Travel Guides to the Empire

The Production of Tourist Images in Colonial Korea

Global tourism is often cited as the new colonizing vanguard of modernity, characterized by the search for mythical places, colorful natives, and authentic cultural experiences (Lofgren 1999; MacCannell 1999). Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, the invention of mechanized vehicles such as steamships and trains capable of transporting hundreds of passengers, and the expansion of trading networks by European imperial powers, were the two main driving forces for the launching of transcontinental and ocean voyages.[1] The opening of the two main transoceanic routes, the Suez (1867) and Panama (1914) canals, as well as the development of communications technologies such as telegrams and telephones also facilitated world circumnavigation. About the same time, the introduction of the portable camera for the amateur transformed photography into the most important tool for recording and cataloguing newly discovered peoples, strange new worlds, and objects as "empirical evidence" in the classification of the "Ethnographic Other" (E. Edwards 1992; Maxwell 1999; Ryan 1997). Ethnic tableaux and dioramas displaying "local color" or the manners and customs in far-off lands also became widely adopted by enterprising trading companies and merchants from Australia to India to show off new products so as to lure visitors to their pavilions at world's fairs staged in London, Paris, and Vienna.[2] By the turn of the century, millions of consumers were already familiar with the dancing geishas, tea gardens, fabricated temple gates, and pagodas, which were designed to enhance the exotic appeal of consumer items from tea, coffee, and spices to curios, silks, and china (Hoffenberger 2001; Lockyer 2000). The popularity of Japanese pavilion displays among European judges, connoisseurs, and the general public was one of the main reasons commercial presses operating from London to the British colonial enclaves in Hong Kong, Shanghai, and the newly opened port

cities of Yokohama and Kobe began commissioning travel writers, former diplomats, and academics to publish travel guidebooks targeting customers and potential tourists residing in the capitals of Europe and America (Chamberlain and Mason 1907, 1913; Murray 1894).

Tourism and Japan's empire building in East Asia

In the late nineteenth century, the modernization of Japan's economy, military, and society was engineered by a new generation of former samurai, diplomats, businessmen, and bureaucrats who had been sent on diplomatic fact-finding missions beginning in the 1860s. According to the travel diaries written by prominent returnees such as Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835–1901), they had been most impressed by the spectacles of wonderful things, sights, and bustling crowds witnessed at world's fairs, museums, tourist destinations, terminals, and grand hotels in London, Paris, and New York (Fukuzawa 1934). Japan itself became an emerging imperial power following the military victories in the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). Soon, colonial administrators and businesses eager to expand the market for Japanese goods, as well as to search for new resources and customers, spearheaded the industrial development of Taiwan, Manchuria, and Korea. Of all the new territories from Siberia to the South Pacific drawn into the sphere of Japanese military and commercial interests, Chōsen, or the Korean peninsula, has occupied a special place in the imagination of Japan's citizens and rulers for more than a century, for several reasons.

First, its geographic proximity and its strategic location between the Japanese archipelago and Manchuria made Chōsen the prime target of intensive and extensive infrastructure and industrial investment. As early as the 1890s, colonial administrators, *zaibatsu* (conglomerates), and the military were involved in laying down transportation and communication links and military facilities, building harbors, bridges, railways, roads, and a tram system. Major banks and companies such as the Bank of Chōsen, Mitsui Heavy Industries, Ogura Mining Company, the Japan Mail Steamship Company (Nippon Yūsen Kaisha, or NYK), and the South Manchuria Railway Company (hereafter SMR), to name some of the most prominent, calculated that the export of Korea's agricultural products (rice and cotton), the import of military supplies and weapons, and the mobilization of troops to the Manchurian frontier would be profitable enterprises for

investors, local contractors, and merchants (Bank of Chōsen 1919). By the 1905 signing of the Portsmouth Treaty, the Korea branch of the Imperial Railways (Chōsen tetsudo, also known as the Colonial Government Railways Company; hereafter CGR) had opened the main north-south artery, the Keifu railway (Kyŏngbu-sŏn) and Jinsen (Inch'ŏn) line, connecting all major cities directly to the ports of Fusan (Pusan), Keijō (Seoul), and Inch'ŏn (Chŏng C. 1999).[3] These efficient transportation links not only facilitated the transfer of freight and mail from the port of Shimonoseki on a daily basis but also drove hundreds and thousands of Japanese settlers to seek their fortunes and jobs on the new frontier (Uchida 2005).
Second, Korea's strategic location made it the transportation and commercial hub of the expanding Japanese Empire (Figure 3.1). Major corporations and empire-building politicians invested heavily in developing tourist and cultural destinations from historical parks, museums, zoos, botanical gardens, hot springs, hotels, and mountain resorts.

Third, the Korean peninsula was the only colony where the Colonial Government-General of Korea Office (1910–1945, CGK hereafter) sponsored more than four decades of continuous archaeological and historical surveys in order to collect documents, register artifacts, and excavate buried objects, which were later exhibited in CGK museums at major historical destinations throughout the peninsula (Pai 1994, 2000, 2001). Imperial University–trained archaeologists were eager to conduct field research abroad because they were prevented by the Imperial Household Agency from excavating imperial tombs in Japan proper (W. Edwards 2003; Pai 2006).

