1907 and the signing of a new protectorate treaty effectively transferred sovereignty to Japan. This brought urgent calls for the expansion of modern education, which was seen as the key to achieving the necessary national strength to regain sovereignty. But with government-led education reforms now in the hands of the Japanese and Koreans increasingly barred from higher office in the government bureaucracy, calls to expand modern education were no longer motivated solely by the aim of identifying and training “men of talent” for government office. Rather, a primary motivation was the belief that the spread of modern, Western-style education would enlighten the people and strengthen an independent national spirit. Rather than achieving “civilization and enlightenment” (*munmyǒng kaehwa*) as a means to national prosperity and power, this new movement in education was part of a modern nationalist movement, often termed the “patriotic-enlightenment movement” (*aeguk kyemong undong* 愛國啓蒙運動), that emphasized the role of everyday Koreans in serving the nation and helping to regain national independence. Central to patriotic-enlightenment discourses was the claim that with expanded education in new knowledge, Korea could achieve Japanese-style modernization and regain its full sovereignty. Embracing this claim, Koreans in great numbers sent their children to mission schools, established private schools, formed education societies, and published textbooks as part of an effort to “redeem the nation through education” (*kyoyuk kuguk undong* 教育求國運動).⁵²⁷ What had been at most a few hundred private modern schools in 1904 run mostly by missionaries or Christian churches, grew by 1910 to around 3,000, mostly secular, private modern schools run by Koreans.⁵²⁸ Japan’s now obvious imperialist

⁵²⁷ For a fuller examination of this shift in Koreans’ educational priorities, see Yuh, “Education, the Struggle for Power, and Identity Formation in Korea, 1876–1910,” 211–25.

⁵²⁸ According to a 1911 survey by the colonial government, 1,272 private Korean-run and 755 private missionary or church-run schools were registered by the government. See Chǒng Hūisuk, “Chǒnt’ong sǒdang kyoyuk esǒ kūndae ch’odǔng kyoyuk ūro ūi chǒnhwan [The transition from

intentions and its takeover of state-run education thus spurred a rapid increase in private educational activities.

Though the ultimate objectives of government and private education efforts differed, vernacular literacy was core to both. Borrowing from discourses surrounding on-going debates about the reform of Japanese language and inscriptional practices, the slogan *ōnmun ilch'i* 言文一致 (“unification of speech and writing,” J. *genbun itchi*) was adopted positively in Korea. And yet, as the missionaries had learned previously and as the Japanese education officials soon found out, Korean parents still expected their children to receive LS literacy instruction; thus, both state and private schools included it in their curricula. Like the Presbyterian mission, which integrated LS instruction into the Kyungshin curriculum, state and private schools would require new textbooks to adapt LS learning—its instructional aims, methods, and materials—to the modern classroom setting; and it is this adaptation that constituted Hanmunkwa and differentiated it from traditional LS literacy instruction.

Government textbook preparation and publication began shortly after promulgation of the 1906 school regulations, and though textbooks for use in private schools lagged slightly behind, the proliferation in private schools led to a boom in textbook publication. Hanmunkwa textbooks were second only to math/arithmetic textbooks in the numbers published; a consequence of which was the development of a wide variety of approaches to Hanmunkwa instruction. Considering just their content, for example, some authors compiled textbooks using only

traditional *sōdang* education to modern elementary education],” in *Han’guk kŭndae ch’odŭng kyoyuk ūi sōngnip* [*The formation of modern Korean elementary education*], ed. Kim Chōnghyo and Yi Sōngŭn (Seoul, Korea: Kyoyuk kwahaksa, 2005), 16. As Watanabe notes, however, many other modern private schools that had not yet received government approval were not included in this official total, bringing the actual total closer to 3,000. See Watanabe Manabu, *Wat’anabe ūi Han’guk kyoyuksa* [*Watanabe’s history of Korean education*] (Seoul: Munŭmsa, 2010), 280.

excerpts from classical Confucian texts, others chose exclusively past works in LS by Korean authors, while still others compiled new LS compositions dealing with both historical and contemporary topics.

This boom in textbook publication lasted only briefly, however. Seeking to gain control over private-school education and censor the nationalist content of their textbooks, Japanese officials promulgated a September 1909 ordinance regulating private schools. The ordinance stipulated that the curricula and textbooks of private schools, like those of their state-run counterparts, would require approval by the Japanese-controlled Ministry of Education, enforced by means of a strict textbook screening survey. Once the survey was fully instituted in January 1910, the content and format of new private-school Hanmunkwa textbooks mirrored their much more limited government-issued counterparts.

This final content chapter will survey the development of Hanmunkwa—its instructional aims, methods, and materials—during the protectorate period. First, the instructional guidelines for the state-schools' Hanmunkwa curriculum will be examined, showing the limitations these guidelines placed on LS literacy instruction within the new schools. Next, a majority sample of the Hanmunkwa textbooks published for private-school use will be surveyed, followed by an examination of the government's Hanmunkwa textbook series. This examination will show that Korea's early modern-school educators had a diversity of views on the place of LS instruction within a modern, multi-subject curriculum; and that, as was the case with the Protestant missionaries before them, when Korean educators were in charge of their own schools, they developed new and experimental methods for adapting LS instruction to the modern classroom. This experimentation included patriotic-enlightenment content that angered Japanese education officials and led to textbook censorship. The purpose of this chapter, then, is to show that on the

eve of annexation, LS instruction was deliberately pushed to the margins of Korean education, with the scope of its learning and use limited by the Japanese through textbook censorship. It is also to demonstrate that inasmuch as Korean parents were eager for their children to learn LS and Korean educators were eager to develop new methods and materials for teaching it, the status of LS in Korea today as a legacy literacy limited to narrow domains was not foreordained but contingent on deliberate policies to limit the scope of its learning and use.

5.2 The Formation of Protectorate-Period Education Policy and LS Instruction

Reforming the Korean educational system was one of Japan's top priorities, and in February 1905, Shidehara Taira 幣原坦 (1870–1953), already a teacher at the Seoul Middle School since 1900, was hired by the Korean government as an educational affairs advisor at the insistence of the Japanese ambassador. Shidehara's contract required Korea's Education Ministry to "consult with Shidehara on all educational matters and get his agreement on their handling." Shidehara was in turn instructed by the Japanese Foreign Ministry that he must receive the approval of the ambassador and the Foreign Ministry "before making any major decision dealing with education affairs."⁵²⁹ Thus, though not in direct control of Korean education, Japan had already established effective control prior to the protectorate treaty.

As seen in the preceding chapters, during earlier periods of education reform the Korean government's priority was to develop an education system that properly identified and trained "able men" for enlightened government service. Whether in the Royal English Academy's founding regulations or the policy guidance papers of the Kabo era, this was time and again of

⁵²⁹ Hall, "First Steps Towards Assimilation: Japanese-Run Education in Korea, 1905–1910," 362–63.

stated paramount importance. As Japanese officials were to be placed in key government positions going forward, however, education reform under the Japanese would no longer emphasize training Koreans for government office. Instead, in preparation for the protectorate and afterward when preparing for annexation, Japan's education policy priorities in this period centered on pacification and assimilation of the Korean people. Reflecting this shift in educational aims, shortly after Shidehara's appointment he submitted a plan for educational reform to the Japanese government containing five points of policy guidance: "1) Prepare Korea to become a protectorate by reforming education; 2) Train the Korean people in virtuous and peaceful values; 3) Propagate the Japanese language; 4) Develop new knowledge, while not destroying the de-facto national religion of Confucianism; and 5) Quickly spread education by creating a simple curriculum."⁵³⁰

In line with these policy goals Shidehara first began laying out plans to simplify the educational system, proposing that the total years of public schooling be reduced from thirteen to eight years. Since so few students continued from the existing six-year primary schools to the seven-year secondary schools this reduction was meant to increase enrollments throughout the school system and make establishing schools in the provinces easier.⁵³¹ Shidehara also proposed that the Japanese language be taught for twelve hours each week beginning from the first year of school. Textbook editing and publication were also a priority. Shidehara hired two Japanese to edit textbooks for Japanese-language instruction and commissioned a second edition of the

⁵³⁰ Hall, 364. Given these educational aims, Hall refers to this period's educational reforms as "the first steps towards assimilation."

⁵³¹ As Hall (2015) notes, not only did few students continue from primary to secondary school, but few even completed the full six years of primary school given that "of the fifty-five Korean public elementary schools created in the 1895–1906 period, only one of them was a higher elementary school. The other fifty-four were all three-year lower elementary schools." Ibid, 368.

mixed-script style Kabo-era textbook *Yumong hwip'yŏn* for use in teaching the “de-facto national religion of Confucianism.” Notably absent from Shidehara’s plans was instruction in LS literacy, either as a part of basic literacy training or as a textual medium for instruction in Confucianism.

Opposition to Shidehara’s Japanese-first language policies first came in June when news of the Japanese textbook editing project became known.⁵³² Opposition culminated on September 30, when over 700 students, their teachers and parents crowded in protest outside the Education Ministry’s office and threw their newly issued Japanese-language textbooks at the gates. In the following days newspapers published editorials opposing Japanese-first literacy instruction. “Education is a nation’s most pressing matter,” went the now familiar refrain in an editorial in the *TaeHan maeil sinmun* 大韓每日申報, but the new Japanese-first educational policies seemed like an effort to snuff out the spirit of Korean independence and were a portent of colonization:

It’s not yet clear now where the thinking lies in having made the Japanese language and Japanese writing the very first subject of children’s learning. It may be the case that making the Japanese language and Japanese writing the very first lesson encountered by Korean children is meant to completely annihilate the independent national spirit. And were that to happen, Korea’s future will come to the same fate as Poland. Even considering such a fate as this how is it that our grief and lament are not at their extreme?⁵³³

Less than two months later, the protectorate treaty was signed, and Japan did indeed gain even greater control over Korea.⁵³⁴ Still, Shidehara responded to the Koreans’ opposition to the

⁵³² Ibid., 365–66.

⁵³³ 大抵教育은 國家의 第一急務라... 乃今에 日語와 日文으로 蒙學의 最先教科를 作호얏스니 其主意所在를 未可知也로다 韓國兒孩들에게 日語와 日文으로 最初先入之學이 되게 호고 自國精神은 全然消滅케 호인지 然則 韓國前途가 將次波蘭과 同歸호지니 念及於此호면 悲憤痛석이 曷有其極이리오 *TaeHan maeil sinbo* 大韓每日申報 October 1, 1905. For more on Koreans’ continued reaction against Shidehara’s proposed Japanese-first language policies, see Schmid, *Korea between Empires*, 144–46.

⁵³⁴ The protectorate treaty gave full authority over Korea’s foreign relations to the Japanese Foreign Ministry and established the office of Resident General as the representative of the Japanese government in Seoul. The Resident General was to reside in Seoul ostensibly “for the

proposed educational reforms by postponing their implementation and making changes to the curriculum. Though Japanese-language instruction was still to be included throughout the elementary grades, its weekly instructional hours were to be cut in half, from the proposed twelve to six hours, and LS instruction was added as a separate class for four hours per week. Also, Japanese would be listed after Korean and LS in the curricular guidelines, symbolically subordinating it to Korean literacy education. This compromise position met with opposition from some education officials in Japan who saw the inclusion of LS instruction as adding unneeded complexity to the curriculum, making the nation-wide spread of the new education system more difficult and crowding out more practical subjects, first and foremost Japanese. Wrote one official who considered LS an undue burden that would sour elementary school students on learning Japanese:

Wouldn't a better policy be to abolish the four hours of *hanmun* and instead teach subjects necessary in everyday life? An increase in the Japanese-language instructional hours would be a more advisable measure. There is already a Korean language class, and teaching *hanmun* in addition to it will make the teaching of Japanese extremely onerous; a toxic burden for the elementary school students... We can't hope to have good outcomes by imposing this on the elementary school curriculum.⁵³⁵

Though Shidehara was replaced the following June, his changes to the curriculum remained a part of the full suite of educational reforms in the First Educational Ordinance and its

purpose of taking charge of and directing matters relating to diplomatic affairs.” However, Japan did not relinquish any of the authority Korea had granted it in previous agreements and so continued to direct domestic “improvements in administration,” including educational reform.

⁵³⁵ 漢文の四時間を廃し更に日常須知の学科を課するが得策であるまいか。日本語の時間を多くするなども適当な措置であらう。既に国語のある上に、漢文を課し、日本語を課するなどは、小学生徒には非常な負担である。いな有毒な重荷といはねばならぬ.....これを小学校に課して、好成绩を得ようとするのは、到底望んで得られぬ事であらう。Kubota Yuko, *Shokuminchi Chōsen No Nihongo Kyōiku [Japanese Language Education in Colonial Korea]* (Fukuoka: Kyūshū Daigaku Shuppankai, 2005), 55–56.

accompanying curricular guidelines promulgated in late August and early September 1906.⁵³⁶ Still ambivalent about the compromise he had made in reducing the hours for Japanese language instruction and including LS instruction as a separate required course in the curriculum, Shidehara wrote in a 1907 article for a Japanese educational magazine that among the reasons for the ongoing failure of education reform in Korea the first was that “much of society still saw [*hanmun*] education as the only legitimate education.”⁵³⁷ The criticism of Shidehara’s compromise policy and his ambivalence about it after the fact reveals the tension between the priorities of pacification and assimilation. Acquiescing to the wishes of Koreans would mean that Japanese language instruction, a foundational element of the assimilationist project, might only be optional at the elementary level, if included at all. And yet a maximalist Japanese-first language policy risked provoking a reaction from the Korea populace that threatened the goal of pacification. A curriculum that incited student and parent opposition and deterred enrollment was self-defeating.

Hired to replace Shidehara, Mitsuchi Chūzō 三土忠造 (1871–1948) shared a view similar to Shidehara on LS instruction.⁵³⁸ Reluctantly, he accommodated the inclusion of LS in the curriculum and even edited the Education Ministry’s four-volume elementary textbook,

⁵³⁶ Finding Shidehara to be an ineffective administrator and unsatisfied with his progress in producing textbooks, Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文 (1841–1909), the protectorate’s first Resident General, terminated his contract on June 16. Hall, 367.

⁵³⁷ Ibid, 363.

⁵³⁸ Shidehara was replaced by two men, Mitsuchi and Tawara Magoichi 俵孫一 (1869–1944). According to Hall (2015), “Tawara, the senior of the two, was a Japanese Home Ministry official with no professional experience in education, who appears to have been appointed for his general bureaucratic skills. Tawara’s main assistant was Mitsuchi, a former teacher at the Tokyo Higher Normal School, who was lobbied personally by Itō [Hirobumi] to take the position. Mitsuchi was hired to build on Shidehara’s plan of creating a new curriculum and publishing new textbooks.” Ibid., 367.

Hanmun tokpon 漢文讀本. In a retrospective account written a year after annexation, Mitsuchi explained, however, that he viewed the inclusion of LS instruction in the elementary curriculum as only a temporary accommodation to smooth the early establishment of the new school system. Mitsuchi argued that the positive results of the new schools had by the time of his writing become clearer to students' parents, and so lobbied (unsuccessfully) for its removal from the common (i.e. "universal") elementary schools:

To this day we are teaching Japanese, *hanmun*, and Korean in the Korean schools. Although there is no need for us to be teaching *hanmun* in the common elementary schools, in Korea's *sōdang* they teach *hanmun* in the same way as was done in Japan from ancient times till the Meiji Restoration; that is, their teaching of *hanmun* is like Edo-period *terakoya* education. In the minds of the Korean people teaching *hanmun*, or *hanmun* instruction, is a sufficient stand-in for the whole of education. Therefore, when instituting the new education system, if we had said that we were to exclude *hanmun* from the common schools, then student parents would have refused to send their children to those schools. So inevitably we had to include *hanmun* as a required course. Today, however, even were *hanmun* removed from the common schools, parents would not refuse to send their children to a school because the fruits of the new education are increasingly recognized by parents. By their nature the Koreans are lacking in cognitive ability, and so, from an educational perspective, teaching them multiple languages is of absolutely no benefit. Even if some say it is impossible, now is the time that we must carry out the removal of *hanmun* from the common schools.⁵³⁹

⁵³⁹ 今日までの朝鮮の学校では、日本語と漢文朝鮮語の三つを教へて居るのである。漢文の方は、一体普通学校で教へる必要は無いのであるけれども、昔から丁度我が日本の御維新頃と同じやうな工合に朝鮮の書堂即ち寺子屋の教育は漢文を教へると云ふことだけであつた、朝鮮人の頭に漢文を教へること、即ち教育漢文の教授は教育の全部蔽ふと云ふ風に考へて居る、然るに新教育を布く場合こ、漢文を普通学校から取り去ると父兄は到底其の子弟を学校に寄越さないからして、難しいと知りつつ止むを得ず漢文を必修科の中に入れたのである。けれども、今日では新教育の効果を段々父兄が認めて来たから、漢文を普通学校から取去つても子供を学校に寄越さぬと云ふことはあるまいと思ふ、元來朝鮮人は脳力の乏しい所へ幾つもの國語を教へると云ふことは、絶対に教育問題として考へても不利益である。又可能であるからして、漢文は第一此の際普通学校から取り去つて了ふことを断行しなければならぬと思ふ。Kubota, *Shokuminchi Chōsen No Nihongo Kyōiku*, 72.

Korean parents' expectation that their children have some LS literacy training led the Japanese to do as the Protestant missionaries had done twenty years previous and allow for the inclusion of LS instruction in the new school curriculum. Like some of the missionaries, this was viewed as a temporary measure. Unlike the missionaries, however, who expressed the belief that Koreans' previous LS literacy training had sharpened their mental faculties preparing them to more easily learn other languages, Mitsuchi believed that Koreans were natural dullards for whom learning multiple languages was too onerous.

5.3 The First Educational Ordinance and LS Instruction in State Schools

Now collectively known as the First Educational Ordinance, on August 27, 1906,⁵⁴⁰ the RGK issued four education ordinances wholly reforming the previous state-run education system.⁵⁴¹ These ordinances and the implementation regulations that accompanied them officially replaced the organizational regulations and curricular directives that had governed state-run schools since the Kabo Reforms. Within the new common and higher schools and in the reformed teachers' schools, the place of LS instruction within state-run education was again significantly altered. No longer to be sneaked in through the back door as had been done after Sin Kisŏn's post-Kabo tenure as Education Minister, LS instruction was included in the new schools' curricula as its

⁵⁴⁰ Promulgated on August 27, the ordinances went into effect on September 1, 1906.

⁵⁴¹ These were respectively the Teachers' School Ordinance (Sabŏm hakkyo-ryŏng 師範學校令), Royal Edict (*chingnyŏng* 勅令) #41; the Higher School Ordinance (Kodŭng hakkyo-ryŏng 高等學校令), R.E. #42; the Foreign Language School Ordinance (Oegugŏ hakkyo-ryŏng 外國語學校令), R.E. #43; and the Common School Ordinance (Pot'ong hakkyo-ryŏng 普通學校令), R.E. #44. For the original text of these ordinances, see Han et al., *Han'guk kyoyuk saryo chipsŏng*, 366–68.

own separate classroom subject. As will be shown, however, as one among many subjects, the nature of its instruction was much limited relative to traditional LS instruction.

The Common School Ordinance replaced the previous primary schools with their two-tiered ordinary (three-year) and higher (three-year) courses for students aged 8–13 years with a single four-year common school curriculum for students aged 8–11 years. Article 1 of the ordinance stated simply: “The primary aims of the common schools are to provide morals and civics education, taking into consideration students’ physical development, and to impart the common knowledge and skills necessary in everyday life.”⁵⁴² The common school curriculum comprised the following required subjects: Morals, Kugŏ 國語 (National Language; i.e. Korean), Hanmun 漢文, Japanese, Arithmetic, Geography and History, Natural Science, Drawing and Painting, and Calisthenics.⁵⁴³

The Higher School Ordinance replaced the previous secondary schools’ two-tiered ordinary (four-year) and higher (three-year) courses with a single four-year course for boys aged 12–15 years. Article 1 of the ordinance stated: “The purpose of the higher schools is to provide the higher common education necessary for boys.”⁵⁴⁴ In addition to the four-year course, the Higher School Ordinance established a one-year preparatory course for students too old to begin their education at a common school and a one-year supplementary course for those in need of extra schooling. The higher school curriculum comprised the following subjects: Morals, Kugŏ, Hanmun, Japanese, History and Geography, Arithmetic, Natural History, Physics and Chemistry,

⁵⁴² 普通學校는 學徒의 身體發達에 留意호야 道德教育 及 國民教育을 施호고 日常生活에 必要한 普通知識과 技藝를 授함으로써 本旨를 함이라 Ibid., 367.

⁵⁴³ Elective subjects, including sewing and needlework for girls, singing for boys and girls, and handicrafts, agriculture, and commerce for boys were also set forth.

⁵⁴⁴ 高等學校는 男子의개 必要한 高等普通教育을 施함으로 目的을 함이라 Ibid., 366.

Law and Economics, Drawing and Painting, Music, and Calisthenics. The curricula of the preparatory and supplementary courses included several subjects fewer than the regular higher school course, but both included the same three language subjects.

The Teachers' School Ordinance replaced the previous system's two-year regular course for students aged 20–25 years and six-month intensive course for students aged 22–35 years with a three-year regular course and a one-year intensive course for a much younger student cohort aged 15–17 and 18 years respectively. Article 1 of the ordinance stated: “The purpose of teachers' schools is to foster able men suitable to become common school teachers.”⁵⁴⁵ Article 6 stated: “Those who may obtain admission to the teachers' schools are males above the age of 15 who have the academic ability of a common-school graduate or greater.”⁵⁴⁶ The curriculum of the teachers' school regular course comprised the following subjects: Morals, Education (theory and practicum), Kugō, Hanmun, Japanese, History, Geography, Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry, Natural History, Drawing and Painting, Calisthenics, Music, Agriculture, Commerce, and Handicrafts.

To understand how LS instruction within the Hanmun classroom differed from traditional LS instruction we may first examine the implementation regulations (*sihaeng kyuch'ik* 施行規則) issued by the Education Ministry for each of the school ordinances. The guidelines detailed everything from the procedures for student matriculation and graduation to the teacher selection criteria and holiday schedule. They also contained a list of required subjects along with short descriptions of the expected subject aims, instructional content, and weekly instructional hours.

⁵⁴⁵ 師範學校는 普通學校의 教員될만흔 人材를 養成함으로 目的을 함이라 Ibid.

⁵⁴⁶ 師範學校本科에 入學함을 得흔 者는 年齡十五歲以上된 男子가 普通學校卒業以上の 學力이 有흔 者로 함이라 Ibid.

The guidelines placed significant limitations on LS instruction that were a significant departure from traditional LS learning. Though interconnected and overlapping, the limitations can be divided into four categories: 1) limiting the number of weekly LS instructional hours, 2) limiting LS literacy to dependency on vernacular literacy, 3) limiting LS instruction to basic reading comprehension, with no instruction in composition, and 4) limiting the content of LS instruction to excerpts from the canonical Confucian texts. These limitations on what was learned and how would have a significant impact on the nature of LS instruction within the modern schools and are the basic parameters for what then and today distinguishes Hanmunkwa from traditional LS literacy instruction.

Examining now in greater detail each of the four limitations of Hanmunkwa listed above, first, the prescribed weekly hours of instruction for Kugö, Hanmun, and Japanese classes at each of the school types are listed below in Table 5.1. Taking the number of mandated weekly hours of instruction as a proxy for the relative importance placed on a given subject, the Education Ministry clearly placed a high value overall on language instruction. Note for example that the

Table 5.1 – Hours of instruction by language subject at common, higher, and teachers’ schools, 1 Sep 1906 – 31 Aug 1909.

School Type	Language subject	Yr. 1: hrs/wk (% total)	Yr. 2: hrs/wk (% of total)	Yr. 3: hrs/wk (% of total)	Yr. 4: hrs/wk (% of total)
common school	Kugö	6 (21.4)	6 (21.4)	6 (20)	6 (20)
	Hanmun	4 (14.3)	4 (14.3)	4 (13.3)	4 (13.3)
	Japanese	6 (21.4)	6 (21.4)	6 (20)	6 (20)
	languages total	16 (57.1)	16 (57.1)	16 (53.3)	16 (53.3)
	curriculum total	28 (100)	28 (100)	30 (100)	30 (100)
higher school	Kugö / Hanmun	7 (23.3)	7 (23.3)	7 (23.3)	5 (16.7)
	Japanese	6 (20)	6 (20)	6 (20)	6 (20)
	languages total	13 (43.3)	13 (43.3)	13 (43.3)	11 (36.7)
	curriculum total	30 (100)	30 (100)	30 (100)	30 (100)
teachers’ school	Kugö	3 (8.8)	3 (8.8)	3 (8.8)	—
	Hanmun	3 (8.8)	3 (8.8)	3 (8.8)	—
	Japanese	4 (11.8)	4 (11.8)	4 (11.8)	—
	languages total	10 (29.4)	10 (29.4)	10 (29.4)	—
	curriculum total	34 (100)	34 (100)	34 (100)	—

common schools' sixteen hours of total language instruction per week represented over half the total weekly instructional hours in all four years. And though less than at common schools, language instruction still accounted for well over a third of weekly instructional hours in all four years of the higher schools' regular course. As would be expected, however, given what we know about the priorities of the Japanese authorities, LS instruction within the new schools' Hanmunkwa classroom was of a lower priority than either Korean or Japanese language instruction. At the common school level, LS instruction took place for a third fewer hours than both Korean and Japanese, and though in the higher schools LS was still to be taught as a separate subject, its hours of instruction per week were combined with Korean for a total of seven weekly hours in years 1–3 and only five hours in year 4. Even assuming a sixty-forty split like that of the common schools would mean less than three hours of LS instruction per week in years 1–3 and only two hours in year 4.⁵⁴⁷ Not only were Hanmunkwa's instructional hours fewer relative to Korean and Japanese, but they were considerably fewer than the sunup-to-sundown copywork, vocalized recitation and explication, and composition practice that constituted traditional LS literacy education. More than anything else, this restriction in hours was the major factor limiting the nature of LS instruction in the new schools' Hanmunkwa classroom as it constrained what could be learned and how.

The second limitation defining Hanmunkwa—the dependent relationship of LS literacy to vernacular literacy—is best seen in the common schools' instructional guidelines, which

⁵⁴⁷ Relative to Japanese, Korean language instruction too was reduced at the higher school level. This reflected the origins of teaching Korean as, what Daniel Pieper (2017) calls, a “transitional literacy” that acted as a bridge from the Korean learned as a child in the home to the Japanese to be used as an adult member and subject of the Japanese empire. See Daniel Oliver Pieper, “Korean as a Transitional Literacy: Language Education, Curricularization, and the Vernacular-Cosmopolitan Interface in Early Modern Korea, 1895–1925” (Ph.D., University of British Columbia, 2017).

stipulated that the primary aim of LS instruction within the Hanmun classroom was to help students “to comprehend common *hancha* and *hanmun*.”⁵⁴⁸ This was then defined as the “admirable sayings and exemplary deeds” (*kaõn sõnhaeng* 嘉言善行) of past sages together with “those expressions which, having become so embedded in people’s lives, students ought to understand.” Though not unrelated to traditional LS literacy instruction, these aims hardly constituted the full repertoire of literacy skills learned traditionally. Instead, students’ foundational literacy skills, from copywork to composition, were to be grounded in the vernacular and learned in the Kugõ classroom. There students were to learn “the scripts and writing style indispensable to everyday life.” This meant first learning the Korean alphabet and sinographs, followed by learning the mechanics of reading and writing in the mixed-script style, and eventually gaining the ability to compose so as to “express thoughts and ideas accurately.” Though indispensable to LS literacy, sinographs were also central to the model of vernacular literacy taught in the Kugõ classroom. It was there, then, rather than in the Hanmun classroom, that sinographic copywork was to occur, and the primary use of sinographs throughout the curricula of the various school levels was as a fundamental component of vernacular literacy in the mixed-script style, and only secondarily as the building blocks of LS literacy. The Hanmun classroom’s instruction in “common *hancha* and *hanmun*” was thus to be built upon a foundation of vernacular literacy and explicitly linked to it: “Hanmun shall be connected to Kugõ, and translations shall occasionally be made using the national script.” This dependence of a limited LS literacy upon a foundation of full vernacular literacy represented a complete reversal of the traditional relationship between the vernacular and LS. Whereas traditional LS literacy was

⁵⁴⁸ For the original text of the instructional guidelines for the common school Kugõ, Hanmun, and Irõ 日語 (Japanese-language) classrooms together with their English translation, see Appendix C.1.

scaffolded and enriched by the insertion of vernacular elements as a means of aiding comprehension, Hanmunkwa meant that LS was now to buttress and enrich vernacular literacy.⁵⁴⁹ And while there is no evidence of any causal link, this aspect of the instructional aims echoed the missionary justifications for including LS instruction in their schools, as when Daniel Gifford wrote twenty years previously that “to such an extent have the Chinese words and phrases embedded themselves in the native speech, that no Korean can obtain mastery of his own language without a preliminary study of the Chinese.”⁵⁵⁰

Closely related to the second, the third limitation that the instructional guidelines placed on LS literacy instruction was a focus solely on LS reading comprehension, with no prescribed instruction in LS composition; that is, Hanmunkwa was limited to deciphering rather than producing LS texts. Beginning with the common school directive that students be taught only to “comprehend common *hancha* and *hanmun*,” this limitation extended into the higher schools and teachers’ schools, where the instructional guidelines for both excluded textual production from their directives. In the higher schools, an especially passive understanding of LS texts was the stated expectation. By focusing on a text’s arrangement (*mulli* 文理) and context (*maengnak* 脈絡), students were to simply demonstrate that they could grasp the meaning of a text: “Instruction shall be to concentrate on textual arrangement and context, making textual meaning

⁵⁴⁹ The two classes were to be linked in other ways as well. First, the topics that were to be the grist for composition instruction within the Kugō classroom were to come in part from “the subject matter taught in Kugō, Hanmun, or other classes.” Secondly, a primary aim of instruction within both the Kugō and Hanmun classrooms was to be the cultivation of students’ personal character. For the Kugō classroom the guidelines directed that “a virtuous character should be cultivated”, and likewise in the Hanmun classroom instruction was to “contribute to the development of personal character.”

⁵⁵⁰ Gifford, “Education in the Capital of Korea, I,” 281–82.

understood accurately.”⁵⁵¹ In the teachers’ schools, the expectations were only slightly more rigorous. There students were to demonstrate a phrasal and passage-level understanding of LS through the proper vocalization and parsing/punctuation of LS texts, and were to be able to explain a text’s arrangement and context: “Instruction shall be to make phrasal and passage meanings clear by clarifying pronunciations and meanings and concentrating on parsing/punctuation. Additionally, it shall be to explicate textual arrangement and context.”⁵⁵² When compared to traditional LS literacy instruction in which students advanced to be able to produce texts in multiple genres of both prose and poetry, the restriction of Hanmunkwa to reading comprehension was exceptionally limited.

A final limitation on LS literacy instruction in the state-schools’ Hanmunkwa classroom was the limitation on instructional content. As noted above besides “those expressions which, having become so embedded in people’s lives, students ought to understand,” the common school curricular guidelines restricted LS instruction to the “records of the sages’ admirable sayings and exemplary deeds.” This phrase was of course an evocation of the Outer Chapters of the *Sohak*, which comprised extracts from the classics that demonstrated in the words and deeds of the sages those doctrines expounded in the Inner Chapters. As will be seen in our examination below of the Education Ministry’s four-volume Hanmunkwa reader and those private-school textbooks that mirrored its format and content following the institution of the textbook screening survey, limiting the content of Hanmunkwa textbooks to extracts from classical texts was key to transforming LS into a legacy literacy useful only for accessing old knowledge found in old texts.

⁵⁵¹ See Appendix C.2.

⁵⁵² See Appendix C.3.

5.4 Continuing Adjustments to Government-School Hanmunkwa

Further education-related edicts and directives issued by the RGK following the First Education Ordinance sought to address gaps and deficiencies in the government schools. Some of these affected Hanmunkwa in small ways. First, in April 1908, the RGK issued the Higher Girls' School Ordinance (Kodŭng yōja hakkyo-ryōng 高等女子學校令) establishing a female counterpart to the male-only higher schools. Article 1 of the ordinance stated: "The purpose of the higher girls' schools is to impart the higher common education and skills necessary for girls."⁵⁵³ The ordinance established a regular three-year course for girls aged 12–14 comprising the following subjects: Morals, Kugō, Hanmun, Japanese, History, Geography, Arithmetic, Natural Science, Drawing and Painting, Home Making (*kasa* 家事), Sewing and Needlework, Music, and Calisthenics. Besides the regular course, two other courses were also established by the ordinance; a two-year preparatory course for girls aged ten to twelve who had not previously attended common school and a two-year "special handicrafts" course for girls age fifteen and up who were too old for or who did not have the time for a full higher school course but who wished to learn women's trades, such as sewing and needlework. Unlike the two irregular higher school courses for boys, neither of the irregular courses of the higher girls' school included a Hanmun class initially. Though the expected number of weekly instructional hours were not published with the ordinance, curricular guidelines were, and like the 1906 guidelines for common, higher, and teachers' schools, the higher girls' school Hanmun curricular guidelines focused solely on

⁵⁵³ 高等女子學校는 女子에게 須要한 高等普通教育 及 技藝를 授흥으로 目的을 함 Han et al., 491.

reading comprehension rather than composition: “Focusing on textual arrangement and structure, grammar shall be understood. Hanmun shall give special attention to simple grammar.”⁵⁵⁴

Still, this was notable as the first time that advanced-level LS was taught to girls within Korean government schools.

The next government-school regulation affecting Hanmunkwa came in April 1909, when the RGK amended the Common School Ordinance to combine the Kugō and Hanmun classes into a single classroom subject, Kugō-kūp-Hanmun 國語及漢文.⁵⁵⁵ Later in July, the Education Ministry issued revised implementation regulations for each of the previous education ordinances, which, among other changes, made the combined Kugō-kūp-Hanmun class standard across all school types. These new regulations went into effect on September 1, 1909, and though they were not reissuances of the original educational ordinances, they have today become known collectively as the Second Educational Ordinance (Che 2 ch’a hakkyo-ryōng 第二次學校令).

Though the amended regulations gave no explanation for why Korean language and Hanmunkwa were to be combined, Ch’oe Kwanjin (2003) argues that it was an effort to promote the Japanese language at the expense of Korean as part of a Japanification strategy;⁵⁵⁶ that since the Japanese authorities viewed LS as backward-oriented “old knowledge,” by combining Korean language instruction with Hanmunkwa they sought to weaken the standing of the former relative to Japanese language instruction. While this may well have been a factor, as seen in the previous chapter’s examination of Yi and Gale’s *Yumong ch’ōnja* and as will be shown in the

⁵⁵⁴ For the full text of the curricular guidelines for the Kugō, Hanmun, and Japanese language classes, see Appendix C.5.

⁵⁵⁵ Han et al., 584.

⁵⁵⁶ Ch’oe Kwanjin, “Ōmun chōngch’aek kwa Hanmun kyoyuk chōngch’aek ūi pyōnch’ōn yōn’gu,” 232.

