

Navigating Modern Keijō: The Typology of Reference Guides and City Landmarks

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Abstract

This study discusses the contents of guidebooks to Keijō (1910-1945) published by Government-General of Chōsen (GGC), Chōsen Government Railways (CGR), the South Manchurian Railways (SMR), Keijō Municipal Government, and the Japan Tourist Bureau (JTB). As the first generation of mass produced city editions targeting Japanese settlers, businessmen, travelers, and educated consumers, they are significant for understanding how the organization of empirical, reference, and tourist information was designed to show off the latest modern amenities, businesses, and cultural attractions in the rapidly developing capital to a world audience in the early twentieth century.

I. Introduction: Global Tourism and the Production of Guidebooks

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 (MacCannell 1999, Oakes 1998). The birth of the modern tourist industry can be traced back to the mid- nineteenth century when new forms of transportation and communications technologies from railways, steamers, telegrams, and telephones facilitated the mass movements of peoples, goods, information, and financial services. The penetration of British and French colonial enclaves into Africa, Asia, Americas, and the Pacific also enabled the unprecedented expansion of the travel industry with the opening of the Suez (1869) and Panama (1914) canals, inter-continental railroad companies, and trans-oceanic steamer liners. The remarkable transformation of the urban, cultural, and natural landscapes into iconic global tourist destinations from the Swiss Alps to Egyptian Pyramids were due to the close cooperation between colonial governments, local entrepreneurs as well as multi-national corporations who invested in tourist infra-structure such as roads, trains, trams, hotels, restaurants, department stores, amusement parks, cafes, theatres, museums, zoos, and botanical gardens. The ultimate business goal for all concerned were to attract the millions of passengers disembarking or passing through metropolises, ports, and train stations to their respective destinations. With the proliferation of competing national and international destinations, there was a rising demand for accurate travel information so that one could plan vacations, itineraries, as well as calculate budgets.

Historians of travel trace the origins of today's ubiquitous guidebook in its form, function, and design to two pioneers of the publishing industry, John Murray I (1745-1793) and Karl Baedeker (1801-1859). The two companies under the stewardship of their sons dominated the European market for more than a century

due to the following innovations:

(1) The authors and publishers prided themselves in providing first-hand accounts describing the latest train routes/ticketing formation, porters, guide for hire, accommodations, restaurants, and photo studios. Revised editions also boasted up to date information regarding fares, wages, and prices of commodities targeting all classes of passengers and consumers;

(2) Their concise prose also dispensed practical advice anticipating every possible concern of the traveler such as road conditions, climate, security, customs regulations, passports, baggage, clothing, diet, health, and, etc.;

(3) Fold out maps with well marked streets, traffic flow, and landmarks such as trains stations, government buildings, post-offices, banks, and museums, etc. were provided for every major city and tourist destination in the continent as well as to more remote locations including the Greek Islands and Egypt.¹⁾ Such detailed maps were favored by the less privileged traveler who could not afford coachmen, valets, and servants on long distance trips and therefore preferred to take quick walking tours;

(4) The compact pocket size and sturdy covers were designed for portability and durability for they were to be consulted en- route and on site with easily accessible index and table of contents;

(5) The narrative sequence prioritized “ought to be seen” sites but also offered alternative choices emphasizing efficient and economical point to point departures and transfers;

(6) The descriptions also included brief historical sketches highlighting local languages, manners, customs, legends, and postcard views of natural,cultural attractions and points of interest in surrounding areas.

1) The contents of the earliest guidebooks dating to the early eighteenth century mostly catered to the tastes and preferences of educated young Englishmen of means who could afford to devote months and sometimes years trekking to the “picturesque” ruins along the “Grand Tour.” The latter itinerary included England’s Lake District, Scottish Highlands, Swiss Alps, Greece, and Italy’s Roman ruins. Then, the main goal of the upper-class traveler was to relive the real and imagined epics depicted in myths and legends of gods, heroes, and warriors which were the main subjects of historical romances staged in theatre plays, popular novels, and landscape paintings of the day (Darby 2001).

Thus, armed with reliable red Baedekers and blue guides that took out much of the feelings of anxiety and insecurity out of foreign travel, hordes of tourists got used to long distance travel, crisscrossing the major capitals of Europe and sometimes venturing off the beaten path in search of adventure, education, culture, and hopefully, romance (Mendelson 1985).