This chapter takes an interdisciplinary approach to tracing the historical and cultural transformation of the Korean peninsula into the favorite heritage destination for Japanese travelers. It is organized into three parts, documenting the international setting and regional dynamics in the coevolution of Japan's empire-building project and the development of a vibrant tourist industry in colonial Korea (Table 3.1). First, I discuss the Meiji background regarding the establishment of a state-coordinated tourist industry by focusing on the oldest and largest travel agency, the Japan Tourist Bureau (JTB), founded by the board of directors of the Japan Imperial Railways (hereafter JIR) in 1912. The JTB was instrumental in coordinating major corporations ranging from the JIR to hotel chains and department stores in order to invest together in the building and promotion of tourist destinations to the masses at home, and in the colonies. Second, I analyze the state production and distribution of tour-

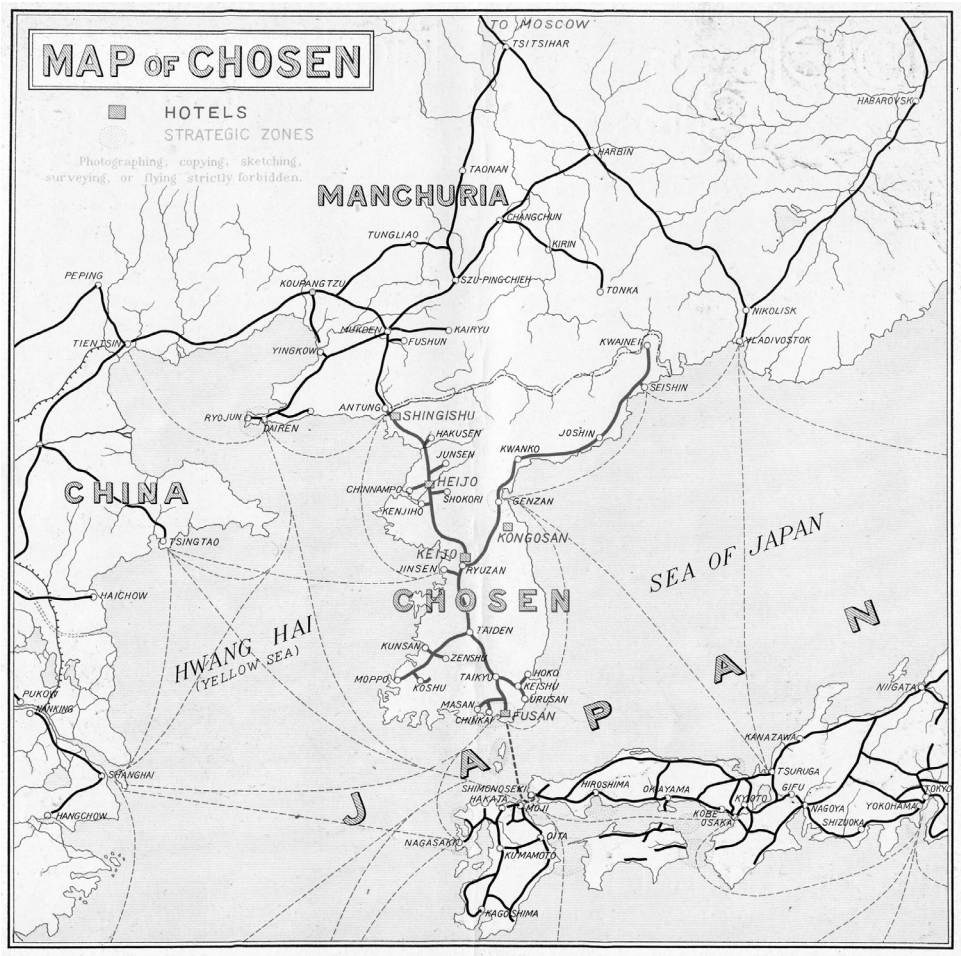

Figure 3.1. Shipping lanes and railway lines in Chōsen. In the 1930s, Chōsen Government Railways (CGR) managed a chain of six railway hotels and one grill restaurant: the Pusan Station Hotel, the Chōsen Hotel in Keijō, the Keijō train station grill, two resort/hot springs hotels in Kŭmgangsan at Onjongni and Changansa, the P'yŏngyang Station Hotel, and the Shinŭiju Station Hotel. *Source:* "Hotels in Chōsen" (CGR, n.d.); courtesy of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies Library Archives.

ist information by analyzing some of the more popular editions of guidebooks to Chōsen *(Chōsen annaisho)* published jointly by the JTB, SMR, and CGR. These colonial corporations owned print media targeting the tastes, hobbies, and expectations of wealthy foreigners and were responsible for remapping the itinerary of "must-see" historical destinations in Korea.[4] Third, I look at some of the most widely circulated tourist images

Table 3.1. Chronology of the Tourist Industry in Japan and Korea, 1874–1943 (Institutions, Transportation, and Heritage Management)

Year	Month(s)	Event
1874	5	Banning of excavations of legendary "burial mounds" and sacred sites by Meiji government
1888		Imperial Office (Kunaishō) sets up office in charge of Preliminary Survey of Treasures
1893		Tokyo Imperial University Anthropological Society Specimens Laboratory established, under Tōrii Ryūzō
1895		Sino-Japanese War; Tōrii's first survey of Taiwan and Manchuria; promulgation of Preservation Laws Governing Temples and Shrines; government takes over the management and preservation of nationally registered art, artifacts, and documents belonging to temples and shrines (beginnings of national treasures system)
1902		Sekino Tadashi sent by Tokyo University to survey art and architecture in Korea
1904		Completion of Fusan-Keijō (Keifusen) Railways Line
1906		Imanishi Ryū surveys Keishū (Kyŏngju, the Silla capital in southeast Korea)
1907		Excavations of Kimhae Shell Mound, Fusan, by Imanishi Ryū
1908		Yi Royal Museum, Zoo and Botanical Garden built in Ch'anggyŏng-wŏn, Keijō (Seoul)
1910		**Annexation of Korea**
1911		Colonial Governor-General commissions Tōrii Ryūzō, who conducts first systematic survey of prehistoric archaeological remains and ethnographic surveys; establishment of the Shiseki Meishō Tennenkinnenbutsu Hozonkai (Historic Sites, Famous Places, and Natural Monuments Protection Committee) in Japan
1911		Temples Protection Act promulgated in Korean peninsula
1912	3, 12	JTB established at Tokyo Railway Station; first printing of bureau-issued pamphlet in English (2,000 copies) and French (3,000 copies)