Table 5.2. – Comparison of the First and Second Educational Ordinance’s Weekly Hours of Language Instruction at Common, Higher, Higher Girls’, and Teachers’ Schools. (*b = boys, g = girls)

School Type	Language subject	Yr. 1: hrs/wk (% total)	Yr. 2: hrs/wk (% of total)	Yr. 3: hrs/wk (% of total)	Yr. 4: hrs/wk (% of total)
Sep 1906					
common school	Kugō	6 (21.4)	6 (21.4)	6 (20)	6 (20)
	Hanmun	4 (14.3)	4 (14.3)	4 (13.3)	4 (13.3)
	Japanese	6 (21.4)	6 (21.4)	6 (20)	6 (20)
	languages total	16 (57.1)	16 (57.1)	16 (53.3)	16 (53.3)
	curriculum total	28 (100)	28 (100)	30 (100)	30 (100)
Sep 1909					
common school	Kugō-kūp-Hanmun	*b:10 (35.7)	10 (35.7)	10 (33.3)	10 (33.3)
		g: 9 (31)	9 (31)	9 (29)	9 (29)
	Japanese	b: 6 (21.4)	6 (21.4)	6 (20)	6 (20)
		g: 6 (20.7)	6 (20.7)	6 (19.4)	6 (19.4)
	languages total	b: 16 (57.1)	16 (57.1)	16 (53.3)	16 (53.3)
		g: 15 (51.7)	15 (51.7)	15 (48.4)	15 (48.4)
	curriculum total	b: 28 (100)	28 (100)	30 (100)	30 (100)
		g: 29 (100)	29 (100)	31 (100)	31 (100)
Sep 1906					
higher school	Kugō / Hanmun	7 (23.3)	7 (23.3)	7 (23.3)	5 (16.7)
	Japanese	6 (20)	6 (20)	6 (20)	6 (20)
	languages total	13 (43.3)	13 (43.3)	13 (43.3)	11 (36.7)
	curriculum total	30 (100)	30 (100)	30 (100)	30 (100)
Sep 1909					
higher school	Kugō-kūp-Hanmun	6 (19.4)	6 (20)	6 (19.4)	6 (20)
	Japanese	6 (19.4)	6 (20)	6 (19.4)	6 (20)
	languages total	12 (38.7)	12 (40)	12 (38.7)	12 (40)
	curriculum total	31 (100)	30 (100)	31 (100)	30 (100)
higher girls’ school	Kugō-kūp-Hanmun	5 (18.5)	4 (14.8)	4 (14.8)	—
	Japanese	5 (18.5)	4 (14.8)	4 (14.8)	—
	languages total	10 (37)	8 (29.6)	8 (29.6)	—
	curriculum total	27 (100)	27 (100)	26 (100)	—
Sep 1906					
teachers’ school	Kugō	3 (8.8)	3 (8.8)	3 (8.8)	—
	Hanmun	3 (8.8)	3 (8.8)	3 (8.8)	—
	Japanese	4 (11.8)	4 (11.8)	4 (11.8)	—
	languages total	10 (29.4)	10 (29.4)	10 (29.4)	—
	curriculum total	34 (100)	34 (100)	34 (100)	—
Sep 1909					
teachers’ school	Kugō-kūp-Hanmun	6 (17.6)	4 (12.1)	4 (12.9)	—
	Japanese	6 (17.6)	6 (18.2)	6 (19.4)	—
	languages total	12 (35.9)	10 (30.3)	10 (32.3)	—
	curriculum total	34 (100)	33 (100)	31 (100)	—

examination of private-school Hanmunkwa textbooks below, it was not uncommon for Koreans to understand full Korean literacy as comprising multiple competencies in a range of mixed-script and full LS styles. It could be argued, then, that the combination of the Korean language and Hanmunkwa classes better reflected many Koreans' own conception of Korean literacy than the previous separation into two subjects. Furthermore, as Table 5.2 above shows, at the common schools the weekly instructional hours for Japanese did not increase and those for Kugō-kūp-Hanmun were the same as the combined total for the previously separate classes.⁵⁵⁷ Also, the separate textbooks for Korean language instruction and Hanmunkwa published previously by the Education Ministry continued to be used,⁵⁵⁸ suggesting that the manner of instruction changed little, if at all. Finally, though there were reductions in the instructional hours for Kugō-kūp-Hanmun at the higher and teachers' schools, what changes there were to the curricular guidelines targeted Hanmunkwa, not Korean language instruction. The 1909 implementation regulations simplified Hanmunkwa's already simple common school curricular guidelines, focusing solely on teaching reading comprehension through instruction in textual parsing and textual arrangement and structure (i.e. grammar). This simplification brought the common school guidelines more in line with those of the higher school, which focused even more narrowly on textual parsing and reading comprehension.

⁵⁵⁷ The 1909 regulations introduced a slightly modified common school curriculum for girls with one hour less Kugō-kūp-Hanmun instruction and two additional hours of "girls' subjects" (e.g. sewing, handicrafts, etc.)

⁵⁵⁸ A single textbook for the combined Korean language and Hanmunkwa classroom would not be published until 1913 when the subject was renamed Chosōnō-kūp-Hanmun/ Chōsengo-kyū-Kanbunka 朝鮮語及漢文, reflecting the fact that after annexation, the term "kugō" 國語 was used to signify the Japanese language rather Korean.

While the 1909 adjustments to the government schools' curricula had minor impacts on LS instruction, they did not fundamentally alter the initial 1906 limitations that defined the parameters of Hanmunkwa within government schools. Instead, after creation of Hanmunkwa itself in the 1906 First Educational Ordinance, the government actions that had the longest-lasting effect on the nature of Hanmunkwa came from state efforts to gain control over private schools' curricula and the content of their textbooks.

5.5 The Private School Ordinance and the Textbook Screening Survey

The forced abdication of Kojong in 1907 sparked an anti-Japanese insurgency that Japan struggled to overcome for the remainder of the protectorate period. Japanese education officials were concerned that the patriotic-enlightenment sentiments that fueled the rapid spread of private schools and the sudden boom in textbook publication was adding fuel to the fire of anti-Japanese sentiment. To gain control over private schools and their textbooks the RGK first issued the Private School Ordinance effective October 1, 1908. The ordinance sought to bring private schools under the control of the Education Ministry. New and existing schools were required to submit curricular, budgetary, and other details to the Ministry within six months for approval to open or continue operating. Of the private schools that registered with the government in the initial six months, all 778 missionary schools but only forty-seven of the 1,217 native private schools were granted approval.⁵⁵⁹ This discrepancy in the rate of approval both reflected the greater political clout of the Western missionaries relative to native Korean educators but was also undoubtedly indicative of the fact that the curricula and organization of the missionary and

⁵⁵⁹ Yoonmi Lee, *Modern Education, Textbooks and the Image of the Nation: Politics of Modernization and Nationalism in Korean Education, 1880–1910* (New York: Garland, 2000), 84.

mission-affiliated schools would have been more in line with the Japanese officials educational standards that had their origins in Western countries. The denials spurred intense private efforts by Koreans, and by late 1909 over 2,200 native private schools had managed to meet the government's new standards.⁵⁶⁰

Among the curricular details that schools were supposed to supply in their applications, information about the textbooks they used was central. Article 6 of the Private School Ordinance stipulated that schools were preferably to use either textbooks published by the Ministry or those from a Ministry-approved list, and that should schools desire to use other than the Ministry-published or Ministry-approved textbooks, they were to first submit them separately to a newly established textbook screening survey for approval.

As has already been stated above, the textbook screening survey would have a profound effect on the nature of LS instruction within private schools as most of the private-school Hanmunkwa textbooks were immediately denied authorization and some were outright banned from publication. And though it took several years into the colonial period, eventually all of the Hanmunkwa textbooks published before the full institution of the survey were denied authorization. In order to understand the effects that the textbook screening survey had on the nature of private-school Hanmunkwa, we must first examine what private-school Hanmunkwa textbooks were like prior to the survey's full implementation.

5.6 Private-School Hanmunkwa Textbooks

The proliferation of private modern schools following the promulgation of the First Educational Ordinance led to a demand for new textbooks that were at first slow to materialize. As late as

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid., 85.

November 1907 the *Hwangsoŋ sinmun* reported that traditional *sōdang* primers and histories were still of necessity being pressed into service as textbooks in some modern private schools:

For the past few years, our nation's educational visionaries, in their establishment of schools and recruitment of students through manifold trials and tribulations, have tried to preserve education, but without the compilation of new textbooks, they are compelled against their will to teach from such texts as the *Ch'ōnjamun*, *Tongmong sōnsūp* and Chinese histories.⁵⁶¹

Slowly, however, supply began to respond to demand, and the period eventually saw a boom in private textbook publication.

Unlike state schools, which were under a single administration with shared curricular and instructional directives and supplied with government-issued textbooks, the motives for including LS within a private school's curriculum were as varied as the different motives for establishing private schools in the first place. Some schools, established to supplement the government's efforts, adhered closely to the Education Ministry's guidelines, used the Ministry's textbooks, and were given the Ministry's recognition as model private schools. Others, opposed to Japan's imperialist designs and attempting to evade the interference of the Education Ministry's educational program, were established to chart a course for restoring national sovereignty. Still others were established with a *tongdo sōgi* orientation of asserting Korean independence through the strengthening of Korea's Confucian culture and traditional social hierarchy and the selective adoption of Western and now Japanese technologies and institutions. From 1907, when textbook publishing began to accelerate, until January 1910, when the Education Ministry's textbook screening survey was finally fully implemented, the textbooks

⁵⁶¹ 年來我國의 稍히 教育의 先覺된 人十달이 千辛萬苦로 學校를 建設하고 學徒를 募集해야 教育을 維持코져 하나 新鮮한 敎課書의 著述함이 無함으로 其不得已함에 迫해야 千字童蒙先習과 支那의 歷史 等編을 敎授하니... "Kyogwasō ūi pulga pulbi 敎課書의 不可不備 [The Necessity of Preparing Textbooks]," *Hwangsoŋ sinmun*, November 17, 1907.

published for use in these various private schools reflected these and other disparate motives and orientations in their design and content. Thus, a defining characteristic of the Hanmunkwa textbooks published for use in private modern schools during this period was the diversity in their approaches to Hanmunkwa. Some schools would commission and use new editions of the Four Books and other classical texts, while others compiled textbooks comprising wholly new compositions that expounded new knowledge. And some textbooks were chrestomathies containing essays exclusively from Korea's past, while others compiled only Chinese precedents.

Without the manpower of an entire government ministry backing their efforts, the private new schools often functioned in an *ad hoc* fashion and so, unlike the instructional guidelines issued for state schools, they may not have had clearly defined curricular and instructional guidelines directing their efforts. The best source for understanding the motives, content, and methods of their Hanmunkwa instruction, then, is an analysis of their textbooks. Despite the very real variety in their content and design, for the purpose of comparison and analysis, the period's private-school Hanmunkwa textbooks can be grouped generally into two categories: sinograph primers and readers/chrestomathies, with a single LS grammar textbook constituting a third category of one.

5.6.1 Sinograph primers

Given the widespread use of mixed-script styles in the popular press and the fact that mixed-script writing was now the primary medium of instruction within schools, it could no longer be taken for granted that any systematized instruction in sinographs was a first step toward LS literacy. For example, as seen in the previous chapter, the first two volumes of Gale and Yi's *Yumong ch'ŏnja* series combined systematic sinograph instruction with instruction in reading

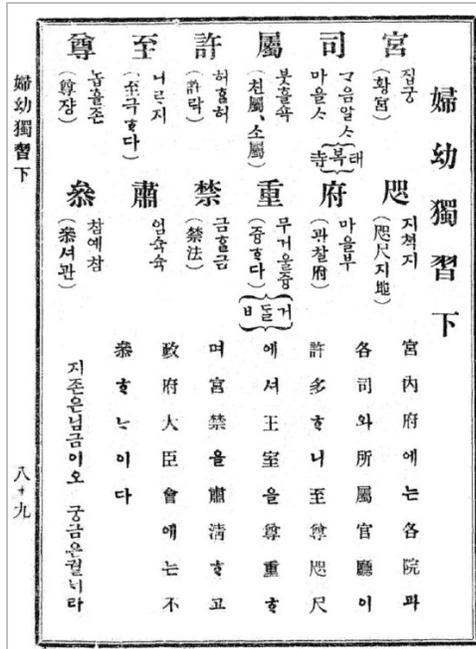


Figure 5.1. *Puyu toksŭp*, volume 2, opening page. Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

mixed-script styles, yet those were not Hanmunkwa textbooks. The protectorate-period boom in textbooks saw many authors follow Gale and Yi in adopting this sinograph primer-*cum*-mixed-script reader format.

Notable examples include *Nyŏjǎ tokpon* 녀즈독본 (*The Women's Reader*, 1908) by Chang Chiyŏn 張志淵 (1864–1921), which taught 1,300 sinographs; *Puyu toksŭp* 婦幼讀習 (*Reading for Women and Children*, 1908) by Kang Hwasŏk 姜華錫 (1868–1929), which taught 2,200

sinographs; and *Ch'omok p'ilchi* 樵牧必知 (*Required*

Knowledge for Woodcutters and Shepherds, 1909), by Chŏng Yunsu 鄭崙秀 (n.d.), which taught 1,200 sinographs. As with the first two volumes of *Yumong ch'ŏnja*, however, these were not Hanmunkwa textbooks.

Despite this proliferation of mixed-script readers that included systematic sinograph instruction, there were at least three traditionally-formatted sinograph primers—meaning sinograph primers that shared a basic format of four-sinograph lines arranged four lines to a page with graphs' Korean gloss (*sŏk*) and Sino-Korean pronunciation (*ŭm*) indicated with the Korean alphabet⁵⁶²—published during this period. And yet, as the comparison that follows will show, despite their shared features, in other aspects of their format or in their arrangement of graphs

⁵⁶² Another likely sinograph primer, *Hancha ch'osŭp* 漢字初習, is known only by a two-month run of advertisements in the *TaeHan maeil sinbo* 大韓每日申報. It was published by an unknown author no later than December 31, 1908, the date of the first advertisement. Whether or not it was formatted to model the *Ch'ŏnjamun* we cannot be sure, but it was advertised as having been designed for use as part of elementary Hanmunkwa.

and the differences in their authors/compiler's stated publication motives, even these three primers were widely divergent in the approaches they take to Hanmunkwa.

5.6.1.1 *Ahakp'yŏn* 兒學編 (*A Volume for Children's Learning*)

Perhaps best known for introducing the smallpox vaccine to Korea, Chi Sŏgyŏng was an early traveler to Japan and became an avid supporter of Korean reform. As discussed in chapter 3, he submitted a memorial to Kojong in 1882 advocating that LS works on or translations of Western learning published in China and Korea be collected and made part of a curriculum for training government officials. By the time of the Kabo Reform Movement, Chi had come to believe that the Korean alphabet was vital to the spread of the new knowledge necessary to Korea's advancement, but felt that the lack of a standard orthography prevented its widespread adoption.⁵⁶³ Over the next decade, Chi continued to work on script reform issues and in 1905 published a two-page summary of orthographic standardization proposals in the *Kwanbo* that "created a storm of controversy and eventually led to the creation of Korea's first official research institution and government language-planning body, the Kungmun Yon'guso (National Script Research Institute), in 1907."⁵⁶⁴ Though he was an early advocate of pure Korean-alphabetic style, over time he came to champion mixed-script style, as sinographs helped to disambiguate homophonous Sino-Korean loanwords and also because he believed that sinographs remained essential to allowing for on-going access to important content and ideas from Korea's literary past. That is, rather than an absolute or near-absolute break with past

⁵⁶³ For Chi Sŏgyŏng's views on Korean orthography and his proposals for reforming it, see King, "Nationalism and Language Reform in Korea: The Question of the Lingua in Precolonial Korea," 52.

⁵⁶⁴ King, 54.

customs and practices, Chi advocated for the development of a writing style that was simpler than LS so as to allow for use in a mass-education setting while at the same time allow for a level of backward compatibility with Korea's textual heritage. In the introduction to a glossary of Sino-Korean terms published shortly after his updated *Ahakp'yŏn*, Chi wrote:

It has been the national custom to be incapable of doing anything other than training up able men who largely worship *hanmun*. But in recent years the general atmosphere has greatly changed so that one who focuses solely on *hanmun*, wasting thoughtless years and consuming limited mental resources, will, even if successful, become nothing more than another old village instructor.

The *kukhanmun* compositional style—which balances the focus on ideas in *hanmun* with the use of *kungmun*—were it to be employed so that every kind of academic writing was translated completely into *kukhanmun*, then with only a little mastery of *hancha* one would be able to understand the meaning of every book. In terms of education, surely this would be the simplest method.⁵⁶⁵

We see here that though Chi did not hesitate to criticize Korea's historical use of LS, he drew a clear distinction between LS and sinographs. The exclusive use of LS was a cause of Korea's becoming an “ignorant society” (*musik syahoe* 無識社會). However, “with only a little mastery,” Koreans could continue to use sinographs to inscribe essential LS terms and phrases within a matrix of Korean-alphabetic style to allow for the spread of new knowledge without a complete loss of continuity with past knowledge, customs, and values. Chi's 1907 revision of *Ahakp'yŏn* can thus be understood as an effort simply to equip children with the “little mastery” of sinographs that would unlock “every book” through mixed-script literacy.

⁵⁶⁵ 國俗 漢文 大段崇尚 人才 養成 非此莫可 近年以來 風氣 大變
 국속이 한문을 대단 숭상해야 인재를 양성한 것이 비록 막가라 하더니 근년이 이르러 풍기가 대변
 漢文 專主 無情 歲月 虛送 有限 心力 徒費 假使成功 一個
 하여 한문 만 견주 하다가는 무정한 세월을 허송하고 유한한 심력도 소비해야 가스 성공이라도 일개
 老學究 不過 於是乎 漢文 專力 思想 國文 相半 國漢文 交作法 施行
 로 학구에 불과라 하여 어시 호 한문에 전력하든 스 상을 국문과 상반하여 국한문 교작법이 시행되야
 各種學文 純全 國漢文 翻譯 漢字 略干 通 能 全篇文義 解得 實 教
 각종 학문을 순전히 국한문으로 번역해야 한자를 약간만 통하면 능히 전편문의 뜻을 히득하니 실노 교
 育上 第一 便易 方法
 혹상 데 일편이 한 방법이로다 Chi Sögyöng, *Önmun* 言文 (*Speech and Writing*).

5.6.1.2 *Sinjǒng ch'ǒnjamun* 新訂千字文 (*Newly Revised Ch'ǒnjamun*)

Sinjǒng ch'ǒnjamun was compiled by Yi Sūnggyo 李承喬 (n.d.)⁵⁶⁷ and published July 1, 1908

by Posǒngsa 普成社.⁵⁶⁸ Besides his compilation of this text, Yi is otherwise unknown, and so to

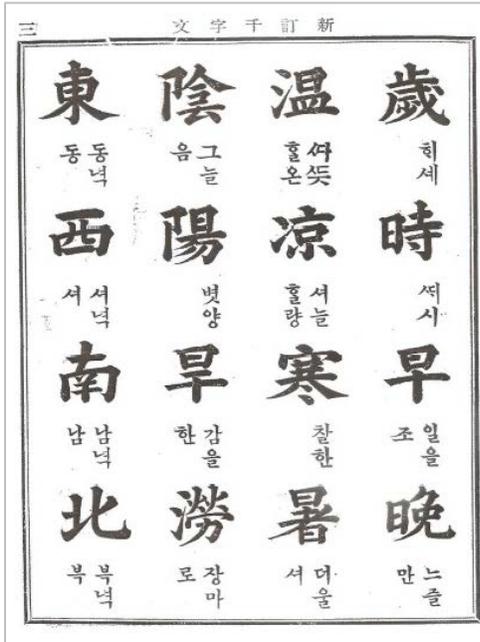


Figure 5.3. *Sinjǒng Ch'ǒnjamun*, page 3. Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

assess the intent behind his publication of the text and how he envisioned its use we have only the text itself and its introduction. Like its namesake, it contains 1,000 unique sinographs, and as Figure 5.3 shows, it visually resembles Korean editions of the *Ch'ǒnjamun*. Despite its basic similarities in visual format, however, Yi's text is quite unlike the *Ch'ǒnjamun*. As discussed in chapter 2, the *Ch'ǒnjamun* was more than a mere list of 1,000 unique sinographs. It was arranged such that it also

introduced children to the basics of meter and rhyme, to

parallel construction, and to syntactically simple yet semantically meaningful LS phrases, each a building block of further LS literacy. Perhaps most importantly, its rhymed couplets were an aid to memorization through vocalized recitations, such recitations being the foundation of traditional LS literacy pedagogy. *Sinjǒng ch'ǒnjamun* had none of these features. In fact, in his

⁵⁶⁷ I could not locate a full copy of this text and so rely here on Namgung Wǒn (2005) for the content of Yi's introduction and on U Sojǒng (2009) for the physical description of the text. Also, it is unclear whether this is the same Yi Sūnggyo whom Namgung Wǒn (2007) quotes (see section 5.6.3.3 below) when trying to assess the motives behind Yǒ Kyuhyǒng's selection of essays in his advanced-level Hanmunkwa reader, *Hanmunhak kyogwasǒ*. Without any greater context that might reconcile what appears to be widely divergent views on LS expressed by the Yi Sūnggyo above in the introduction to *Sinjǒng ch'ǒnjamun* and those expressed by the Yi Sūnggyo cited by Namgung, I will assume for now that these were not the same individual.

⁵⁶⁸ Founded in 1905, Posǒngsa was a printing office affiliated with Posǒng College (Posǒng chǒnmun hakkyo 普成專門學校), the forerunner of today's Korea University.

introduction, Yi rejected the traditional conflation of these features into a single pedagogical step: “There is an order to education and there are levels to a given subject, such that not ever should those entering upon primary education not begin first with the readings of sinographs and *then* advance gradually to longer phrases and passages.”⁵⁶⁹ Despite its name, then, Yi’s text exhibited a greater influence by those made-in-Korea primers examined in chapter 2: *Hunmong chahoe*, *Sinjǒng yuhap* and *Ahakp’yǒn*. Like these texts, Yi grouped sinographs into semantic categories (natural phenomena, units of measure, kinship terms, the human body, plants and animals, etc.), and like *Ahakp’yǒn*, he arranged the sinographs within these categories into close synonym groups (in the case of nouns) or antonym pairs (in the case of verbs and adjectives). Echoing the criticism of the *Ch’ǒnjamun* made by Chǒng Yagyong a century previous and by Ch’oe Sejin centuries still before that, Yi would go on in his introduction to lament that though children’s education must obviously begin with the learning of sinographs, this process was made needlessly difficult by the historic primacy of the *Ch’ǒnjamun*, whose arcane references and low-frequency sinographs inflicted pain upon both the teacher and the learner. *Sinjǒng ch’ǒnjamun*, with its sinographs selected for their everyday relevance, was, he argued, the “purely practical” solution to the problems of the *Ch’ǒnjamun*:

In the old way of learning sinographs there are only convoluted words and patterns and obscure implications and meanings that are not helpful in the least and even harmful. For those who teach, it scorches the lips and parches the mouth, and the little children learning the words are as though they have gags in their mouths, and their heads ache from furrowed brows. This is what we see with Zhou Xingsi’s *Ch’ǒnjamun*. With that text not only is there no learning of graphs, but it doesn’t even come close to [being suitable for] children’s learning. How then has it so long been used for elementary children’s learning? I have thus collected 1,000 sinographs related to everyday things and

⁵⁶⁹ 夫教有秩序, 科有程度, 初入小學者, 未嘗不先要字讀, 稍進章句也。

have organized them for an elementary course of study that, being neither too complex nor redundant, is purely practical and without confusion.⁵⁷⁰

Without an arrangement into rhymed couplets to facilitate textual recitations it is unlikely that Yi conceived of his primer as something that would be committed to memory. Despite its name and its use of one thousand unique sinographs, then, *Sinjǒng ch'ǒnjamun* was more a *Yuhap*-like sinograph glossary than a *Ch'ǒnjamun*-like LS primer. Yi even acknowledged and leaned into the use of his text separate from Hanmunkwa instruction. Later in his introduction and repeated as a primary selling point in newspaper advertisements, Yi declared that his selection and arrangement of common and convenient sinographs made *Sinjǒng ch'ǒnjamun* an ideal tool for “the learning of *kukhanmun* script and copywork done by women, the laboring classes, woodcutters, and shepherd boys.”⁵⁷¹ That such a description would be central to how the text was advertised shows how far the separation of sinograph instruction from LS instruction had come.

5.6.1.3 *Yuhak chach'wi* 幼學字聚 (A Collection of Sinographs for Young Learners)

Yuhak chach'wi was compiled by Yun Ch'ihō 尹致昊 (1866–1945) and published January 20, 1909 by Hwimun'gwan 徽文館.⁵⁷² Given his background, Yun would seem an unlikely author

⁵⁷⁰ 舊學文字，雖有詞理之條鬯，旨義之微奧，毫無補益而又害之。爲教授者，唇焦口燥，學語小兒，如箝在口，疾首蹙頰，於周興嗣千字文試之矣。此非字學，亦不近於蒙學，何爲而爲初等兒學乎？爰輯日用事物之漢字一千，編成初學之教科，不煩不複，純實無疑... “*Sinjǒng ch'ǒnjamun sǒ* 新訂千字文序,” quoted in Namgung Wǒn, “Kūndae ch'ogi Hanmunkwa kyojae sǒmun e nat'anān chipp'il tonggi mit kyǒngwi koch'al [A Survey of Author Motives Appearing in Early-Modern Hanmunkwa Textbooks],” *Hanmun kojǒn yǒn'gu* 11 (2005): 124–25.

⁵⁷¹ 閨門과勞働社會와樵夫牧童의國漢文學字習字히기普通便易이읍 “*Sinjǒng Ch'ǒnjamun*,” *Hwangsǒng sinmun*, November 08, 1908.

⁵⁷² Hwimun'gwan was a press affiliated with the Hwimun Academy (Hwimun ūisuk 徽文義塾). Founded in Seoul in 1904 by Min Yǒnghwi 閔泳徽 (1852–1935) as Kwangsǒng Academy

of a sinograph primer meant for Hanmunkwa instruction. At only sixteen years old, Yun first travelled to Japan as an assistant to Ŏ Yunjung during the 1881 “gentleman’s observation group” and remained there to study under the supervision of Nakamura Masanao 中村正直 (1832–1891). Two years later he was recalled to Korea to serve as an interpreter for the first American ambassador. Though not a participant in Kim Okkyun’s failed 1884 coup d’état, having been associated with the radical reformers, Yun left Korea for Shanghai as a precaution. There he enrolled in the Anglo-Chinese College and eventually converted to Christianity, being baptized a Southern Methodist. These connections led him to study in the American south from 1888 to 1893, first at Vanderbilt University in Tennessee and later at Emory University in Georgia. He returned to Korea in 1894 after the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War, and served in various positions in the Kabo government, including for a time as Acting Education Minister. After the fall of the last Kabo government, together with Sō Chaep’il, Yun founded and was later president of the Independence Club where he was heavily involved in the editing and publication of the *Tongnip sinmun*. After the breakup of the Independence Club, Yun returned to government service, but with Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese War, he quit government for good and devoted himself instead to religious and educational efforts, publishing a translation of Aesop’s fables in a pure Korean-alphabetic style for use as an elementary school reader in 1908.

Despite Yun’s background and despite not having an introduction detailing his motives or specifying how he envisioned the text’s use, the selection and arrangement of sinographs in *Yuhak Chach’wi* nevertheless make it the most adaptable of the period’s traditionally formatted

(Kwangsōng ũisuk 廣成義塾), it was renamed Hwimun Academy by King Kojong in 1906 and is the forerunner of the modern-day Whimoon High School. The press published textbooks for a wide variety of subjects which were used at Hwimun Academy as well as at many other private schools.

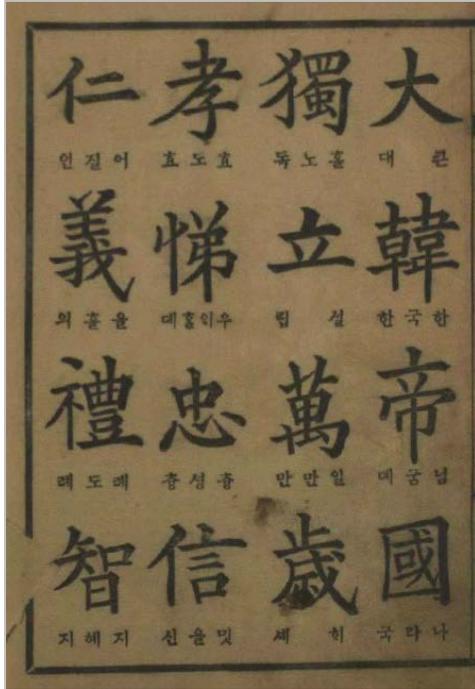


Figure 5.4. *Yuhak chach'wi*, lines 301–304. Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

sinograph primers to Hanmunkwa instruction. Though the lines are not paired into rhyming couplets and much of the text is arranged into glossary-like lists of sinographs within shared semantic domains, nearly one third of the text's 306 four-sinograph lines form syntactically simple yet semantically meaningful LS phrases. Thus, though not designed to have been memorized in the manner of the *Ch'ŏnjamun*, students using this text would nonetheless be taught the very basics of idiomatic LS phraseology. In a way, this made it more appropriate to Hanmunkwa

pedagogy, which eschewed the time-intensive process of

memorization through rote recitations. The most common phrase type is lines with pairs of subject-plus-simple-predicate constructions. For example, line 6 reads:

日昇月照 *il sŭng, wŏl cho* The sun rises. The moon shines.

Somewhat fewer are lines with pairs of complex predicates (verb plus direct object) with implied subjects, as in lines 27-28:

掘井汲泉 *kul chŏng, kŭp ch'ŏn* Excavate a well. Draw water from a spring.
 濬溝防洩 *chunk u, pang po* Dig a ditch. Prevent leaks.

Fewer still are parallel lines each with a subject-plus-complex-predicate construction such as lines 23-24:

積土爲山 *chŏk t'o wi san* Accumulated earth becomes mountains,
 合川成海 *hap ch'ŏn song hae* Combined streams form seas.

These various phrase types were mixed together within larger semantic groupings that included non-phrasal lines such as semantically related sinographs (usually nouns) or antonym pairs

(usually verbs and adjectives). For example, line 6 cited above occurred within a section (lines 6-

10) about periods of the day and night that featured most of the discussed phrasal and line types:

日昇月照 <i>il sŭng, wŏl cho</i>	The sun rises, the moon shines.
曉朝午夕 <i>hyo, cho, o, sŏk</i>	Daybreak, morning, midday, evening.
晝明夜暗 <i>chu myŏng, ya am</i>	Day is bright, night is dark.
早暮陰陽 <i>cho-mo, ūm-yang</i>	Early and late, <i>yin</i> and <i>yang</i> .
昨翌今昔 <i>chak-ik, kŭm-sŏk</i>	Yesterday and tomorrow, now and yesteryear.

And the other lines cited above occur as part of a section on various hydrological features and phenomena:

積土爲山 <i>chŏk t'o wi san</i>	Accumulated earth becomes mountains,
合川成海 <i>hap ch'ŏn song hae</i>	Combined streams form seas.
水流沙沉 <i>su ryu, sa ch'im</i>	Water flows, sand sinks.
瀑落波奔 <i>p'o rak, p'a pun</i>	Waterfalls descend, waves undulate.
掘井汲泉 <i>kul chŏng, kŭp ch'ŏn</i>	Excavate a well. Draw water from a spring.
濬溝防洩 <i>chunk u, pang po</i>	Dig a ditch. Prevent leaks.
溪澤江湖 <i>kye, t'aek, kang, ho</i>	Creek, pond, river, lake,
浦港潮汐 <i>p'o, hang, cho, sŏk</i>	Shore, harbor, flood tide and ebb tide.

Finally, though few, Yun also included several lines that taught patriotic-enlightenment ideals.

Lines 95-98, for instance, reads:

巫卜欺人 <i>mu pok ki in</i>	Shamans and fortune tellers deceive people,
醫藥療病 <i>ŭi yak ryo pyŏng</i>	Medical care and pharmaceuticals heal sickness.
民本官末 <i>min pon, kwan mal</i>	The people are the roots and officials are the tips.
武勝文弱 <i>mu sŭng, mun yak</i>	The martial are victorious and the literary are weak.

And in the final lines, 301-306, Yun embedded lines listing traditional Confucian virtues within lines expressing patriotic-enlightenment ideals:

大韓帝國 <i>TaeHan Cheguk</i>	The Great Han Empire,
獨立萬歲 <i>tongnip manse</i>	Long live its independence!
孝悌忠信 <i>hyo, che, ch'ung, sin,</i>	Filiality, respect, loyalty, and trust,
仁義禮智 <i>in, ŭi, ye, chi</i>	Humanity, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom.
依隣則亡 <i>ŭi rin, chŭk mang</i>	If we rely on our neighbors, then we die,
自強乃興 <i>cha kang, nae hung</i>	But if we strengthen ourselves, then we flourish.

Whatever Yun's ultimate motives were, his sinograph primer was well suited to the Hanmunkwa classroom. And as will be seen below, the use of Hanmunkwa to spread both traditional values and patriotic-enlightenment ideas was a characteristic it shared with other of the private-school Hanmunkwa textbooks published prior to the textbook screening survey.

5.6.2 Elementary-Level Hanmunkwa Readers

Even more than was the case with the sinograph primers examined above, the Hanmunkwa readers published prior to the institution of the textbook screening survey exhibited a wide variety of formats and content reflecting the disparate motivations for their publication and designed use. The elementary-level readers, of which four are known, were especially diverse in content and methods, though each incorporated content that conveyed new knowledge or patriotic-enlightenment ideas. Two elementary-level readers were published by Hwimun'gwan without a named author, the other two were written by Wŏn Yŏngŭi 元泳義 and published by Posŏngsa.

5.6.2.1 *Pot'ong kyogwa hanmun tokpon* 普通教科漢文讀本 (*Common Course Hanmun Reader*)

Pot'ong kyogwa hanmun tokpon was published by Hwimun'gwan in May 1908. It comprised writings from a wide variety of Chinese sources spanning the length of Chinese history and arranged in an approximate chronological order. Divided into 100 lessons, the first fifty-four lessons contained anecdotes from early Chinese histories such as the *Zuo zhuan* 左傳, *Zhan Guo Ce* 戰國策, *Shiji* 史記 and *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, as well as extracts from the writings of philosophers from the so-called “hundred schools of thought,” including Zhuangzi 莊子, Han



Figure 5.5. *Pot'ong kyogwa hanmun tokpon*, lesson 1, “Hyön Ko aeguk” [“Xian Gao’s Love of Country”]. Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

Feizi 韓非子, Xunzi 荀子, and Guanzi 管子. Lessons 55 to 65 comprised selections from the collected works of five of the Eight Masters of the Tang and Song (*Tang Song badajia* 唐宋八大家), namely Han Yu 韓愈, Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元, Su Xun 蘇洵, Su Shi 蘇軾, and Wang Anshi 王安石. Lessons 66 to 90 featured extracts from essays by writers from Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing including Zhu Xi 朱熹, Yue Fei 岳飛, Yuan Mingshan 元明善, Luo Lun 羅倫, Zhang Boxing 張伯行, Fang Bao 方苞, and Zeng Guofan 曾國藩. In the final ten lessons two full essays and parts of two others by Liang Qichao

梁啟超 were featured; “Lun zizhi 論自由” (“On freedom”) in four parts in Lessons 91 to 94, “Lun zizhi 論自治” (“On self-governance”) in three parts in Lessons 95 to 97, and a combination of extracts from “Lun duli 論獨立” (“On independence”) and “Lun hequn 論合群” (“On uniting into groups”) in three parts in Lessons 98 to 100. With no listed author/compiler and no explanatory introduction, we cannot be certain what the intent was behind this choice of works, but besides the few anecdotes or excerpts that taught the basic Confucian morals of filial piety and loyalty, many of the extracts/anecdotes contained encouragements to learning and examples of sacrifice for one’s country. When paired with the patriotic-enlightenment themes and ideas in Liang Qichao’s concluding essays this would suggest that a primary purpose of *Pot'ong kyogwa hanmun tokpon*’s compiler/s was to mine the Chinese past for precedents of the patriotic-enlightenment thought expressed in Liang Qichao’s writings.

Finally, though its name indicates that it was intended to be used at the common (i.e. elementary) school level and though the lessons were relatively short,⁵⁷³ the writing was often quite advanced. Also, though punctuated, the text contained none of the grammatical reading glosses (*t'o*), common to even traditional LS primers, that would make comprehension easier for young learners. From this we may conclude that *Pot'ong kyogwa hanmun tokpon* was likely intended for the later elementary-school grades after students would have completed at least a sinograph primer. Also, given that the nature of Hanmunkwa entailed a limitation on the amount of time students could spend learning LS and thus prevented the internalized memorization of texts through rote recitations, we can assume too that for even advanced elementary students to have read and understood *Pot'ong kyogwa hanmun tokpon* (besides by having an instructor simply explain it to them word for word) would have required that they had some experience with simpler LS writing through a more entry-level Hanmunkwa textbook.

5.6.2.2 *Soksǒng hancha kwabon* 速成漢字課本 (*Accelerated Hancha Reader*)

Published by Hwimun'gwan in March 1909, *Soksǒng hancha kwabon* was just such an entry-level textbook. Designed for the LS novice, it was a combination sinograph primer and basic LS reader, perhaps showing the influence of the sinograph primer-*cum*-mixed-script reader format pioneered by Gale and Yi. Though on balance *Soksǒng hancha kwabon* was weighted toward sinograph instruction, its accumulated LS text, at 1,239 sinographs long (more than half the length of the traditional LS primer *Tongmong sǒnsǔp* or roughly two-thirds the length of

⁵⁷³ Excluding the final chapters covering Liang Qichao's writings, which ranged from fourteen to twenty-three lines, the lessons ranged from four to fourteen lines.

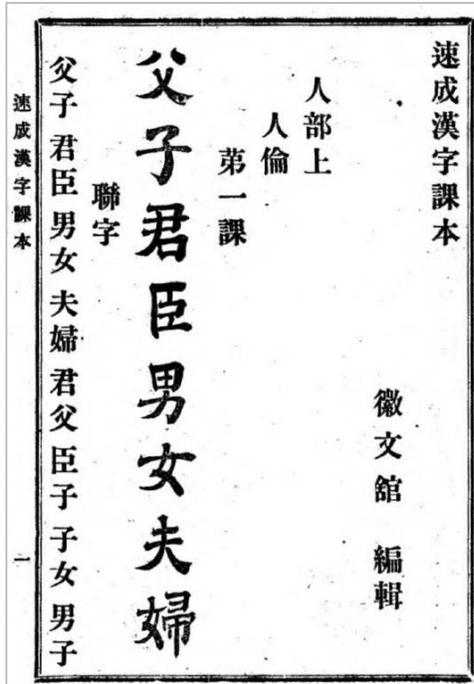


Figure 5.6. *Soksöng hancha kwabon*, opening page. Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

Kyemongp'yön) was still rather substantial. Unlike Yi Sūnggyo and Chi Sögyöng who wanted to separate sinograph learning from LS literacy instruction, *Soksöng hancha kwabon* doubled down on combining them.