With the affordability and ease of travel in the early twentieth century, the demographic fact that lesser income groups were now entering the tourist market spurred the production of more inexpensive guidebooks oriented towards the masses. With the entry of lower and middle-income employees in administration and retail industry such as teachers, shopkeepers and manual laborers, guidebooks expanded their offerings designed to appeal to the tastes and the changing patterns of consumption. Thus, the contents of guidebooks began gravitating towards more popular and urban entertainment venues such as shopping, coffee houses, music concerts, and even extending to more salacious experiences such as dance clubs, bars, and brothels, more commonly known as sex tourism (Koshar 1998: 335-38).

II. Japanese Empire Building and Tours to Korea and Manchuria

Following Japan's decisive victories over China and Russia in the Sino-Japanese (1895) and Russo-Japanese Wars (1904-5), Meiji industrialists spearheaded the expansion of the empire's transportation industry and communications linking the Eastern and Western hemispheres. As early as 1894, steamer ships operated by the Japan Mail Steamship Company (Nippon yūsenkaisha -hereafter, NYK) began delivering mail, freight, soldiers, and passengers connecting North American ports of San Francisco and Seattle to the newly opened ports of Inch'ŏn, Wŏnsan, Pusan as well as Chefoo and Tientsin via Kobe, Nagasaki, Shimonoseki on a monthly basis

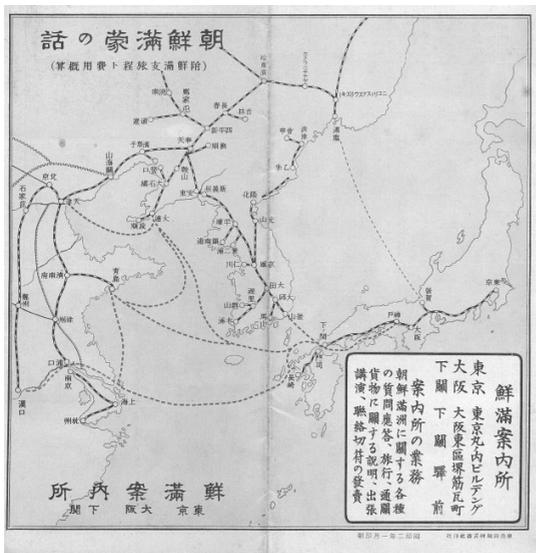
(NYK 1896). The Welcome Society of Japan -(貴賓會) was established in 1893 at the Tokyo Chamber of Commerce was Japan's first government tourism board. Patronized by the Imperial Household, it was supported by subscribing members, who ranged from high-level cabinet members, aristocrats, foreign diplomats and leading state entrepreneurs of the day. Its vice president was then leading financier, Baron Shibusawa Eiichi (渋沢栄一1840-1931) who consulted with board members made up of leading Meiji era industrialists operating steamships and railroad companies to re-make Japan into the "Paradise of the East." According to the preface to its 1910 guidebook, "the object and fundamental principle of the Welcome Society was: "To welcome foreign visitors to Japan, and render them all possible assistance during their sojourn. The Society aims at bringing within reach of tourists, the means of accurately observing the general features of the country, and the peculiar characteristics of the people; aiding them in their visits to noted places, to enable them to inspect famous objects of art, and give them entrée to social and commercial relations with the people: in short, affording them, facilities and conveniences toward the accomplishment of their various intentions; thus indirectly promoting, in however, small a degree, our international inter-course and trade, and assisting to maintain the present close relations with other nations."(Welcome Society 1910, preface iii-iv).

As we can see, like many other newly minted Meiji institutions, Japan's oldest tourism board was born as a state engineered enterprise directed by leading statesmen, railroad officials, and steamer companies who were invested in launching new steamer routes, railways, tourist office branches, and building of first class station hotels not only inside Japan but also in the colonies of Korea, Manchuria and Taiwan. Their main business goal was to lure foreigners with deep pockets in order to raise foreign revenue, promote diplomacy and initiate direct trade with foreign powers (Leheny 1998). In 1904, with the completion of the Seoul-Pusan line and Seoul-Inch'ŏn line, the Chōsen Government Railway Company (hereafter, CGR) began carrying

passengers from Pusan departing for major cities and ports in the Korean peninsula such as Taikyū (Taegu)- Keijō (Seoul)-Jinsen (Inch' ōn) -Kaijō (Kaesŏng)-Heijō (P'yŏngyang) and the terminus at Shingishū (Shinūiju) on the mouth of the Yalu river. In 1905, Korea's postal system which had been floundering under mismanagement in the latter days of the Great Han Empire (대한제국) was incorporated into the