Table 3.1. (*Continued*)

Year	Month(s)	Event
1912	11, 12	JTB sets up branches in Dalian (SMR Office), Keijō (CGR Office), and Taipei (Taiwan Railways)
1912		Reconstruction of Sŏkkuram funded by Colonial Governor-General begins
1913	6, 10	*Tourist* magazine published as a bimonthly with bilingual (English/Japanese) articles
1914	1	Maps of Keijō, Dalian, and Formosa printed in English (3,000 copies)
1914	2	JTB agents/branches are set up in 30 locations around the world
1914	10	Establishment of the Keijō Chōsen Hotel managed by CGR
1915	2	JIR "through" passes linking ship and rail services to Manchuria/Chōsen sold at Tokyo Railway Station Branch (up to 30 percent discounted tickets valid for 6 months)
1915	8	Kŭmgangsan Station Hotel opens in Onjŏngni in North Korea
1915	12	Establishment of the Colonial Governor-General Fine Arts Museum in Kyŏngbokkung
1916		Colonial Governor-General Committee for the Investigations of Ancient Remains and Relics (Chōsen Koseki Chosa ininkai); promulgation of Regulations on the Preservation of Ancient Sites and Relics, the first comprehensive preservation laws governing art and archaeological remains, predating Japan by three years; measurement of Kyŏngju Hwangyongsa temple remains, Sach'ŏnwangsa temple, and Chŏlla-namdo Songgwangsa temple; Koguryŏ tombs in Jian, China, investigated by Sekino Tadashi
1918		Major reconstruction of Pulguksa begins; Colonial Governor-General Construction Department oversees a total of eight years
1918		Kyŏngju Silla tombs excavations (Kuroita Katsumi and Harada Yoshito)
1921		Kyŏngju Museum established
1926		Chōsen Manchuria Office set up in Tokyo, Shimonoseki, and Shinjuku stations

Table 3.1. (*Continued*)

Year	Month(s)	Event
1926		Kyŏngju Branch Museum established; Keijō tram service begins
1932		Formation of Chōsen Hotel Company to run former CGR hotels: Keijō Chōsen, Fusan Station, Shingishū Station, Kŭmkangsan Onjŏngni, Changanri, Keijō Station restaurant, and CGR train restaurants
1943		JTB shuts down branches due to expansion of Pacific War

Note: Chronology compiled from JTB (1982). CGR, Chōsen Government Railways; JIR, Japan's Imperial Railways; JTB, Japan Tourist Bureau; SMR, South Manchuria Railway Company.

of so-called manners and customs *(fūzoku shashin)* of the Korean people (Chōsenjin), which were disseminated in postcards and print advertising distributed throughout the empire. I conclude by assessing the contemporary legacies of these Prewar guidebooks, for they were the first to showcase entirely new heritage categories such as Meishō (famous places) and Gyūseki (ancient sites), packaged for a world audience.

Despite the millions of train schedules, pamphlets, and guidebooks estimated to have been distributed at major piers, train stations, and department stores throughout the empire, only a minute fraction survive today. Tourist literature, by its nature, is a disposable consumer item, and therefore in most cases such items were thrown out after the trip. Consequently, the ones most likely to be preserved in research libraries, personal collections, and museum archives in Japan and Korea tend to be sturdy pocket-size guidebooks and attractive postcards that were collected as souvenirs of trips.

State-coordinated tourism policy and the Japan Tourism Bureau (1912–present)

The Welcome Society of Japan, or the Kihinkai (Society of VIPs), was Japan's first tourist board, founded in 1893. Sanctioned by the Imperial Household, its board members included high-ranking foreign ambassadors, dignitaries, aristocrats, and leading entrepreneurs of the Meiji era

who operated the society from the Tokyo Chamber of Commerce inside the landmark Marunouchi Building. The preface of the society's 1908 edition of the *Guide-book for Tourists* stated the society's aims: "bringing within reach of tourists the means of accurately observing the features of the country, and the characteristics of the people; aiding them to visit places of scenic beauty; enabling them to view objects of art and enter into social or commercial relations with the people; in short, affording them all facilities and conveniences toward the accomplishment of their several aims, their indirectly promoting, in however small a degree, the cause of international intercourse and trade" (Welcome Society of Japan 1908). Thus, from the beginning, Japan's tourism policy was directed at promoting international trade and commerce. A much larger corporate entity, the Japan Tourist Bureau, was established in 1912 at the Japan Imperial Railways Corporate Head Office (JTB 1982, 8–13).[5] The JIR board soon convinced shipping magnates, department store chains (Mitsukoshi, Takashimaya), and the Tokyo Imperial Hotel management, to mention just a few of the high-ranking *zaibatsu* who were asked to join in the venture aimed at transforming Japan into "the Paradise of the Orient" (ibid., 16; JTB 1926). The immediate financial objective of this Imperial Railways–steered tourist project was to bring in new foreign revenue to help alleviate the severe financial drain caused by the expensive military campaigns in Korea and Manchuria during the Russo-Japanese War. The other mission was more diplomatic in nature; the JTB was charged with devising ways to promote a more "civilized and modern" national image. Japan's image had been much tarnished in the foreign press by numerous demeaning caricatures of the Japanese as a barbaric, war-mongering people and in postcards circulating in the aftermath of the Russo-Japanese War (JTB 1982, 13–14).