The format of *Soksöng hancha kwabon* was truly unique for this period. Though it had no named author and thus no author's introduction, it did include two explanatory introductions. The first, "P'yönjip pömye" 編輯凡例 ("Notes on Compilation") gave a six-point explanation for the textbook's structure:

- This volume comprises 1,320 unique sinographs that are easy for children to memorize and understand, arranged into lessons to be learned over the course of two school years.
- Since young children's mental abilities are yet lacking and as their thinking is still rudimentary, a disorganized arrangement of graphs is difficult for them to understand. Therefore, they are divided into categories and labeled to make it easy to remember.
- Each lesson begins first with a list of eight graphs as a matrix. These are then arranged into graph combinations to show how individual graphs are connected.
- If graphs are not sufficiently reviewed, they may be easily forgotten. Therefore, a review lesson is placed between every five lessons, enabling students to circle back and find deeper understanding.
- Once students understand graphs' meanings, they should next be taught composition and learn the technique for stringing graphs together. Therefore, a lesson of connected phrases is placed between every ten lessons with the intent of showing the wording of a written text.
- This volume emphasizes explicatory instruction foremost, with vocalized reading a secondary concern. Having students read aloud is for the sake of understanding and cannot be only for the sake of making them chant.⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁷⁴ - 本編蒐輯, 童蒙之易誦易解者, 千三百二十字, 以備二學年排課。

- 幼年童子, 腦力未充, 思想尚簡, 渙散文字, 難於領會, 故分其門類, 條其名目, 以便記憶。

- 每課先記八字爲母, 次置聯字, 以明單字接續之法。

- 字不溫習, 則易爲放過, 故每間五課, 置一溫課, 俾循環玩索。

The first point showed one way in which the limited time for LS instruction within the new schools' curricula shaped Hanmunkwa textbooks. As noted in Chapter 2, the typical length of time required for memorizing the *Ch'ŏnjamun* with its 1,000 sinographs was between six and eight months. Even supposing unrealistically that every day in those six to eight months was spent studying, it would have amounted to no more than 243 days. The 1,320 sinographs in *Soksŏng hancha kwabon* on the other hand were to be covered over the course of two school years, which, according to Article 9 of the 1906 Common School Ordinance, was to be no less than 200 days per year.⁵⁷⁵ The second point explained that *Soksŏng hancha kwabon* was arranged into *Yuhap*-like semantic categories. The categories and the number of sinographs in each are shown in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3. Sinograph categories in *Soksŏng hancha kwabon*

Section 1 (Lessons 1–52): <i>In-pu, sang</i> 人部上 (“mankind” part 1); 320 sinographs <i>illyun</i> 人倫 (“human relationships”) <i>choguk</i> 祖國 (“the homeland”) <i>kŏch'ŏ</i> 居處 (“dwellings and locations”)
Section 2 (Lessons 53–143): <i>In-pu, sang</i> 人部上 (“mankind” part 2); 560 sinographs <i>chŏngch'i</i> 政治 (“governance”) <i>sinch'e</i> 身體 (“the body”) <i>kyoyuk</i> 教育 (“education”)
Section 3 (Lessons 144–189): <i>Ŭibok-pu</i> 衣服部 (“clothing and accessories”); 280 sinographs <i>ŭisik</i> 衣食 (“clothing and food”) <i>kiyong</i> 器用 (“tools and utensils”) <i>kwangmul</i> 鑛物 (“minerals”)
Section 4 (Lessons 190–215): <i>singmul</i> 植物 (“plants”); 160 sinographs <i>koksik</i> 穀食 (“grain”) <i>ch'aeso</i> 菜蔬 (“vegetables”) <i>immok</i> 林木 (“trees”) <i>hwahwe</i> 花卉 (“flowers”)

-
- 既解字義，則次講屬文，兼得綴字法，故每間十課置一聯句，以見措辭行文之意。
 - 本編重講解，而誦讀次之，令學徒，口誦而心解，不可作口頭禪而已。

⁵⁷⁵ Han et al., 368.

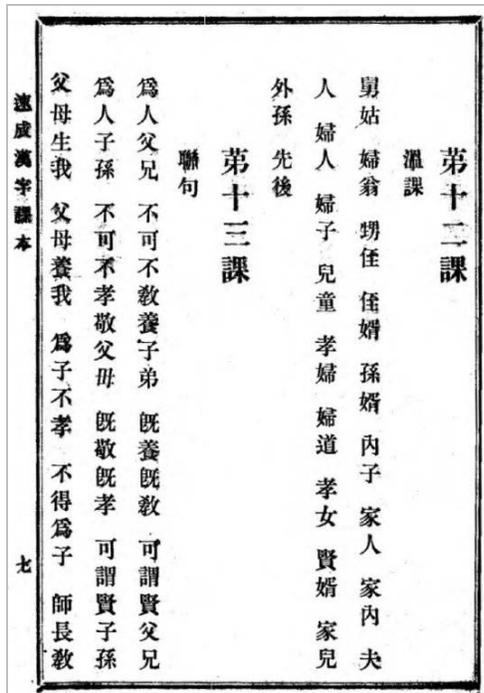


Figure 5.7. *Soksöng hancha kwabon*, lessons 12 (review) and 13 (composition). Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

Points three, four, and five laid out *Soksöng hancha kwabon*'s basic structure describing each of three lesson types respectively. There were 165 of the regular lessons described in point three, an example of which is shown in Figure 5.6 above. As noted, review lessons (*on'gwa* 溫課), of which there were thirty-three total, were placed one after every five regular lessons. These review lessons listed further sinograph combinations made possible by the introduction of new sinographs in subsequent lessons. The third lesson type, the “connected phrases” (*yön'gu* 聯句) or composition lessons, of which there were

seventeen in total, used sinographs from the preceding ten regular lessons to compose connected LS passages from three to five lines in length. Examples of both a review lesson and a composition lesson are shown in Figure 5.7.

The topics covered in these composition lessons matched their corresponding semantic categories and mixed both Confucian teachings and patriotic enlightenment themes. For example, the composition lesson at the end of the first category, “human relations,” comprised Confucian teachings about the proper behavior of fathers to sons, elder brothers to younger brothers, children to parents, and children to teachers—all of it standard Confucian fair:

For someone who is a father or elder brother it is impossible not to teach and nurture his son or younger brother. As long as he nurtures and as long as he teaches, he merits the name of a worthy father or elder brother.

For someone who is a descendant it is impossible not to show filiality and respect to his parents. As long as he is respectful and as long as he is filial, he merits the name of a worthy descendant.

Parents give us life, and parents nurture us. For the child who is unfilial, he should not be called a child.

Teachers instruct us, and teachers guide us. For the youth who is disrespectful, he should not be called a human.⁵⁷⁶

The “education” category’s final composition lesson comprised encouragements to individual learning for the sake of national prosperity and strength, a clear patriotic-enlightenment theme:

A civilized nation expands schooling and compels the people, both adults and children, all to enter and study, instructing them according to their abilities. Farmers and merchants achieve the principles of agriculture and commerce and workers and soldiers practice the skills of industry and soldiery. Thereafter, when they each return to their work, because of this in all the nation’s people there will be none who are not able men. Schools are the foundation of civilization, the originator of enlightenment. Sincerely desiring to enrich and strengthen the nation requires developing men of ability...⁵⁷⁷

As can be seen in both Figures 5.6 and 5.7 above, in no case did *Soksŏng hancha kwabon* make use of the Korean alphabet, either to inscribe the *sŏk* and *ŭm* of new sinographs in the regular lessons, or to mark *t’o* glosses for the LS passages in the composition lessons. This meant that students would have to rely on direct instruction from their teacher for this information. The second explanatory introduction, “Kyosu pŏmnye” 教授凡例, laid out an eight-step instructional method for how this was supposed to happen. In doing so, it also provided one of the best views we have into the actual pedagogical practices of a private-school Hanmunkwa classroom and how they differed from those of traditional LS instruction. Obviously, instruction using other textbooks would have been different in significant ways, but we see in this introduction how the new school itself—both in its physical facilities and accoutrement and in the structure of its

⁵⁷⁶ 爲人父兄，不可不教養子弟，既養既教，可謂賢父兄。
爲人子孫，不可不孝敬父母，既敬既孝，可謂賢子孫。
父母生我，父母養我，爲子不孝，不得爲子，
師長教我，師長導我，爲幼不敬，不得爲人。

⁵⁷⁷ 凡文明之國，擴張學校，必使大小人民，皆入以受業，因其材而教導之，農商達農商之理，工兵練工兵之才，然後各歸其業，此所以舉國之人，無非人才。學校者，文明之基礎，教化之張本，誠欲富強其國，必要作成人才...

curriculum—impinged upon LS instruction in ways that would have been true of any other Hanmunkwa classroom using any other Hanmunkwa textbook.

The teacher is to have each student take his textbook, slate, and slate pencil and place them on his desk at class time.

1. Explicatory instruction

The teacher stands at the blackboard and gets the students' attention. He writes a lesson's first graph on the blackboard explaining it in detail and making sure that each and every student understands clearly. Next, he writes the second graph, again explaining it thoroughly until students know it well, and then pauses momentarily.

2. Writing graphs

The teacher rewrites the first graph on the blackboard then goes around making sure each student in the class can write it in exactly the same way. After completing the writing of one graph, the teacher writes this graph several times in a row and instructs each student to write it several times as well until they are able to write the first graph perfectly. He then teaches how to write the second graph in the same manner.

When students are first learning to write graphs, they ought to use slates and slate pencils, and after three to six months they may use brush and ink.

3. Reading graphs

The teacher assigns students to read out a dozen or more times from their textbooks those graphs that they have been taught, and if there is a mistake in their reading, he must correct it right away.

Each graph thereafter should be mastered following the preceding three steps and if it is not possible to teach eight graphs in one day, then four to six graphs may be taught while striving to make each and every graph clear.

4. Combining graphs

The teacher writes on the blackboard the terms that combine graphs.

When lecturing, he makes sure... that all the students in the classroom are listening without boredom or fatigue.

5. Mastery

The next day, when the students arrive in the classroom, the teacher has them write on their slates the graphs learned the previous day. He walks around the classroom to monitor their progress. When he sees those without mistakes, he makes sure to give them direct encouragement, and directly rebukes those who make many mistakes or who cannot form the graphs. If merits and demerits are made clear, then the competitive spirit among the students will arise on its own.

6. Review lessons

The teacher writes the graphs that are to be reviewed on the blackboard, first having the students read them out and then giving explicatory instruction again.

7. Combining phrases

The teacher first writes the lesson's first phrase on the blackboard and then has the students explain it. Then, he again explains this phrase clarifying it graph by graph. Next, he writes the second phrase and again has the students explain it with each phrase

thereafter being mastered in the same manner as the first phrase. If it seems that a lesson is too long, it may be divided over several days.

8. Putting into practice

When children learn to read, they cannot only learn the text but must be made to focus on personal behavior as well. During instruction, when students encounter graphs such as *hyo* 孝 (“filial”), *kŭn* 謹 (“conscientious”), *sang* 詳 (“meticulous”), and *sim* 審 (“investigate”) they should be guided patiently and systematically to put them into actual practice insofar as they are able. And when they encounter such graphs as *sŏl* 泄 (“drain”), *so* 掃 (“sweep”), *chŏng* 淨 (“tidy”), and *kyŏng* 潔 (“clean”) then do similarly and avoid the harm of separating the text from practice.⁵⁷⁸

As described in the previous chapter, in the decade prior to the protectorate period, certain missionary schools accommodated continued traditional LS instruction by operating

⁵⁷⁸ 教師令學徒各將課本，又持石板石筆，受業時竝置案上。

第一 講解

教師立黑板下，使全堂學徒，振作精神，於是將第一課之第一字，寫於黑板，詳為講解，必使人人明白，然後再寫第二字，迨第二字講到十分透徹，遂秒為停頓。

第二 寫字

教師將所教之第一字，再於黑板上寫，出令前堂學徒，皆得如此寫完，迨一字寫成後，再將此字連寫幾個，令學徒各寫數十個，第一字已能寫完。然後再教第二字之寫法，學徒初學寫字，宜用石板石筆，至三月或半年後，乃用毛筆可也。

第三 識字

教師令學徒，取出課本書將所教所寫之字，誦讀數十過，其聲音若有差誤，須隨時辨正，以下各字均照以前之三法，若一日不能教授八字，即四字六字可，務令字字明白。

第四 聯字

教師將聯字，寫於黑板上，講時……使全堂學徒聽而忘倦。

第五 溫習

明日學徒來堂，令前一日所識之字，寫於石板上，教師巡視一周，見無誤者，須面加獎勵，誤字甚多。

且不能成字者，面加申飭，賞罰分明，則學生競爭之心自起。

第六 溫課

教師將所溫之字，寫於黑板上，先令學徒讀出，然後再為講解。

第八(sic) 聯句

教師先寫課書之第一句於黑板上，令學徒講解，然後教師將此句重行解說，講至字字清楚，遂寫第二句，再令學徒講解，以下各句均照第一句類推，若覺一課太長，分為數日亦可。

第九(sic) 實行

兒童讀書，不可但肄其文，當以躬行為重，教授之時，凡遇孝謹詳審等字，宜循循善誘，量兒童所能為者而實行之，遇泄掃淨潔等字亦然，以免文行分馳之弊。

separate physical facilities and employing separate instructors for traditional LS instruction. Any Hanmunkwa classroom that employed *Soksǒng hancha kwabon* as its introductions prescribed, however, would have been thoroughly “new school.” The students’ desks, slates, and slate pencils, the teacher’s standing at the blackboard giving step-by-step instruction, his direct instruction giving praise or correction as he circulated among the students while they practiced whatever task he had modeled for them, the allowances made for breaking up lessons due to limited time, and the injunction against chanted recitations of the text—all of these departed from the traditional LS literacy instructional methods and bore the marks of the “new education” to which Hanmunkwa thoroughly belonged. In so many ways the two introductory notes read as responses to critiques of traditional LS literacy instruction, such as those seen in the previous chapter, as though they were intentionally attempting to demonstrate *Soksǒng hancha kwabon*’s new-school bonafides. Whether intentionally or not, they read even more specifically like a response to Homer Hulbert’s description of traditional education in his 1906 *The Passing of Korea*:

Generally speaking, education is a private affair and has so been considered from the first. Every village has its little room, always in a private house, where the boys sit on the floor with their large-print books of Chinese characters before them, and, as they sway back and forth with half-shut eyes, they drone out the sounds of the ideographs, not in unison, but each for himself. There is no such thing as a class, for no two of the boys are together, and to the unaccustomed ear the babel that results is almost stunning. But the system has its good as well as its bad points.

As the boys are not graded, the bright ones are not held back by the dull ones, nor are the dull ones forced ahead superficially in order to preserve the semblance of grade. Each one goes on his merits, and individuality is developed more than in our schools. Then, again, the deafening noise about him compels the boy to extreme concentration upon his own work. It is difficult for us to fancy that mentality would be possible under the circumstances, but the truth is that no one of those shouting boys hears any other than his own voice. The outside confusion, instead of shattering his mental processes, drives him in upon himself and probably enables him to memorise better than if he were alone.

On the other hand, the Chinese method puts a veto upon all *esprit de corps*, and the boy loses a large part of the beneficial influence of comparison and competition.⁵⁷⁹

In the Hanmunkwa classroom of *Soksŏng hancha kwabon*'s explanatory introductions, gone is the teacher sitting on the floor modeling and supervising rote recitations. Gone too are the students working from sunup to sundown on an individual memorization task, swaying to the rhythm of their own individually chanted recitations. Instead, rote recitations are forbidden, the entire classroom moves together through a single task at the same time, the amount of content covered each day is adjusted to fit within a single class's timeslot, and the *esprit de corps* of competition and comparison is explicitly encouraged.

5.6.2.3 *Monghak hanmun ch'ogye* 蒙學漢文初階 (*First Steps in Children's Hanmun*) and *Sohak hanmun tokpon* 小學漢文讀本 (*Elementary Hanmun Reader*)

Wŏn Yŏngŭi 元泳義 (1852–1928) published three Hanmunkwa textbooks in this period, two of them elementary readers. Born into a prestigious aristocratic family, after failing on several occasions to pass the civil service examination, Wŏn began studying Neo-Confucianism under the well-known late-Chosŏn scholar Yu Chunggyo 柳重教 (1832–1893). Yu was himself a disciple of Yi Hangno 李恒老 (1792–1868), the scholar most responsible for the 19th-century revival of the *wijŏng ch'ŏksa* ideology, and was adamantly opposed to Western learning. Wŏn later embraced it, enrolling in the Seoul Teachers' School's intensive program in 1895 and graduating a member of the first class that same year. Thus, he was among the first Koreans with modern teaching credentials.

⁵⁷⁹ Homer Bezaleel Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea* (New York, NY: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1906), 335–36.

Wŏn began teaching at a government elementary school after his graduation and in 1898, became an instructor at the Seoul Teachers' School, where he remained until 1905 when he resigned on the eve of the Ŭlsa Treaty. By the end of 1906, he was teaching at a private middle school, Posŏng Middle School (Posŏng 普成中學校), and it was while teaching there that the school's affiliated publisher, Posŏngsa, published Wŏn's first two Hanmunkwa textbooks.⁵⁸⁰

Monghak hanmun ch'ogyŏ was published in October 1907, followed by the two-volume *SHT* in February 1908. Wŏn had completed *Sohak hanmun tokpon* (its introduction is dated July

1907) prior to *MHC*, however, in the introduction to *MHC* (dated September 1907), he explained that after completing *SHT*, he realized that it was too difficult for the LS novice and so wrote *MHC* as an introductory textbook for *SHT*. The two textbooks were thus able to function as a single series and shared several features in common. Both textbooks were parsed with *t'o* glosses using the Korean script in the *hyŏnt'o* style. Both also comprised topical lessons (213 lessons in *MHC* and 293 in *SHT*⁵⁸¹) covering many new-knowledge subjects

including hygiene and vaccinations, Korean and world

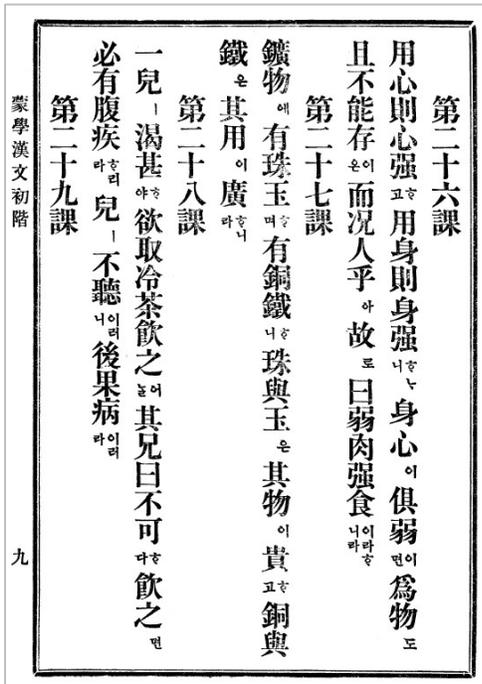


Figure 5.8. *Monghak hanmun ch'ogyŏ*, lessons 26–29. Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

⁵⁸⁰ Though Wŏn was active in education reform circles throughout this period and worked closely with well-known figures such as Chang Chiyŏn, Yu Kŭn 柳瑾 (1861–1921), An Chonghwa 安鍾和 (1860–1924), and Hyŏn Ch'ae 玄采 (1856–1925), he is little known today. Details of his life noted here come from an unpublished 1947 manuscript biography possessed by one of his descendants and quoted from in Ch'oe Migyŏng, “Wŏn Yŏngŭi ŭi *Sohak hanmun tokpon* 小學漢文讀本 yŏn'gu [A Study of Wŏn Yŏngŭi's *Sohak hanmun tokpon*]” (M.A., Seoul, Korea, Sungkyunkwan University, 1999).

⁵⁸¹ 160 in Volume 1 and 133 in Volume 2.

geography, contemporary and ancient Korean history, descriptions of various Eastern and Western customs and religions, and a wide array of natural-science topics. Patriotic-enlightenment themes were also replete throughout. These included especially inducements to education and self-reliance as the pathway to the restoration of national independence, and encouragements to patriotism bolstered by lessons on Korean cultural achievements and biographical details about such historical figures as Ŭlchi Mundŏk, Yi Sunsin, and King Sejong. The lessons in *MHC* were quite short (one to four lines, tending toward progressively longer lessons) and their style was rather simple throughout. In *SHT*, the writing was more advanced and progressed in both complexity and length between its two volumes (five to nine lines in Volume 1 and eight to eighteen lines in Volume 2).

Both *MHC* and *SHT* employed stories and fables extensively. Sometimes, especially in *MHC*, Wŏn's stories were simply short passages that had little or no moral content. Often, however, Wŏn used anecdotes to teach simple morals regarding some information already taught. Thus, though he might introduce a topic through spare informational exposition in one lesson, in a later lesson the subject of the first would be reinforced, expanded upon, or applied with an instructional anecdote. For example, in Lesson 30 of *SHT* Volume 1, Wŏn gave a straightforward exposition of the five color-based racial categories then current in Western racial science. "The people of the nations of the world are not of the same type," he began. "The appearance of each is different and their skin colors are categorized as yellow, white, black, brown, and red. These are called the five races of man."⁵⁸² The lesson then concluded with a short description of the geographical origins of each purported race; the "yellow" race from Mongolia, the "white" race from the Caucasus, the "black" race from Africa, etc. Later in lesson

⁵⁸² 天下各國之人_이 種類不同_고 容貌各異_야 其色_이 有黃白黑棕赤之別_니 是爲五人種_라

eighty-seven of the same volume, Wŏn returned to the matter of racial differences but did so in the form of an anecdote illustrating how children should think and behave in light of racial differences. Wŏn composed the following anecdote:

A mother named Wang took her child for a walk to the international quarter. The Westerners that the child saw all had deep-set eyes and large noses that gravely frightened him. The mother said, “You and I are ourselves already different, and it is all the more so with people of other countries; and yet, they too are people, so what do you have to fear?” Also, seeing that a black man’s hands and face were all like coal, the child took it to be strange. The mother said, “That is a negro man (the African race). Although his body is black, his heart is still just like ours. There is no need to fear.”⁵⁸³

In other lessons within both textbooks Wŏn relied on the then increasingly influential

theory of Social Darwinism to encourage education and patriotism as a defense against further predation by Korea’s neighbors. Therefore, it could have been expected any story he might tell dealing with racial differences would have drawn on the then-common Social Darwinist tropes that portrayed national competition as a struggle between nations or races for survival and supremacy. Instead, Wŏn told a story of a mother teaching her child to see past foreigners’ superficial differences to their common humanity. Thus, while bracketing its antiquated terminology and the awkward way its discussion of facial morphology and skin color strikes our ears today, Wŏn’s

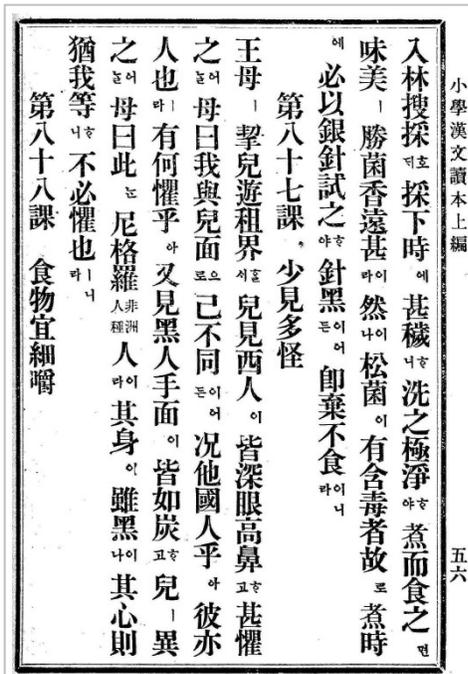


Figure 5.9. *Sohak hanmun tokpon*, volume 1, lesson 87, “So kyŏn ta koe 少見多怪 [A Youth Sees Many Wonders].” Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

anecdote shows that he crafted these stories not only to convey new knowledge but also to shape

⁵⁸³ 王母 | 挈兒遊租界 兒見西人 | 皆深眼高鼻 甚懼之 母曰我與兒面 | 已不同 况他國人乎 彼亦人也 | 有何懼乎 又見黑人手面 | 皆如炭 兒 | 異之 母曰此 尼格羅(非州人種)人 | 其身 | 雖黑 | 其心則猶我等 | 不必懼也 |

how that knowledge was to be received and acted upon by his students, seeking to turn it to moral ends.

In the introduction to *MHC*, Wŏn explained why he chose to compile his textbooks using short passages and simple stories that advanced new knowledge rather than draw on extracts from traditional texts:

Our country's educational progress, already well behind the Western nations, cannot stand on par with theirs in a single leap. What's more, given that their scientific learning is so extensive we cannot reach parity without being methodical. And yet despite this, we see in the present surge in children's education that children are immediately tormented with these esoteric texts that so easily incite boredom; therefore, the rigid adherence to custom is a barrier to progress. So again, though it is essential that we advance new knowledge, doing so is difficult without proper textbooks. Concerned over this I have already compiled the two-volume *Sohak hanmun tokpon*, but its level is slightly advanced and therefore ill-suited to young children's education. I have thus taken short, easy passages from new and old writings⁵⁸⁴ and again compiled a volume called *Monghak hanmun ch'ogye*. It is made for a child's gradual step-by-step advancement and intended only to fill in for the lack of an appropriate text.⁵⁸⁵

Wŏn composed his textbooks using clear and comprehensible passages and anecdotes that would inspire students' interest in the new knowledge that he believed would allow Korea to reach parity with Western powers. What makes his aims so remarkable, however, is that he turned to LS as a medium for this knowledge. Were the "esoteric texts that so easily incite boredom" a reference to LS writings in general, the above could easily be mistaken for the introduction to one of the period's elementary *kungmun* readers or one of the many newspaper articles that argued for the abolition of LS. While Wŏn's belief that the advancement of new

⁵⁸⁴ Besides the first eight lessons of *MHC*, which paraphrased traditional teachings on Confucianism's Five Relations, none of the two textbooks' contents were taken from traditional texts; rather, all were composed by Wŏn.

⁵⁸⁵ 我東教育進步，已後於泰西諸國，不可一躍而竝駕，又其科學宏博，不可無方法而普達也。見今蒙學方興，遽以深文苦之，易生厭倦，因使墨守，故步有妨進取，更要啓發新智，苦無定本，余惟是之憂，既輯《小學漢文讀本》二編，其程度稍高未合蒙學之分際，故復取新舊文之淺易者，而輯之曰《蒙學漢文初階》，爲小子之循序漸進，而姑補其缺乏而已。

knowledge was paramount to Korea's national progress had become conventional wisdom among education reformers like himself, his expression of this view within the introduction to a Hanmunkwa textbook in which LS was to be the primary medium for the conveyance of new knowledge was exceptional.

This is not to say that Wŏn did not embrace vernacular literacy or that he did not believe it was crucial to the spread of new knowledge. In the previous year he had already published an elementary history textbook that employed a mixed-script style,⁵⁸⁶ and in May 1908, only a few months after *SHT*'s February publication, he would go on to publish an elementary reader, *Kungmun kwabon* 國文課本 (*National Script Reader*), in the pure-alphabetic style.⁵⁸⁷ Wŏn clearly did not believe, however, that the expansion of vernacular literacy should entail the abolition of LS literacy. In the introduction to *SHT*, he sought to undermine calls for LS's abolition, arguing that LS literacy was a boon to East Asia as it allowed for linguistic interoperability that was to the region's advantage:

Consider *hanmun*, which has been the shared writing in the nations of the East for thousands of years. Though the speech sounds of our languages are different they are made distinguishable by brush. Though the meanings of our books are varied we are able to arrive at their meaning through a common translation. Truly it is a universal ferry bridging a ten thousand-forked river.⁵⁸⁸

Were LS abolished, Wŏn argued, it would mean that Koreans would be forced to learn both Japanese and Chinese separately to communicate with their neighbors, whereas LS allowed for

⁵⁸⁶ *Sinjŏng Tongguk yŏksa* 新訂東國歷史 (*A Revised History of the Eastern Country*).

⁵⁸⁷ Wŏn also published or participated in the publication of numerous other textbooks, including, *Taehan chiji* 大韓地志 (“Korean geography”), *Chungdŭng Tongguk yŏksa* 中等東國歷史 (“Intermediate-level Korean history”), *Chungdŭng Tongguk chiji* 中等東國地志 (“Intermediate-level Korean geography”), *Tongsa pop'yŏn* 東史補編 (“A supplemental volume on Korean history”), and *Sup'il kyŏmun-nok* 隨筆見聞錄 (“Essays on things seen and heard”).

⁵⁸⁸ 惟漢文，乃屢千年東洋諸國之同文也。言語之異音，筆以辨焉，書籍之異義，譯以達焉，洵萬逕普通之津梁也。

continued regional intercommunication through a single medium. Also, abolishing LS would not only add to Korean students' study load but would disadvantage them relative to their Japanese and Chinese peers, as it was unrealistic to expect that many Japanese or Chinese would choose to learn Korean, while Korean students would be forced to learn both Japanese and Chinese to communicate throughout the region. The onus of language learning would thus be placed most heavily on Koreans. Continued LS literacy instruction was therefore a practical need. Still, Wŏn knew that his views on using LS as a vehicle for new knowledge would garner disapproval.

Anticipating this opposition, in his introduction to *MHC* he went on to write:

Were someone to say, “we have a *kungmun* that is sufficient for our use, why should we use this?” then answer that *hanmun* is the shared writing of East Asia (*A-dong chi tongmun* 亞東之同文) and that even the two graphs *kuk* 國 and *mun* 文 are *hancha*. Although you may wish to interpret its meaning without the *hancha*, why be deaf and blind to this shared writing? ... Alas, *hanmun* is the key to academic learning! Whether it's the repository of ancient knowledge or contemporary scholarship in each field, if you really want to open it with your bare hands without the assistance of this key, then you will end up an amateur.⁵⁸⁹

The content and format of Wŏn's Hanmunkwa readers and the views he expressed in their introductions demonstrate that the literary and inscriptional choices Koreans faced need not have been an all-or-nothing choice between LS and the vernacular. Wŏn was fully committed to the expansion of vernacular literacy and its role in the spread of new knowledge while at the same time being committed to preserving and expanding the role of LS as a medium for accessing both Korea's textual heritage and new knowledge. Furthermore, despite the transformation of Koreans' understanding of the culture and institutions it shared with its

⁵⁸⁹ 若謂‘有國文足用，何必乃爾耶，’則漢文亞東之同文，而國文二字，亦漢字也。雖欲沒漢字，而釋其義，其於同文之聾瞽何哉... 噫，漢文科學之管鑰也。古之曹倉杜庫，今之各學顯門，苟無管鑰之具，而徒欲手開，則終於門外漢矣。

neighbors, Wŏn still believed that in order to manage regional relationships, “the shared writing of East Asia” was too valuable to simply jettison.

5.6.3 Advanced-level readers

Four advanced-level Hanmunkwa readers were published prior to the full implementation of the textbook screening survey. Each was a collection of past LS writings and therefore have much in common in their basic structure. However, the compilers’ selection and ordering of the writings in each textbook together with their stated aims in the introductions and elsewhere reveal a great deal of variety in their thinking about and approaches to the inclusion of LS within the new schools’ curricula.⁵⁹⁰

5.6.3.1 *Taedong munsu* 大東文粹 (*Literary Essence of the Great East*)

Taedong munsu was compiled by Chang Chiyŏn and published in June 1907 by Hwimun’gwan at the behest of Min Yŏnghwi, the academy’s founder. Comprised solely of works by Korean authors and coming only three years after the publication of Gale and Yi’s *Yumong sokp’yŏn*, the two textbooks invite comparison. Totalling ninety-three works by fifty authors, Chang’s textbook contained more than twice the works and authors of Gale and Yi’s, which had forty-one works by twenty-six authors.⁵⁹¹ Supposing that students were able to cover one selection per week,⁵⁹² *Taedong munsu* would have required at least two school years of study. Besides being longer,

⁵⁹⁰ For a comparison of the authors, essays, and genres in each of the advanced level Hanmunkwa readers, see Appendix G.

⁵⁹¹ For the contents of *Taedong munsu*, see Appendix G.2.

⁵⁹² This is a generous estimate considering the substantial length of some of the works and the secondary schools’ restriction to at most 3.5 weekly instructional hours for Hanmunkwa.

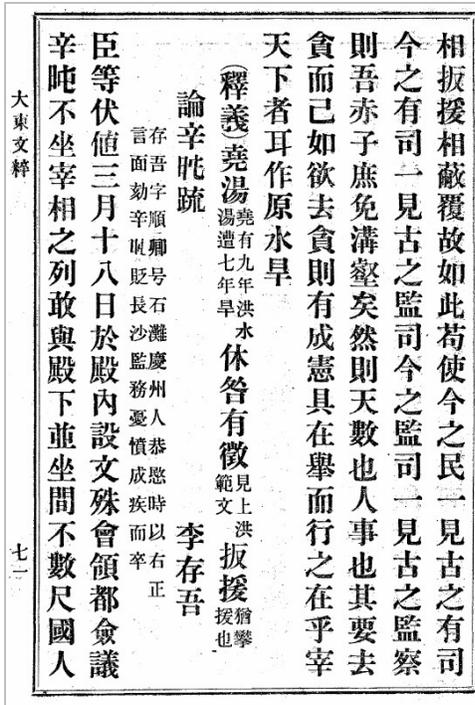


Figure 5.10. *Taedong munsu*, lesson 29, “Ron Sin Ton so 論辛旽疏” by Yi Chono 李存吾. Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

Chang’s textbook also contained a greater proportion of pre-Chosŏn authors and works than did Gale and Yi’s. Though both textbooks began with Kija’s “Hongbŏm 洪範” (“The Great Plan”), Chang devoted forty percent of his textbook to pre-Chosŏn authors and works (thirty-seven works by twenty-two authors) compared to Gale and Yi’s seventeen percent (seven works by five authors). Including Kija the two textbooks shared fifteen authors making only thirty percent of *Taedong munsu*’s total but fifty-eight percent of *Yumong sokp’yŏn*’s. Shared works were less than half as many as shared authors with only seven works (7.5% of Chang’s total and 17% of Gale and

Yi’s). While Chang may have been aware of Gale and Yi’s textbook, then, these figures would indicate that it was not a likely inspiration for his choice of authors and works. Instead, as Im Kwangsun (2002) shows, a primary source for Chang’s selection was *Tongmunsŏn* 東文選 (*Selected Writings of the East*), from which forty (43%) of the textbook’s works were taken.⁵⁹³

Compiled by Sŏ Kŏjŏng and first published in 1478 with a supplement published in 1518, *Tongmunsŏn* comprised pre- and early-Chosŏn works. Thus, as Im also shows, the works Chang selected from mid Chosŏn or later came primarily from the collected writings (*munjip* 文集) of the various authors.⁵⁹⁴ *Taedong munsu* also spanned the gambit of LS prose genres with six

⁵⁹³ Im Kwangsun, “Aeguk kyemonggi hanmun kyojae *Taedong munsu* 大東文粹 ilgoch’al [An analysis of the Patriotic-Enlightenment Period *Hanmun* Textbook *Taedong munsu*]” (M.A., Sungkyunkwan University, 2002), 20.

⁵⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

nonbyŏn 論辨 (argumentative essays), seventeen *sŏbal* 序跋 (prefaces and postfaces), thirteen *chuŭi* 奏議 (memorials), ten *sŏdok* 書牘 (epistolary documents), nine *chŭngsŏ* 贈序 (valedictory compositions), twelve *choryŏng* 詔令 (royal edicts and instructions), two *piji* 碑誌 (epitaphs), twelve *chapki* 雜記 (miscellaneous accounts), two *chammyŏng* 箴銘 (admonishing inscriptions), three *aeje* 哀祭 (elegies), and seven *chapchŏ* 雜著 (uncategorized miscellany).⁵⁹⁵

As for the textbook's format, as shown in Figure 5.10 above, at the beginning of each work Chang included biographical details about the author and sometimes bibliographic information about the work as well. At the end of each work, or at intervals within particularly long works, he provided a glossary section with short explanatory notes (*sŏgŭi* 釋義) providing helpful information for key sinographs, phrases, people, or places appearing within the work. Chang made no use of the Korean alphabet for these notes, nor did he include the *t'o* glosses or any other punctuation that had become more common in LS texts of this period; this despite the fact that from his entry into journalism and publishing in the late 1890s when he worked for a time as the editor of the *Hwangsŏng sinmun*, Chang was a known booster of the Korean alphabet and would go on, as noted above, to publish a vernacular reader for women and girls, *Nyŏjŏ tokpon*, in 1908.