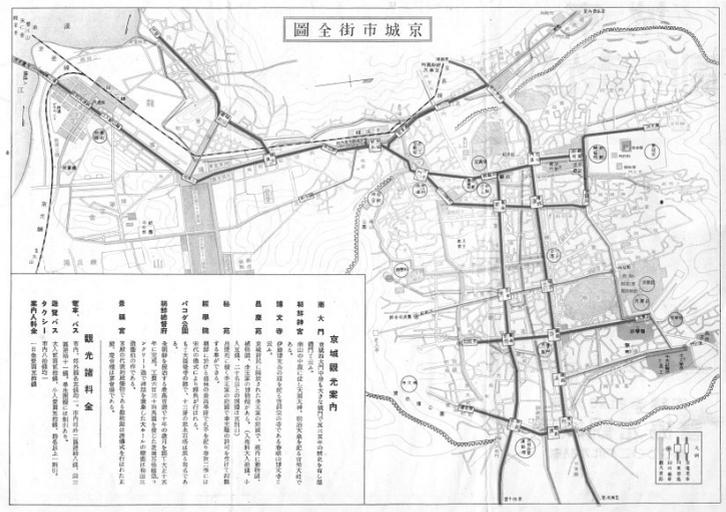
Japanese Postal System. Central post office city branches were located next door to CGR stations along the Keifu line (경부선) facilitating efficient delivery of not only army mail but also correspondences and printed materials such as newspapers, postcards and guidebooks throughout the empire. The Treaty of Portsmouth signed on September 5th 1905 also ceded to Japan, part of the East China Railroad linking Port Arthur, Dairen, Fengtian (Mukden) to Harbin. In June 1906, with imperial decree, the quasi-government financed South Manchuria Railroad Company (hereafter SMR) launched business ventures in the Liaodong peninsula(Map 1).

〈Map 1〉 Transportations Route
 鮮満案内所地図(鮮満案内所) 출판 1927



In 1906, the year following Japan's much celebrated victory over Russia, Japan's leading daily, the Asahi Newspaper Company (朝日新聞社) came up with the idea of organizing a group tour to the new colonies in order to capitalize on the newfound patriotic fervor. Though, Japan had a long history of domestic tourism and community organized tours in the Tokugawa period, this was the first documented tour group made up of private Japanese citizens to visit foreign lands (Ariyama 2002).

〈Map 2〉 Keijō Downtown Map 京城觀光案内 京城觀光会 1933



With an eye to selling more newspaper subscriptions, the Asahi ran advertisements for a cruise to the frontier in order to re-live the great “battle-sites” of the Sino-Japanese (1894-5) and Russo-Japanese wars (1904-5) depicted in memorabilia such as photographic albums, silk prints (錦絵), and commemorative postcard sets favored by manic collectors (Keene 1976, Morse et. al.2004: 17-8). Three days following the first call for passengers leaving on the “Cruise Touring Manchuria and Korea” (滿韓巡遊線) in their June 22nd 1906 edition, all three classes of cabin tickets were sold out when eighty people signed up. This was indeed an auspicious start for a first time media engineered marketing pitch promoting Manchuria and Korea as “the new world” (新天地) where one could 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 cultural happening of the time, subsequent discounted tours began to be sold -out in large numbers giving rise to the “packaged educational tour” (修学旅行) as we know it today in Japan and Korea (Moon 1997).

This paper discusses the production of the first generation of Keijō guidebooks in the context of the rise of Japanese colonial state sponsored development of a modern