The JIR's other important joint venture, in cooperation with the Japan Hotel Association, was the construction of a chain of Imperial Railways-run station hotels emulating customer service standards offered at the grand hotels of Europe and America. The Japan Hot Springs Association also initiated the development of seaside hotels, hot springs, and mountain resorts for escaping the hot summers. Once the JIR began a regular train schedule departing for the ports of Yokohama, Nagasaki, and Kobe, the JTB offices started selling all-inclusive tours to Korea and Manchuria with discounted steamship passage tickets, railway pass coupons, and

hotels with a choice of either American or European meal plans for their colonial destinations.

The JTB opened colonial outposts in Taiwan, Manchuria, and Korea in 1912, the same year it was founded in Tokyo. The business goal of the CGR and JTB Chōsen Branches was the same as that of their parent company: to attract as many passengers as possible so they could recoup the enormous financial investments spent on building infrastructure to facilitate transportation and communications as well public works like ports, dams, and waterworks throughout the peninsula. By 1914, branches of the JTB were distributing 3,000 maps printed in English and covering not only Japan but also the colonies, including Keijō, Dairen (Dalian), and Taihoku (Taipei).[6] After World War I ended, Europe was plagued with runaway inflation, and the JTB experienced some tough financial times when foreign travelers were not purchasing travel coupons. As an alternate business plan in 1918, the JTB started selling packaged tours to the colonies for the domestic consumer and launched a Japanese-language advertising business that involved printing and distributing travel brochures, detailed maps, and postcards of seasonal attractions, as well as travel magazines.[7] The rise in domestic ticket sales to the colonies persuaded the JTB to open offices inside the major department store chains such as Mitsukoshi, Daimaru, and Takashimaya. The peak decade for Prewar outbound Japanese was 1925–1935. By then they represented a wide swath of classes and occupations, including teachers, student groups, soldiers, and businessmen. Educated mass consumers who were hungry for news of the latest tourist destinations and leisure trends, near and far, spawned the publication of travel magazines such as the bilingual *Tourist* (1913–1942), in English and Japanese, and *Tabi* (1924–present), a magazine designed for the first time with the Japanese reader in mind.[8] The success of the JTB's world advertising efforts could be felt not only in a wide range of services but also in the national financial coffers. Tourism by the mid-Showa era had become Japan's fourth most important source of foreign revenue, behind cotton, raw silk, and silk products.

The organization of tourist information in "Guides to Chōsen"

The first documented tour group of private citizens to visit the new frontier in Korea and Manchuria set sail in 1906, the year following Japan's much

celebrated victory over Russia (Ariyama 2002). The tour was organized by Japan's leading daily; the enterprising Asahi Newspaper Company developed its own plan to capitalize on the consumer craze for Russo-Japanese War memorabilia.[9] With an eye to selling more newspaper subscriptions, the Asahi ran advertisements for a cruise to the frontier, revisiting the great battle sites in Korea and Manchuria that had been featured in best-selling postcards, silk prints *(nishikie),* and photographs (Kōgo 2003). The first announcement recruiting passengers for the "Cruise Touring Manchuria and Korea" (Man-Gan junyū sen) appeared in Asahi's June 22, 1906, edition, and just three days later, all three classes of cabin tickets were sold out, with eighty passengers booked for the trip. This was indeed an auspicious start for a first-time commercial pitch to market Manchuria and Korea as "the new world *[shintenchi]* where one can see for oneself the farthest edge of the Emperor's authority and domain" (Ariyama 2002, 33). Following the media success of the 1906 tour as a contemporary cultural happening, subsequent discounted tours sold out in large numbers, thus giving birth to the packaged educational tour *(shūgaku ryokō)* as we know it today in Japan and Korea. By the late 1910s, there was a growing demand for information about Korea from millions of passengers and potential passengers, including Japanese, Koreans, Chinese, foreign missionaries, soldiers, administrators, educators, and tourists, who were eager to purchase tickets on steamers and railways heading for the continent.[10] Transportation companies from the NYK, CGR, and SMR also joined forces with the JTB to distribute large numbers of detailed guidebooks, maps, and train schedules, as well as picture postcards capturing scenic destinations, peoples, and portrayals of Korean customs *(fūzoku)*. These were sold at ticket offices at major piers, railway stations, and department store branches from Tokyo to Keijō to Keelung (Jilong), Formosa.

Despite the wide variety of businesses and publishers engaged in dispensing tourist information in the colonies, the overall organization, content, and layout of photos, maps, and advertisements were remarkably uniform from Japan to Korea to Manchuria. The guidebooks for the colonies were all modeled after an earlier generation of Victorian-era handbooks for Japan penned by foreign advisers and educators hired by the Meiji government *(yatoi gaijin),* such as Ernest Satow, A. G. S. Hawkes, David Murray, and Basil Chamberlain (Satow and Hawkes 1881; Murray 1894; Chamberlain and Mason 1907, 1913). The first chapter of any guidebook covered what was deemed "essential travel information," such as the loca-

tions of JTB offices, hotels, transportation links and fares, banking , customs, passports, and post offices for sending telegrams. The introduction also included an "overview of the land," such as topography, population, history, and climate — the latter was always promoted as the "most pleasant and agreeable in the empire," making it an ideal location for summer retreats.[11] A foldout map insert was accompanied by schedules for ships, trains, and transfer information. For the "through" traffic passengers who rode the Fusan-Keijō line (Keifusen), the terminus was Shingishū (Shinŭiju) Station, where they could transfer to the SMR lines departing Antung Station and heading northeast toward Manchuria's new cities. Since most of the passengers arrived by ship docking at Fusan from either Osaka, Kobe, or Shimonoseki, the first place in the recommended itinerary was Fusan, followed by Taikyū (Taegu) along the Keifusen.