In the first half of his introduction to *Taedong munsu* Chang exhibited this enthusiastic promotion of vernacular literacy, laying out a case against LS and in favor of the vernacular that

⁵⁹⁵ These genre / literary classes are based on the late Qing literary theorist Yao Nai's 姚鼐 (1731–1815) *Guwenci leizuan* 古文辭類纂 (*Classified Anthology of Writings in the Ancient Style*) as covered in E. D. Edwards, "A Classified Guide to the Thirteen Classes of Chinese Prose," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 12, no. 3/4 (January 1, 1948): 770–788. For a comparison of the genres in each of the advanced-level Hanmunkwa readers, see Appendix G.9.

would have fit comfortably among anti-LS articles that appeared in newspapers or educational association journals. Tying vernacular literacy to civilizational development and the spread of patriotism, he lamented the difficulty of LS and Korea's resulting low literacy rates and praised the creation of the Korean script as itself a dispensation of new knowledge. Chang wrote:

Typically, a nation's writing is made only more convenient for the people's use by following from the speech sounds of that nation's language. And therefore, the people all understand and master their own country's writing, making education easier and increasing the number of those who know writing. This in turn leads to extremely rapid civilizational development. Furthermore, once the people's language and writing become equivalent, then the will of the people becomes uniform and by so doing patriotic ideas also develop. This is the reason why the current world powers cherish having writing that is the same as their language.

As for our country's remote past, there was no writing and so we borrowed and made use of *hanmun* for our various records. However, even for a scholar who is Chinese *hanmun* is a malady due to its difficulty; though you put forth a lifetime's effort you still cannot achieve results. Moreover, our people's spoken language is clearly distinct from it so that our speech is one thing and our writing another, and unless the children who learn it have superior intellects, they do not know where the taste lies, as if chewing through wood or swallowing jujubes whole. Because of this, even were they to double their efforts, those who can read are few.

Then, our King Sejong, as a Great Sage sent by Heaven, dispensed new knowledge in the creation of a *kungmun* that formed letters based on sound and writing based on speech so that what could not be mastered with *hanmun* could in all cases be understood. Also, being so very simple and easy, even the commoners who work the fields or foolish women may quickly understand. Indeed, if we had everyone devote their strength to it, without costing more than a few months labor, there would be no one who does not know how to read. How great would be the difference in results between that and what we see with the lifetime of rigid study of *hanmun*?⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹⁶ 凡國之有文，皆因其國之聲音言語，用便乎其民之行用耳。故人皆曉習自國之文，教訓之易而識者多，繇是而文明之發達甚捷，且國民之言語文字均同然後，民志齊一，愛國思想亦由此而發展，現世列強之所以貴同文同言者，此也。若夫吾邦古代荒邈無文字，借漢文以用諸記述，漢文者雖支那人土，病其淵奧難解，非畢生用力，尚不能收功，況吾人之語音判然區域，言自言，文自文，蒙學之士，非聰明特秀者，茫然若嚼木吞棗，不知旨味之何居，以故，用工倍而識字者鮮。惟我世廟以天縱之大聖，剗新智製國文，因音成字，因語成文，漢文之所不能通者，悉能通解又甚簡易，雖佃氓愚婦，捷於曉解，苟使人人專力，不費幾月工，而未有不識字者矣。其視漢文之窮年兀兀者其功果之懸截固何如哉。

Chang then pivoted abruptly and with a single argument handwaved away his cutting assessment of the damage done by Korea's past and present use of LS. Korea's learned men had for so long used LS, he argued, that any sudden change would be too difficult. Besides, LS had given Koreans access to the written word when they had no other alternative, and so the vast bulk of Korea's literary patrimony was in LS. Therefore, it could not be dropped from the curricula of the new schools. He wrote:

Nevertheless, our country's scholars have for thousands of years been accustomed to using *hanmun* and there would be difficulties with a sudden change. If not for *hanmun*, there could have been no publication of either public writings or private documents. And but for *hanmun*, there would have been no circulation of either courtly records or unofficial histories. There is no reason, then, to drop it from the various textbooks. Thus, *hanmun* cannot be abolished and we cannot fail to have it in our textbooks.⁵⁹⁷

Reading this gives one the distinct impression that Chang could in fact muster no good argument in favor of the continued use of LS save inertia. Since it showed no signs of being abolished, however, and since it was still so highly valued by the learned class, Chang went on to argue that LS literacy instruction ought then to be made to serve patriotic-enlightenment aims and be directed toward the writings of Koreans rather than the Chinese. He reported that it was with this end in mind that Min Yŏnghwi personally asked him to compile *Taedong munsu*:

Despite this, however, those of our people who admire *hanmun* know only of the existence of the writings of the people of China and do not know of the existence of the writings of the people of our country. But from Silla and Koryŏ till today, for hundreds and thousands of years there has been no shortage of men of great renown, distinguished officials, eminent scholars, and learned intellectuals who have, with their classical scholarship, their writings, their literary works meant for only a single generation, illuminated eternity. Moreover, as our dynasty's culture has grown more enlightened and as the writings coming forth from the kings' chambers have shone as the sun and the stars soaring over the Milky Way, they too are suitable for the people of the nation to read and commit to memory. Why then must we select from afar the leftovers of Chinese men of letters?

⁵⁹⁷ 然而吾邦之士，累千年習慣於漢文，有難卒變，公私文牘，非此莫行，朝野紀乘，非此莫通諸，凡學科教育之書，亦捨此無由施焉。此漢文之不可偏廢，而教科之不得不有者也。

To this end, Master Min Yŏnghwi requested that I undertake this compilation, saying, “Since *hanmun* cannot help but be taught, select clear and simple works from among our country’s writings alone, leaving out any that are too complicated, and prepare it for use in the classroom with the addition of explanatory notes (*sŏgŭi* 釋義) that will make it easier for young learners.” Therefore, I have poured my efforts into this and gathered together about one hundred simple works from writings from the five eras of (Old) Chosŏn, Mahan, the Three Kingdoms, Koryŏ, and our dynasty, ordering them chronologically. The placement of “The Great Plan” at the head of the volume is because Kija is the progenitor of our country’s civilization. The special inclusion of the works of various monarchs is to honor the magnificence of their command of civilization.

Once the volume was completed and Master Min asked to see it, he said, “This ought to be called *Literary Essence of the Great East*, for in each one of these works the virtues and substance of our former sage kings and scholars and the brilliance of their cultural products, can be seen, heard, and taught. How then can this be used only for our academy? It ought to be spread throughout the entire country as a textbook in our current public education.” And so saying, he ordered it to be published.

Ah! If only readers may come to know by this textbook that the development of our culture originated from Kija Chosŏn and Silla and that it is in no way inferior to China, then we will be able to instill in them the spirit of our fatherland and thus advance one step further toward civilization.⁵⁹⁸

The motives articulated above for *Taedong munsu*’s publication were like those expressed by Yi Ch’angjik in the introduction to *Yumong sokp’yŏn*. Despite his view that vernacular literacy was superior to LS literacy as a vehicle for new knowledge and a tool for mass education, Chang nevertheless accepted that LS would be an important medium of communication within Korea for the foreseeable future. Therefore, just as Gale and Yi had sought to collect together the writings of Korea’s “sage kings and wise scholars” for learners to emulate and take pride in, so

⁵⁹⁸ 雖然吾人之宗漢文者，只知有支那之人之文，而不知有五邦之人之文，自羅麗今，千百載，名公·鉅卿·鴻儒·碩士，以經術·文章·黼黻一世，炳耀千古者，代不乏人，況我朝文化大闡，御製宸章，蔚然，倬雲漢，燦日星，爲國民者，當莊誦服膺，鼓舞振作足矣。奚必遠取支那文人之餘波耶。適者荷汀·閔公泳徽氏，屬不佞以編輯之役曰，漢文既不可不教，則須就東文中，刪黜繁冗，遴選精簡，以備教科之用，而竝附釋義備便蒙學也。故不佞用是注力，自朝鮮·馬韓·三國·高麗·泊國朝凡五代之文蒐輯，其簡要者爲白餘篇，序次年代。哀成一帙首之以洪範者，以箕師爲吾邦文明之祖於國朝，特揭列聖御製者，所以尊文教之盛也。編既完，要公閱一通公曰：“是宜名“大東文粹”斯皆我先聖先儒之道德精華，而亦可見聲教文物之煥郁矣。是奚獨，爲吾塾之用哉。宜廣諸全國，公一世教育之科書矣。仍命亟付印刊。嗚呼！讀者，若因是而知吾邦文化之闢已，肇自箕羅而無遜於支那，則可以注祖國之精神，而進一步於文明矣。

too Chang and Min sought to exhibit the “virtues and substance of our former sage kings and scholars and the brilliance of their cultural products” in order to instill in learners a love of country and in so doing advance Korean civilization.

5.6.3.2 *Munjang chinam* 文章指南 (A Guide to Writing)

Munjang chinam was compiled by Ch’oe Chaehak 崔在學 (n.d.) and published by

Hwimun’gwan in December 1908. As its title makes clear, it was meant as a guide for learning

LS composition and comprised twenty-nine works by thirteen Chinese (Han, Wei, Tang, and Song) authors and five works by five Korean (Koryŏ and Chosŏn) authors.⁵⁹⁹

Two-thirds of the Chinese-authored works appeared in two well-known Ming-dynasty literature collections that were widely published throughout the Chosŏn dynasty, *Komun chinbo* 古文眞寶 (*True Treasures of Ancient Style Writing*, C. *Guwen zhenbao*) and *Munjang kwebŏm* 文章軌範 (*Standards of Literary Composition*, C. *Wenzhang guifan*). All but one of the Korean-authored

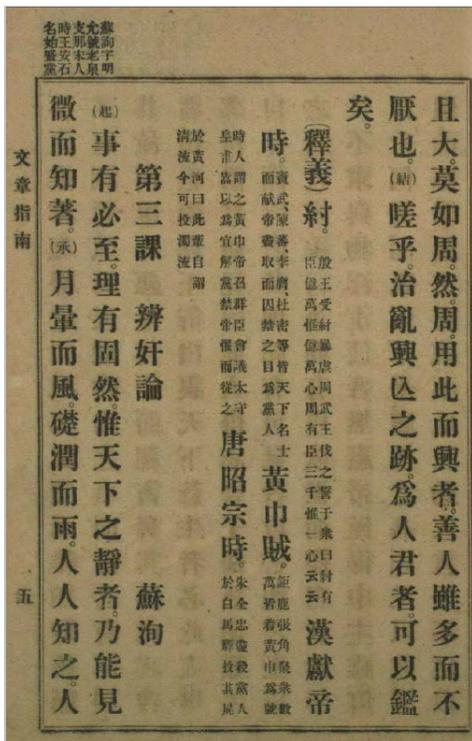


Figure 5.11. *Munjang chinam*, lesson 3, “Ban jian lun 辨奸論 [On Dealing with Wickedness]” by Su Xun 蘇洵. Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

works were from *Tongmunsŏn*. Given its emphasis on teaching LS composition Ch’oe arranged the works by genre rather than chronologically: six *non* 論 (treatises), four *sŏl* 說 (essays), three *chŏn* 傳 (biographies), seven *ki* 記 (records of events), three *sŏ* 序 (prefaces), two *pal* 跋 (postfaces),

⁵⁹⁹ See Appendix G.5 for the contents of *Munjang chinam*.

three *mun* 文 (prose writings), three *sangsŏ* 上書 (memorials), two *ch'ansong* 贊頌 (eulogies), and one *myŏng* 銘 (inscription). Having been published by Hwimun'gwan, it is not surprising that, as seen in Figure 5.11 above, Ch'oe composed explanatory notes at the end of each lesson for the key sinographs, phrases, people, or places as Chang Chiyŏn had done in *Taedong munsu* based on Min Yŏnghwi's suggestion. Ch'oe also included biographical and bibliographical details about authors and their works which were printed in the top margin above the beginning of a new work. Finally, though he did not include *t'o* glosses, Ch'oe did punctuate the works in *Munjang chinam* and also labeled the four-part structure—*ki* 起 (introduction), *sŭng* 承 (development), *p'o* 鋪 (elaboration), and *kyŏl* 結 (conclusions)—of each work.

In his introduction, Ch'oe gave two arguments for why the teaching of LS composition remained necessary. The first argument was that since LS had had a centuries-long influence upon Korea's linguistic and inscriptional practices, impacting even the spoken language, it could not be abandoned. Furthermore, because Korea's literary heritage—its historical records, literary allusions, scriptural exegeses, and legal codes—had been so thoroughly influenced by LS, Ch'oe argued that Koreans would be unable to express themselves in writing without tapping into the literary forms and writing practices that were part of that literary heritage. LS composition would therefore remain the standard against which Korean writing would be judged for the foreseeable future:

Today, all the world's writing systems rely on their nation's speech sounds to form graphs and on their language to form writing. This makes it convenient to use and easy to record things. But since *hanmun* comes from China, obviously the speech sounds and language are completely different from ours. And yet, since the time of Tan'gun and Kija, because our country has used *hanmun* to establish our civilization, over the course of thousands of years its use has subtly become customary. It has been relied upon as though it were our native writing, and our language and speech sounds have also relied on it so that its influences are many. [It is used in everything] from our histories, literary allusions, commentaries, and laws, to our arrangement of names, things, degrees, and

numbers; because it is employed in our everyday ethical interactions and when carrying out our ordinary tasks the abandonment of *hanmun* cannot happen. Therefore, when it comes to the translation of textbooks or the translation of new learning, we must take *hanmun* composition as our standard. How is this supposed to suddenly change in a single morning and be abolished in an instant?⁶⁰⁰

That he advocated for LS to continue as Koreans' compositional standard did not mean that Ch'oe wanted Koreans to use only LS. Quite the contrary. Ch'oe's argument was that LS, having become imbedded in Korean linguistic awareness and inscriptional practice, would continue to be used and highly regarded by Koreans well into the future, and thus, the rhetorical, structural, and even genre norms of LS prose should naturally serve as a model for vernacular composition. Ch'oe put this argument into practice through the publication of a second textbook, this one for teaching mixed-script composition, compiled at the same time and published one month after *Munjang chinam*. In the explanatory introduction to *Munjang chinam* Ch'oe wrote that he intended that this second textbook, *Silchi ũngyong changmunpŏp* 實地應用作文法 (*Compositional Techniques Practically Applied*) was to be used together with *Munjang chinam*:

This book and *Silchi ũngyong changmunpŏp* are companion publications. Whenever reading a chapter from this book, read a chapter in that book for comparison and understanding will be made much easier."⁶⁰¹

SUC comprised two volumes. The first volume detailed the structure of prose writing, introduced theories of rhetoric, and defined the prose literary genres that the two books shared. The remainder of volume one and all of volume two then comprised examples of mixed-script compositions in the same genre-order as *Munjang chinam*. As Namgung (2006) notes, however,

⁶⁰⁰ 今天下之文，皆因其國之聲音而成字，言語而成文，便於行用，易於記事也。迺者 漢文出於支那，其聲音之判然，語言之不同，與吾楚越，然我國，自檀·箕以來 由漢文，以開文明，故數千年來，便成慣習，因若自國固有之文，言語聲音，亦因而染化者多，凡歷史掌故誥訓政法，以至日用彝倫之間行事之際，周旋往覆名物度數，捨此莫由，故至於教科之譯述，新學之翻騰，亦必以漢文作法為準繩，此豈可一朝卒變而遽廢哉。

⁶⁰¹ 此書與實地應用作文法相為表裏，每讀此書一篇，較看彼書一篇，覺得十分便易。

the quality of these contemporary mixed-script works selected by a single compiler for this single text would have been perceived as quite low relative to the LS works in *Munjang chinam* that had long been used as canonical models of composition written by literary paragons long revered by Korea's LS literates. Used together, the two textbooks would have reinforced the primacy of LS and the dependence of the mixed-script style upon it.⁶⁰²

The second argument Ch'oe made in his introduction to *Munjang chinam* for why LS composition needed to be taught in the new schools echoed one of the arguments put forth by Wŏn Yŏngŭi; that the maintenance of close ties and intercommunicability between the countries of East Asia required it. Ch'oe noted that Japan too had seen calls for the abolition of LS but that similar constraints of history and custom as those prevailing in Korea had prevented it. And China, though weakened vis-à-vis Japan, was for Ch'oe still the natural regional hegemon. If Koreans were to cease learning to read and write in LS, then they would be unable to properly communicate with their neighbors who still used it:

Recently Japanese scholars have made numerous calls for the abolition of *hanmun* but their inability to finally do so is also for the above reasons. Furthermore, the general situation in East Asia is that China is the natural leader and if they are to have a close relationship with us, then by what means will we communicate our mutual friendship after abandoning *hanmun*? Therefore, *hanmun* cannot be abolished.⁶⁰³

Finally, though Ch'oe believed in the continued learning and use of LS composition, he did not believe that the Classics ought to be the primary focus of students' learning nor that LS composition should be taught using the traditional method of rote recitations. Instead, he

⁶⁰² Namgung Wŏn, "Kaehwagi kŭl ssŭgi kyojae *Siljiŭngyong changmunbŏp* kwa *Munjang chinam yŏn'gu* [A Study of the Enlightenment-Period Composition Textbooks *Siljiŭngyong changmunbŏp* and *Munjang chinam*]," *Hanmun kojŏn yŏn'gu* 12 (2006): 206–7.

⁶⁰³ 近者, 日本紳士, 屢唱漢文之廢止, 竟不得遂者, 抑亦以此也. 况東洋之大局, 支那爲其宗主, 而與我有密接之關係, 則捨漢文, 將何以情意之相通哉. 然則漢文之不可廢也.

believed composition instruction could be made simpler by indicating with punctuation how a text should be parsed and by labeling the four-part structure of each work:

Those studying today need not devote themselves to *hanmun* as in times past, going grey by exhausting themselves with the classics ceaselessly through the night. Rather, it is enough for those wanting to learn writing to master phrasal parsing and to understand compositional techniques. But how can the mastery of phrasal parsing and the understanding of compositional techniques be done easily as said? I compiled this book for this reason, marking the introduction (*ki* 起), development (*sŭng* 承), elaboration (*p'o* 鋪), and conclusions (*kyŏl* 結) of each work. By elucidating the structural method and labeling it this can be used as a guidebook.⁶⁰⁴

5.6.3.3 *Hanmunhak kyogwasŏ* 漢文學教科書 (*Textbook for Hanmun Studies*)

The two remaining advanced-level readers published in this period prior to the full implementation of the textbook screening survey were both compiled by Yŏ Kyuhyŏng 呂圭亨 (1848–1921). The first of the two, *Hanmunhak kyogwasŏ*, was published in February 1908 by Posŏngsa.⁶⁰⁵ Yŏ's second textbook, *Kodŭng kyogwa komun yaksŏn* 高等教科古文略選, was published around September 1909 by the Education Ministry's press.⁶⁰⁶ *Hanmunhak kyogwasŏ*

⁶⁰⁴ 今之學者，不宜如舊時之從事漢文，皓首窮經，焚繼兀兀，欲學爲文章者，但通句讀，解文法而止，然通句讀，解文法，豈容易可言哉。余是以輯述此書，点其起承鋪結，以明結構之法。而顏之以指南者也。

⁶⁰⁵ Namgung Wŏn shows that *HK* was designed for use at Posŏng Middle School's first- and second-year Hanmunkwa courses. See Namgung Wŏn, "Kaehwagi kyojae *Hanmunhak kyogwasŏ* ūi chakp'um surok yangsang [The Korean Enlightenment-Period textbook *Hanmunhak kyogwasŏ* and the nature of its contents]," *Han'guk sasang kwa munhwa* 36 (2007): 485.

⁶⁰⁶ Neither of Yŏ's textbooks included either front matter or the publisher's page that would typically have been the last page of a book during this period. The above publisher and publication date of *Hanmunhak kyogwasŏ* and the publisher of *Komun yaksŏn* are instead known from the January 1912 textbook screening survey documents. See Yi Sŭnggu, Pak Pungbae, and Yi Ch'angsun, *Hanmal mit ilche kangchŏnggi ūi kyogwasŏ mongnok sujip chosa* [A survey of textbooks published at the end of Chosŏn and in the Japanese colonial period] (Seoul, Korea: Hanguk kyogwasŏ yŏn'gu chaedan, 2001), 130. *Komun yaksŏn*'s publication date is not listed in

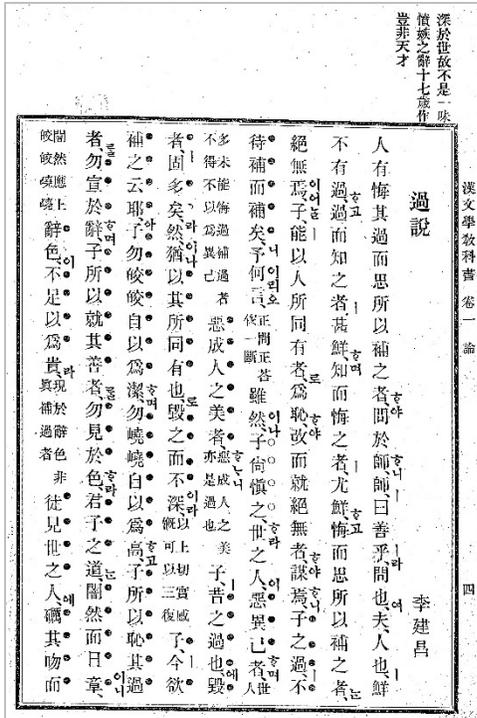


Figure 5.12. *Hanmunhak kyogwaso*, volume 1, lesson 1, “*Kwasōl* 過說 [On Faults]” by Yi Kōnch’ang 李建昌. Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

was the far more interesting of these two textbooks, as *Komun yaksōn* was simply an abridged version of *Komun chinbo*, with fifty works by seventeen authors in the exact order of the original text. *Hanmunhak kyogwaso* on the other hand comprised two volumes, with fifty-five works by thirty-seven Korean authors in volume one and forty-six works by thirty-one Chinese authors in volume two. The works were ordered reverse chronologically and featured printed marginalia, which, as can be seen in Figure 5.12, included punctuation, inter-linear *t’o* glosses

in the Korean alphabet, a kind of highlighting or underlining using large bold dots placed to the right of

phrases or passages to which he wanted to draw his readers’ attention, and details about an author or work in the upper margin above a work’s title. Yō also included his own in-line annotations in double columns of half-sized print.

Though Yō wrote extensively about his views on the role of LS within Korean society in general and its place within the new schools in particular, *Hanmunhak kyogwaso* was published without an introduction. Even without referring to his other writings, however, much can be gleaned about Yō’s intentions for *Hanmunhak kyogwaso* just from his selection and arrangement of authors and works. For example, with his division of works into separate volumes by their authors’ nativity, Yō gave pride of place to Korean authors and works, relegating Chinese

these documents, however, and the above “around September” is based on a September 30, 1909 advertisement for the textbook in the *Hwangsoŋ sinmun*.

authors and their works to a subordinate position. This “prior placement as preferential placement” was not unlike the conventional practice of deferentially placing the writings of a monarch prior to the works of other authors (a convention Yŏ also followed with the inclusion of a piece by King Chŏngjo⁶⁰⁷). The “Korean” volume was also the more substantial of the two, comprising more works by more authors, again marking it as the more significant of the two volumes. Unlike Gale and Yi or Chang Chiyŏn who compiled their textbooks with some reluctance, acquiescing to the argument that so long as LS was still to be taught, it had best be taught using the works of Korean authors, Yŏ was, as will be shown, thoroughly committed to the past and future primacy of LS within Korea’s inscriptional ecology. And yet, even he was not immune to the intense nationalist discourses of the time, which sought to elevate things Korean and demote or marginalize things Chinese.⁶⁰⁸ While Gale and Yi’s *Yumong ch’ŏnja* and Chang Chiyŏn’s *Taedong munsu* participated in this discourse by excluding non-Korean works altogether, however, *Hanmunhak kyogwasŏ* instead included works by Chinese authors but subordinated them to a secondary position.

The principle of “prior placement as preferential placement” can also be applied to Yŏ’s reverse-chronological ordering of the works within each volume.⁶⁰⁹ Like the preference shown Korean authors by their placement prior to Chinese authors, Yŏ’s ordering showed preference for

⁶⁰⁷ In 1897, as part of a larger effort to assert independence from China following the Sino-Japanese war, the Korean court elevated Kojong from king to emperor and declared the state an empire equal in status to China, its former suzerain. In light of this elevation of the living monarch, Yŏ retroactively elevated Chŏngjo’s title from king (*wang* 王) to emperor (*hwangje* 皇帝).

⁶⁰⁸ On this topic see Schmid, *Korea between Empires*, 55–100.

⁶⁰⁹ The notable exception of course is the deferential placement of the selection by Chŏngjo at the beginning of volume 1. Were it to have appeared reverse chronologically along with the volume’s other compositions, it would have been roughly the volume’s fifteenth selection, making Chŏngjo the volume’s ninth author.

the topics, arguments, and writing styles of recent authors, like his recently deceased friend Yi Kōnch'ang 李建昌 (1852–1898), over long-revered authors such as Yi Kyubo 李奎報 (1168–1241).

Finally, despite being renowned for his literary abilities, particularly for his skill in LS poetry, Yō compiled *Hanmunhak kyogwasō* exclusively from a narrow range of argumentative essay (*nonbyōn* 論辨) sub-genres,⁶¹⁰ all more or less dealing with Neo-Confucian topics. The latter choice reflected, as will be discussed below, Yō's strong commitment to Korea's Neo-Confucian tradition. Namgung Wōn (2007) suggests that Yō's choice to limit his selection of works to *nonbyōn* was due to the similarity between the *nonbyōn* style and the *nonsōl* 論說 (editorial essay) and *t'oron* 討論 (discursive essay) styles then so prevalent in the newspapers and journals of the popular print media.⁶¹¹ To show that just such an argument for focusing on these essay genres was openly discussed in this period, Namgung cites a January 1910 editorial by an Yi Sūnggyo 李承喬 (n.d.) published in the *Sōbuk hakhoe wōlbo* 西北學會月報 (*Monthly of the Northwestern Education Association*). In his editorial, Yi recommended using the Southern Song Neo-Confucian Donglai Lü Zuqian's 呂祖謙 (1137–1181) *Donglai boyi* 東萊博義 (*Donglai's Extensive Deliberations*) in higher-level Hanmunkwa courses thus confirming the preference among LS instructors for teaching editorial essays as a means to promote the “advancement of *hanmun*”:

Within the East's educational circles, the development of *hanmun* must be devised since [the contents of] *hanmun* books are old knowledge. It is incumbent upon educators, therefore, to select relevant works from among this old knowledge and incorporate it into

⁶¹⁰ For a list of these sub-genres and to see how they compare with the genre selections in the other advanced-level Hanmunkwa readers, see Appendix G.9.

⁶¹¹ Namgung, “Kaehwagi kyojae *Hanmunhak kyogwasō* ūi chakp'um surok yangsang,” 484.

their curricula... Furthermore, the editorial essay is truly indispensable to scholarship...⁶¹²

It is hardly a stretch to suppose, then, that Yō may have been operating with similar motives when compiling *HK* and was mining Korea's literary past for styles of writing and argumentation resembling the contemporary editorial styles then so prevalent in the newspapers and journals of the popular print media. And in so doing he would have been seeking to increase the relevance of LS for his students.

Moving beyond these circumstantial explanations, further insight into Yō's motives and his views on LS may be gleaned from the editorials and articles he published in the *Taedong hakhoe wōlbo* 大東學會月報 (*Monthly of the Great Eastern Education Association*) from February 1908 to September 1909, where he explicitly articulated his views on the role of LS in Korean society and education. After several pointed rebuttals had been published rebuking him for a strident defense of LS he had made in a February 1908 editorial,⁶¹³ Yō took to the *THW* in a June 1908 editorial to write:

⁶¹² 在東洋學界 ㅎ야 漢文發達을 不可不是圖而漢文書籍은 卽 舊學也 | 라. 舊學之中에도 取其可合時宜 ㅎ야 編入科程이 是教育家義務也 | 니... 且 學問上 論說은 實萬世不廢之文也 | 라... Yi Sūnggyo, “Hanmun kyogwa ūi p'iryō nān *Tongnae pagūi* 漢文教科의 必要는 東萊博議” [The Necessity of Hanmun Courses, *Donglai boyi*], *Sōbuk hakhoe wōlbo*, no. 19 (January 1910), 9–14; quoted in Namgung Wōn, 484.

⁶¹³ Kang Myōnggwan (1985) identifies five published rebuttals. The first two were published in the *TaeHan maeil sinbo* 大韓每日申報; first, “Yō Yō Hajōng sōnsaeng chokha sō” 與呂荷亭先生足下書 (“A Letter to Master Yō Hajōng, Esq.”), by Hwang Hūisōng 黃義性 published March 15, and second, the anonymously written “Kukhanmun ūi kyōngjung” 國漢文의 輕重 (“The Relative Importance of *Kungmun* vs. *Hanmun*”) published March 17–19. Third was a April 25 article, “Kyoyukcha t'obōldae” 教育者討伐隊 (“A Punitive Force of Educators”), from the *TaeHan hūnghakhoebo* 大韓興學會報 written by a pseudonymous author “Hongch'on Na Saeng” 弘村羅生. The fourth followed a month later on May 24 in a *T'aegūk hakpo* 太極學報 article, “Kungmun kwa hanmun ūi kwado sidae” 國文科 漢文의 過渡時代 (“The Transition Period Between *Kungmun* and *Hanmun*”), by Yi Kwangsu 李光洙. Finally, the fifth was a 25 May 1908 *TaeHan hyōphoe wōlbo* 大韓協會月報 piece, “Non Kungmun” 論國文

In our country, if I esteem *hanmun* then there are those who, considering it improper, cry out in harsh tones; their poisonous words and clenched fists pouring down together like a hailstorm. In the end, for the richness it brings me, I will be ground to powder along with *hanmun*, and only then will I cease [my esteem]! For I am not worth sparing; *hanmun* alone is worth sparing.⁶¹⁴

Yŏ saw his efforts in LS education as a heroic stand against what he considered unjustified criticisms of LS published in a growing number of influential newspapers and other print media.⁶¹⁵

An example the criticism Yŏ was responding to can be seen in a June 12, 1907 editorial in the *Mansebo* 萬歲報 (*Bulletin for Ten Thousand Years*) that was not only a general criticism of LS, but a specific and pointed criticism of Yŏ himself and his efforts to promote LS learning. The anonymous author began by calling out Yŏ directly and facetiously mocking him for establishing an educational association to promote LS learning, the Hanmun Research Association:

The great and eminent scholar of *hanmun*, Mr. Yŏ Kyuhyŏng, has founded the Hanmun Research Association and has called on prominent scholars to research the proper course for the further development of *hanmun*. By so doing, Korea's cultural progress will burst forth. Then, if writings like Mr. Yŏ's spread forth across the nation and the Hanmun Research Association advances into the entire country, were the warships of foreign nations to press on us from all sides, the wave of Mr. Yŏ's writing would well enough sink them all. And should the combined forces of several nations come against our borders, the blade of Mr. Yŏ's piercing words would rightly lay waste to these combined

(“On *Kungmun*”), by Yi Chongil 李鍾一. See Kang Myŏnggwan, “Hanmun p’yejiron kwa aeguk kyemonggi ūi kuk/hanmun nonjaeng,” 195–252.

⁶¹⁴ 我國而右漢文，則乃有齊聲大呼以爲不可者，毒口老拳，冰雹交下，畢竟富至於吾與漢文齏粉[粉]而後止矣。吾者不足惜也，獨文可惜耳。“Nonsŏl,” *Taedong hakhoe wŏlbo* no. 5, (June 1908), 1–8.

⁶¹⁵ Yŏ's editorials in defense of LS were an anomaly in the period's popular print media. Ross King (1998, 62) speculates that this dearth of pro-LS writing might have been due to LS partisans considering the very question to be unworthy of debate. Kang Myŏnggwan (1985, 249) instead credits it to the disproportionate involvement in the *ŭibyŏng* 義兵 (righteous armies) resistance to Japanese imperial encroachments by those traditionalists most likely to have otherwise defended LS.

forces. Therefore, with *hanmun* writings such as these how could we possibly have any fear?⁶¹⁶

By the time of this editorial, Korea had already been subjected to numerous unequal treaties, each enacted by the threat of foreign armies and navies, and none worse than the 1905 Ŭlsa Treaty whereby Korea was forced to relinquish control of its foreign and educational affairs to Japan under the pretext that Korea was too culturally backward to deal with these matters anymore on its own.⁶¹⁷ For the author, no amount of LS writings or promotion of LS learning by Yŏ or any other LS scholar could roll back these unequal treaties or protect national sovereignty.

Taking a more serious tone the author next refuted what he calls “the full-scale attack of these *hanmun* scholars,” noting that the civilization and culture of America and Europe were well enough advanced despite lacking knowledge of LS. He then championed the use of the Korean alphabet in schools and argued that LS should be relegated to foreign language schools for use in diplomacy and nothing more.

When it comes to our country’s education, were we to abolish *hanmun* and teach the people from a variety of textbooks published in *kungmun*, the pace of their educational achievements would be more rapid than it is today, and there would therefore be many in lower class society who would have general knowledge... If, beginning today, Koreans were all to continue using only *hanmun*, and yet in the classroom were we to instruct in only *kungmun*, then our language of diplomacy with China and our language of diplomacy with Japan, like our diplomacy with each of the Western nations, could eventually be conducted using mutual translation. It would not be more than thirty-five years before *hanmun* schools, like English language schools, would be entirely scarce and unobtrusive. Were the entire country to stop using *hanmun*, the importance of both *hanmun* and the Roman alphabet would be relatively the same. If that were the case, then

⁶¹⁶ 漢文巨擘呂圭亨氏が漢文研究會를設始하고一代紳士를請邀하여漢文發達の方針을研究한다 하얏도다從此로韓國文運이大開하리로다夫呂씨 갖한文章이國中에彌滿하고漢文研究會가全國에發達하면三面海峽에外國兵艦이입하더리도氏의文波가其兵艦을죽히沈沒할거시오一國境內에列國聯合隊가來하더리도氏의詞鋒이其聯合隊를가히殲滅하리니國家에如此한漢文文章이有하니何憂가更有하리오 “Hanmun Yŏn’guhoe” 漢文研究會 [The Hanmun Research Association], *Mansebo* 萬歲報, June, 12 1907.

⁶¹⁷ An even more onerous treaty forcing King Kojong’s abdication and making Korea a colony of Japan in all but name came barely more than one month later, on July 18, 1907.

both *hanmun* study and English-language study would consist of nothing more than translation.⁶¹⁸

With the addition of the proposal that LS be relegated strictly to a foreign language learned and used only for diplomacy with China and Japan, the arguments made by the author—that the remedy for Korea’s precarious situation vis-à-vis foreign nations was the rapid educational achievement of the Korean people facilitated by an exclusively vernacular education, where even the lower classes could obtain “general knowledge”—quite clearly have their Korean origin in the *Tongnip sinmun* editorials of the immediate post-Kabo era, such as those by Chu Sigyŏng. This view of the inadequacy of LS literacy to meet the nation’s dire educational needs was once again predicated on the idea that the new enlightened knowledge and practices of modernity were “no longer monopolized by an understanding of characters but attainable through any writing system, be it English, Japanese—or King Sejong’s alphabet.”⁶¹⁹ This idea comes through loud and clear in the *Mansebo* author’s concluding words.

Why need we suffer pitifully through reading books for fifty years in only *hanmun* and at the end of it be able only to again plumb the depths of arcane ideas? In this complex and hectic world why drive men with aspirations to many years of quixotic musings?⁶²⁰

From 1906 on, the phrase “*ŏnmun ilch’i*” 言文一致 (speech and writing united) came to stand for the desired outcome these pro-vernacular intellectuals and educators had been advocating for

⁶¹⁸ 我國教育上에 漢文을 全廢하고 諸般教科書를 國文으로 編成해야 國民을 教하면 學業成就의 速力이 今日보다 尙殊할 것이니 夫如則 下等人民社會에 普通知識이 有한지 多할지라... 然하노 今日부터 國人이 一切로 漢文만 用하며 教育上에도 國文만 教하고 淸國과 交涉하는 文字와 日本과 交涉하는 文字는 歐米各國交涉하듯 ○個人翻譯을 使用함이 可하니 不如是히 三五十年을 過하면 漢文學校는 英語學校와 一切로 稀少함이 無妨하니 全國이 漢文을 不用하면 漢文이노 羅馬字이노 其輕重이 一般이라然則 漢文研究이던지 英文研究던지 翻譯에 止할 따름이니 Ibid.

⁶¹⁹ Schmid, 66.