tourist industry in East Asia.²⁾ Keijō guides published in the early twentieth century were selected for analysis here because they are significant in the history of print journalism for the following reasons: First, due to Keijō's strategic location centered in the transportation, administrative and business hub of Japan's rapidly expanding continental empire, editors, authors, and publishers worked hard to provide both practical reference guides for the thousands of settlers, administrators, students, merchants, educators and potential travelers curious to learn about the new frontier towns of Pusan, Wŏnsan, and Inch'ŏn (Uchida 2005). Second, in the peak decade of Japanese outbound tourism to Korea between the 1910s and 1920s, Keijō city editions far surpassed any other colonial destinations in their diversity, quality and sheer quantity due to the vast body of diverse reference materials and statistics collected by specialists employed by the Colonial Government General Office of Chōsen (朝鮮總督府, hereafter, GGC) Education Department and the Research Department of the SMR and Colonial Government Railways (朝鮮鐵道, hereafter, CGR). Third, urban guides for Keijō were consciously modeled after guides to metropolises such as New York and San Francisco, which had pioneered different strategies of organization and information systems in the nineteenth century (Michalski 2004). Selected for their navigability, arrangement, and design more than a century ago, urban guides have since served as an interface to the city and like databases were regarded as discovery tools to impart complex information environment. Therefore, compared to other colonized cities in the Japanese empire, Keijō editions include detailed historical information, up-to-date facts, figures (eg. population, agricultural/industrial output, wages, real estate, and consumer prices) as well as photographs of major attractions.

2) Though, in recent years, there has been a proliferation of exhibitions, articles, and books on the history of tourism for European and American travelers, there are only a handful of scholars who have addressed the topic of colonialism and travel in an East Asian regional context. For recent books which have addressed the history of the Japanese tourist industry and its Pre-War political, economic, and cultural legacies in contemporary Japan, I recommend the following authors, David Leheny (2003), Guichard-Anguis, Sylvie and Okpyo Moon (2009), Kenneth Ruoff (2010) and Sōyama Takeshi (2003).

Thus, by studying city guidebooks past and present, one can understand the social dynamics of communication as well as participate in the way, the city is constructed in the minds of the people, both visiting and living within it (Michalski 2004: 189). As a general rule, Keijō guides were addressed to the “stranger” since the publishers’ main goal was to provide useful knowledge to the newcomer so one could acclimatize oneself to big city life in the newly incorporated colonies.

III . Resource Guides to Keijō

Guidebooks to Keijō can be broadly divided into two main types, resource guides and experiential guides. “The New Keijō Guide” (新鮮京城案内) published in 1913 is selected for analysis here for analysis for two main reasons. First, it was the first pocket-sized guidebook to include up-to-date information and statistics describing the activities of the municipal government, economic and business sectors, it set the precedent for future reference guides. The organization of the chapters listing essential city services, market conditions, and tourist information were accompanied by a comprehensive appendix where one could look up contact information, addresses, and market prices for food, goods, services, and accommodations. Second, unlike later generations of CGR issued guidebooks, this 326 page tome had an identifiable author, Aoyagi Tsunatarō (青柳綱太郎) who was a prolific journalist, historian and authority on Korea.³⁾ The following preface penned by the author for his 1913 first edition clearly reflects the educational agenda and civilizing mission of its publisher, the Research Committee on Chōsen (朝鮮研究会):

3) Aoyagi Tsunatarō 青柳 綱太郎(1877-1932) was the founder of the Chōsen Kenkyūkai (朝鮮研究会) in 1912 and editor at the Keijō News Press (Keijō Shinbun). Excerpts from his 1913 guide work has been translated into Korean and edited by Ku T’ae-hun and Park Son-yōk. For this paper, the author has analyzed the 1934 revised edition which had once been in the possession of the Keijō Police Bureau of the GGC. The fact that the volume had been in the possession of the police, meant that it was probably consulted by new police recruits to initiate them into Keijō city life.

“in recent years as more and more Japanese people have advanced into the continent, there was an increased demand for accurate information. Therefore, we wanted to provide a platform to benefit newcomers and future business leaders so they can plan for the eventual construction of great cities in the empire.” (Aoyagi 1913:1-3). As we can see, the author’s sentiments echoed the editorial committee’s main goal of making up for the dire lack of reliable sources on Japan’s most recent colonial acquisition.

The guide was divided into three sections: introduction, main chapters and a thick appendix, which resembled a modern day telephone book. The introduction provided a brief explanation to the geo-political environment of Keijō, past and present. First, Aoyagi pointed out the capital’s natural assets such as being circumscribed on four sides by mountain ranges with convenient access to river transportation which, through the ages consolidated its geographic position as an ideal fortress for positioning army brigades as evidenced by the large numbers of Japanese armed forces stationed in the district of Yongsan. For this strategic reason, the author emphasized that the former Hansŏng remained the undisputed political and economic center of the peninsula since 1392 when Yi Sŏng-gye established the Chosŏn dynasty. However, after five hundred years, he pointed out that the fortunes of the city had severely declined, precipitated by China’s and Russia’s humiliating defeat in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5) and the Russo-Japanese War (1905), respectively. In 1905, with the signing of the Portsmouth Treaty, the author claimed that the colonial government was forced to step in to protect Korea from its enemies. Second, he praised the efforts of legions of brave businessmen and corporations who had contributed to revitalizing the city by taking on a lead role in penetrating the Chosŏn market following the 1910 annexation treaty (Ibid.170-71). Third, he applauded the GGC’s remarkable advances in the construction of the city’s infra-structural capital with the opening of nearby port facilities in Inch’ŏn, all linked by newly paved roads, tram-lines, and railways networks. Therefore, he was now pleased