The main section of the guides covered the major scenic, cultural, and business destinations found at major cities along the main arteries of the CGR lines, as well as side trips to the seaside, hot springs, and resorts linked by private trams, buses, or shuttle service.[12] The Keijō city tours also recommended excursions to the beach resort of Wŏlmido in Jinsen and to the walls and gates of Suigen (Suwŏnsŏng), after which they could head northwest to the cities of the Heijō region (P'yŏngyang, Kaesŏng, and Chinnampo). These city tours were planned as half-day itineraries, beginning with the Chōsen Jingū (the Main Shintō Shrine on the slope of Namsan) and including Namdaemun (South Gate), the Botanical Garden and Zoo (Ch'anggyŏng-wŏn), Chōsen Sōtokufu (CGK) headquarters building, and the CGK Museum located at Kyŏngbok Palace, and the Fine Arts Museum at Tŏksu Palace (CGR1938). Transportation fees, admission to museums and zoos, and the costs of food at recommended restaurants, hotels, and inns with a choice of Western, Chinese, Korean, or Japanese were also listed with room prices for the budget-conscious consumer. Last but not least, in the appendix of many guidebooks of the empire, Japanese-operated businesses such as tram and taxi companies, inns and hotels, tailors, pharmacies, and department stores were the major advertisers. Local merchants were represented by geisha restaurants, curio dealers, ginseng shops, and photographic studios.

By the late 1930s the JTB had established operations out of Minakai, the largest department store chain in Korea, with seven outlets in the cities of Keijō, Fusan, Taegu, Taejŏn, Heijō, Hamhŭng, and Wŏnsan. The bureau had two extra offices at Hwashin department store (formerly situated at

Chongno First Street) and Mitsukoshi (now Shinsegye), located at the entrance to Myŏngdong across from the Bank of Chōsen. The major department stores such as Mitsukoshi and Minakai were centrally positioned at main traffic junctions leading to the major thoroughfares (Hon-machi, Kogane-machi) close to the financial centers and the administrative offices of the CGK headquarters (Chōsen Sōtokufu), as well as to Namdaemun Station. Placing ticketing operations in the department store was a strategic move since this was where the upper-class urbanites, both Korean and Japanese, congregated to shop and socialize at cafés in the 1930s (see Cwiertka in this volume). The other JTB branches were at Fusan Pier, Shinŭiju Chōsen Unsō Company, and Ch'ŏngjin and Najin stations.

For nightlife in the cities, the most often recommended choice of entertainment was hiring either Korean or Japanese geishas "to dance and sing for you." Describing "Geisha dances" as a "popular and universal form of entertainment at banquets and other functions in Japan," JIR's 1926 *Guidebook to Japan* added, "Geisha may be hired at any time, anywhere, the charge of the dance depending upon the reputation and number of dances" (JIR 1926, 16). The high demand for young, attractive, and accomplished female entertainers who would accompany male customers to staged performances after the men were through partying at high-class Korean restaurants led to the establishment of a School for Kisaeng (Kisaeng Hakkyo) in P'yŏngyang. The school offered a curriculum of intensive training in musical accompaniment, dance, and popular songs of the day, sung in both Japanese and Korean languages (JTB Chōsen Branch 1939). "Chōsen beauties" in full costume is still the most iconic image of "local color" *(Chōsen fūzoku)* and can be seen in a wide range of colonial print media such as postcards, advertisements for CGR hotels, magazines covers, and front covers of many guidebooks (Figure 3.2).

The southeast corridor of the Korean peninsula, including the cities of Keishū (Kyŏngju), Taegu, and Fusan, was also featured in many guidebooks (Keishū Koseki Hozonkai zaidan 1922, 1935; Figure 3.3) and pamphlets (JTB n.d., ca. 1930s; CGR 1936). When the Gold Crown Tomb, dating to the Old Silla kingdom (ca. fifth century), was excavated in 1921, it was widely hailed as the greatest archaeological discovery of the century.[13] Among other recommended famous places *(meishō)* were tombs of later Silla kings, including Kwennŭng, Hwangnamni, and Kim Yushin myo (eighth century), and freestanding pagodas such as the one at Punhwang-sa.

Figure 3.2. The images of "Korean beauties" in full costume to this day remain the most widely circulated stereotypical image of "Korean manners and customs." *Source:* JTB Chōsen Branch (1939);courtesy of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies Library Archives.

Sŏkkuram and Pulguksa temples (eighth century) were the two largest multiyear architectural reconstruction projects supervised by Sekino Tadashi, a professor in the Tokyo University Architecture Department who supervised the Chōsen government construction engineers between 1912 and 1930 (CGK 1938; Yoshii 2007). By the 1930s the restored ruins of Keishū, and the Keishū museum built in the center of Silla royal burial mounds (ca. third–ninth centuries), became the favorite setting for photo ops by visiting royalty as well as foreign VIPs, including the Crown Prince of Sweden, an amateur archaeologist and collector who founded the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm (Hamada and Andersson 1932a). The popularity of Keishū as Korea's most spectacular famous place *(meishō)* thus originated with the Keishū tourist boom in the1930s (CGR 1936; Keishū Koseki Hozonkai zaidan 1922, 1929, 1935).