⁶²⁰ 何必苦窮讀書五十年에 漢文에만 終事하다가 如何한 深志奧意를 更히 研究코조 해야 如此한 粉忙世界에 有志紳士를 江南風月閑多年에 驅入하노고 *Mansebo*, June, 12 1907.

over a decade.⁶²¹ The phrase encapsulated succinctly their new Western-influenced phonocentric ontology of writing; that is, that writing ought to be a surrogate for speech—or as Chu Sigyŏng wrote, writing ought to be “nothing more than the representation of our words” rather than originating in ancient textual precedents far removed from the here and now.⁶²²

In his February 1908 essay titled, “On *Hanmun* and *Kungmun*” (“Non Hanmun Kungmun” 論漢文國文), Yŏ first laid out his own contrary view on the ontology of writing. He began by discussing the relationship between writing (which he identified later in the essay as *hanmun*) and the Way (*to* 道)—what he eventually calls “the Way of Confucius.” In contradistinction to *ŏnmun ilch’i*, Kang Myŏnggwan pithily summarizes Yŏ’s view with the phrase, “*tomun ilch’i*” 道文一致 (the Way and writing united).⁶²³ Yŏ wrote:

Writing is the visible manifestation of the Way in words. It was said of old that, “The ultimate Way is without writing,” meaning that the Way cannot be expressed in language. Nonetheless, the Way is inoperant save it relies on writing to be transmitted... Writing *is* the Way, and the Way *is* writing.⁶²⁴

Though fundamentally at odds with the views of pro-vernacular reformers, this essential unity of LS and the Confucian Way propounded by Yŏ would have reflected a common belief throughout the Chosŏn dynasty. That is, while previous generations may not have faced the possibility of LS’s abolition as did Yŏ, his view would not have been out of place among the many generations

⁶²¹ On the development of *ŏnmun ilch’i* thought and discourse in pre-colonial Korea, see Hŏ Chaeyŏng, “Kŭndae kyemonggi ŏnmun ilch’i ŭi ponjil kwa kukhanmun-ch’e ŭi yuhyŏng [The Nature of ‘Unified Speech and Writing’ and the Various Mixed-Script Styles during Korea’s Modern Enlightenment Period],” *Ŏmunhak* 114 (2011): 441–467.

⁶²² For an overview of this surrogational model of writing and its origins in Western thought, see Roy Harris, *Rethinking Writing* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), vii–xvi.

⁶²³ Kang, 217.

⁶²⁴ For a translation of Yŏ’s essay in English together with the original text, see Appendix H.

of Chosŏn *yangban* before him. In his commentary on the writings of Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤

(1017–1073), Zhu Xi commented on the relationship between writing and the Confucian Way:

“Writing is the vehicle of the Way,” just as a carriage is the vehicle of things. In making a carriage it is necessary to ornament the wheels and shafts; in writing it is necessary to improve upon one’s words and explanations. In both cases one desires others to love and use it. But when I ornament something and others cannot use it, it is empty ornamentation with no concrete use. How much more so a carriage that does not carry things or writing that is not a vehicle for the Way! Although beautifully ornamented, what good is it?⁶²⁵

Zhu Xi here was commenting specifically on matters of literary style; arguing that writing was rightly to be a vehicle to transmit the Way, and that writing which strove only for literary ornamentation and did not properly transmit the Way was no better than a cart so burdened with adornment that it could not carry out its proper function. It was not a great leap, however, for Yŏ to argue that rather than just a particular well-formed literary style, writing itself was inseparable from the Way. And as it was for Yŏ so would it have been for Zhu that writing was synonymous with LS.

Yŏ next evoked the earliest establishment of the Korean nation by Tan’gun and Kija and their use of LS. Since LS had been used in Korea since the very beginnings of the Korean nation, Yŏ argued, it was foolish to suppose that Korea must now, after so many thousands of years, jettison its literary past and its primary form of literacy to secure a new national foundation. Besides, he continued, the Korean alphabet was not only based on sinographs, but was intended by its inventor, the venerable King Sejong, to improve the education of the unlearned masses by facilitating LS literacy, not supplanting it:

⁶²⁵ 文所以載道，猶車所以載物。故爲車者必節其輪轅，爲文者必善其詞說，皆欲人之愛而用之。然我飾之而人不用，則猶爲虛飾而無益於實。況不載物之車，不載道之文，雖美其飾，亦何爲乎！ English translation from Joseph Alan Adler, *Reconstructing the Confucian Dao: Zhu Xi’s Appropriation of Zhou Dunyi*, SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014), 281–82.

We Koreans, from the time that Tan’gun and Kija founded the state while making use of *hanmun*, have continued to use it for four thousand years. *Hanmun* was the writing present at the founding of our nation. It is not something imposed upon us from without. And yet today it is commonly said that only when we abolish *hanmun* and write in pure *kungmun* 國文 will we begin to be able to establish the nation. Such absurdity is easily refuted, and yet we *must* refute it; for if we fail to do so, the ignorant will eventually be incapable of being made aware [of its absurdity].

The court of our King Sejong first created *kungmun*’s thirty-six letters by patterned after the graphs of China’s molar innunciant,⁶²⁶ and called it “*ōnmun panjōl*” 諺文反切 (“vernacular *fanqie*”) because it was an aid for *hanmun*. It was only to instruct ignorant men and ignorant women who did not understand *hanmun*, not to replace the one with the other... So even though it is called “*kungmun*” it is nevertheless a supplement to *hanmun*.

Though the details of Yō’s short description of the number of letters in the Korean alphabet, the method of their creation, and the alphabet’s original name are in part mistaken, his main argument is that the Korean alphabet was invented as a means of helping *improve* LS literacy, not as a demotic replacement for it. Yō of course had more than four centuries of historical precedent on his side. He did not, therefore, argue against the use of the alphabet, but instead championed its continued use alongside LS. In fact, in other essays in the *THW*, as well as of course in *Hanmunhak kyogwasō*, Yō made use of the alphabet to gloss his and others’ LS compositions. The alphabet was after all a supplement to LS and so part of a single, composite literacy.

The logic of Yō’s ontology of writing—that the LS medium is inseparable from the Confucian message it conveys—meant that those who advocated for the abolition of LS were, in effect, advocating the abolition of Confucianism. The June 1907 *Mansebo* editorial had argued that Yō’s support for LS would not strengthen the nation and that without education reforms limiting the role of LS, the people would suffer: “Alas, since the world today competes in the

⁶²⁶ The sinographs 見 *jian*, 溪 *xi*, 羣 *qun*, and 疑 *yi* are the names of the four “molar innunciant” (*yayin* 牙音, i.e. velar consonants) of the thirty-six initial consonants (*zimu* 字母) of Middle Chinese. They are used here metonymically, like ‘abc’.

pace of cultural development, if we do not reform the education and customs of our compatriots, our people will be unable to avoid suffering.”⁶²⁷ Yet for Yō, it was those who made such arguments who endangered the nation, since abolishing LS would lead to the eventual overturning of Confucian social relations, which would in turn harm the nation at both the state and family levels. He wrote:

Therefore, today’s proponents of eliminating *hanmun* are proponents of eliminating the Way of Confucius... Should they desire to eliminate the Way of Confucius, it would be the same as eliminating the ethic of father and son, of sovereign and subject. We ought, then, to call them traitorous subjects and rebellious sons.

Andre Schmid mentions this editorial by Yō in defense of LS to argue that the intensely nationalist ideology and discourse of the precolonial period impacted even the arguments and efforts pro-LS individuals. Though his larger point remains intact, he nevertheless severely mischaracterizes Yō’s editorial. Schmid describes Yō’s argument as being so irrationally nationalistic that it rested on the assertion that sinographs had their origins in Korea rather than China, and then states that, “Yō did not revert to the old and tried claims about the special relationship between characters and knowledge nor claim any special transnational status for characters.”⁶²⁸ As shown, this is simply not the case. First, Yō did not argue that sinographs originated in Korea, only that LS had been used on the peninsula since the country’s founding. Second, Yō was very adamant in his claim that LS was inseparably connected to Confucianism, and it is on this very point that he is unwilling to be moved. In fact, he ended his editorial forcefully asserting the righteousness of maintaining the transregional status of LS:

Today, our Great Eastern Educational Association does affirm This Way and This Culture of Ours (*sado samun* 斯道斯文). Having inherited those ancient things of Fu Xi, Cangjie, Shizhou, and the Xia, Shang and Zhou dynasties, we intend to join together

⁶²⁷ Mansebo 萬歲報, June 12, 1907.

⁶²⁸ Schmid, 70.

hanmun, *kungmun*, and *iroha*⁶²⁹ by the tip of a single brush, and illuminate the Way of Confucius by teaching it to the whole world in latter generations, daring indeed neither to retreat from nor yield to the false arguments of imbeciles whereby they deceive the people.

The competing arguments for and against LS put forth by Yō and by pro-vernacular intellectuals are prime examples of the epistemological contestation which occurred at the end of the Chosŏn dynasty. The two sides however, were, as is commonly the case in such debates, arguing past each other. Yō's rebuttal, in fact, sidestepped the epistemological question with an ontological answer. He was unwilling to question Confucian epistemology, since to do so would be tantamount to treason to the Korean state and its culture.

5.6.4 Literary Sinitic Grammar Textbook

5.6.4.1 *Ch'odŭng changmunpŏp* 初等作文法 (*Methods of Elementary Composition*)

A category of one, the third type of Hanmunkwa textbook published in this period, Wŏn Yŏngŭi's *Chodŭng changmunpŏp*, was a simple LS grammar textbook published in October 1908 by the Seoul-based bookseller Kwangdong sŏguk 光東書局. More reference work than textbook, *CC* was divided into a general introduction followed by short sections for each of the parts of speech, and a final section, "forming phrases" (*chogu* 造句), providing further demonstrations of how to apply the principles of the previous sections to longer-length phrases. Wŏn identified nine parts of speech—nouns (*myŏngsa* 名詞), pronouns (*taemyŏngsa* 代名詞), verbs (*tongsa* 動詞), adjectives (*hyŏngyongsa* 形容詞), adverbs (*pusa* 副詞), conjunctions

⁶²⁹ A term for the Japanese *kana* syllabaries.

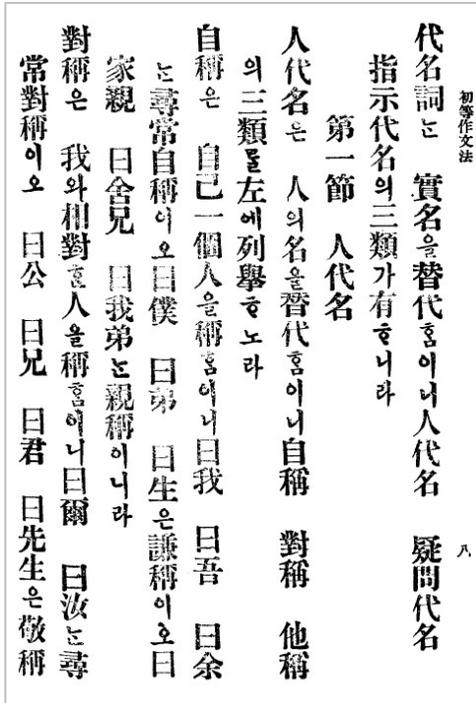


Figure 5.13. *Ch'odŭng changmunpŏp*, section on personal pronouns. Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

(*chŏpsoksa* 接續詞), adversatives (*chŏnsa* 轉詞), exclamatives (*t'ansa* 歎詞), and finals or particles (*chisa* 止詞)—and when appropriate these sections were divided into subsections as when a part of speech might have more than one type. For example, the pronoun section was subdivided into personal (*in-taemyŏngsa* 人代名詞), demonstrative (*chisi-taemyŏngsa* 指示代名詞), and interrogative pronouns (*ŭimun-taemyŏngsa* 疑問代名詞), verbs were subdivided into transitive (*t'adongsa* 他動詞), intransitive (*chadongsa* 自動詞), auxiliary verbs

(*chodong* 助動詞), etc. In addition to defining and explaining the parts of speech, Wŏn noted in his explanatory introduction that the textbook would also focus on defining the “empty graphs” (*hŏja* 虛字, i.e. function words) upon which subtle changes in meaning hinge: “Written language’s substantive graphs (*silcha* 實字, i.e. “content words”) are many and they are easy to understand. Empty graphs (*hŏja* 虛字) are few, and being difficult to understand, empty graphs are explained in detail.”⁶³⁰ These definitions and explanations of both the parts of speech and “empty graphs” were all written in mixed-script style and accompanied by sample LS phrases that illustrated how a particular part of speech or empty graph was to be used. Also, rather than using extracts from classical texts, these sample phrases were all, as with his other Hanmunkwa

⁶³⁰ 文詞의 實字는 多하고 解得키 易하나 虛字는 少하고 通曉키 難함으로 虛字를 詳說함. “Pŏmnye 凡例 (Explanatory Introduction)” in Wŏn Yŏngŭi, *Ch'odŭng changmunpŏp* 初等作文法 (Seoul, Korea: Kwangdong sŏguk, 1908).

textbooks, of Wŏn's own composition. In his explanatory introduction Wŏn noted that these sample LS phrases were intentionally without interpretations or translations so that instructors could have students demonstrate their understanding of the sample phrases by translating them with either a mixed-script or pure Korean-alphabetic style.⁶³¹

In Chapter 2, we discussed how important the practice of vocalized recitation was when learning to read and comprehend LS; how the structure or grammar of LS was not taught analytically, but was to be absorbed as if by osmosis from repeated recitations of texts; and how an understanding of these practices was captured and conveyed with two well-worn sayings: “Read a book one hundred times and its meaning becomes self-evident,” and “Don the *manggŏn* for ten years, and textual arrangement dawns on the mind.”⁶³² In Lesson 56 of his *Monghak hanmun ch'ogyŏ*, Wŏn even restated these ideas with the following short dialog between a student and his teacher: “A certain student inquired about the methods of composition. The teacher responded, ‘Composition has no particular method. If you read a book numerous times and master meaning and arrangement, then you can compose on your own.’”⁶³³ And yet, in his explanatory introduction to *Ch'odŭng changmunpŏp* Wŏn would write: “This book was written so that when reading *hanmun*, children understand the rules for constructing writing.”⁶³⁴ With the limitations on LS instruction inherent to Hanmunkwa, specifically that the passive absorption of the meaning and arrangement of LS writing through repeated rote recitations was no longer

⁶³¹ 或漢文原句를 書示하야 國漢文 或 純國文으로 翻譯케함. Ibid.

⁶³² See section 2.3.1.2. above.

⁶³³ 某生이 問作文法하니 師曰作文이 無別法이라 多讀書하며 通義理하면 則自能作文이니 라 *Monghak hanmun ch'ogyŏ*, Lesson 56.

⁶³⁴ 此編은 孩蒙이 漢文을 讀할 時에 文字의 組織하는 法則을 曉解키 爲하야 作함. “Pŏmnye 凡例,” *Ch'odŭng changmunpŏp*.

viable within the Hanmunkwa classroom, Wŏn thus undertook to teach LS through an analytical approach to its grammar and for this purpose composed his *Ch'odŭng changmunpŏp*.

5.7 Education Ministry Hanmunkwa Textbooks

5.7.1 *Hanmun tokpon* 漢文讀本 (*Hanmun Reader*) and Its Clones

Though the first government common schools opened in September 1906, it was not until February 1907 that the four-volume series, *Hanmun tokpon* 漢文讀本 (*Hanmun Reader*) was published for use in common schools. Unlike the elementary-level Hanmunkwa readers surveyed above, *Hanmun tokpon* was compiled in strict keeping with the 1906 curricular guidelines and was comprised only of excerpts from classical texts—primarily the *Analects* and *Mencius*—with no new knowledge and certainly no patriotic-enlightenment content. The excerpts were chosen and arranged so that students would start with shorter, easier selections and move gradually to longer, more difficult passages. Each excerpt was punctuated, but contained no *t'o* glosses, indicating that a proper vocalized reading of the passages was either not taught, or at least was not an instructional priority.

The series was criticized for being too difficult for early learners. Of this criticism, Mitsuchi Chūzō, who compiled *Hanmun tokpon*, wrote:

When I compiled the textbook, I concentrated on the admirable sayings and exemplary deeds of Confucius and Mencius and put together well-known old sayings and proverbs in an easy-to-learn order. If taught properly, I believed it would be easier to learn than texts like *Tongmong sŏnsŭp* or *Ch'ŏnjamun*. However, among the common-school

teachers, I have heard that *Hanmun tokpon* is harder than *Tongmong sōnsūp* and *Ch'ōnjamun*. I find this very strange.⁶³⁵

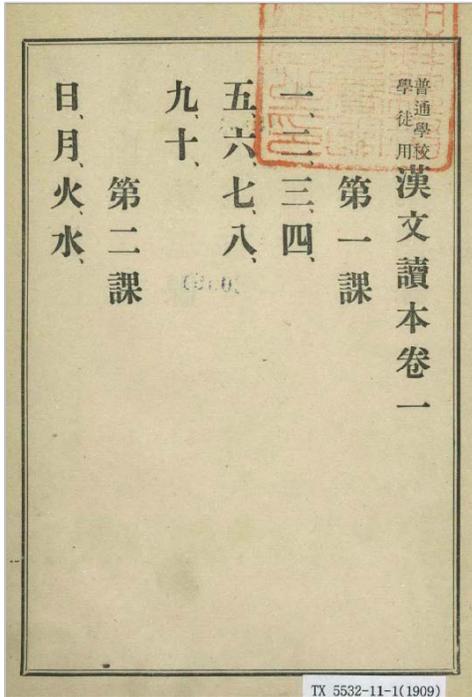


Figure 5.14. *Pot'ong hakkyo hakto-yong hanmun tokpon*, volume 1, opening lessons. Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

Despite Mitsuchi's intentions, then, common school teachers reported that *Hanmun tokpon* was more difficult than traditional primers and in response a more basic introductory textbook, *Hanmun immun* 漢文入門 (*Introductory Hanmun*), was prepared and published in April 1908. *Hanmun immun* began with several chapters of basic sinographs listed in topical groups—the numbers 1–10, the days of the week, the cardinal directions, the four seasons, etc. None of the sinographs were accompanied with their *sōk* and *ūm*. Next came chapters with topical word lists followed by chapters with short adjective-noun and subject-predicate compounds. Finally,

the book progressed to short compound sentences and then longer passages. In December 1908, the Education Ministry issued an updated version of the *Hanmun tokpon* series newly titled *Pot'ong hakkyo hakto-yong hanmun tokpon* 普通學校 學徒用 漢文讀本 (*The Common-School Student's Hanmun Reader*). The original volumes 1–3 became volumes 2–4, and volume 1 consisted of the contents of *Hanmun immun*. The original volume 4 was dropped from the series. Prior to annexation, these were the only Hanmunkwa textbook the Education Ministry ever published, and despite the 1909 curricular change creating the new Kugō-kūp-Hanmunkwa, the

⁶³⁵ Quoted in Japanese translation in Inaba Tsugio, *Kyū Kankoku no kyōiku to Nihonjin [Pre-Colonial Korean Education and the Japanese]*, Shohan. (Fukuoka-shi: Kyūshū Daigaku Shuppankai, 1999), 199.

Education Ministry continued to publish *Pot'ong hakkyo hakto-yong hanmun tokpon* until 1913, when the first combined-subject (by then termed Chosŏnŏ-kŭp-Hanmunkwa 朝鮮語及漢文科) common-school textbook was finally issued.

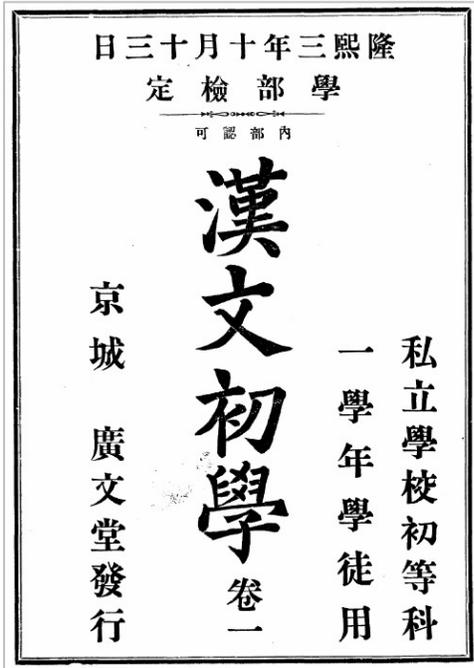


Figure 5.15. *Hanmun ch'ohak*, volume 1, cover showing the prominent Ministry certification label. Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

Two elementary-level Hanmunkwa readers compiled by Koreans for use in private schools were published in cooperation with the Education Ministry. The first, compiled by Yi Chongha 李琮夏 (n.d.) and published in February 1910 was titled *Pot'ong kyoyuk hanmun sin-tokpon* 普通教育 漢文新讀本 (*A New Reader for Common Education Hanmun*). The second, *Hanmun ch'ohak* 漢文初學 (*Hanmun Elementary Learning*) was compiled by Hwang Handong 黃漢東

(n.d.) and published April 30,

1910. Both came shortly after the January 1910 textbook screening survey and were pre-certified for unqualified use in all private schools. It is not an exaggeration to say that both textbooks were near clones of the Ministry's textbook series. Both consisted of four volumes, both began with several chapters of basic sinographs listed in topical groups, and both were otherwise a collection of extracts from canonical Confucian texts—primarily the *Analects* and *Mencius*—arranged in order of increasing

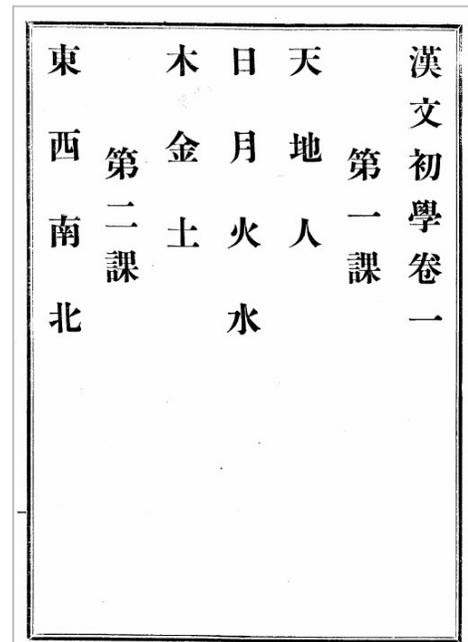


Figure 5.16. *Hanmun ch'ohak*, volume 1, opening lessons. Image courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

length and complexity. Given the existence of the Ministry's Hanmunkwa reader, it is unclear what niche these two texts were intended to fill. It may well be that they were intended simply as model publications for other textbook publishers. Both continued to be certified for private-school use into the colonial period until the Education Ministry replaced the single-subject *Pot'ong kyoyuk hanmun sin-tokpon* with the dual-subject *Pot'ong hakkyo Chosŏnŏ-kŭp-hanmun tokpon* 普通學校朝鮮語及漢文讀本 published in 1915.

5.8 Textbook Censorship and Shaping the Future of Hanmunkwa

The examination above of private-school Hanmunkwa textbooks shows that although there were still limiting factors that prevented the simple porting over of traditional LS literacy instruction into the new school environment with its multi-subject curriculum, when left to their own devices Korean educators nevertheless produced a wide range of approaches to Hanmunkwa instruction. It may have been the case that not all of these approaches were viable or would have worked in many or most schools, but because the textbook screening survey altered the development of Hanmunkwa textbook materials for political rather than pedagogical ends, we cannot know which approaches would have proved pedagogically sound.

The textbook screening survey began shortly after the promulgation of the Private School Ordinance, but it was not until January 1910 that the first full audit took place. Three hundred twenty-nine textbooks were screened in this survey and its results were published in early January 1910. The survey established three primary categories of audited texts: certified (*kŏmjŏng* 檢定), authorized (*in'ga* 認可), and unauthorized (*purin'ga* 不認可). Certified textbooks were approved for use by any private school without any caveats or conditions and were allowed to include the label “*Hakpu kŏmjŏng* 學部檢定” (“Education Ministry certified”)

on their covers as seen above in Figure 5.15. Authorized textbooks were approved for use by the specific school which had submitted the textbook for audit but could not be used by any other schools without permission directly from the Education Minister. Unauthorized textbooks were not permitted to be used at any school. Two additional categories, “invalid” (*muhyo* 無効) and “banned” (*kūmji* 禁止), were also designated by the survey. The designation of invalid was a catchall for a sort of bureaucratic limbo state for those textbooks still caught up in the auditing process. Reasons for an invalid designation might be when an author or submitting school improperly filed the survey paperwork and so the auditing process was incomplete, or when a textbook might have been removed from a school’s curriculum resulting in a prior authorization being invalidated. Those textbooks designated banned were ones deemed subversive of the national interest and so not only were they banned from use in schools, but were also banned from sale or publication using the force of the February 1909 Publication Law (*ch’ulp’anpŏp* 出版法).

Widely published in a variety of different newspapers and education journals, the screening survey criteria were as follows:

At the Education Ministry each textbook will be screened with the following three aspects as survey criteria –

First, the political aspect. This aspect will concentrate on the following points:

- 1) Whether there is anything that hinders or critiques friendly relations between our country and Japan;
- 2) Whether there are any statements that violate national policy, that harm social order and tranquility, or that ignore the national interest and general welfare;
- 3) Whether there are any writings that go against the country’s peculiar national sentiments;
- 4) Whether there are any matters that provoke erratic and errant patriotism;
- 5) Whether there are any writings or inferences provoking anti-Japanese thought or especially that lead Koreans to have hatred for Japanese or other foreigners;
- 6) Whether there are any matters that lead to other discussions critical of current affairs.

Second, the social aspect. This aspect will concentrate on the following points:

- 1) Whether there are any expressions or writings that are obscene or that corrupt the public morals;
- 2) Whether there are any writings on socialism or other ideas that harm social harmony;
- 3) Whether there are any writings that promote false and foolish superstitions.

Third, the educational aspect. This aspect will concentrate on the following points:

- 1) Whether there are any errors of fact;
- 2) Whether the level or materials selected are appropriate to the textbook's purpose;
- 3) Whether the textbook is suitably compiled and edited.⁶³⁶

Of the three primary areas of consideration, the political aspect was the most important to Japanese education officials. Evidence for this can be found in the frank admission of Tawara Magoichi 俵孫一 (1869–1944), the education affairs advisor who along with Mitsuchi Chūzō replaced Shidehara Taira shortly before the implementation of the First Educational Ordinance,

⁶³⁶ 學部에서 各學校의 教科用 圖書를 檢定함에 當하야 左의 三方面으로 審査하는 方針을 取함

甲. 政治的 方面 此 方面은 左開諸點에 著眼함.

- (一) 我國과 日本의 關係并兩國親交를 阻礙하고 又는 非議함이 無흔지
- (二) 我國國是에 違戾하야 秩序와 安寧을 害하고 國利民福을 無視함과 如흔 言說이 無흔지
- (三) 本邦에 固有한 國情에 違함과 如흔 記事가 無흔지
- (四) 奇矯하고 誤謬한 愛國心を 鼓吹하는 事가 無흔지
- (五) 排日思想을 鼓吹하고 又는 特히 邦人으로 하야곰 日人 及 他外國人에 對하야 惡感情을 抱케 함과 如흔 記事 及 語調가 無흔지
- (六) 其他 言論이 時事 論評에 涉한 事가 無흔지

乙. 社會的 方面 此 方面은 左開諸點에 著眼함

- (一) 淫雜 其他 風俗을 壞亂케 함과 如흔 言辭 及 記事가 無흔지
- (二) 社會主義와 其他 社會의 平和를 害케 함과 如흔 記事가 無흔지
- (三) 妄誕無稽한 迷信에 屬함과 如흔 記事가 無흔지

丙. 教育的 方面 此 方面은 左開諸點에 著眼함.

- (一) 記載事項에 誤謬가 無흔지
- (二) 程度分量 及 材料의 選擇이 教科書의 目的한 바에 適應한지
- (三) 編述의 方法이 適當함을 得흔지

“*Kyogwasō ūi naeyong e kwanhān chosa* 教科書의 內容에 關한 調査 [Survey of Textbook Contents],” *Kiho hūnghakhoe wōlbo* 畿湖興學會報 [The Monthly of the Kiho Society for the Encouragement of Learning], July 25, 1909, vol.12, pp. 37–39.

to a group of private school educators he addressed shortly after the promulgation of the Private School Ordinance:

Looking at the situation in most private schools, there is much in the textbooks used that is inappropriate. In the worst cases, harmful textbooks are being used, and it is surprising just how many there are. If asked for what reason we call these things harmful, take as an example that we now see among the textbooks that there are many published which deal with current political and social problems... The intermingling of politics and education is an obstacle to achieving the purpose of education.⁶³⁷

Tawara's distaste for the "intermingling of politics and education" was itself political, especially given the explicitly assimilationist aims of Japanese-led education reform as laid out by

Tawara's predecessor. Tawara went on:

Our focus [with the Private School Ordinance] was on textbooks. Among the textbooks used in private schools, there are many things that are very bad and extremely dangerous in light of Korea's present situation. In this regard, the Private School Ordinance will be very strictly enforced. Textbooks that do not conform to Korea's national policies and national sentiments or that are an impediment to progress must be reigned in, and the use of textbooks that are either not compiled by the Education Ministry or that have not been authorized by the Ministry's textbook survey, have been forbidden.⁶³⁸

Tawara's comments make it clear that the primary target of the textbook screening survey were textbooks that expressed patriotic-enlightenment ideas and values. An early-January editorial in the *TaeHan maeil sinbo* shortly after the results of the first full survey were announced shows that Koreans too were well aware that talk of independence, mention of national heroes, or any other patriotic discourse would not be allowed:

The Education Ministry's textbook investigation for no reason makes books wait a year or two for a decision... Just by using words like "patriotism" or "independence" they reject books... The officials are mostly Japanese, and as Japan is trying to exploit Korea, they do not want the textbooks to be of any benefit to Koreans... Not only are they not encouraging Korean textbook authors, they are actively making the inspection process difficult for them. Why are they not allowing them to talk about independence, freedom,

⁶³⁷ Kuksa p'yönc'h'an wiwönhoe, *Sin munhwa undong [The new culture movement]*, Han'guksa 42 (Kyönggi-do, Kwach'ön-si: Kuksa p'yönc'h'an wiwönhoe, 2000), 180.

⁶³⁸ *Ibid.*, 181.

or patriotism, or speak of great men and heroes of the past? ... Why are they not allowing textbooks used for this people and this country to be written by Koreans?⁶³⁹

The results of the survey as they relate to Hanmunkwa textbooks bear out the observations of the above editorialist. Though over the course of multiple screening surveys before and after annexation more and more of the protectorate-period Hanmunkwa textbooks were designated unauthorized or outright banned, those immediately designated unauthorized were the four elementary-level Hanmunkwa readers, *Pot'ong kyogwa hanmun tokpon*, *Soksöng hancha kwabon*, *Monghak hanmun ch'ogye*, and *Sohak hanmun tokpon* along with Gale and Yi's *Yumong ch'önja/sokpyön*.⁶⁴⁰ Each of these used LS as a vehicle for old and new knowledge and contained patriotic-enlightenment topics and themes.

Most of the other Hanmunkwa textbooks examined above fared only a little better. Though Samuel Moffett's *Chilli p'yöndok Samja kyöng*, Wön Yöngüi's LS grammar textbook, and each of the four advanced-level Hanmunkwa readers, survived past annexation, all but *Taedong munsu* were designated unauthorized in the first colonial-era textbook survey in January 1912. Of the three traditionally-formatted sinograph primers, *Ahakp'yön* and *Sinjöng Ch'önjamun* were both designated unauthorized in the January 1910 survey and *Yuhak chach'wi*, which was not audited in January 1910, joined the other two in being designated unauthorized six months later in the July 1910 survey. The February 1913 survey would ban its sale and publication.⁶⁴¹

⁶³⁹ Quoted in the above English translation in Hall, 387.

⁶⁴⁰ The January 1912 survey would ban the sale and publication of *Sohak hanmun tokpon*. For the full textbook screening survey lists for surveys from January 1910 to December 1915, see Yi et al., *Hanmal mit ilche kangchömggi üi kyogwasö mongnok sujip chosa*, 1–228.

⁶⁴¹ While the textbook sensors could have found reason enough to ban *Yuhak chach'wi* for its closing lines hailing Korean independence, the fact that none of the three sinograph primers were authorized for use in Hanmunkwa instruction seems to indicate that Education Ministry officials took seriously the separation of sinograph instruction / copywork from Hanmunkwa instruction

Taedong munsu was the one exception to the Education Ministry's textbook censorship. As the Ministry did not publish an advanced-level Hanmunkwa reader of its own, *Taedong munsu* was pressed into service in both government and private higher schools until the colonial government issued its own advanced-level Chosŏnŏ-kŭp-Hanmunkwa/Chōsengo-kyū-Kanbunka reader. Why of the four protectorate-period advanced-level Hanmunkwa readers *Taedong munsu* received this certification was never explicitly spelled out. An on-going worry that Japanese officials had about including LS instruction within new schools was that because it was a reminder of their long connections with China it might function to alienate Korean students from Japan.⁶⁴² Volume 2 of Yŏ Kyuhyōng's *Hanmunhak kyogwasŏ*, his *Kodŭng kyogwa komun yaksŏn*, and Ch'oe Chaehak's *Munjang chinam*, which consisted primarily of non-classical works by Chinese authors, were thus likely non-starters.⁶⁴³ Like *Taedong munsu*, volume 1 of *Hanmunhak kyogwasŏ* was of course comprised solely of works by Korean authors, and yet, Yŏ's elevation of Chōngjo to the status of emperor may have made it an untenable choice. The forceful defense of vernacular literacy made by Chang Chiyŏn in the *Taedong munsu*'s introduction and his reluctant acquiescence to producing a Hanmunkwa reader only so long as its contents could be divorced from any aggrandizement of China seems to have won the day with Mitsuchi Chūzō.

as laid out in the Ministry's common school curricular guidelines. Recall from those guidelines that the primary instruction in reading and writing sinographs was to occur in Korean-language classes in order to facilitate mixed-script literacy and that their use in Hanmunkwa instruction was only ancillary to this.

⁶⁴² See Kubota, *Shokuminchi Chōsen No Nihongo Kyōiku*, 73.

⁶⁴³ Recall too that Ch'oe argued in his introduction that the continued learning and use of LS was necessary to maintain good relations with China, whom he called the region's natural leader.

Censorship of new and experimental Hanmunkwa textbooks was only half the story of Japan’s efforts in shaping Hanmunkwa. The other half was the nature of the Hanmunkwa textbooks it authorized. Besides the two “clones” of its elementary-level Hanmunkwa readers, in the textbook screening surveys from 1909 to 1915 the Education Ministry designated as authorized a total of twenty-four newly published variorum editions of classical texts for use at those schools that specifically requested it. These are listed in Table 5.4 below in order of publication. In addition to these classical texts, which were each authorized for use at private higher schools, the Ministry also authorized Korea’s traditional LS primers—including *Ch’önjamun*, *Yuhap*, *Kyemongp’yön*, *Myöngsim pogam*, and *Kyöngmong yogyöl*—for use in

Table 5.4. Newly published classical texts authorized for use in private schools by request, 1909–1915.