to inform the readers that “the peninsula is now no longer country far away but had become part of the Japanese homeland or Naichi.” (Ibid. 55).

As we can see from the guide’s preface that the author shared a common sense of purpose with the colonial regime predicting a rosy outlook for the future economic destiny of Keijō. Thus, he made it plainly clear his guide was committed to imparting his hard earned knowledge and essence of this 500-year old city with all his readers. Reflecting Aoyagi’s pro-Japanese business agenda, the guide’s main chapters were devoted to flaunting the many urban amenities introduced by the GGC administration including municipal services such as electric works, telephones, post-offices (Figure 9), banking operations, police stations, military barracks, education, religious establishments, sewage, and newspaper presses. He also commented on the many new visitor facilities such as the opening of station hotels, Japanese style inns, restaurants, public baths, hot springs, souvenir shops, photo studios etc. located all in close proximity to tram and railway stations in and outside of the city (Ibid. 61-96). For example, several pages were devoted to explaining the layout of the transportation grid (Map 2) of tram services linking government offices, public works, banks, and historical landmarks, Shinto shrines, exhibition halls, and public parks (Ibid. 225-8) such as Pagoda Park and Namsan Park. In the chapters on municipal services, the author stressed how the GGC’s “enlightened” urban development projects had produced broad city avenues, efficient transportation links, state of the art hospitals, schools, libraries, as well as leisure and cultural facilities such as museums, zoos, and parks never witnessed before in Keijō. Thus, in less than a decade following the arrival of Japanese corporate capital, Aoyagi proudly stated that this former backward capital which had suffered stagnation from centuries of mismanagement under the hands of the incompetent and bankrupt Yi government officials, had been transformed into a very attractive city to live, work, and plan for the future. In the author’s opinion, many Japanese resident populations were now enjoying the same kind of affordable and convenient access to public services, medicine, education,

security, and hygiene that one could expect back in the homeland.

The rest of the guide was devoted to listing detailed statistics to support his claims that Keijō was indeed a prosperous and up-coming city in the empire. His tables listed occupations, salaries, real estate conditions and commodities prices taken from official city census reports conducted on both immigrants and local population. Some representative titles of tables were as follows : (1) Occupations held by Japanese today, (2) Daily wages for laborers, (listed by the most popular categories for daily chores such as rickshaw drivers, laborers, carpenters, craftsmen, construction workers;) (3) Availability of daily necessities, food stuff, and manufactured goods for sale (eg. cotton cloth, soy sauce, sake, miso, etc.); (4) import/export figures between Chōsen and Japan, (5) the ratio of Japanese residents versus Korean population by city districts, (5) Housing and commercial real-estate -spaces available for purchase and rent offered local residents (Ibid. 61-75). For example, Table one recorded the exact number of citizens engaged in specific job sectors in alphabetical order: GGC bureaucrats (官吏 2,134), civil servants (公吏 25), staff employees (雇員-1,269), educators (教員 182), private company employees (会社員-739), soldiers/ officers (58), etc. Next to these high status government, company, and military positions, the largest numbers of Japanese residents were employed in sectors such as retail, manufacturing, construction, and service industry, even including hundreds of geishas and sex workers registered by colonial government sanctioned brothels throughout the city. In descending order, the most popular city occupations listed in the city included: shop-keepers (1,478); female servants (993); carpenters (961); textile workers (609); day laborers (496); laborers (290), farmers (337); confectioners (325), second ranked geishas (347), groceries (204), sundries (179), stone masons (140); antique stores (162); rickshaw drivers (158), and geishas (127). Other prominent professional jobs dominated by Japanese settlers were nurses (175), doctors (81), barbers (197), journalists (63); photographers (51) and printing press employees (45).