P'yŏngyang and Kaesŏng on the northeast corridor were also popular destinations whose combined itineraries included Kija's Tomb, Man-

Figure 3.3. Members of the Japanese Imperial Family *(Kaninwaka miya tenka)* and entourage posing in front of a restored eighth-century Sokkuram grotto during their tour, October 1, 1935. *Source:* Keishū Koseki Hozonkai zaidan (1937).

wŏldae (Koryŏ dynastic palace remains), Rakurō (Nangnang Tombs), and Kangsŏ Koguryŏ painted tombs (ca. AD fifth century). The restored tombs of the Han dynasty commandery of Rakurō (ca. second century BC–AD second century), situated south of the Taedong River, were featured in many guidebooks and tourist maps (JTB Chōsen Branch 1939) touting their archaeological significance as the earliest "scientifically" excavated tombs in Asia, since at that time no intact tombs dating from the Han dynasty (ca. second century BC–second century AD) had been identified in China (Kin 1928; *Nippon* 1939; Pai 2000, 127–236). The southwest corridor, where the ancient Paekche (Kudara) capitals of Puyŏ and Kongju (ca. fourth–seventh centuries) were located, became the focus of excavations with the discovery of Paekche tombs, pagodas, and temples in the 1930s.

The only tourist region far from these commercial and historical cities was Kongōsan (Kŭmgang-san, the Diamond Mountains). The mountains' majestic vistas were praised as "the most spectacular natural beauty under the heavens." Photos of the two thousand spiky peaks of Outer Kŭmgang (CGR 1932) were featured in many CGR posters and magazines from the *Tourist* (JTB 1917) to *Nippon,* a heavily illustrated glossy magazine writ-

ten in German and English targeting Europeans (*Nippon* 1939; Weisenfeld 2000). The CGR built two mountain resorts, one at Onjŏngni Station (1915) and the other at Changan-sa Temple (1924) deep in the mountains, as a hunting lodge–cum–hot springs resort. The hotels could be reached from two directions, either riding on the Keigen line (Keijō-Wŏnsan) or driving north up the east coast by car from Onjŏngi station. The CGR advertised extensively in newspapers and magazines to recruit hikers interested in joining its backpackers group during the summer months. The most widely advertised sports and leisure activity in the 1930s was mountain climbing. It was enthusiastically promoted as a way of training the minds and bodies of the Japanese, who were taught from school age that mountains symbolized the quintessential Japanese national landscape of Fūto (Schwartz and Ryan 2003).[14] Other scenic high mountains in Korea recommended for climbers included Paektusan and Chirisan (CGR 1923). Mountainous regions were also favored by the rugged naturalist types for hunting large game (unavailable in Japan) such as tigers, bears, and wild boar (Bergman 1938).

Sketching an ancient land for the tourist: The narrative of return to the mythical homelands

A typical layout of tourist photos and illustrations featured in guidebooks, postcards, and photo albums juxtaposed images of "old Korea" *(mukashi)* with "now" *(ima)*. The former category, identified as "the old country and its customs," usually depicted "rustic Korea" in grainy black-and-white photos dominated by images of peasant women engaged in everyday chores and subsistence activities such as washing clothes by the river, ironing at home, or carrying jars on their heads or children on their backs. Korean men were rarely portrayed in tourist images, unless they were street vendors plying their wares, rickshaw drivers, or old *yangban* noblemen relaxing or smoking in their distinctive black hats. In contrast to the nonthreatening image of the weak Korean male and the quaint rural landscape, *ima* images feature towering edifices to portray Japan's colonial modernity in the form of monumental public works and imposing architectural structures such as the CGK headquarters, banks, post offices, museums, shiny steel bridges, train stations, dams, schools, and hospitals (Gwon 2005). The visual technique of contrasting the "old" versus the "new" was a tried-and-true propaganda strategy widely deployed not only in guidebooks but also in the

CGK-controlled media, from daily newspapers to school textbooks and corporate reports, in order to advertise the successes of Japan's "civilizing mission" to a world audience (Bank of Chōsen 1919; CGK 1929). In many colonial publications these contrasting images of "modern Japan" versus "old Korea" were supplemented by a historical overview explaining the inseparable ties between Korea and Japan since time immemorial *(mukashi kara)*. The following narrative from a guide to the customs of Korea called *Chōsen no hanashi,* printed by the CGR in the 1930s, is a typical example:

> From the time of Empress Jingū's conquest [ca. AD third century?] of the Three Han (Sankan), Chōsen is the country that has had the closest relationship with our nation, a tie that can never be severed. On a clear day, one can see the mountains of Fusan in the country of Chōsen across the sea. It is now only an eight-hour trip across the ocean from Shimonoseki on a boat that leaves morning and night. From there, one can transfer onto a train. In olden times, Kangoku [Korea] was formerly an independent nation, but in August 1910 it was incorporated into the empire. Since then the Chōsenjin have become our brethren for all time to come. Since our races have merged again just as in ancient times, the future prosperity and happiness of our respective countries depends on forging very close ties, just as in olden times *[mukashi]* when Mimana [the ancient Kaya Kingdom] was our colony. . . . Now anyone can travel in Korea and experience the same beauty and level of efficient and convenient service as we do in Naichi [Japan proper], since there is now no difference between Korea and Japan. This is the way it should be, since we are now one with many of our citizens.
>
> For students joining group tours, we wanted them to see in one glance what a warm and peaceful nation the land and people of Chōsen are. Though there has been some misunderstanding in the past, in fact we are now one and the same people, as proven by the many research investigations that have been carried out by our scholars. Our nation is very concerned about the future destiny of the Chōsen people, and we believe that the development of Chōsen is also our happiness. So our great mission is to bring future happiness to Chōsen as well as the eternal prosperity of the whole empire. (CGR n.d.; my translation)