Title	Editor/compiler	Publication date
<i>Hyönt'o kuhae kambon Maengja</i> 懸吐具解監本 孟子	Ö Yunjök 漁允迪	26 Dec 1908
<i>Maengja chipchu</i> 孟子集註	Chöng Unbok 鄭雲復	15 Feb 1909
<i>Maengja chipchu</i> 孟子集註	Min Chunho 閔濬鎬	15 Feb 1909
<i>Nonö chipchu</i> 論語集註	Chöng Unbok	15 Feb 1909
<i>Nonö chipchu</i> 論語集註	Min Chunho	15 Feb 1909
<i>Taehak</i> 大學	Yi Hanyong 李漢龍	13 Jul 1909
<i>Sohak</i> 小學	Chöng T'aeha 鄭泰夏	2 Sep 1909
<i>Taehak chipchu</i> 大學集註	Chöng Unbok	25 Apr 1910
<i>Chungyong chipchu</i> 中庸集註	Chöng Unbok	25 Apr 1910
<i>Chuhae kambon Nonö</i> 註解監本 論語	Yi Chongjöng 李鍾楨	7 Jul 1910
<i>Hyogyöng taeüi</i> 孝經大義	Kim Sangman 金相萬	10 Jul 1910
<i>Hyönt'o kuhae chipchu Chungyong</i> 懸吐具解集註 中庸	O Sönggün 吳聖根	15 Sep 1910
<i>Tut'o puhae Maengja kambon</i> 頭吐附解 孟子監本	Namgung Chun 南宮濬	13 Oct 1910
<i>Sohak</i> 小學	Yi Chongjöng	31 Jul 1911
<i>Hyönt'o kuhae chipchu Taehak</i> 懸吐具解集註 大學	O Sönggün 吳聖根	13 Jun 1911
<i>Hyönt'o kuhae chipchu Maengja</i> 懸吐具解集註 孟子	Namgung Chun	10 Sep 1911
<i>Hyönt'o kuhae chipchu Maengja</i> 懸吐具解集註 孟子	Yi Chongjöng	10 Sep 1912
<i>Piji kuhae Taehak chipchu</i> 備旨句解 大學集註	Chi Songuk 池松旭	10 Aug 1912
<i>Piji kuhae Chungyong chipchu</i> 備旨句解 中庸集註	Chi Songuk	25 Aug 1912
<i>Chipchu Nonö</i> 集註論語	Yi Chongjöng	10 Sep 1912
<i>Sasö chipchu che 1 p'yön Maengja</i> 四書集註 第一篇 孟子	Kim Yongjun 金容俊	20 Sep 1912
<i>Hyönt'o sökcha kuhae chipchu Maengja</i> 懸吐釋字具解集註 孟子	Hyön Ch'ae 玄采	20 Feb 1913
<i>Piji kuhae Maengja chipchu</i> 備旨句解 孟子集註	Chi Songuk	8 Jan 1914
<i>Tong Sohak chipchu</i> 同小學集註	Yi Chongjöng	13 Apr 1914

private common schools. Two exceptions were the *Samgang haengsil-to*, which was designated unauthorized in the July 1910 survey, and *Tongmong sŏnsŭp*, which was banned in the February 1913 survey.⁶⁴⁴ How these classical texts and traditional LS primers were used in modern private schools in the years immediately before and after annexation is unclear. *Sŏdang*, which persisted into and then grew massively in the first decade of the colonial period, would of course have made use of these and other traditional LS texts, but the textbook screening survey was not an audit of *sŏdang* textbooks, and the authorization to use these traditional texts was given only to the specific modern private schools that requested their use. Recalling that the Private School Ordinance required private schools to not only have their textbooks audited but also to submit their curricula for Education Ministry approval it is highly unlikely if not impossible that traditional LS primers and classical texts could have been used within the modern private schools' multi-subject curricula using the traditional LS instructional methods. What *is* clear from the nature of textbooks censored and those authorized, however, is that following the mid-protectorate-period textbook publication boom, Japanese officials were more comfortable allowing for Hanmunkwa instruction to be conducted using traditional texts than using new and experimental Hanmunkwa textbooks examined above.

⁶⁴⁴ That Japanese officials censored the *Samgang haengsil-to* is hardly surprising given that even Chosŏn officials at the time of the text's compilation expressed uneasiness with the anecdotes of radical filial piety, which included children's self-mutilation and extreme self-abasement. See Oh, *Engraving Virtue*, 173–77. Yi Chungyŏn (2001) speculates that the banning of the *Tongmong sŏnsŭp* was likely due to its reverence for the events of Chinese mythology and history rather than its short, concluding section on Korean history (the content of which he notes did not actually transgress colonial-era Korean historiography). See Yi Chungyŏn, "*Ch'aek*" ūi unmyŏng: *Chosŏn-Ilche kangjŏmgi kŭmsŏ ūi sahoe, sasangsa* [*The Fate of "The Book": a social and intellectual history of press censorship in late-Chosŏn/Japanese-occupied Korea*] (Seoul, Korea: Hyeon, 2001), 496.

5.9 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that although Japanese education officials acquiesced in allowing LS to be taught in both new state and private schools, these officials used state-school textbooks and curricular guidelines together with private-school textbook censorship to constrain the nature of LS literacy taught in Hanmunkwa classrooms. The Hanmunkwa of Japanese education officials was a marginal subject providing instruction in passive reading comprehension useful only in limited domains and allowing nothing more than a backward compatibility with old knowledge found in classical texts.

This chapter has also shown that this was not a foreordained outcome. Korean parents were eager for their children to learn LS and Korean educators were eager to develop new methods and materials for teaching it. LS instruction within a multi-subject curriculum could not help but require adjustments in methods and constraints on materials, but when left to their own devices, Korean educators developed new and experimental approaches to teaching LS that still treated it as the vehicle of a living, dynamic tradition. Not all of the approaches would have proved viable or would have worked in many or most schools, but as the frank comments of Tawara Magoichi make clear, the Hanmunkwa of Japanese education officials was to meet political rather than pedagogical ends. The variety of views on and approaches to teaching LS exhibited in the private-school Hanmunkwa textbooks shows that were it not for Japan's control over Korean education policies we might well imagine an inscriptional ecology in Korea much more accommodating of the influences of LS style and phraseology than the one we have today.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Research Findings

The conclusion begins back where we started, with the observations made on the eve of Korea's opening to the West by William Griffis, summarizing Korea's literacy instructional practices:

If the Korean lad aspires to government service, he begins early the study of the "true letters" or "great writing." The first book put into his hands is, "The Thousand Character Classic." ... In it no character is repeated, and all the phrases are in two couplets, making four to a clause. The copies for children are printed from wooden blocks in very large type. At the right side of each character is its pronunciation in Korean, and on the left the equivalent Korean word. The sounds are first learned, then the meaning, and finally the syntax and the sense of the passages. Meanwhile the brush-pen is kept busily employed until the whole text of the author is thoroughly mastered by eye, ear, hand, and memory. In this manner, the other classics are committed. Education at first consists entirely of reading, writing, and memorizing. Etiquette is also rigidly attended to, but arithmetic, mathematics, and science receive but slight attention.

After this severe exercise of memory and with the pen, the critical study of the text is begun. Passages are expounded by the teacher, and the commentaries are consulted. Essays on literary themes are written, and a style of elegant composition in prose and verse is striven for.⁶⁴⁵

It is difficult to add to Griffis' summary without being redundant. Throughout the Chosŏn dynasty, primary education was privately organized (with precious few exceptions) for "the Korean lad" who began LS literacy instruction at the age of six or seven with a tutor in the home or at the village *sŏdang*. Instruction began with the task of memorizing a series of primers through sunup-to-sundown recitations beginning with the *Ch'ŏnjamun* and ending with the *Sohak*. Though many boys never continued past the primary level, for those who did advance to secondary education and "aspire[d] to government office" the continuing curriculum of canonical Confucian texts was closely aligned with the requirements of the civil service examinations. *Ŏnhae* editions of the Four Books and Three Classics were created in the mid-

⁶⁴⁵ Griffis, 340–41.

sixteenth century to aid in the study of the canon. With their provision of the correct vocalization, phrasal parsing, and vernacular explication of the canonical text, *ōnhae* encapsulated nearly the entirety of the LS instructional process between their covers. Composition instruction began in the final years of primary education—crucial to which was instruction in reading and writing verse—and eventuated in compositional competency in multiple genres of LS poetry and prose. The sometimes-complementary aims of public service and private self-cultivation undergirded Chosŏn educational practice and the hybrid system of public and private educational institutions reflected these aims. Core to achieving these aims was the seriousness with which both the state and private actors took the reinterpretations of the classical textual tradition by the Zhu Xi school of Neo-Confucianism in which education was ultimately intended to bring about a well-ordered country and peace throughout the kingdom.

By the time of annexation, the aims, content, and methods of LS literacy instruction as taught in the Hanmunkwa classrooms of both state and private schools had greatly changed. Initially included in missionary and government schools as a temporary measure in grudging acquiescence to the demands of student parents, for a brief period a handful of Western missionaries and Korean private-school educators took up the task of shaping LS instruction for modern school curricula in diverse and experimental ways. Despite the variety in their content and aims, LS learning was treated by most as a living, dynamic tradition and a core constituent of Korea's inscriptional practices that would allow not only for continued access to the knowledge and customs of Korea's past but would be capable of expressing new ideas and patriotic sentiments. In contrast, the Hanmunkwa shaped by Japanese education officials did not treat LS learning as a living, dynamic tradition. That is, rather than training students to both read and *produce* texts in LS, the Hanmunkwa instruction preferred by Japanese education officials

trained students in no more than a passive reading comprehension of excerpts from classical texts. To repeat again the characterization used many times throughout this dissertation, the Hanmunkwa instruction developed by Japanese education officials and enforced through textbook censorship transformed LS literacy into a legacy literacy useful only in limited domains and providing nothing more than a sort of backward compatibility with old or outmoded knowledge.

6.2 The Contributions of this Study

As Jan Blommaert (1999) writes, “language history as something that pertains to speakers, to societies, to social and cultural systems, is only rarely the history used in linguistics or adjacent sciences. References to the past are still, by and large, impressionistic or *prima facie*, and quite a bit of idealization goes on when it comes to understanding the historical forces that made us speak, write, listen, read the way we do now.” The “Korean vernacular belief system” embraced in both popular and academic discourse in Korea certainly bears this out. This study has been in part an effort to answer Blommaert’s call to “add to the history of language and languages a dimension of human agency, political intervention, power and authority, and so make that history a bit more *political*.”⁶⁴⁶

Through a close examination of what became of Korea’s tradition of LS literacy instruction at the onset of (colonial) modernity, this study has shown that the twentieth-century transition in Korea’s inscriptional practices was not the natural outcome of some inevitable vernacularization process. Rather, it was a result of the deliberate, often disparate, and

⁶⁴⁶ Jan Blommaert, “The Debate Is Open,” in *Language Ideological Debates*, ed. Jan Blommaert, Language, Power, and Social Process (New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1999), 5.

sometimes contradictory education activities and policy decisions of interested parties, including the Korean court, Western missionaries, Korean traditionalist and nationalist scholars, and Japanese imperial officials. This study therefore undermines the common story of a natural and inevitable vernacularization of Korean literacy practices.

Returning again then to the observation of Sheldon Pollock that vernacularity “is not a natural state of being but a willed act of becoming,”⁶⁴⁷ this study has shown this to have been as true of Korean vernacularization as it was in South Asia and Europe. Those who inaugurated the vernacularization process in Korea not only advanced the learning and use of vernacular writing but at the same time actively sought to transform, reduce, or in some cases completely abolish the learning and use of LS. Furthermore, this study has shown that these political and cultural actors—these inaugurators of vernacularization and those who opposed them—were as often Protestant missionaries and Japanese colonial officials, as they were nationalist Korean authors and grammarians.

Finally, as stated in the introduction, previous scholarship on the turn-of-the-twentieth-century shifts in Korean language practices has focused almost exclusively on the rise in status and use of the written vernacular—including the spread of mixed-script writing within print media, its use in the new school system, and the lives and achievements of the nationalist language reformers who backed it. This study’s examination of the efforts—both their achievements and failures—of those who sought to preserve the relevance of LS literacy to Korean inscriptional practice adds an important yet neglected perspective to Korea’s language history. It shows that these efforts were not some rearguard attempt by a minority group of reactionary elites to maintain and their privileged status vis-à-vis a benighted illiterate majority.

⁶⁴⁷ Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, 24.

Instead, because LS literacy was synonymous with education, when given the chance to send their children to either state or private schools, parents demanded the inclusion of LS literacy instruction. Furthermore, these parents and their students were not simply acting in their class or other identity interest. The case of Ewha Academy's 1897 reinstatement of LS instruction bears this out. Women and girls had been excluded from formal literacy education—and particularly formal LS literacy education—throughout Korean history. When the social and cultural barriers to men instructing women and girls was lessened, they demanded to receive LS instruction even after the demise of the *kwagǒ*.

6.3 Gaps in the Study and Areas for Future Research

The analysis of the textbook screening survey in chapter 5 shows that the story of Hanmunkwa's development did not end at annexation. Nor did it end in the early colonial period. Changes to Hanmunkwa continued throughout the colonial period and have of course continued since liberation on separate tracks in North and South Korea. While Japanese officials such as Shidehara and Mitsuchi regretted that LS instruction need be included at all and argued shortly after annexation that it was time to remove it from the curriculum, Ch'oe Kwanjin (2003) shows that as the colonial period progressed and especially after Japan's invasion of China began, Japanese officials changed their view on the relative importance of Hanmunkwa. LS came to be touted as vital to the vision and aims of the East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. From 1922, LS was taught with Korean not only in Chosǒnǒ-kǔp-Hanmunkwa classes but was taught together with Japanese as well in newly titled Kokugo-oyobi-Kanbunka 國語及漢文科 classes. And from 1938 when Korean was dropped from the curriculum, LS continued to be taught together with Japanese; though that the content and manner of this instruction completely followed Japanese

norms and ignored Korean ones was much remarked upon in the Korean press.⁶⁴⁸ The continued development of the aims, content, and methods of Hanmunkwa instruction during the colonial period have received little attention in Korean scholarship and none in English. It is an obvious area of needed further research.

Also, mentioned only briefly in chapter 5 is the fact that *sōdang* not only survived into the colonial period, but grew to over 25,000 by the early 1920s before colonial government sanctions dropped their numbers to just over 3,000 by 1942.⁶⁴⁹ Thus, though the aims of traditional LS instruction were greatly altered after the *kwagō*'s demise, certain aspects of its instructional content, material, methods, and institutions survived and even thrived well past annexation.⁶⁵⁰ A full picture of the learning and use of LS in the colonial period, not only as it existed in Hanmunkwa classes, will thus require an examination of *sōdang* instruction as well.

⁶⁴⁸ See for example, “Chosōn-sik hanmun ūi p’yeji 朝鮮式 漢文의 廢止” *Tonga ilbo* 東亞日報, September 3, 1937(Showa 12), p. 3.

⁶⁴⁹ Seong-Cheol Oh and Ki-Seok Kim, “Expansion of Elementary Schooling under Colonialism: Top Down or Bottom Up?,” in *Colonial Rule and Social Change in Korea, 1910-1945*, ed. Hong Yung Lee, Yong-ch’ul Ha, and Clark W. Sorensen (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013), 117–18.

⁶⁵⁰ For example, the primary informant for Richard Rutt’s 1960 investigation of Korea’s traditional “cottage schools” (i.e. *sōdang*), which the survey in chapter 2 draws heavily upon, was an Anglican priest, Father Elijah Yi (Yi Yongjik 李容植), whom Rutt notes was born in 1904. Rutt further details that Father Yi was the “star pupil” at his local *sōdang* and “from the age of about eighteen he attended local poetry contests and took part in them, and... did in fact for some years run a cottage school of his own...” An eighteen-year-old Father Yi would have lived in 1922 and his running of a *sōdang* “for some years” afterward attests that traditional LS instruction endured well into the colonial period.

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Appendices

Appendix A – Traditional Literary Sinitic Primers

A.1 Sinograph primers

The following sinograph primers are known to have been used in Chosŏn-period children's education:

1. *Qianziwen* (K. *Ch'ŏnjamun*) 千字文 (Liang dynasty), by Zhou Xingsi 周興嗣 (?–521).
2. *Mengqiu* (K. *Monggu*) 蒙求 (“Ignorance and Inquiry,” Tang dynasty), by Li Han 李瀚 (c. 8th C.).
3. *Sanzi jing* (K. *Samja kyŏng*) 三字經 (Song dynasty), by Wang Yinglin 王應麟 (1223–1296).
4. *Ch'ohak chahoe* 初學字會 (1458), Kim Ku 金鉤 (1383–1462), Yi Sŭngso 李承召, Ch'oe Sŭnbok 崔善復, *et. al.*
5. *Yuhap* 類合 (before 1517), author unknown.
6. *Hunmong chahoe* 訓蒙字會 (1527), by Ch'oe Sejin 崔世珍 (1468–1542).
7. *Sok Monggu punju* 續蒙求分註 (1568), Yu Hŭich'un 柳希春 (1513–1577).
8. *Sinjŭng yuhap* 新增類合 (1576), by Yu Hŭich'un.
9. *Chahun sosŏl* 字訓小說 (date unknown), by No Susin 盧守愼 (1515–1590), based on *Xingli zixun* 性理字訓 by Cheng Duanmeng 程端蒙 (1143–1191).
10. *Hakpu myŏngmok hoet'ong chigyŏl* 學部名目會通旨訣 (date unknown), by Chang Hyŏn'gwang 張顯光 (1554–1637).
11. *Ch'ohak chahun chŭngjip* 初學字訓增輯 (1639?, 1664), by Yi Sik 李植 (1584–1647), based on *Xingli zixun* by Cheng Duanmeng.
12. *Mongyup'yŏn* 蒙諭篇 (1810), by Chang Hon 張混 (1759–1828).
13. *Ahakp'yŏn* 兒學編 (c. 1811), by Chŏng Yagyong 丁若鏞 (1762–1836).
14. *Charyu chusŏk* 字類註釋 (1856), Chŏng Yunyong 鄭允容 (1792–1865).
15. *Monghak sayo* 蒙學史要 (1868), Kim Yongmuk 金用默 (fl. 1795).
16. *Tongmong pogyŏl* 童蒙寶訣 (1869), author unknown.
17. *Ch'ohangmun* 初學文 (1877), by Hŏ Chŏn 許傳 (1796–1886).
18. *Chŏngmong yuŏ* 正蒙類語 (1884), by Yi Sŭnghŭi 李承熙 (1847–1916).
19. *Mongŏryuhun* 蒙語類訓 (1888), by Yi Sŭnghŭi.

A.2 Poetry primers

The following poetry primers are known to have been used in Chosŏn-period children's education:

1. *Taegu yŏnju chip* 對句連珠集 (1431?), by Pak Hŭngsaeng 朴興生 (1375–1458).

2. *Paengnyŏn ch'ohae* 百聯妙解 (c. 1550), by Kim Inhu 金麟厚 (1510–1560).
3. *O-ŏn Tangŭm* 五言唐音 (1810), by unknown author.
4. *Ch'irŏn Tangŭm* 七言唐音, author and publication date unknown.
5. *Haedong sisŏn* 海東詩選 (after 18C), by unknown author.
6. *Ch'ugu* 推句, author and publication date unknown.

A.3 Morals primers

The following morals primers are known to have been used in Chosŏn-period children's education:

1. *Xiaoxue* (K. *Sohak*) 小學 (1187), by Liu Qingzhi 劉清之 (1130–1195) at the direction of and with editing by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200).
2. *Tongmeng xuzhi* (K. *Tongmong suji*) 童蒙須知 (published in Korea 1517), by Zhu Xi.
3. *Kyŏngminp'yŏn* 警民編 (1519), by Kim Chŏngguk 金正國 (1485–1541).
4. *Tongmong sŏnsŭp* 童蒙先習 (1541), by Pak Semu 朴世茂 (1487–1554).
5. *Sŏnghak chibyŏ* 聖學輯要 (1575), by Yi I 李珣 (1537–1584).
6. *Kyŏngmong yogyŏl* 擊蒙要訣 (1577), by Yi I.
7. *Mingxin baojian* (K. *Myŏngsim pogam*) 明心寶鑑 (1393), Fan Liben 范立本 (n.d.). Chosŏn's widely used abridged version was published in 1601.
8. *Yangjŏngp'yŏn* 養正篇 (1604), by Chŏng Kyŏngse 鄭經世 (1563–1633).
9. *Sarye hunmong* 四禮訓蒙 (1622), by Yi Hangbok 李恒福 (1556–1618).
10. *P'irŏ* 筆語 (1640), by Cho Such'o 曹守初 (n.d.)
11. *Chongdŏk sinp'yŏn* 種德新編 (1644), by Kim Yuk 金堉 (1570–1658).
12. *Ugok hunja kyŏgŏn* 愚谷訓子格言 (manuscript 1668; published 1724), by Kang Tŏkchun 姜德俊 (1607–1668).
13. *Hahak chinam* 下學指南 (1740), by An Chŏngbok 安鼎福 (1712–1791).
14. *Kyemongp'yŏn* 啓蒙篇, author and publication date unknown (no later than late 18th C.).
15. *Ahŭi wŏllam* 兒戲原覽 (1802), by Chang Hon 張混 (1759–1828).
16. *Iryong chibyŏ* 日用輯要 (1811), by Hwang Tŏkkil 黃德吉 (1750–1827).
17. *Chohak kago* 初學可考 (1820s), by Hwang Tŏkkil.
18. *Hangmun samyo* 學問三要 (1831), by Song Pyŏngsun 宋秉珣.
19. *Hagŏ* 學語 (1868), by Pak Chaech'ŏl 朴載哲 (n.d.).
20. *Haedong sok Sohak* 海東續小學 (1884), by Pak Chaehyŏng 朴在馨 (1838–1900).

Appendix B – Education Ordinance Implementation Guidelines

B.1 Kabo-era Curricular Guidelines

Outline of Primary School Educational Regulations (Sohakkyo kyuch'ik taegang 小學校教則大綱)

Article 3

Reading and composition instruction shall employ the method of proceeding from the familiar to the unknown, from the simple to the complex. First teach the ability to read and decipher the meaning of common language and of the sinographs, phrases, and grammar indispensable in everyday life. The primary aims shall be to foster an ability to use appropriate language and phrasing to express thoughts and ideas accurately and to develop the virtue of wisdom.

In the ordinary course, students, engaging with simple and suitable topics, shall speak plainly, and in the practice of their language shall be taught how to read, write, and spell *kungmun*. Next, teaching short passages in *kungmun* as well as writings in mixed script, proceed gradually to divide the times for reading and composition instruction. During reading instruction, teach *kungmun* as well as writings with simple *hanmun* mixed in, and during composition instruction, teach *kungmun*, writings with simple *hanmun* mixed in, and everyday documents.

Reading instruction in the higher course shall be in mixed-script writing. Composition instruction shall be in mixed-script writing and in documents used in everyday life.

During reading and composition instruction, students shall take dictation of words, phrases, and short passages, or may be familiarized with the rules of *kungmun* usage and of the usage of words and phrases.

The grammar of reading textbooks shall be kept simple as it must serve as a model of standard *kungmun* so that students may easily understand [the text] and be made cheerful and honest in mind. Also, subjects [covered in the readers] shall include morals instruction, geography, history, natural sciences, and other subjects necessary in everyday life. Things of special interest to the teacher may also be included in the instruction.

Composition and reading shall deal with subject matter taught in the other classes, as well as matters students encounter in everyday life and those that are necessary for getting on in society. Compositions should be simple and clearly convey their main point.

Even during instruction in other classes, attention should always be given to language practice.

Article 4

The primary aims of copywork instruction shall be to teach [students] the method of writing commonly used scripts and the mastering of brush movements.

In the ordinary curriculum, students shall be drilled in short phrases of *kungmun* mixed with simple sinographs, in everyday sinographs used in the names of persons, places, and things, and in everyday documents.

In the higher course, sinographs suitable to everyday use shall be added, expanding on subjects from the lower course. Students shall also be drilled in writing everyday documents.

The sinographic styles taught shall be the regular and possibly the running script in the ordinary curriculum, and the regular, running, and cursive scripts in the advanced curriculum.

During copywork instruction, teachers must especially fix students' posture and correct their brush grip and brush movement, so they may write with correct line contour and strive for brisk brush movements.

Even when writing during instruction in other classes, teachers should correct students' sinograph form and line contour.

第3條

讀書와 作文은 近으로 申ᄃ야 遠에 及ᄃ며 簡으로 申ᄃ야 繁에 就ᄃ는 方法에 依ᄃ고 몬저 普通의 言語와 日常須知의 文字, 文句, 文法의 讀力과 意義를 知케 ᄃ고 適當ᄃ 言語와 字句를 用ᄃ야 正確히 思想을 表彰ᄃ는 能을 養ᄃ고 兼ᄃ야 智德을 啓發ᄃ음을 要旨로 ᄃᄃ.

尋常科에 是 近易適切ᄃ 事物에 就ᄃ며 平易ᄃ게 談話ᄃ고 其 言語를 練習ᄃ야 國文의 讀法 書法 綴法을 知케 ᄃ고 次第로 國文의 短文과 近易ᄃ 漢文交ᄃ는 文을 授ᄃ고 漸進ᄃ 기를 從ᄃ야 讀書作文의 教授時間을 分別ᄃ는 讀書는 國文과 近易ᄃ 漢文交ᄃ는 文으로 授ᄃ고 作文은 國文과 近易ᄃ 漢文交ᄃ는 文과 日用書類等을 授ᄃᄃ이 可ᄃᄃ.

高等科에 是 讀書는 漢字交文을 授ᄃ고 作文은 漢字交文과 日用書類를 授ᄃᄃ이 可ᄃᄃ.

讀書와 作文을 授ᄃ는 時에 是 單語, 短句, 短文等을 書取케 ᄃ고 或 改作ᄃ야 國文使用法과 語句의 用法에 熟ᄃ게 ᄃᄃ이 可ᄃᄃ.

讀本의 文法은 平易케 ᄃ야 普通國文의 模範됨을 要ᄃ는 故로 兒童이 理會ᄃ기 易ᄃ야 其 心情을 快活純正케 ᄃᄃ을 採ᄃᄃ이 可ᄃ고 또 該 事項은 修身, 地理, 歷史, 理科, 其他 日用生活에 必要ᄃ고 教授에 趣味를 添ᄃᄃ이 可ᄃᄃ.

作文讀書와 其他教科目에 授ᄃ 事項과 兒童의 日常見聞ᄃ 事項과 及 處世에 必要ᄃ 事項을 記述ᄃᄃ 行文이 平易ᄃ고 旨趣가 明瞭케 ᄃᄃ을 要ᄃᄃ.

言語는 他教科目의 教授에 亦 尙 注意ᄃ야 練習케 ᄃᄃ을 要ᄃᄃ.

第4條

習字는 通常文字의 書ᄃ는 法을 知케 ᄃ고 運筆에 習熟케 ᄃᄃ을 要旨로 ᄃᄃ.

尋常科에 是 國文과 近易ᄃ 漢字를 交ᄃ는 短句와 通常의 人名, 物名, 地名 等의 日用文字와 及 日用書類를 習케 ᄃᄃ이 可ᄃᄃ.

高等科에 是 前項의 事項을 擴ᄃ며 日常適切ᄃ 文字를 增加ᄃ고 또 日用書類를 習케 ᄃᄃ이 可ᄃᄃ.

漢字의 書體는 尋常科에 是 楷書 或 行書로 ᄃ고 高等科에 是 楷書, 行書, 草書로 ᄃᄃ.

習字를 授ᄃ는 時에 是 別로 姿勢를 整ᄃ고 執筆과 運筆을 正케 ᄃ야 字行은 整正히 ᄃᄃ며 運筆은 힘ᄃ 速케 ᄃᄃ을 要ᄃᄃ.

他教科目의 教授에 文字를 書ᄃ는 時에 亦 其 字形과 字行을 正ᄃ게 ᄃᄃ을 要ᄃᄃ.

Appendix C – Protectorate-era Curricular Guidelines

C.1 Common School Ordinance Implementation Regulations (Pot'ong hakkyo-ryōng sihaeng kyuch'ik 普通學校令施行規則), August 27, 1906.

Ministry of Education Directive no. 23, Section 2, Article 9, Items 2–4.

2. Kugō 國語

The aim shall be to teach the scripts and writing style indispensable in everyday life and to foster an ability to express thoughts and ideas accurately. Additionally, a virtuous character should be cultivated, and common knowledge instilled.

Pronunciation shall be corrected, the mechanics of reading and writing those scripts required in everyday life shall be taught, and proper language shall be practiced.

Though separated into their own instruction times, composition and copywork shall have special attention given to their interconnectedness.

Composition shall deal with matters taught in Kugō, Hanmun, or other classes, matters students encounter in everyday life, and matters necessary to conducting themselves in society. Their writings shall be simple and clear in their purpose.

The sinographic script styles learned during copywork shall be either the regular script style or both the regular and semi-cursive script styles.

During instruction in other subjects, attention shall always be given to language practice, and when writing sinographs, their form and line contour shall be corrected.

3. Hanmun 漢文

The aim is to comprehend common *hancha* and *hanmun*. Additionally, it is to contribute to the development of personal character.

Instruction shall be to teach records of the sages' admirable sayings and exemplary deeds together with those expressions which, having become so embedded in people's lives, students ought to understand.

Instruction shall be connected to Kugō, and translations shall occasionally be made using *kungmun*.

4. Irō 日語 (Japanese language)

Simple conversation and easy grammar shall be understood, and in composition instruction, practical materials shall be required.

Instruction shall begin with simple conversation taught together with the mechanics of reading, of writing, and of composing in the simple colloquial style.

Japanese language shall be taught by selecting from matters that must be known in everyday life in accordance with students' knowledge level, always prioritizing the practical. Also, attention shall be given to pronunciation, and proper conversation shall be thoroughly practiced.

Instruction shall be connected to Kugō, and translations shall at times be made using *kungmun*.

2. 國語

日常須知의 文字와 文體를 知케 하며 正確히 思想을 表彰하는 能力을 養으며 兼하여 德性을 涵養하고 普通知識을 教授함으로 要旨를 함이라.

發音을 正케 하고 日常必須한 文字의 讀法과 書法을 知케 하며 又正當한 言語를 鍊習케 함이다.

作文及 習字는 各教授時間을 區別하디 特히 注意하야 互相聯絡케 함을 要함이다.

作文은 國語·漢文과 其他教科目에서 教授한 事項과 學徒의 日常見聞한 事項及 處世에 必要한 事項을 記述케 하디 其行文은 平易케 하고 趣旨를 明瞭케 함을 要함이다.

習字에 用하는 漢字의 書體는 楷書와 半草書의 1種이나 或2種으로 함이다.

他教科目を 教授하는 時에는 每常 言語鍊習에 注意하며 文字를 書하는 時는 其字形及 字行을 正케 함을 要함이다.

3. 漢文

普通의 漢字及 漢文을 理會하며 兼하야 品性을 陶冶함에 資함으로써 要旨를 함이다.

賢哲의 嘉言善行을 記述한 것과 及人世에 膾炙한 文詞로 學徒가 理會할만한 것을 教授함이다.

國語와 連絡함을 務하야 時時 國文으로 繙譯케 함이다.

4. 日語

近易한 會話와 簡易한 文法을 理會하며 또 作文케 하야 實用의 資를 要함이다.

近易한 會話로 始하야 簡易한 口語文의 讀法과 書法과 作法을 并授함이다.

實用을 爲主하야 學徒의 智識程度를 隨하야 日常須知의 事項을 撰教하며 또 發音에 主意하야 正當한 日語를 熟習케 함을 務함이다.

國語와 連絡함을 務하야 時時 國文으로 繙譯케 함이다.

C.2 Higher School Ordinance Implementation Regulations (Kodŭng hakkyo-ryōng sihaeng kyuch'ik 高等學校令施行規則), August 27, 1906.

Ministry of Education Directive no. 21, Section 1, Article 5, Items 2-4

2. Kugō

Instruction shall be to understand the common language and writing style, and to gain an ability to accurately express their thoughts and ideas without constraint.

3. Hanmun

Instruction shall be to concentrate on textual arrangement and context, making textual meaning understood accurately.

4. Irō

Instruction shall strive for fluency in speech and a clear understanding of the Japanese language, always concentrating on pronunciation, and occasionally translating into proper *kugō* as well.

2. 國語

普通의 言語文體를 了解하며 正確히 自由思想을 表彰하는 能力을 得케 함을 要함이다.

3. 漢文

文理脈絡에 注意하야 文義를 正確히 理解케 함을 要함이다.

4. 日語

會話에 精熟히야 明確히 日語를 理會케 힘을 期히며 恒常 發音에 注意히며 또 時時 正當한 國語로 繙譯케 힘을 要함이다.

C.3 Teachers' School Ordinance Implementation Regulations (Saböm hakkyo-ryöng sihaeng kyuch'ik 師範學校令施行規則), August 27, 1906.

Ministry of Education Directive no. 20, Section 1, Article 4, Items 2–4

3. Kugö

Reading instruction shall concentrate on pronunciation and phrasing so that when reading, the reader may enable the listener to grasp the writing's force and meaning. Composition shall prioritize simple clarity and sincerity. Topics may be pursued widely from among matters taught in each of the various courses and from matters of everyday necessity, selecting what is appropriate for composition based on its practical utility.

Copywork shall prioritize proper graphic form and smooth brush movement, beginning first by attaching a writing sample to the slate for repeated copying.

4. Hanmun

Instruction shall be to make phrasal and passage meanings clear by clarifying pronunciations and meanings and concentrating on parsing/punctuation. Additionally, it shall be to explicate textual arrangement and context.

5. Irö

Concentrating on pronunciation, be fluent in conversation and use proper *kugö* to interpret [passages]. Also, occasionally practice translation and composition.

3. 國語

講讀은 發音及 句語하는 것을 注意히야 講讀할 時에 讀者及 聽者로 하여금 文勢와 文義를 解得케 힘을 務히고 作文은 簡明誠實함으로 爲主하고 問題는 普博히 各學科에서 教授한 事項과 日常必要한 事項에 就히야 實用히기에 適當한 者를 選함이다.

習字는 字樣이 端正하고 運筆에 澁滯가 無함으로 爲主히되 爲先 小字를 速寫함과 添板에 寫字함을 熟習케 함이다.

4. 漢文

音與義를 明白히 하고 句讀함을 注意히야 句義와 章義를 分明케 하고 兼히야 文理脈絡을 解釋케 함이다.

5. 日語

發音함을 注意히야 會話에 精熟하고 正當한 國語로써 解釋케 하며 또 時時로 翻譯과 作文을 習케 함이다.

C.4 Advanced Girls' School Ordinance Implementation Guidelines (Kodüng yöhakkyo-ryöng sihaeng kyuch'ik 高等女學校令施行規則), April 7, 1908.

Ministry of Education Directive no. 9, Section 2, Article 5, Items 2–4.

2. Kugō

The aim is to comprehend common language and grammar in order to gain an ability to express thoughts and ideas clearly and freely.

In *kugō* instruction the student shall be made to read and explicate (*kangdok* 講讀) contemporary writing styles, to compose practical and simple texts, and shall prioritize grammar basics and copywork.

3. Hanmun

Focusing on textual arrangement and structure, grammar shall be understood.

Hanmun instruction shall pay particular attention to simple grammar.

4. Foreign language

Strive to attain proficiency in conversation and to understand clearly, always paying attention to pronunciation and occasionally translating with precise *kugō*.

Japanese language instruction shall be, starting from pronunciation and spelling, to teach reading methods, explication, dictation, and composition, as well as the teaching of grammar basics, conversation and copywork.

2. 國語

普通의 言語文法을 解得 ㅎ야 正確 ㅎ고 自由로 思想을 表彰 ㅎ는 能力을 得케 ㅎ을 要 ㅎ.

國語는 現代의 文體를 購[講]讀케 ㅎ며 又實用簡易 ㅎ는 文을 作케 ㅎ고 文法의 大要 及 習字를 爲主 ㅎ야 授 ㅎ이 可 ㅎ.

3. 漢文

文理와 結構에 注意 ㅎ야 文法을 理解케 ㅎ을 要 ㅎ.

漢文은 平易 ㅎ는 文法을 講究케 ㅎ 이 可 ㅎ.

4. 外國語

會話에 熟達 ㅎ야 明確히 理會케 ㅎ을 期 ㅎ야 恒常 發音에 注意 ㅎ고 間或 正確 ㅎ는 國語로 翻譯케 ㅎ을 要 ㅎ.

日語는 發音과 綴字로 부터 簡易 ㅎ는 文字의 讀法, 譯解, 書取, 作文을 授 ㅎ고 文法의 大要와 會話 及 習字를 授 ㅎ이 可 ㅎ.

C.5 Common School Ordinance Implementation Regulations (Pot'ong hakkyo-ryōng sihaeng kyuch'ik 普通學校令施行規則), July 5, 1909.

Ministry of Education Directive no. 6, Section 1, Article 8, Items 2 and 3.

2. Kugō-kūp-Hanmun

The aim is to teach the language and writing that must be known in daily life, and to foster an ability to express thoughts and ideas with precision. Additionally, it is the development of a virtuous character.

In National Language instruction pronunciation shall be corrected, the methods of reading, of copywork, and of composition in those scripts—both the vernacular and sinographs—necessary in daily life shall be taught, and correct language shall be practiced.

Hanmun [instruction] shall be to teach convenient and easy writings illuminating the meanings of their passages and phrases. Additionally, it shall be to concentrate on textual arrangement and structure.

The methods of reading, copywork, and composition, though separated into their own instruction times in order to give each their due consideration, shall have particular attention given to their interconnectedness.

The sinographic styles used for copywork shall be one of or both the regular or running hands.

Composition instruction shall be to describe in writing matters taught during reading instruction or in other classes, matters encountered in students' daily lives, and matters essential to one's conduct in the world. Their writing shall be kept simple, clear, and to the point.

Even during instruction in other subjects, attention shall always be given to language practice, and when writing sinographs, graphic form and line contour shall be corrected.

3. Irō

The aim of Japanese language instruction is to comprehend convenient and easy Japanese as well as to foster an ability to use it in conducting daily affairs.

Japanese language instruction, beginning from pronunciation and simple conversation, shall proceed to instruction in the methods of reading, copywork, and composition in colloquial Japanese writing.

Japanese language shall be taught selecting from matters of daily necessity in accordance with students' knowledge level, always prioritizing the practical. Also, attention shall be given to pronunciation, and correct conversation shall be thoroughly practiced in connection with the National language.

2. 國語及漢文

國語及漢文은 日常須知의 言語文章을 知케 하며 正確히 思想을 表出케는 能力을 養고 兼히야 智德을 啓發함으로써 要旨로 함.