As we can see, the largest numbers of immigrants were engaged in sales, manufacturing, construction, information services, and entertainment, reflecting dramatic changes in the consumer life-styles of the rising urban population which had jumped five fold from around 500 in the 1880s/90s to 2, 500 in 1901. By 1910, the year of the annexation, the Japanese residents in the inner city had reached 8, 000 (Ibid. 272-3). By 1929, the total population of Keijō had reached 315, 000 plus an extra 100,000 people living and commuting from nearby towns including Inch'ŏn (53, 600), Kaesŏng (44, 560), Suwŏn (11,000) and the factory town of Yŏngdŭngp'ŏ (6, 700) (GGC 1929: 60). Though at first, the author acknowledges that the growing Japanese resident community had suffered from the lack of daily necessities due to their reliance on expensive imports, by 1913, they had become mostly self-sufficient in all sectors of the economy. Aoyagi credits the arrival of the Oriental Development Company, the corporation most responsible for developing real estate in the colonies. The company's assets and political pull thus enabled the local business community to raise large amounts of venture capital loans to set up retail businesses along the main cities on the Keifu trunk-line such as Pusan, Taegu, Taejŏn, P'yŏngyang, and Shinŭiju etc. In a chapter called, "The Industries of Keijō" he proudly claimed there were now thousands of Japanese citizens working in factories, retail, printing companies, commercial and agricultural sectors." (Aoyagi 1913:196-238)

One of the main chapters entitled, "Keijō no Nihonjin"(京城の日本人) was devoted to recounting the daily lives of the prominent leaders in the local community. His narrative concentrated on owners of successful businesses which had in a short period of time not only had contributed to the local community but also had achieved the high living standards comparable to other major Japanese cities back home. Like tales of all immigrant dreams, the anecdotes recounted the many uphill battles of frontier-life caused by restrictions on raising capital and getting city permits for acquiring real estate and commercial loans for small businesses. For example, one vignette details how by sheer ingenuity and tenacity, the young importer of one of

Japan's oldest sake-makers called "Gekkeikan" (月桂冠) had successfully gained a foothold and established brand presence and market-share as the leading liquor distribution company in the colonies (Ibid. 284-5). Now, the author was proud to announce that one could conduct commercial transactions in the Keijō business community boasting safety, security, and hygiene with functioning fire-stations, police presence, hospitals and soldiers in charge. It seems that the main purpose of such self-congratulatory statements repeated by several community leaders of the *Keijōmindan* (京城民団) praising the legions of hard-working merchants on the front-lines of the empire was to affirm their solidarity, autonomy, and freedom in the face of colonial government interference (Ibid. 271-88).

The final section of the guide included a thick appendix which was organized into three types of entries: (1) addresses of colonial government offices, (2) salaries and incomes, and (3) commodity prices. In table one, the order of listed government offices reflected the official hierarchy of the colonial power structure with the top position occupied by the GGC headquarters followed by the Yi Royal Family Household, Chushūen (Central Chūsūin) made up of ministers, aristocrats and political advisors, Railways Department, Communications Bureau, Temporary Real Estate departments, post-office, military command, and the Oriental Development

〈Figure 1〉 Sungnye-mun before Reconstruction c. 1905 (Tourist Photo)
Courtesy Collections of the International Center for Japanese Studies



〈Figure 2〉 Postcard View of Namdaemun after Reconstruction, c. 1930s (Author's Collection)



Company. Last but not least, the guide included a list of addresses of all the foreign consulates in the city such as England, France, Italy, the United States, etc.

The average consumer price index (物価) was compiled by comparing and contrasting prices recorded at retail businesses in the neighborhoods surrounding the two main traffic junctions of South Gate (Nandaimon Station-figure 1, 2) and Yongsan stations, where the largest number of Japanese residents, soldiers, and shopkeepers were lived and worked.

Even at a glance, the prices indicate steep inflationary curves for all daily necessities such as sundries from rice, grains, beans, sake (both imported Japanese brands/local versions), beer (Kirin, Sapporo, Asahi), soy sauce, sugar, flour, miso, cooking oil, cotton cloth etc. This upward climb meant that many lower income city residents would have had a hard time making ends meet when yearly price spikes were the norm (Ibid. 308-47). According to Aoyagi, his tables had employed the latest statistical methods for tracking numerical trends for individual consumer goods, which in fact was what most characterized resource guides printed in the early twentieth century.