Thus the archaeological "rediscovery" of Japan's antiquity in the form of excavated prehistoric remains and beautifully restored and photographed Silla temples and tombs (CGK 1915–1935, 1938) was touted as the most tan-

gible body of evidence for a common racial ancestry and, consequently, a shared cultural patrimony between the Koreans and Japanese, or Nissen Dōsoron (Kita 1921; Pai 2006, forthcoming). The colonial travel industry played a pivotal role in promoting this "nostalgic" image of the Chōsenjin, as their long lost poor country cousins who had been salvaged from the dark ages by the timely arrival of the superior Japanese and their "enlightened" government (Pai 2000, 35–43). Furthermore, as we can see in the final paragraph, the CGR and JTB specifically targeted students and tour groups for imperialist propaganda, by emphasizing that the act of visiting Korea was equivalent to affirming their racial and spiritual descent, traced back to the fictitious third-century conquest expedition led by Empress Jingū.

Reclaiming imagined ancestral terrains and imperialists' nostalgia

In sum, the meanings of Korea's archaeological and historical discoveries were manipulated by powerful colonial policy makers and colonial enterprises to justify the annexation of Korea as a predestined "return" and reunion of the two races of Japanese and Koreans (Pai 2006). To convince rich businessmen that the peninsula offered attractive investment opportunities, the JTB and CGK advertised Korea's tourist destinations as the most picturesque and historically "authentic" in the empire, full of decaying ruins, old customs, desirable women, and luxury accommodations.[15] From the perspective of the millions of ordinary Japanese tourists, their visiting, absorbing, and experiencing firsthand Korea's customs and ancient destinations became part of their search for their own national identity as citizens of the growing multiethnic and multicultural empire at the turn of the century (Weisenfeld 2000). This recurring theme of imagined "imperialists' nostalgia" that romanticized the conquered "Other" in time and space, though not unique to the Japanese Empire, reveals the roots of the imagery that is still used in government-initiated tourist campaigns in South Korea today, a century later (Schwartz and Ryan 2003; Selwyn 1996; Pai 2006, 2009).

An epilogue by way of a conclusion

Japanese citizens still constitute the largest package tour groups visiting South Korea. Geographic proximity by air and bargain prices offered by competing tour operators entice them to visit their former colony. In 2007

the Japanese Ministry of Tourism and Culture's official website recorded around fifteen million outbound tourists and eight million inbound tourists.[16] The huge discrepancy between the numbers of outbound and inbound visitors has caused much consternation in the Japanese government since the 1970s, when the purchasing power of the yen began to rise. From the perspective of South Korea, despite the postwar rhetoric denouncing Japanese wartime atrocities, its national tourist policies have always accommodated changing tourist demographics (Korea Ministry of Tourism and Culture 1999b) — American GIs seeking "R & R" in the 1960s; middle-class Japanese salarymen's indulgence in *"kisaeng kwan'gwang,"* a common euphemism for sex tourism in the 1970s; status-conscious young women seeking a shopping haven for counterfeit luxury brands in the 1980s (*Korea Travel Newspaper* 1999). South Korea's tourism board has also kept detailed statistics for four decades, covering Japanese preferences and spending behavior at restaurants, spas, golf resorts, duty-free shops, and souvenir outlets (Korea Ministry of Tourism and Culture 1999a). The main strategy for South Korea is to keep prices competitive, not only to undercut their rival Asian neighbors, but also to compete with Japanese domestic tourist businesses such as golf and spa resorts. Their close monitoring of Japanese tourist preferences has clearly been an impressive success, since Japanese make up the largest proportion of tourists of all nationalities arriving at Korean airports.

In the last five years, the so-called Korean wave — an unprecedented popularity of Korean soap operas, K-pop music, and other popular cultural forms — has deluged China, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia. The total numbers of foreign visitors to South Korea has increased to about five million annually, largely consisting of middle-aged female fans addicted to Korean soaps, pop singers, and film stars. Currently, the latest best sellers are three- to four-day itineraries highlighting "fictional" locations, such as recreated historical drama production sets and behind-the-scenes movie sets designed to evoke a sense of history, romance, and nostalgia — the main themes of the most popular Korean soaps such as *Taejangŭm* (Jewel in the Palace) and *Winter Sonata*. However, this time it is South Korea's National Tourism Organization (KNTO), the Korean Film Council, local tourism boards, and major media conglomerates who have recruited TV actors and actresses as both official and unofficial ambassadors of desire, display, and consumption.

Notes

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1. Thomas Mason Cook (1808–1892) pioneered this business model by inventing the "guided package tour," in which well-informed and well-connected local guides would personally escort tourists as well as provide translators, tickets, hotels, and porter service. He was also the marketing brains behind the "grand circular tours" in the 1870s when his company started issuing "around the world" tickets, visiting famous places from Switzerland, Italy, Greece, Egypt, India, Japan, and China to North America (Cook and Son 1998).