國語는 發音을 正히 하며 日常須知의 諺文及漢字의 讀法, 書法, 綴法을 教授하고 又 正한 言語를 練習케 함이 可함.

漢文은 平易한 文章을 教授되 其 章句의 意義를 明晰케 하고 兼히야 文理結構에 注意케 함이 可함.

讀法, 書法, 綴法은 各其爲主하는 바에 依히야 教授時間을 區別함을 得되 特히 注意히야 互相聯絡케 함을 要함.

書法에 用하는 漢字의 書體는 階書, 行書의 1種 又는 2種으로 함.

綴法은 讀法 又는 他教科目에서 教授한 事項과 學徒의 日常見聞한 事項及處世에 必要한 事項을 記述케 하고 其行文은 平易히야 旨趣明瞭케 함을 要함.

他教科目を 教授하는 時에도 恒常 言語練習에 注意하고 又 文字를 書케 할 時는 其 字形及字行을 正케 함을 要함.

3. 日語

日語는 平易한 日語를 了解하며 且 使用하는 能力을 得케 히야 處世에 留함으로써 要旨로 함.

日語는 發音及 簡易한 會話로 爲始호되 進호야는 近易한 國語文의 讀法, 書法, 綴法을 教授함이 可함.

日語는 學徒의 知識程度에 伴호야 日常須知의 事項을 選호야 教授호되 恒常 實用을 爲主함이 可호고 又 發音에 注意호며 國語와 聯絡을 取호야 正한 會話를 熟習케 함을 務함이 可함.

C.6 Higher School Ordinance Implementation Guidelines (Kodŭng hakkyo-ryōng sihaeng kyuch'ik 高等學校令施行規則), July 5, 1909.

Ministry of Education Directive no. 4, Section 1, Article 5, Items 2 and 3.

2. Kugō-kŭp-Hanmun

The aim of Kugō-kŭp-Hanmun is to understand common language and writing and to gain an ability to express thoughts and ideas precisely and freely. Additionally, it is to assist in the development of knowledge and virtue.

Kugō instruction shall be the explicated reading of contemporary writings as well as composing practical and simple texts and the instruction in grammar basics and copywork.

Hanmun instruction shall be to elucidate phrasal and passage meanings with explicated readings of common writings. Additionally, it shall be to concentrate on textual arrangement and structure.

3. Irō

The aim of Japanese language instruction is to comprehend common Japanese, as well as to gain an ability to use it to assist in the promotion of knowledge required in conducting daily affairs.

In Japanese language instruction reading, explication, conversation, dictation, copywork, and grammar basics shall be taught, and translation commensurate with schools' term length shall be assigned.

2. 國語及漢文

國語及漢文은 普通의 言語文章을 了解호며 正確無碍히 思想을 表出호는 能力을 得케 호고 兼호야 智德을 啓發함에 資함으로써 要旨로 함.

國語는 現代의 文章를[sic] 講讀케 호고 又 實用簡易한 文을 作케 호며 文法의 大要及 習字를 教授함이 可함.

漢文은 普通文章을 講讀케 호야 句意章意를 明確히 호고 兼호야 文理結構에 注意케 함이 可함.

3. 日語

日語는 普通日語를 了解호고 且 使用호는 能力을 得케 호야 處世上 必要한 知識을 增進함에 資함으로써 要旨로 함.

國語[sic]는 讀法, 解釋, 會話, 書取, 習字, 作文, 文法의 大要를 教授호고 學校 修業年限에 應호야 繙譯을 課함의 可함.

C.7 Teachers' School Ordinance Implementation Guidelines (Sabŏm hakkyo-ryŏng sihaeng kyuch'ik 師範學校令施行規則), July 5, 1909.

Ministry of Education Directive no. 3, Section 1, Article 5, Item 3.

3. Kugŏ-kŭp-Hanmun

The aim is to understand common language and writing and to gain an ability to express thoughts and ideas precisely and freely. It is also to learn the methods of teaching *kungmun* and *hanmun* in common schools. Additionally, it is to assist in the development of a virtuous character.

Kugŏ explicated reading shall focus on clarifying understanding and on pronunciation and parsing/punctuating so that when reading aloud, the reader enables the listener to grasp the writing's force and meaning.

Composition instruction shall prioritize intelligibility, being simple and straight forward. [Composition] topics may be pursued widely from among matters taught in each of the various courses and from matters of daily necessity, selecting what is appropriate for composition based on its practical utility.

Grammar instruction shall be supplementary to reading and composition instruction and its basics shall be taught.

Copywork instruction shall be to correct graphic form and to assure smooth brush movement.

Hanmun instruction shall be in the reading and explication of common writings; and by correcting [sinograph] pronunciations and meanings and by focusing on parsing/punctuating, shall be to clarify textual meaning. Additionally, instruction shall focus on textual arrangement and structure.

3. 國語及漢文

國語及漢文은 普通言語文章을 了解하며 正確無碍히 思想을 表出하는 能力을 得게 하며 且 普通學校의 國語及漢文教授하는 方法을 會得케 하고 兼 해야 智德啓發에 資함으로써 要旨로 함.

國語의 講讀은 理會를 正確히 하며 誦讀할 時에 發音及句讀을 注意하여 讀者及聽者로 하여곰 文勢와 文意를 會得케 함을 務하고 作文은 簡易著實히 하되 達意함을 爲主하며 文題는 該博히 各學科目에서 教授한 事項과 日常必要한 事項에 就하여 實用에 適合한 者를 擇함이 可하고 文法은 講讀及作文에 附帶하여 其 大要를 教授하고 習字는 字形이 端正하고 運筆이 澁滯치 아니 함이 可함.

漢文은 普通文章을 講讀케 하여 音訓을 正히 하고 句讀에 注意하여 句意를 明白히 하고 兼 해야 文理結構에 注意케 함이 可함.

Appendix D – Kabo-era Government Textbooks

Ministry of Education Primary School Textbooks, 1895–1896⁶⁵¹

	Title	Writing style	Subject and content details
Readers	<i>Kungmin sohak tokpon</i> 國民小學讀本 (<i>People's Elementary Reader</i>)	Mixed-script style	new/Western knowledge
	<i>Sohak tokpon</i> 小學讀本 (<i>Elementary Reader</i>)	Mixed-script style	traditional/sinological knowledge
	<i>Yumong hwip'yŏn</i> 牖蒙彙編 (<i>A Collection for the Enlightenment of Children</i>)	Mixed-script style	content reflects traditional primers, especially <i>Tongmong sŏnsŭp</i>
	<i>Sinjŏng simsang sohak</i> 新訂尋常小學. (<i>A New Ordinary Primary School [Reader]</i>)	Mixed-script style	new/Western knowledge; heavily influenced by Japanese and American readers, 3 vols.
Geography	<i>Chosŏn chiji</i> 朝鮮地誌 (<i>Chosŏn Geography</i>)	Mixed-script style	Korean geography
	[<i>Tae</i>]dong yŏjido [大]東輿地圖 (<i>Territorial Map of the Great East</i>)	Mixed-script style	Korean geography
	<i>Yŏjae ch'waryo</i> 輿載撮要 (<i>A Compendium of World Geography</i>)	LS	Korean and universal geography; extract of an 1887 text by O Hoengmuk 吳宏默
	<i>Chigu yangnon</i> 地璆略論 (<i>A Brief Discourse on the World</i>)	Korean-alphabetic style	Korean and universal geography; uses a catechistic format and gives interlinear sinographs for important terms.
	<i>Sohak man'guk chiji</i> 小學萬國地誌 (<i>Primary School Universal Geography</i>)	Mixed-script style	Universal geography
	<i>Samin p'ilchi</i> 士民必知 (<i>Essential Knowledge for Scholar-Officials and Commoners</i>)	LS	Universal geography; an LS translation of Hulbert Homer's pure Korean-alphabetic style <i>Sămin p'ilchi</i> 士民必知
	<i>Sŏrye p'ilchi</i> 西禮必知 (<i>Essential Knowledge of Western Customs</i>)	Mixed-script style	Western geography
History	<i>Chosŏn yŏktae saryak</i> 朝鮮歷代史略 (<i>A Concise Chronicle of Chosŏn History</i>)	LS	Korean history, 3 vols.
	<i>Chosŏn yŏksa</i> 朝鮮歷史 (<i>Chosŏn History</i>)	Mixed-script style	Korean history, 3 vols.
	<i>Chosŏn yaksa</i> 朝鮮略史 (<i>A Brief History of Chosŏn</i>)	Mixed-script style	Korean history
	<i>Man'guk yaksa</i> 萬國略史 (<i>A Concise Universal History</i>)	Mixed-script style	Universal history, 2 vols.

⁶⁵¹ This list is based on a list of Education Ministry textbooks printed in the final pages of *Sinjŏng simsang sohak*.

Ethics	<i>Sukhye kiryak</i> 夙惠記略 (<i>A Brief Record of Youthful Graces</i>)	Mixed-script style	
Arithmetic	<i>Kūni sansul</i> 近易算術 (<i>Easy Arithmetic</i>)	Mixed-script style	2 vols.
	<i>Kani sach'ik sansul</i> 簡易四則算術 (<i>Arithmetic's Four Operations Made Simple</i>)	Mixed-script style	

Appendix E – “Kungmun-non” (“On The National Writing”) by Chu Sigyŏng

Part 1. *Tongnip sinmun*, April 22, 1897

The countries of the earth’s five inhabited continents each have indigenous languages and each a script specific to their country with which to record words and deeds (though, of course, there are those countries that share a language and script with another country). Among these scripts, there are those that record things according to speech sounds and those that draw a certain symbol for a certain word; a script being simply something that represents words and deeds.

Of those scripts that represent words *with words*, there is really nothing more to say, and if, when representing deeds or events, the story of the event is carefully told in words so that the story may be recorded, then the event thereby becomes word. That is to say, if what is spoken can be recorded by a combination of graphs, and then that combination of graphs can be read out and the word breaks and grammatical endings and particles are clearly indicated and their vocalization is the same as when first spoken, only then is this true writing. By contrast, the drawing of a particular graph for a particular word without any other grammatical indications (such as whether a word is processive or descriptive) and if the sounds when first spoken and the sounds when read back are not the same, then it can only rightly be called pictures and not writing.

Furthermore, comparing the difficulty or ease of learning and using these two kinds of script, one that was created to make use of sound, if it makes a distinction between consonants and vowels and represents each one separately, then the sounds of the words spoken may be combined and written according to how they are read back, and therefore the number of graphs can naturally be fewer and the script more rational, making it easy to learn. And with fewer graphs, each made with only a few strokes, it is easy to use. Thus, the creation and use of scripts of this kind is something that is truly well-considered, elegant, and ingenious. On the other hand, a script that draws out one graph per word must attempt to make one graph for every name or spoken word, and so naturally there are tens of thousands of graphs, and because the shape of each must be drawn differently, it follows that their stroke number will increase such that you must toil for several years to attempt to learn all of these tens of thousands of pictures. And their stroke counts being so high they are awkward and time consuming to use. What’s more, because there is no way of knowing by looking at these pictures whether they are being used to indicate the name of something, the movement of something, or to describe something, they are easy to forget. This is a needless waste of time and effort that is truly incomparable in its insensibility and foolishness.

The script made in the ancient European country of Phoenicia combined consonants and vowels in only 26 letters, but because it contained all of people’s speech sounds, there was nothing, even the speech sounds of other countries, that it could not record; and because it was easy to use, today the civilized nations of Europe and the Americas all use this script to record the speech sounds of their nations. But the Chosŏn script is more logical and elegant than the script made in Phoenicia, since it was made with the very close combination of consonant and vowel letters that may sometimes be written with or without a final “pedestal-consonant.” Thus, there is no need to struggle combining consonants and vowels correctly like with Phoenician letters. Also, the way it was made to combine consonant and vowel letters is more orderly and

well-reasoned, and so is much easier to learn; thus, in our view, the Chosŏn script is the world's best, most ingenious script.

Chosŏn originally had no graphs to record language, and so, after Kija came to Chosŏn, when he tried to disseminate Chinese learning, he taught the Chinese script, since it could not be taught by word of mouth alone. Thus, since people trying to learn Chinese books could not but know that script, slowly the amount of people who learned the Chinese script increased. However, because this script is made of one-graph-per-word pictures made completely without thought, its learning and use was difficult. Still, scholarship was learned by painting with these pictures, and in histories and letters too events were communicated; and so, because it was somewhat better than before when this picture writing did not exist, it was used and passed down for several thousand years.

In his efforts to establish enlightened government, however, Sejong the Great of Chosŏn wished to further the spread of learning throughout the country. Thus, he founded many schools in Seoul and in the countryside and called on the country's learned scholars to create books on a variety of topics with which to teach the people. However, worried that the *hanmun* script was difficult and tiresome to learn and use, he created a script that, like the Tibetan script, recorded the sounds of speech so that even a foolish child could learn and understand it in only a day. This he taught to the people (he named it "*hunmin chŏngŭm*," meaning "the teaching of the people and the correcting of the sounds") and had *hanmun* books published that used this script to record meanings. He also created many new books so that all could learn, including even those who did not know *hanmun*. ...

사람들 샤는 짜 덩이 우희 다섯 큰 부쥬 안에 잇는 나라들이 제 각금 본토말들이 잇고 제 각금 본국 글쥬들이 잇서서 각기 말과 일을 기록 하고 흑간 말과 글쥬가 남의 나라와 곱 혼 나라도 잇는디 그중에 말 하는 음디로 일을 기록 해야 표 하는 글쥬도 잇고 무슴 말은 무슴 표라고 그려 놓는 글쥬도 잇는지라 글쥬라 하는거슨 단지 말과 일을 표 하는거시 라 말을 말노 표 하는거슨 다시 말 하자거시 업거니와 일을 표 하자면 그 일의 스연을 자세히 말노 이약이를 하여야 될지라 그 이약이를 기록 하면 곱 말이니 이런 곱로 말 하는 거슨 표로 모하 기록 하여 놓는거시나 표로 모하 기록 하여 노흔것슬 입으로 넘는거시나 말에 마디와 토가 분명 하고 서로음이 똑같아야 이거시 참 글쥬요 무슴 말은 무슴 표라고 그려 놓는거슨 그 표에 움작이는 토나 형용 하는 토나 쏘 다른 여러 가지 토들이 업고 쏘 음이 말 하는것과 곱지 못 하니 이거슨 곱 그림이라고 일홈 하여야 울코 글쥬라 하는 거슨 아쥬 아니 될 말이라 쏘 이 두 가지 글쥬들 중에 비호기와 쓰기에 어렵고 쉬은거슬 비교 해야 말 하면 음을 쥬차 쓰게 문드는 글쥬는 쥬모.....음에 분간 되는것은 각각 표 해야 문드러 노흐면 그 후에는 말을 하는 음이 도라 가난디로 짜라 모하 쓰나니 이러 흠 으로 쥬연히 글쥬 슈가 적고 문리가 잇서 비호기가 쉬으며 글쥬가 몇시 못 되는 곱로 획 수를 적게 문드러 쓰기도 쉬으니 이러케 글쥬들을 문드러 쓰는거슨 참 의스와 규모와 학 문이 잇는 일이요 무슴 말은 무슴 표라고 그려 놓는거슨 물건들의 일홈과 말 하는것 마 다 각각 표를 문드려 훈즉 쥬연히 표들이 몇 만기가 되고 쏘 몇 만기 표의 모양을 다 다르게 그리자 훈즉 쥬연히 획수가 만아져서 이 몇 만가지 그림들을 다 비호자 하면 몇 해 동안 이를 써야 하겟고 쏘 획수들이 문헌 곱로 쓰기가 더디고 거북 흘썸더러 이 그림들의 엇더하거시 일홈진 말 표인지 움작이는 말 표인지 형용 하는 말 표인지 암문 보아도 알수가 업고 쏘 이져 바리기가 쉬으니 이는 썰을 공연히 허비 하고 이를 공연히 쓰자 하는거시니 참 디각이 업고 미련 하기가 짝이 업는 일이라 넷적 유럽 속에 잇든 혜니쉬아

큰 나라에서 모든 글자들은 조모 음을 합 하여 스물 여섯 조로되 사람들의 말 하는 음들은 다 가차없는 고로 엇던 나라 말의 음이던지 기록지 못 할거시 업고 또 쓰기가 쉬음을 인 하여 지금 문명한 유럽 속에 여러 나라들과 아메리카 속에 여러 나라들이 다 이 글조로 저의 나라 말의 음을조차 기록 하여 쓰는지라 조선 글조가 헤너쉬아에서 모든 글조보다 더 유조 하고 규모가 잇게 된거슨 조 모 음을 아조 합 하여 문드러고 단지 받침문림시 하여 너코 아니 너키를 음의 도라 가는디로 쓰나니 헤너쉬아 글조 모양으로 조모 음을 올케 모아 쓰라는 수고가 업고 또 글조의 조 모음을 합 하여 문드러거시 격식과 문리가 더 잇서 비호기가 더욱 쉬으니 우리 생각에는 조선 글조가 세계에 제일 조코 학문이 잇는 글조로 녀히노라 조선이 그장 처음에는 말을 기록 하는 표가 업는 식둠에 그조씩서 조선에 오신 후로 브터 한토 학문을 전 하고자 하신즉 이로 말노문 가르치실 수가 업서 한토 글조를 가르치셨고 한토의 스적을 비호라 하는 사롭들도 그 글조를 모르고는 럽양 하기가 어려운 고로 초초 그 글조를 공부 하는 사롭들이 만하졌는지라 이 글조들은 무슴 말은 무슴 표라고 도모지 학문이 업게 그려 노흔 그림인 고로 비호기가 어렵고 쓰기가 어려오나 이 그림으로 학문도 그려서 비호며 샴기도 그리며 편지도 그려서 스정도 통 하엿시니 그 전에 이런 그림 글조나마 업실 재 보다는 좀 유조 흡이 잇서 몇 천년을 써서 나려 오다가 조선 세종대왕씩서 문명의 정치를 힘쓰샤 더욱 학문을 국중에 넓히시고자 하시고 서울과 시골에 학교를 만히 세우시며 국년에 학식이 잇는 선비들을 불으샤 여러 가지 서책들을 만히 문드러 내시며 빅성을 다 붉게 가르치자 하시나 한문 글조가 비호기와 쓰기에 어렵고 지리 험거슬 넘녀 하시고 서장국 글조를 인 하여 말 하는 음을조차 쓰게 글조들을 어리석은 아히라도 하로 동안문 비호면 다 알게 만드샤 국년에 빅성을 가르치시며(일흠은 훈민정음이라 하섯스니 뜻은 빅성을 가르쳐 음을 바르게 하시는것) 한문 책들을 이 글조로 뜻슬 식여서 판에 박아 내시고 또 새 책들도 만히 문드스 그 한문 글조를 모로논 인민들도 다 알게 하옵섯는지라

Part 2. *Tongnip sinmun*, April 24, 1897

The work of our Great Sage was so incredible that the sounds of the letters are suitable for musical tuning and have an internal rationality that even an ignorant child studying for only a day can fully understand! He reduced the needless waste of time for the people of the entire nation making it simple for everyone—man or woman, old or young, high or low, rich or poor, noble or lowly—and today it is an even more vitally important work to our civilization and government. I am at a loss to fully record my emotions here when I think of his immense contribution. And so, to despise and discard so well-proportioned and excellent a script as this and struggle instead to learn such irrational and difficult pictures as those is not only to forget His great kindness in creating the script but is also to do great hurt and harm to our country and ourselves.

Without a script that is easy to learn and use you will not know anything, since when learning those difficult, nasty pictures you can do nothing else and can develop no other abilities. Plus, of those who waste the ten or so required years in study, more than half are unsuccessful, and of those who wasted those ten years in study and *are* successful, what then do these scholars even know? ... To be told to study [*hanmun*] from the time you are fed at your parents' feet, and to then needlessly waste away your precious youth only to arrive at thirty or forty and be unable to achieve a position by which to sustain yourself, will you then wish to learn any longer? No matter how pitiful you are, will you not be furious? This is why the people are ignorant and poor,

and this is why the country has naturally become dark and enfeebled. How could there be any greater hurt and harm than this?

Were our writing nothing more than the representation of our words then that would be enough, but whether it is because we are immersed in custom or because we seem to impute some mysterious quality to Chinese characters, it is nonetheless truly pathetic. If—as it seems will be the case—our country's people will continue to study nothing else and learn no other new subjects, then our nation will be incapable of breaking free from our dark and enfeebled state, and soon the land and homes we have inherited from our ancestors together with our very bodies and those of our descendants will all fall into the hands of people of some other nation. And whether we become their food or not, the evidence is right before our eyes. This is shocking and distressing! How can this not be a time to take great care!

If, rather than studying picture writing, we instead studied government, domestic and foreign affairs, finance, law, military affairs, navigation, sanitation, economics, technology, commerce, agriculture and other areas of knowledge, how could we not then learn in ten years all there is to know about at least one useful occupation from among these many subjects? And afterward, with everyone working diligently in his own occupation, everyone will become wealthy, and as learning advances our nation will become prosperous and powerful.

I earnestly plead with you my compatriots, my brothers! May you all awaken and urgently go forth in practical pursuits! In our country today, a single hour is of even greater importance and urgency than a whole day in other countries, and so we mustn't waste this most precious and urgent time in learning even a single one of those pictures. The script undertaken on our behalf by our Great Sage is easy to learn and easy to write, and we may record all our affairs with it. And as all may gain time in their youth, we may master useful knowledge for practical pursuits, and each undertake a worthwhile occupation. We may thus become the pillars and mainstays of our country's independence and, as is done for the monarch in other countries, solidly safeguard His Majesty the King. And thus, it shall be that the prosperous and powerful dignity and civilized renown of our country will shine forth to the world.

우리 큰 성인씩서 흐신 스업이여 글즈 음이 음률에 합당 흐고 반절 속이 문리가 잇서 어 리석은 어린 아히라도 하로동안문 공부 흐거드면 넉넉히 다알문 흐도다 전국 인민들의 공연히 재 허비 흐는거슬 덜어 주시고 남녀 노쇼 상하 빈부 귀천 업시 다 일테로 편리케 흐섯시며 더욱 오날날 우리 나라 문명 정치 상에 몬져 쓸 큰 스업이로다 그 크신 은공을 싱각 흐면 감격 흙을 익이여 다 기록 흘수 업도다 이리케 규모가 잇고 죠흔 글즈는 천히 녀어 내 바리고 그러케 문리가 업고 어려운 그림을 이 쓰고 비호는 거슬 글즈 몬드신 큰 은혜를 이져 바릴뿐 더러 우리 나라와 즈기몸에 큰 히와 폐가 되는 거시 잇시니 비호기 와 쓰기 쉬운 글즈가 업시면 모로되 어렵고 어려운 그 몫실 그림을 비호자고 다른 일은 아모것도 못 흐고 다른 지죵는 하나도 못 비호고 십여년을 허비 흐야 공부 흐고셔도 성 취치 못 흐는 사름이 반이 넘으며 또 십여년을 허비 흐야 잘 공부 흐고난디도 그 션비의 아는거시 무엇시뇨……부모 압헤서 밥술이나 엇어 먹을 쟈에는 이거슬 공부 흐노라고 공연히 인심이 두번 오지 아니 흐는 청년을 다 허비 흐야 바리고 삼 스십 디경에 이르도 록 즈기 일신 보준 흘 즉업도 이루지 못 흐고 어느 쟈나 비호라 흐나노 엇지 가련 흐고도 분 흐지 아니 흐리오 이리 흙으로 빅성이 무식 흐고 간난 흙을 인 흐야 즈연히 나라가 어 둑고 약 흐야지는지라 엇지 이것보다 더 큰 히와 폐가 잇시리요 글즈라 흐는거슬 다문 말문 표 흐엿시면 족 흐것마는 풍속에 거릿겨서 그리 흐는지 한문 글즈에는 꼭 무슴 죠 화가 붓흔 줄노 녀혀 그리 흐는지 알수 업시니 진실노 이석흔 일이로다 우리 나라 사름

들이 좋시 이것문 공부 하고 다른 새 스업을 비호지 아니 허가드면 우리 나라이 어둡고 약 힘을 벗지 못 하고 머지 아니 해야 조그의게 전 해야 빛아 내려 오는 전디와 가장과 조그의 신골과 조손들이 다 어느 나라 사름의 손에 드러가 밥이 될지 아지 아지 못 할 증거가 목하에 보이니 참 놀납고 이탄 할 곳이로다 엇지 조심치 아니 할 때리오 만 일 우리로 하여금 그림 글조를 공부 하는 대신의 정치 속에 의회원 공부나 나무 공부나 외무 공부나 지명 공부나 법률 공부나 수륙군 공부나 항해 공부나 위싱 상 경제학 공부나 장식 공부나 장스 공부나 농스 공부나 또 기외의 각식 스업상 공부들을 하면 엇지 십여년 동안에 이 여러 가지 공부 속에서 아모 사름이라도 쓸문한 즉업의 한가지는 잘 졸업할터이니 그후에 각기 조그의 즉분을 착실히 직혀 사름마다 부조가 되고 학문이 널너지면 그제야 바야흐로 우리 나라가 문명 부강 해야 질터이라 간절히 비노니 우리 나라 동포 형데들은 다 씨다라 실상 스업에 급히 나가기를 바라노라 지금 우라 나라 한시 동안은 남의 나라 하로 동안 보다 더 요긴 하고 위급 호오니 그림 한가지 비호자고 이러케 앓갑고 급한 때를 허비 식히지 말고 우리를 위하여 스업 호신 큰 성인씩서 몬드신 글조는 비호기가 쉬고 쓰기도 쉬우니 이 글조들노 모든 일을 기록 하고 사름마다 절머슬 때에 여가를 엇어 실상 스업에 유력한 학문을 익혀 각기 쓸문한 즉업을 직혀서 우리 나라 독립에 기동과 주초가 되어 우리 대군주 폐하씩서 남의 나라 남군과 궂치 튼튼 호시게 보호 해야 드리며 또 우리 나라의 부강한 위엄과 문명한 명예가 세계에 빛나게 호는거시 못당 호도다

Appendix F – Missionary and Secular Private-School Hanmunkwa Textbooks

Textbook	Author/Editor	Year
<i>Samin p'ilchi</i> 土民必知	Homer Hulbert, LS translation by Kim T'aegyöng 金澤榮	1895
<i>Chilli p'yöndok Samjagyöng</i> 眞理便讀 三字經	Griffith John, S. Moffett	1895
<i>Yumong ch'önja/sokp'yön</i> 牖蒙千字/續編	J.S. Gale, Yi Ch'angjik	1901/4
<i>Taedong munsu</i> 大東文粹	Chang Chiyön 張志淵	5 Jun 1907
<i>Ahak py'ön</i> 兒學編	Chi Sögyöng 池錫永	Sep 1907
<i>Monghak hanmun ch'ogye</i> 蒙學漢文初階	Wön Yöngüi 元泳義	Oct 1907
<i>Sohak hanmun tokpon</i> 小學漢文讀本	Wön Yöngüi	Feb 1908
<i>Hanmunhak kyogwasö</i> 漢文學教科書	Yö Kyuhyöng 呂圭亨	15 Feb 1908
<i>Pot'ong kyogwa hanmun tokpon</i> 普通教科漢文讀本	Hwimun'gwan 微文館	15 May 1908
<i>Sinjöng ch'önjamun</i> 新訂千字文	Yi Sönggyo 李承喬	1 July 1908
<i>Ch'odüng changmunpöp</i> 初等作文法	Wön Yöngüi	Oct 1908
<i>Munjang chinam</i> 文章指南	Ch'oe Chaehak 崔在學	3 Dec 1908
<i>Yuhak chach'wi</i> 幼學字聚	Yun Ch'ihö 尹致昊	20 Jan 1909
<i>Soksöng hancha kwabon</i> 速成漢字課本	Hwimun'gwan	20 Mar 1909
<i>Kodüng kyogwa Komun nyaksön</i> 高等教科 古文略選	Yö Kyuhyöng	Sep 1909
<i>Pot'ong kyoyuk hanmun sin-tokpon</i> 普通教育 漢文新讀本	Yi Chongha 李琮夏	22 Feb 1910
<i>Hanmun ch'ohak</i> 漢文初學	Hwang Handong 黃漢東	30 Apr 1910

Appendix G – Comparing Private-School Advanced-Level Hanmunkwa Readers

G.1 Contents of *Yumong sokp'yŏn* 牖蒙續編

Twenty-six authors and forty-one works in forty-nine lessons

Ch	Title	Author
1	Hongbŏm 洪範 (Extract from the “Hongbŏm”)	Kija 箕子
2		
3	Kyeju ron 戒酒論 (“A Warning against Drink”)	Sejong 世宗 (r. 1418–1450)
4	Ch’angp’a p’yŏnju toji 滄波扁舟圖識 (“The Little Boat”)	Sukchong 肅宗 (r. 1674–1720)
5	Hwawang kye 花王戒 (“The Warning of the Flower King”)	Sŏl Ch’ong 薛聰 (655–730)
6	Sang Taesa sijung chang 上大師侍中狀 (“To the Grand Preceptor—an Outline of Korean History”)	Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn 崔致遠 (857–900)
7	*Chip’yŏng-hyŏn Mijisan Yunp’iram ki 砥平縣彌智山潤筆菴記 “The Monastery of Yunp’il”	Yi Saek 李穡 (1328–1396)
8	Manghaeru ki 望海樓記 (“The Pavilion that Looks out to Sea”)	
9	Un’gŭmnu ki 雲錦樓記 (“The Cloud Silk Pavilion”)	
10	Kimhae sansŏng ki 金海山城記 (“The Walled City of Kimhae”)	Chŏng Mongju 鄭夢周 (1337–1392)
11	P’oŭn sŏnsaeng sijip sŏ 圃隱先生詩集序	Ha Yun 河崙 (1347–1416)
12	P’oŭn sŏnsaeng sigo sŏ 圃隱先生詩藁序 (Preface to the “Life of P’oŭn”)	Pyŏn Kyeryang 卞季良 (1369–1430)
13	Kŭnjŏngjŏn sŏ 勤政殿序 (“The Audience Hall”)	Chŏng Tojŏn 鄭道傳 (1342–1398)
14	*Sikp’ajŏng ki 息波亭記 (“The Sikp’a Pavilion”)	Kwŏn Kŭn 權近 (1352–1409)
15	Manghae chi 望海誌 (“A Sea View”)	Yi Kyubo 李奎報 (1168–1241)
16	Saudang ki 四友堂記 (“The Four Friends of the Hall—the Ploughman, the Herdsman, the Fisherman, the Woodcutter”)	Sŏ Kŏjŏng 徐居正 (1420–1488)
17	Un’gŭmnu chung ki 雲錦樓重記 (“Repairing of the Ungŭm Pavilion”)	Sin Sukchu 申叔舟 (1417–1475)
18	*P’ungsu sŏl sangso 風水說上疏 (“A Protest against Geomancy”)	Ŏ Hyoch’ŏm 魚孝贍 (1405–1475)
19		
20		
21	Nakch’ŏnjŏng sŏ 樂天亭序 (“Nakch’ŏn Pavilion”)	Chŏng Inji 鄭麟趾 (1396–1478)
22	<i>Hunmin chŏngŭm</i> sŏ 訓民正音序 (“The Native Script”)	
23	*Hwanch’wijŏng ki 環翠亭記 (“The Pavilion in the Green”)	Kim Chongjik 金宗直 (1431–1492)
24	*Toksŏdang ki 讀書堂記 (“The Hall of Learning”)	Cho Wi 曹偉 (1454–1503)
25	Sip’ye so 時弊疏 (“Present Day Evils”)	Yi I 李珣 (1536–1584)
26		
27		
28		
29		
30	Ch’ŏnggang pu 清江賦 (“The Blue River”)	Pak Hongmi 朴弘美 (1571–1642)
31	Mongp’o sŏl 夢飽說 (“The Dream Feast”)	
32	P’oŭn sŏnsaeng chip chunggan sŏ 圃隱先生集重刊序 (“Preface to Works of P’oŭn”)	Song Siyŏl 宋時烈 (1607–1689)
33	Anjŏng tongyugŏ ki 安靜洞幽居記 (“Life of Anjŏng”)	Cho Kŭksŏn 趙克善 (1595–1658)
34		
35	Kukp’o ki 菊圃記 (“The Chrysanthemum Garden”)	Chŏng Kyŏngse 鄭經世 (1563–1633)
36	Pangan sa 放鴈辭 (“Letting Free the Wild Goose”)	Hong Yangho 洪良浩 (1724–1802)
37	Ch’ŏngp’aru ki 聽波樓記 (“The Pavilion that Listens to the Waves”)	

38	Yoya ilgi 遼野日記 (“Sunrise in Laotung”)	
39	Niwa ki 泥窩記 (“The Hut in the Chingogae”)	
40	Kyegodang ki 稽古堂記 (“The School House”)	
41	Kyemun yönsu pu 薊門烟樹賦 (“The Gossamer Mists of Kyemun”)	
42	Chüŋg Hong Sangsa Sangch’öl kwi Namyang sö 贈洪上舍相喆歸南陽序 “A Letter to Hong Chinsa”	
43	Soyöng kösa Hong Sangch’öl chugap sö 小瀛居士洪相喆周甲序 (“Hong Chinsa’s Cycle Day”)	
44	Ssangch’öngjöng ki 雙清亭記 (“Ssangch’öng Pavilion”)	
45	Yöngp’aru chungsu ki 映波樓重修記 (“Yöngp’a Pavilion”)	
46	Pujihön ki 不知軒記 (“The House of Ignorance”)	
47	Sögyangnu 夕陽樓 (“Sunset Pavilion”)	Nam Kongch’öl 南公轍 (1760–1840)
48	Imsirhak ki 任實學記 (“Studies in Imsil”)	
49	Siudang ki 是憂堂記 (“The House of Care”)	Kang P’ilhyo 姜必孝 (1764–1848)

English-language titles in parenthesis are by Gale.

Selections marked with an asterisk are included in the *Tongmunsön* 東文選.