2. Archaeologists, anthropologists, art historians, and commercial photographers exerted the most impact on who and what the camera's eye selected (E. Edwards 1992). Victorian-era field researchers assumed that the more "authentic" and more "antiquated" remains of humankind's past were to be found in the newly discovered lands where "native" peoples incapable of progress lived a "time-less" existence (Stocking 1991). Such variants of colonial racism also fueled the desire to experience the "Mysterious Orient," by visiting the lands inspired by the Bible, *Arabian Nights,* Rudyard Kipling's novels, and French paintings of half-dressed beauties bathing, lounging in the harem, or dancing for tourists from Turkey to Japan (Beaulieu and Roberts 2002).

3. Some famous place-names and publication titles have been left in their original colonial-era spellings and usage for historical accuracy such as Keelung, Formosa (Taiwan), Keijō (Seoul), Keishū, etc. When first appearing, their current identification will be included in the brackets. Lesser-known tourist destinations and place-names are written in their current Korean renditions.

4. The tourist media I have tracked down so far were all printed in either Japanese or Western languages, indicating that the colonial tourist industry was mainly interested in attracting customers from outside Korea.

5. Over ninety-seven years, the Japan Tourist Bureau has evolved into the world's largest travel agency. The 150 company affiliates listed on the JTB corporation's official website include some of the same founding *zaibatsu* investors

of the Taishō era (1911–1925), such as Mitsui OSK Lines, the Japan Hotel Association, Sumitomo Mitsui Banking Corporation, and the various JIR lines (Hokkaido, Kyushū, West, Central, etc). See www.jtbcorp.jp/en/company/profile.asp.

6. The appendix of the seventy-year official volume chronicling the history of JTB records that in 1914 the JTB boasted a total of thirty agencies. They were in London, Antwerp, Paris, Port Said, Marseilles, Rotterdam, Manila, Sydney, Singapore, Penang, Colombo, Seattle, San Francisco, Honolulu, and other cities (JTB 1982). "Through" steam/railway tickets good for six months to tour Japan and its colonies could also be purchased at the branches of the Thomas Cook and Son Company, American Express Company, and other affiliates by 1926 (JTB 1926).

7. The JTB started selling "through" tickets to the domestic consumer in 1919. They remain the company's main source of revenue today (JTB 1982, 32).

8. By 1936 the number of inbound tourists reached 42,586, annually spending a total of 107,688,000 yen (JTB 1982, 50). Though it represented only a small fraction (4 percent) of Japan's overall trade (including exports and imports), the amount exceeded the nation's persistent annual trade deficit of 94,000,000 yen (Leheny 1998, 125).

9. Between 1904 and 1906, the Ministry of Communications issued five different sets of picture postcards depicting the progress of the war and the victory celebrations (Morse, Rimer, and Brown 2004, 18). When these postcard sets were issued on the signing of the Portsmouth Treaty, which officially made Korea a protectorate, thousands of people lined up to buy them, causing a near riot. This famous incident was captured in one of the many memorable postcards in the exhibition on Japanese postcards organized by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 2005 (ibid., 111).

10. According to CGK-published statistics, the state railways' business records indicated that the number of passengers increased by a factor of 10 — from 2,024,000 to 20,058,000 — in a span of sixteen years (1911–1927). For the same years, the length of railway lines increased from 674 miles to 1,455 miles, while freight increased from 888,000 tons to 5,570,000. Revenue from receipts also grew ninefold, from 4,095,000 to 36,364,000 yen (CGK 1929, 43).

11. This narrative of an overview of the land was a long-established formula for empire guidebooks designed so that the would-be colonialist arriving on the shores would be able to read in one glance the living conditions and judge the level of civilization.

12. For example, all tour buses and trams left from the main junction at South Gate Road (Namdaemun), where the "through" ticket passengers disembarked for rest or for sightseeing on the way to China or Manchuria. By 1929 there were

three private electric tram companies operating thirty miles of rail in Keijō (CGK 1929, 43).

13. The excavations were conducted by Kyoto University professor Hamada Kōsaku and his student Umehara Sueji and published in the Colonial Governor-General Committee on Korean Antiquities special excavation report series (Hamada and Andersson 1932b; Pai, forthcoming).

14. After the founding of Japan's National Parks Association in 1927, two of the largest national parks in the empire were established in Taiwan in the 1930s: Niitaka-Arisan and Tsugitaka-Taroko (Kanda 2003).

15. I have not been able to track down year-by-year statistics for the number of Japanese tourists who traveled to Korea in the 1920s and 1930s. I suspect that records are lacking because, by the late colonial period, all citizens who were part of the official empire (Naichi-jin), including Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and Manchuria could travel throughout the empire without having to pass through customs. I did locate one published source, compiled by the JTB office in Manchuria, that provided the following group tourist statistics for the year 1940: 9,109 JTB-led tour groups to Manchuria and Korea; 398,299 tour group members, including Manchurians, Japanese, and foreigners; 320,000 train schedules distributed; and 548,905 tourist pamphlets distributed. These figures do give us a glimpse into the vibrant tourist industry in the late 1930s and early 1940s, before its total collapse after the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1943 (Namigata et al. 2004).

16. According to statistics provided by the Japan National Tourist Organization (JNTO), the 2,235,963 Japanese travelers to South Korea in 2007 made up roughly a quarter of the total number of outbound Japanese. Taiwan came in a distant second as a destination, attracting 1,385,255 Japanese visitors. For the latest tourism statistics by country and region, visit the JNTO website at www.jnto.go.jp/eng/ttp/sta/index.html. Due to the world economic downturn in 2008, the total number of Japanese outbound tourists (15,987,250) reflected a 7.6 percent decline from the previous year's. From January to November 2009, due to further deterioration of the Japanese economy, the number of outbound tourists (14,153,000) represented a 3.8 percent decrease from the number in 2008.