G.2 Contents of *Taedong munsu* 大東文粹

Fifty authors and works in ninety-three lessons

Ch	Title	Author
1	Hongböm 洪範	Kija 箕子
Sam Han		
2	Yang Paekche Wang sö 讓百濟王書	Mahan Wang 馬韓王
Silla		
3	Tae Mahan Wang 對馬韓王	Ho Kong 瓠公
4	Ch’öng kaejöng kukho kyöm sangwangho 請改正國號兼上王號	Chijüŋg Wang si 智證王時 (437–514)
5	Taesa mun 大赦文	Munmu Wang 文武王 (626–681)
6	Ch’æk Koguryö Wang mun 冊高句麗王文	
7	Yujo 遺詔	
8	Sang Chinp’yöng Wang sö 上眞平王書	Kim Hujik 金后稷
9	Hwa Wang kye 花王戒	Söl Ch’ong 薛聰 (655–730)
10	Sang Kakkan Kim Ch’unggong sö 上角干金忠恭書	Nok Chin 祿眞
11	Kyök Huang Chao sö 檄黃巢書	Ch’oe Chiwön 崔致遠 (857–900)
12	Hansikche chinmang changsa 寒食祭陣亡將士	
13	Tae Kyönhwön ki Koryö Wang sö 代甄萱寄高麗王書	Ch’oe Süngu 崔承祐 (fl. 890–927)
Koguryö		
14	Chinböl Xianbei ch’æk 進伐鮮卑策	Pu Punno 扶芬奴
Paekche		
15	Okchung sang Üija Wang sö 獄中上義慈王書	Söng Ch’ung 成忠 (d. 656)
Koryö		
16	Tap Kyönhwön sö 答甄萱書	Koryö T’aejo 高麗太祖 (887–943)
17	Pyöng Sögyöng hönch’öp p’yo 平西京獻捷表	Kim Pusik 金富軾 (1075–1151)
18	Samsa kibok p’yo 三辭起復表	
19	Taesa Kongbinjöng ki 大師公賓亭記	Yi Illo 李仁老(1152–1220)

20	Chǒngdonggunmaksang tot'ongsangsǒ pugasirang sǒ 征東軍幕上都統尚書 副使侍郎書	Yi Kyubo 李奎報 (1168–1241)
21	Kyeyang chaodang ki 桂陽自娛堂記	
22	Manghae chi 望海誌	
23	Ruizong ch'anghwajip palmi 睿宗唱和集跋尾	
24	Myǒng Pano mun 命班斲文	
25	Yǒ Kim Riji susǒ 與金履之手書	
26	Paekhwa sǒnwǒn chǒngdangnu ki 白華禪院政堂樓記	Yi Chaehyǒn 李齊賢 (1287–1367)
27	Song sinwǒn oebuksang sǒ 送辛員外北上序	
28	Wǒn suhan 原水旱	Yi Kok 李穀 (1298–1351)
29	Ron Sin Ton so 論辛旽疏	Yi Chono 李存吾 (1341–1371)
30	Kimhae sansǒng ki 金海山城記	Chǒng Mongju 鄭夢周 (1337–1392)
31	Song Pak Chungsǒ kwigŭn sǒ 送朴中書歸觀序	Yi Saek 李穡 (1328–1396)
32	P'an Samsa sa Ch'oe gong hwasang ch'an pyǒngsǒ 判三司事崔公畫像贊并序	
33	Suwǒnbu kaeksa chijǒng ki 水原府客舍池亭記	
34	Namgok ki 南谷記	
35	Kijŭng Yu Saam sigwǒn sǒ 寄贈柳思菴詩卷序	
36	Aeak cham 愛惡箴	Yi Talch'ung 李達衷 (d. 1385)
37	Che ch'ǒnbong sigo hu 題千蜂詩藁後	
Kukcho 國朝文(朝鮮文)		
38	Sang Kongyang Wang chǒn 上恭讓王箋	High Emperor T'aejo 太祖高皇帝 (r. 1392–1398)
39	Sa Chǒng Tojǒn sǒ 賜鄭道傳書	
40	Yu Hoenyǒng Ch'ǒlchesa Yi Chingok sǒ 諭會寧節制使李澄玉書	Sejong 世宗 (r. 1418–1450)
41	In Hwanghaedo yǒkchosǒng chǒnjang chemun 因黃海道疫棗城戰場祭文	Munjong 文宗 (r. 1450–1452)
42	Sa seja hunsa pyǒngsǒ 賜世子訓辭并序	Sejo 世祖 (r. 1455–1468)
43	Yu Hǒ Chong 諭許綜	Sǒngjong 成宗 (r. 1469–1494)
44	Ha kungnyo sǒ 下宮僚書	Injong 仁宗 (r. 1544–1545)
45	Sa ch'ilsin yugyo 賜七臣遺教	Sǒnjo 宣祖 (r. 1567–1608)
46	Sa Wanp'ung Puwǒn'gun Yi Sǒ sǒ 賜完豐府院君李曙書	Injo 仁祖 (r. 1623–1649)
47	Sa Inp'yǒng Taegun sǒ 賜麟坪大君書	Hyojong 孝宗 (r. 1649–1659)
48	Kye chu yunŭm 戒酒綸音	Sukchong 肅宗 (r. 1674–1720)
49	Yuk sin'gwan yunŭm 六臣官綸音	
50	Hunmin chǒngŭm husǒ 訓民正音後序	
51	Yǒ Yi Ch'unbang Chinyǒng sǒ 與李春坊鎮衡書	Chǒngjo 正祖 (r. 1776–1800)
52	Tap hong Pong Choha sǒ 答洪奉朝賀書	
53	Munsukkong Ch'ae Chegong changilch'i chemun 文肅公蔡濟恭葬日致祭文	
54	Song sin Chinsa Han Yumun sǒ 送新進士韓有紋序	Kwǒn Kŭn 權近 (1352–1409)
55	Ŭnmun Mogŭn Sǒnsaeng munjip sǒ 恩門牧隱先生文集序	
56	Ch'ǒnmundo chi 天文圖誌	
57	Milbong sǒl 蜜蜂說	
58	Pak P'ansa Ilbon haengnok pal 朴判事日本行錄跋	Yi Ch'ǒm 李詹 (1345–1405)
59	Hong Inwǒn ki 弘仁院記	
60	Tap chǒnbu 答田父	Chǒng Tojǒn 鄭道傳 (1342–1398)
61	Pul Ssi hwabok chi pyǒn 佛氏禍福之辨	
62	Baili Xi ron 百里奚論	Yi Hoe 尹淮 (1380–1436)

63	Song Ch'oe Chubu kwiyang sisö 送崔注簿歸養詩序	Söng Sammun 成三問 (1418–1456)
64	<i>Samgang haengsil pal</i> 三綱行實跋	Chöng Ch'ö 鄭招 (d. 1434)
65	P'alchun ch'an pyöngsö 八駿贊并序	Yi Kyejön 李季甸 (1404–1459)
66	<i>Hunmin chöngüm sö</i> 訓民正音序	Chöng Inji 鄭麟趾 (1396–1478)
67	Song Kim Chinsa sö 送金進士序	Kim Chongjik 金宗直(1431–1492)
68	Tap Nam Ch'ugang sö 答南秋江書	Sö Köjöng 徐居正 (1420–1488)
69	Chinil chip sö 眞逸集序	
70	Tap Cho Könjung sö 答曹樾仲書	Yi Hwang 李滉(1501–1570)
71	Song Im Chwarang chusa t'ongjesa chongsagwan sö 送林佐郎舟師 統制使從事官序	Ch'oe Rip 崔岙(1539–1612)
72	Yi Soyun soyu kohwa 李少尹所有古畫	
73	Chüng Kye Tal sö 贈季達序	Kim Ch'anghyöp 金昌協 (1651–1708)
74	Chüng Hyön Saeng Yakho sö 贈玄生若昊序	
75	Song Hong Sisuk T'aekpo che Hongch'ön sö 送洪施叔澤普宰洪川 序	
76	Chewöltang ki 霽月堂記	Chang Yu 張維 (1587–1638)
77	Yongjoltang ki 用拙堂記	
78	Chapsul 雜述	
79	Saodang si sö 四吾堂詩序	
80	Töksu Chang Ssi kasüng sö 德水張氏家承序	
81	Sangch'on chip sö 象村集序	
82	P'oun sönsaeng chip chunggan sö 圃隱先生集重刊序	Song Siyöl 宋時烈 (1607–1689)
83	Yoya ilch'ul ki 遼野日出記	Hong Yangho 洪良浩 (1724–1802)
84	Yöngp'aru chungsu ki 映波樓重修記	Pak Chiwön 朴趾源 (1737–1805)
85	Chega ch'ongbu söi 諸家總附說	
86	Tap Ch'angae 答蒼崖	
87	Yö Ch'igyü 與釋圭	
88	Yö in 與人	
89	Tap in 答人	
90	Yö Sinjon 與伸存	
91	Sön'gyultang ki 蟬橋堂記	
92	Yö Chungwan 與仲觀	
93	Nokch'ön'gwan chip sö 綠天館集序	

G.3 Contents of *Hanmunhak kyogwasö*, vol. 1 漢文學教科書 卷一

Thirty-seven authors and works in fifty-five lessons

Ch	Title	Author
1	Myöngjang uyöl lon 明章優劣論	Chöngjo 正祖 (1752–1800)
2	Kwa söi 過說	Yi Köñch'ang 李建昌 (1852–1898)
3	Maengmin non 孟敏論	
4	Üng söi 鷹說	
5	Myöngsil hae 名實解	Yu Sinhwan 俞莘煥 (1801–1859)
6	Samjaja söi 三子字說	Sin Taeu 申大羽 (1735–1809)
7	Toksamja söi chüng Yusaeng 讀三子說贈俞生	Kim Maesun 金邁淳 (1776–1840)
8	Chakch'i söi 鵲鴟說	
9	Hüidae öja ch'uk 戲代漁者祝	

10	Oksae ron 玉璽論	Pak Chiwŏn 朴趾源 (1737–1805)
11	Myŏng non 名論	
12	Kwansi sŏl 觀市說	Yun Ki 尹愷 (1741–1826)
13	Mich'o sŏl 眉樵說	Pak Hyosŏng 朴孝成 (1710–??)
14	Samyu pyŏn 三宥辨	Hong Sŏkchu 洪奭周 (1774–1842)
15	Chingak pyŏn 懲惡辨	
16	Suyang pyŏn 首陽辨	Sŏ Myŏngŭng 徐命膺 (1716–1787)
17	Song Injong non 宋仁宗論	Hwang Kyŏngwŏn 黃景源 (1709–1787)
18	Pyŏng hae 病解	Cho Kumyŏng 趙龜命 (1693–1737)
19	Waeryŏ sŏl 倭驢說	
20	Ilchuk ong sŏl 一竹翁說	
21	Hyŏng hae 形解	Hong Yangho 洪良浩 (1724–1802)
22	Och'wigŏl pyŏn 五就桀辨	
23	Pan tongyŏppongje pyŏn 反桐葉封弟辨	
24	Hanmuje ron 漢武帝論	Yi Ch'ŏnbo 李天輔 (1698–1761)
25	Chŏlgŭk pyŏn 折屐辨	Ch'oe Ch'angdae 崔昌大 (1669–1720)
26	Yi Hang chungoesojinihae ilchŏlbop'a ron 李沆中外所陳利害一切報罷論	Pak T'aebo 朴泰輔 (1654–1689)
27	Tokchin tongp'o kongmyŏng non 讀陳同甫孔明論	Kim Ch'anghyŏp 金昌協 (1651–1708)
28	Chugong non 周公論	
29	Cho sŏl 釣說	Nam Kuman 南九萬 (1629–1711)
30	Oksŏk 玉石	Yun Sŏn'gŏ 尹宣舉 (1610–1669)
31	Yunch'ungja sŏl 尹滌字說	Song Siyŏl 宋時烈 (1607–1689)
32	Waesong sŏl 矮松說	Yi Sik 李植 (1584–1647)
33	Mulhwa sŏl 物化說	Yi Sugwang 李睟光 (1563–1628)
34	Uŏn 寓言	Chang Yu 張維 (1587–1638)
35	Kwan'go ron 貫高論	
36	Hanjo pullokkisin non 漢朝不錄紀信論	
37	Siguk sŏl 蒔菊說	Yu Mongjin 柳夢寅 (1559–1623)
38	Hyŏn ong sŏl 玄翁說	Sin Hŭm 申欽 (1566–1628)
39	Hae tam 海談	Yi Hangbok 李恒福 (1556–1618)
40	Ilch'i illan sŏl 一治一亂說	Yi I 李珥 (1536–1584)
41	Ŏphu hodam sinsŏn non 鄴侯好談神仙論	Yu Sŏngnyong 柳成龍 (1542–1607)
42	*Ilbon'guk kŏsa chungjunja sŏl 日本國居士重俊字說	Kim Chongjik 金宗直 (1431–1492)
43	Tŭngsan sŏl 登山說	Kang Hŭimaeng 姜希孟 (1424–1483)
44	Samch'i sŏl 三雉說	
45	*Chu ong sŏl 舟翁說	Kwŏn Kŭn 權近 (1352–1409)
46	*Tap chŏnbu 答田父	Chŏng Tojŏn 鄭道傳 (1342–1398)
47	Yunhoe pyŏn 輪回辨	
48	*Choyong 嘲慵	Sŏng Hyŏn 成俔 (1439–1504)
49	*Mul pulgai kuhap non 物不可以苟合論	
50	*Kaek tae 客對	Yi Ch'ŏm 李詹 (1345–1405)
51	*Chop'o ch'unghyo ron 趙苞忠孝論	Yi Kok 李穀 (1298–1351)
52	T'oryŏng mun 土靈問	Yi Kyubo 李奎報 (1168–1241)
53	Yongp'ung 慵諷	
54	*Isangja tae 異相者對	
55	*Tae oejo ũi 待外祖議	Kim Pusik 金富軾 (1075–1151)

G.4 Contents of *Hanmunhak kyogwasö*, vol. 2 漢文學教科書 卷二

Thirty-one authors and essays in forty-six lessons

Ch	Title	Author
#	Title	Author
Qing		
1	Peng E feng Jimo lun 烹阿封即墨論	Zeng Guofan 曾國藩 (1811–1872)
2	Yuan shi 原士	Yuan Mei 袁枚 (1716–1797)
3	Ai wu shuo 愛物說	
4	Liuhouzhu kebi Qi Hwan lun 劉後主可比齊桓論	
5	Bo Hou Chaozong 'Yu Qian' lun 駁侯朝宗于謙論	
6	Lun gouzang 論狗葬	Lu Ciyun 陸次雲 (fl. 1662)
7	Junxian lun 郡縣論	Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613–1682)
8	Juan Buyi lun 雋不疑論	Wei Xi 魏禧 (1624–1681)
9	Han zhongwang chengdi lun 漢中王稱帝論	
10	Mingzhe zaowu suoji bian 名者造物所忌辨	Mao Xinglai 茅星來 (1678–1748)
11	Taibo san rang lun 泰伯三讓論	Lu Longqi 陸隴其 (1630–1693)
12	Fan Zeng lun 范增論	Feng Jing 馮景 (1652–1715)
13	Zifang ji Qin lun 子房擊秦論	Mao Jike 毛際可 (1633–1708)
14	Yuan ren 原人	Fang Bao 方苞 (1668–1749)
15	Wang Meng lun 王猛論	Hou Fangyu 侯方域 (1618–1655)
16	Taizi Dan lun 太子丹論	
Ming		
17	Lin Xiangru wanbi gui Zhao lun 藺相如完璧歸趙論	Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526–1590)
18	Renjiang lun 任將論	He Jingming 何景明 (1483–1521)
19	Xinlingjun jiu Zhao lun 信陵君救趙論	Tang Shunzhi 唐順之 (1507–1560)
20	Shi Wangsheng Guozhen 示王生國振	Wang Shenzhong 王慎中 (1509–1559)
21	Shougeng shuo 守耕說	Gui Youguang 歸有光 (1507–1571)
22	Nongshuo zeng Wei Shanzi 農說贈薇山子	Li Mengyang 李夢陽 (1472–1529)
23	Lizhi shuo 立志說	Wang Shouren 王守仁 (given name of Wang Yangming 王陽明; 1472–1529)
24	Yurang lun 豫讓論	Fang Xiaoru 方孝孺 (1357–1402)
Yuan		
25	Maiganzhe yan 賣柑者言	Liu Ji 劉基 (1311–1375)
Song		
26	Bo yi - wuze 博議 - 五則	Lü Zuqian 呂祖謙 (1137–1181)
27	Yueyi lun 樂毅論	Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101)
28	Zhanguo renxia lun 戰國任俠論	
29	Liuhou lun 留侯論	
30	Tang lun 唐論	
31	Zongqiu lun 縱囚論	Zeng Gong 曾鞏 (1019–1083)
32	Pengdang lun 朋黨論	Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072)
33	Liang Taizu lun 梁太祖論	
34	Lingguan chuan lun 伶官傳論	
35	Huanzhe lun 宦者論	
36	Tongxue yishou bie Zigu 同學一首別子固	Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086)
37	Ai lian shuo 愛蓮說	Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073)
38	Duhua pian 蠹化篇	Lu Guimeng 陸龜蒙 (d. 881)

39	Yuju dui 寓居對	Sun Qiao 孫樵 (fl. 860–888)
40	Jie huo 解惑	Li Ao 李翱 (772–841)
41	Bushezhe shuo 捕蛇者說	Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773–819)
42	Hu shuo 鵲說	
43	Bangyu 謗譽	
44	Huolin jie 獲麟解	Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824)
45	Hui bian 諱辨	
46	Yuan hui 原毀	

G.5 Contents of *Munjang cinam* 文章指南

Eighteen authors and thirty-four essays in sixty-one lessons (Five Korean authors and essays in six lessons)

Ch	Title	Author
1	Pengdang lun 朋黨論	Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072)
2		
3	Ban jian lun 辦奸論	Su Xun 蘇洵 (1009–1066)
4		
5	Zongqiu lun 縱囚論	Ouyang Xiu
6	Chunqiu lun 春秋論	Su Xun
7		
8		
10	Liuhou lun 留侯論	Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101)
11		
12	Fan Zeng lun 范增論	
13		
14	Shi shuo 師說	Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824)
15		
16	Milbong söl 蜜蜂說	Kwön Kün 權近 (1352–1409)
17	Bushezhe shuo 捕蛇者說	Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773–819)
18		
19	Ai lian shuo 愛蓮說	Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073)
20	Boyi leizhuan 伯夷列傳	Sima Qian 司馬遷 (d. c. 86 BC)
21		
22		
23	Fangshanzi zhuan 方山子傳	Su Shi
24	Ziren zhuan 梓人傳	Liu Zongyuan
25		
26		
27	Gumu tan xi xiao qiu ji 鉞潭西小邱記	
28	Jian yuan timing ji 諫院題名記	Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086)
29	Yueyanglou ji 岳陽樓記	Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989–1056)
30		
31	Xiyu ting ji 喜雨亭記	Su Shi
32		
33	Un'gümnu ki 雲錦樓記	Yi Saek 李穡 (1328–1396)
34	Kyeyang chaodang ki 桂陽自娛堂記	Yi Kyubo 李奎報 (1168–1241)
35		

36	Zhenshitang ji 政事堂記	Li Hua 李華 (715–766)
37	Song Li Yuan guipangu xu 送李愿歸盤谷序	Han Yu
38		
39	Song Dong Shaonan xu 送董邵南序	
40	Kuli zhuan xu 酷吏傳序	Sima Qian
41	Che ch'ōngbong sisung hu 題千峯詩嵩後	Yi Sungin 李崇仁 (1347–1392)
42	<i>Samgang haengsil pal</i> 三綱行實跋	Chōng Ch'o 鄭招 (d. 1434)
43	Diaogu zhanchang wen 弔古戰場文	Li Hua
44		
45		
46	Eyu wen 鱔魚文	Han Yu
47		
48	Ji shier lang wen 祭十二郎文	
49		
51		
52	Bao Yanhui Wang shu 報燕惠王書	Yue Yi 樂毅 (-)
53		
54		
55	Shang Yu Xiangyang shu 上于襄陽書	Han Yu
56		
57	Shang Shumi Han Taiwei shu 上樞密韓太尉書	Su Zhe 蘇轍 (1039–1112)
58		
59	Kongzi shijia zan 孔子世家贊	Sima Qian
60	Boyi song 伯夷頌	Han Yu
61	Loushi ming 陋室銘	Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772–842)

G.6 Contents of *Kodŭng kyogwa komun yaksŏn* 高等教科 古文略選

Seventeen authors and fifty essays in fifty lessons

Ch	Title	Author
Han		
1	Chu shi biao 出師表	Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181–234)
2	Hou chu shi biao 後出師表	
Tang		
3	Tengwang Ge Xu 滕王閣序	Wang Bo 王勃 (649–676)
4	Yuan ren 原人	Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824)
5	Yuan dao 原道	
6	Ping zhun xi bei 平淮西碑	
7	Nan Hai shenmiao bei 南海神廟碑	
8	Eyu wen 鱔魚文	
9	Song Meng Dongye xu 送孟東野序	
10	Song Shi Hong chushi xu 送石洪處士序	
11	Song Wen zao chushi xu 送溫造處士序	
12	Song Li Yuan gui pangu xu 送李愿歸盤谷序	
13	Shi shuo 師說	
14	Za shuo 雜說	
15	Hui bian 諱辨	

16	Lantanxian chengtingbi ji 藍田縣丞廳壁記	
17	Mao Ying zhuan 毛穎傳	
18	Ziren zhuan 梓人傳	Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773–819)
19	Bushezhe shuo 捕蛇者說	
20	Zhongshu Guo Tuotuo zhuan 種樹郭橐駝傳	
21	Jin Mengong wenshou yuan yi 晉門公問守原議	
22	Lianzhoujun fu ruxue ji 連州郡復乳穴記	
23	Song Xue Cunyi xu 送薛存義序	
Song		
24	Efanggong fu 阿房宮賦	Du Mu 杜牧 (803–852)
25	Dailouyuan ji 待漏院記	Wang Yucheng 王禹偁 (954–1001)
26	Du Mengchangjun zhuan 讀孟嘗君傳	Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086)
27	Jian yuan tingming ji 諫院題名記	Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086)
28	Xiangzhou Zhoujintang ji 相州畫錦堂記	Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072)
29	Zuiwengting ji 醉翁亭記	
30	Qiusheng fu 秋聲賦	
31	Song Xu Wudang nan gui xu 送徐無黨南歸序	
32	Pengdang lun 朋黨論	
33	Zupu xu 族譜序	
34	Zhang Yizhou shu xiang ji 張益州書像記	Su Xun 蘇洵 (1009–1066)
35	Mu Jiashan ji 木假山記	
36	Chaozhou Han Wengong miaobei 潮州韓文公廟碑	
37	Qian Chibi fu 前赤壁賦	Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101)
38	Hou Chibi fu 後赤壁賦	
39	Liuyi jushi ji xu 六一居士集序	
40	Sanhuaitang ming 三槐堂銘	
41	Lingxutai ji 凌虛臺記	
42	Lijun shanfang ji 李君山房記	
43	Xiyu ting ji 喜雨亭記	
44	Si Pusage ji 四菩薩閣記	
45	Shang Shumi Han Taiwei shu 上樞密韓太尉書	Su Zhe 蘇轍 (1039–1112)
46	Yao jie 藥戒	Lei Zhang 張耒 (1054–1114)
47	Yu Qin shaoyou shu 與秦少游書	Chen Shidao 陳師道 (1053–1101)
48	Zichang you zeng Gebang shi 子長遊贈蓋邦式	Ma Cun 馬存 (d. 1096)
49	Ai lian shuo 愛蓮說	Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073)
50	Xi ming 西銘	Zhang Zai 張載 (1020–1077)

G.7 Shared Korean authors and essays in *Yumong sokp'yŏn*, *Tadong munsu*, *Hanmunhak kyogwasŏ*, vol. 1, and *Munjang chinam*.

<i>Yumong sokp'yŏn</i>	<i>Tadong munsu</i>	<i>Hanmunhak kyogwasŏ</i> , vol. 1	<i>Munjang chinam</i>
(1) Kija 箕子 “Hongbŏm 洪範”	(1) Kija 箕子 “Hongbŏm 洪範”		
(1) Sŏl Ch'ong 薛聰 “Hwawang kye 花王戒”	(1) Sŏl Ch'ong 薛聰 “Hwawang kye 花王戒”		

(1) Ch'oe Chiwŏn 崔致遠	(2) Ch'oe Chiwŏn 崔致遠		
	(2) Kim Pusik 金富軾	(1) Kim Pusik 金富軾	
(1) Yi Kyubo 李奎報 "Manghae-ji 望海誌"	(6) Yi Kyubo 李奎報 "Manghae-ji 望海誌"	(3) Yi Kyubo 李奎報 "Kyeyang chaodang ki 桂陽自娛堂記"	(1) Yi Kyubo 李奎報 "Kyeyang chaodang ki 桂陽自娛堂記"
(3) Yi Saek 李穡 "Un'gŭmnu ki 雲錦樓記"	(5) Yi Saek 李穡		(1) Yi Saek 李穡 "Un'gŭmnu ki 雲錦樓記"
(1) Chŏng Mongju 鄭夢周 "Kimhae sansŏng ki 金海山城記"	(1) Chŏng Mongju 鄭夢周 "Kimhae sansŏng ki 金海山城記"		
(1) Chŏng Tojŏn 鄭道傳	(2) Chŏng Tojŏn 鄭道傳 "Tap chŏnbu 答田父"	(2) Chŏng Tojŏn 鄭道傳 "Tap chŏnbu 答田父"	
	(2) Yi Ch'ŏm 李詹	(1) Yi Ch'ŏm 李詹	
(1) Kwŏn Kŭn 權近	(4) Kwŏn Kŭn 權近 "Milbong sŏl 蜜蜂說"	(1) Kwŏn Kŭn 權近	(1) Kwŏn Kŭn 權近 "Milbong sŏl 蜜蜂說"
		(1) Chŏng Ch'o 鄭招 "Samgang haengsil pal 三綱行實跋"	(1) Chŏng Ch'o 鄭招 "Samgang haengsil pal 三綱行實跋"
(1) Sejong 世宗	(1) Sejong 世宗		
(2) Chŏng Inji 鄭麟趾 "Hunmin chŏngŭm-sŏ 訓民正音序"	(1) Chŏng Inji 鄭麟趾 "Hunmin chŏngŭm-sŏ 訓民正音序"		
(1) Sŏ Kŏjŏng 徐居正	(2) Sŏ Kŏjŏng 徐居正		
(1) Kim Chongjik 金宗直	(1) Kim Chongjik 金宗直	(1) Kim Chongjik 金宗直	
(1) Yi I 李珣		(1) Yi I 李珣	
	(4) Chang Yu 張維	(3) Chang Yu 張維	
(1) Song Siyŏl 宋時烈 "P'oŭn Sŏnsaeng chip chunggan sŏ 圃隱先生集重刊序"	(1) Song Siyŏl 宋時烈 "P'oŭn Sŏnsaeng chip chunggan sŏ 圃隱先生集重刊序"	(1) Song Siyŏl 宋時烈	
	(4) Kim Ch'anhyŏp 金昌協	(1) Kim Ch'anhyŏp 金昌協	
(1) Sukchong 肅宗	(3) Sukchong 肅宗		
	(3) Chŏngjo 正祖	(1) Chŏngjo 正祖	
(11) Hong Yangho 洪良浩 "Yŏngp'aru chungsu-ki 映波樓重修記"	(2) Hong Yangho 洪良浩 "Yŏngp'aru chungsu-ki 映波樓重修記"	(3) Hong Yangho 洪良浩	
	(9) Pak Chiwŏn 朴趾源	(2) Pak Chiwŏn 朴趾源	

* Numbers within parentheses refer to the number of works within a textbook by a given author.

G.8 Shared Chinese authors and essays in *Hanmunhak kyogwasŏ*, *Munjang chinam*, and *Komun yaksŏn*

<i>Hanmunhak kyogwasŏ</i> , vol. 2	<i>Munjang chinam</i>	<i>Komun yaksŏn</i>
(5) Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 "Pengdang lun 朋黨論" "Zongqiu lun 縱囚論"	(2) Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 "Pengdang lun 朋黨論" "Zongqiu lun 縱囚論"	(5) Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 "Pengdang lun 朋黨論"
	(2) Su Xun 蘇洵	(3) Su Xun 蘇洵

(3) Su Shi 蘇軾 “Liuhou lun 留侯論”	(4) Su Shi 蘇軾 “Liuhou lun 留侯論” “Xiyu ting ji 喜雨亭記”	(9) Su Shi 蘇軾 “Xiyu ting ji 喜雨亭記”
(3) Han Yu 韓愈 “Hui bian 諱辨”	(7) Han Yu 韓愈 “Shi shuo 師說” “Eyu wen 鱈魚文” “Song Li Yuan gui pangu xu 送李愿歸盤谷序”	(14) Han Yu 韓愈 “Hui bian 諱辨” “Shi shuo 師說” “Eyu wen 鱈魚文” “Song Li Yuan gui pangu xu 送李愿歸盤谷序”
(3) Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 “Bushezhe shuo 捕蛇者說”	(3) Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 “Bushezhe shuo 捕蛇者說” “Ziren zhuan 梓人傳”	(6) Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 “Bushezhe shuo 捕蛇者說” “Ziren zhuan 梓人傳”
(1) Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 “Ai lian shuo” 愛蓮說	(1) Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 “Ai lian shuo” 愛蓮說	(1) Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 “Ai lian shuo” 愛蓮說
	(1) Su Zhe 蘇轍 “Shang Shumi Han Taiwei shu 上樞密韓太尉書”	(1) Su Zhe 蘇轍 “Shang Shumi Han Taiwei shu 上樞密韓太尉書”
(1) Wang Anshi 王安石		(1) Wang Anshi 王安石
(1) Sima Guang 司馬光		(1) Sima Guang 司馬光
“Jian yuan tingming ji 諫院題名記”		“Jian yuan tingming ji 諫院題名記”

* Numbers within parentheses refer to the number of essays within a textbook by a given author.

G.9 Essay Genres in the Advanced-level Hanmunkwa Readers

Genre	<i>Yumong sokp'yŏn</i>	<i>Taedong munsu</i>	<i>Hanmunhak kyogwasŏ, 1</i>	<i>Hanmunhak kyogwasŏ, 2</i>	<i>Munjang chinam</i>	<i>Komun nyaksŏn</i>
<i>nonbyŏn</i> 論辨	2	6	49	42	10	9
<i>hae</i> 解	–	–	3	2	–	–
<i>ŭi</i> 議	–	–	1	1	–	1
<i>ron</i> 論	1	1	14	25	6	1
<i>pyŏn</i> 辨		1	7	2	–	1
<i>sŏl</i> 說	1	2	19	7	4	4
<i>ch'aek</i> 策	–	1	–	–	–	–
<i>taemun</i> 對問	–	–	3	1	–	–
<i>wŏn</i> 原	–	1	–	3	–	2
<i>ŏn</i> 言	–	–	1	1	–	–
<i>sŏbal</i> 序跋	7	17	1	–	3	3
<i>sŏ</i> 序	7	13	–	–	1	3
<i>pal</i> 跋	–	4	–	–	1	–
<i>che</i> 題	–	–	–	–	1	–
<i>tok</i> 讀	–	–	1	–	–	–
<i>chuŭi</i> 奏議	3	13	–	–	–	2
<i>chŏn</i> 箋	–	1	–	–	–	–
<i>chang</i> 狀	1	–	–	–	–	–
<i>p'yo</i> 表	–	2	–	–	–	2

<i>sangsŏ</i> 上書	–	7	–	–	–	–
<i>so</i> 疏	2	1	–	–	–	–
<i>ch'aengmun</i> 冊文	–	1	–	–	–	–
<i>tae</i> 對	–	1	–	–	–	–
<i>sŏdok</i> 書牘	–	10	–	–	6	3
<i>sŏ</i> 書	–	8	–	–	3	2
<i>mun</i> 文	–	2	–	–	3	1
<i>chŭngsŏ</i> 贈序	1	9	–	–	2	6
<i>chŭngsŏ</i> 贈序	1	2	–	–	–	–
<i>songsŏ</i> 送序	–	7	–	–	2	6
<i>choryŏng</i> 詔令	–	12	–	–	–	–
<i>cho</i> 詔	–	1	–	–	–	–
<i>kyo</i> 教	–	1	–	–	–	–
<i>sŏ</i> 書	–	6	–	–	–	–
<i>yu</i> 諭	–	2	–	–	–	–
<i>yunŭm</i> 綸音	–	2	–	–	–	–
<i>chŏnjang</i> 傳狀	–	–	–	–	3	4
<i>chŏn</i> 傳	–	–	–	–	3	4
<i>piji</i> 碑誌	1	2	–	–	–	3
<i>pi</i> 碑	–	–	–	–	–	3
<i>chi</i> 誌	1	2	–	–	–	–
<i>chapki</i> 雜記	20	12	–	–	7	12
<i>ki</i> 記	20	12	–	–	7	12
<i>chammyŏng</i> 箴銘	1	2	–	–	1	3
<i>cham</i> 箴	–	1	–	–	–	–
<i>myŏng</i> 銘	–	–	–	–	1	2
<i>kye</i> 戒	1	1	–	–	–	1
<i>songch'an</i> 頌讚	–	–	–	–	2	–
<i>song</i> 頌	–	–	–	–	1	–
<i>ch'an</i> 贊	–	–	–	–	1	–
<i>sabu</i> 辭賦	3	–	–	–	–	4
<i>sa</i> 辭	1	–	–	–	–	–
<i>pu</i> 賦	2	–	–	–	–	4
<i>aeje</i> 哀祭	–	3	1	–	–	–
<i>chaemun</i> 祭文	–	3	–	–	–	–
<i>ch'uk</i> 祝	–	–	1	–	–	–
<i>chapchŏ</i> 雜著	3	7	5	4	–	1

Appendix H – “Non Hanmun-Kungmun 論漢文國文” (“On *Hanmun* and *Kungmun*”) by Yō Kyuhyōng

Taedong hakhoe wōlbo 大東學會月報, no. 1 (February 25, 1908), 52–3.

Writing (*mun* 文) is the visible manifestation of the Way (*to* 道) in words. The ancient saying that, “The Ultimate Way has no writing,”⁶⁵² meant that the Way cannot be expressed in language; but the Way cannot travel of its own accord and so requires writing to be transmitted. Were one to lay such great importance upon his mind that he cast away the outward bodily form of ears, eyes, mouth and nose, he could not be considered human.

Fu Xi invented knotted cords for record keeping; the scribes and emperors created the sinographs; there were written works in the fiefdom of Yu and the Xia, Shang, and Zhou dynasties; and since Confucius’ day we have not been without a record of words and deeds. The totality of this record is what we call “writing.” Writing *is* the Way, and the Way *is* writing. Later, when composing the *Book of Han*, Ban Gu (AD 32–92) divided the Confucian scholars (*yurim* 儒林) and the belletrists (*munwōn* 文苑) into two groups, and in general when considering these men’s careers, those expert in Confucianism were not expert in literature, while those expert in literature were not expert in Confucianism. Though he divided the men in this way, it was not to say that the Way and writing were divisible.

Writing is transmitted in script. Cangjie’s Small Seal Script and the Shizhou dictionary’s Greater Seal Script were used anciently, while Cheng Miao’s Regular Scripts have been used till at the present day this is what we call “*hanmun*.”

We Koreans, from the time that Tan’gun and Kija founded the state while making use of *hanmun*, have continued to use it for four thousand years. *Hanmun* was the writing present at the founding of our nation. It is not something imposed upon us from without. And yet, today it is commonly said that only when we abolish *hanmun* and write in pure *kungmun* (National Writing; i.e. *han’gŭl*) will we begin to be able to establish the nation. Such absurdity does not take much to refute, and yet it is impossible not to refute. For if we fail to do so, the ignorant will eventually be incapable of being enlightened.

The court of our King Sejong first created *kungmun*’s thirty-six letters by modeling the graphs of China’s molar innunciants, and called it “*ōnmun panjōl*” 諺文反切 (“vernacular spelling”). Thus, it was an aid for *hanmun*; only to instruct ignorant men and ignorant women who did not understand *hanmun*. It was not to eliminate the one and install the other. Japan’s *iroha* script likewise functions as an appendage to sinographs (like our *idu*)—the appendages being what we call “*t’o*” 吐. So even though it is called “*kungmun*” it is nevertheless a supplement to *hanmun*.

Each year [in Japan] there is an argument of one kind or another put forth to use only *iroha*⁶⁵³ and eliminate *hanmun*, and yet, despite such a desire, doing so is not possible. It would be like a Westerner who uses the English script wishing to eliminate Rome’s ancient letters; it cannot be done. Therefore, today’s proponents of eliminating *hanmun* are proponents of

⁶⁵² I cannot locate a source for this “saying.”

⁶⁵³ Yō phonetically transcribes “伊魯河” (Korean: *iroha*; Japanese: *iroka*) for what is typically transcribed in Japanese as “以呂波” (Korean: *iryōp’a*; Japanese: *iroha*), a metonym for the Japanese syllabaries.

eliminating the Way of Confucius. If they are human—with a mind to accompany their ears, eyes, mouth and nose—should they desire to eliminate the Way of Confucius, it would be the same as eliminating the ethic of father and son, of sovereign and subject. We ought, then, to call them traitorous subjects and rebellious sons.

Today, it is our Great Eastern Educational Association that expounds This Way and This Culture (*sado samun* 斯道斯文). We have inherited those ancient things of Fu Xi, Cangjie, Shizhou, and the Xia, Shang and Zhou dynasties, and thereby we will join together *hanmun*, *kungmun*, and Japan's *iroha* by the tip of a single brush, and illuminate the Way of Confucius by teaching it to the whole world in latter generations, daring indeed neither to retreat from nor yield to the false arguments of imbeciles whereby they deceive people. Therefore, having already composed a prospectus [for the Association], we make this the literary section of issue no. 1.

大東學會月報 第 1 號 (1908.2.25)

論漢文國文

呂圭亨

文者，道之形於言者也。古語曰：“至道無文，”謂道不可以言語形容也。雖然道不能徒行，必待文而傳，如人之歸重於心，而廢耳目口鼻之形於外，則不可以爲人也。伏羲造書契，史皇造字，虞夏商周有書，孔子以下，莫不有言之紀，摠而言之曰‘文’也。文卽道也，道卽文也。後世班固撰『漢書』，分儒林·文苑爲二門，蓋以其人之平生踐歷，能儒而不能文，能文而不能儒，以是而分之，非謂道與文二也。文待乎書而傳，倉篆史籀古也，程邈之真楷行之，而便至于今日，謂之‘漢文’者是也。我韓自檀箕開國，并用漢文，行之四千年，漢文卽我韓本有之文，非自外襲而取之也。今世俗之言曰：“廢漢文，純用國文，然後始可以立國也，”愚迷如此，不容多辨，而又不能不辨。不辨則蚩蚩者終不能覺悟也。我英陵朝，始製國文三十六字母，所以摸倣支那見溪羣疑字母，而名曰‘諺文反切’，所以羽翼漢文。專以訓夫愚夫婦之不解漢文者，非廢彼而立此也。日本之伊魯河字，乃取漢字偏傍，如我之吏讀，偏傍之所謂‘吐’者，雖曰‘國文’，乃漢文之支裔。比年有一種議論，只用伊魯河而廢漢文，以是欲行之而不能焉。如西人之用英字，欲廢羅馬舊字而不能也。然則今之欲廢漢文者，欲廢孔子之道者也。人而有心與耳目口鼻，而欲廢孔子之道，則與廢父子君臣之倫同焉，卽謂之亂臣逆子可也。今我大東學會闡明斯道斯文者也，將以一管之毫，上承伏羲倉史虞夏商周之舊，摠括我漢國文與日本伊魯河，發明孔子之道，以詔天下後世，實不敢退讓於愚迷者之妄論瞽論以誤人。故先述本旨，以爲第一號文苑云爾。