In the epilogue to the 1913 edition, Aoyagi reveals his personal motivations for writing this guidebook. As an old Korea hand, he writes that he had picked up his pen because he was appalled by the increasing numbers of ignorant and homeless young Japanese youth loitering on the main streets of Keijō. Without any marketable skills or education to speak, he dismissed such homeless ne'er do wells as unlikely to find any gainful employment. He also issued a dire warning to fortune-hunters that the harsh realities of the competitive economic and political climate of Keijō was surely not stable enough to accommodate any more influx of penny-less immigrants. Furthermore, he wanted to dissuade small time merchants and future immigrants coming with virtually no or minimal capital to invest (Ibid. 491- 94). Therefore, he felt it was his assigned duty to warn off potential migrants by explaining clearly the harsh realities of "daily life and business conditions on the ground." As we can see, by

the author's frank observations, the publishers' target audience were upper and middle class businessmen who in theory already possessed moderate amounts of capital and business savvy to prosper in Keijō.

IV. Experiential Guides to Keijō

Experiential guides differed from resource guides in that the target audience were leisure tourists hailing from near and far and hence, catered to the desires, tastes and expectations of educated consumers. Though for more than three centuries, sailors, merchants, surveyors, diplomats, missionaries, journalists, and globe-trotters had published eye-witness accounts describing the geography, scenery, and socio-economic conditions of ports and cities of the Far East, systematically organized tourist information on Manchuria, Korea, and Taiwan first appeared in Japanese steamer liners' passenger manuals produced in the late 1890s.⁴⁾ The corporation most recognized for initiating a comprehensive empire wide tourist development and advertising campaign was the Japan Tourist Bureau (JTB 日本交通公社) headquartered at the Imperial Japan Government Railways (IJGR) Corporate Head Office in Tokyo Station (JTB 1982:8-13). Established in 1912, the directors of the JTB and IJGR was responsible for convincing shipping magnates, SMR, department stores' chains (Mitsukoshi, Takashiyama) and the Tokyo Imperial Hotel Management to name just a few of the prominent zaibatsu to join their grandiose venture of transforming Japan and its newest colonial destinations into the "the Paradise of the Orient" (JTB 1926). As part of JTB's ambitious empire wide advertising campaign, the JTB also opened branches in Taipei, Keijō and Dairen in 1912, a few months

4) These shipping manuals were distributed free to first class passengers who had booked trans-Pacific steamer journeys on the Japan Mail Steamship Company or the NYK. They encouraged passengers who had a few extra days to take detours to visit Japan's newly annexed military outposts such as Dairen, Chefoo, Tientsin, Taku, Inch'ōn and Pusan (NYK 1896, 1898).

after launching its Tokyo head office.⁵⁾ The ultimate business goal of the colonial branches' was also the same as that of the parent company which was to attract as many passengers as possible so they could recoup the enormous financial investments spent on building railways, roads, as well public works like ports, dams, and water-works. The construction of an empire wide infrastructure linking Japan to the Korea peninsula and Manchuria, had originally served as vehicles to transport soldiers, military supplies/ mail, munitions, and freight during the Sino-Japanese (1895) and Russo-Japanese Wars (1904-5). By 1914, branches of the JTB were distributing 3,000 English maps covering not only Japan but also featuring their colonies including maps of Keijō, Dairen and Taipei (Pai 2010a :75-6).

Following the end of WWI and runaway inflation in Europe, the JTB experienced some tough financial times. As an alternate business plan in 1919, the JTB started selling “through tour tickets” to the colonies targeting the domestic consumer, whose sales still constitute the main source of its revenue today. The educated masses at home and new immigrants residing in the colonies, who were hungry for news and photos of the latest imperial destinations and leisure trends, near and far, spawned the introductions of travel magazines such as the “Tourist” (1913-1942), a bi-lingual (English/Japanese) edition and “Tabi” (1924-present).” Designed for the first time with the Japanese readers in mind, the colorfully illustrated articles were penned by seasoned professionals, former staff of the SMR, writers, and even globe trotting foreigners (JTB 1924-present).

In addition to the JTB by the late 1920s, there was a wide variety of colonial institutions, both public and private engaged in the travel advertising business from colonial expositions planning committees, Educational department of the Keijō

5) The Japan Tourist Bureau, over the last ninety-nine years has evolved into the world's largest travel agency. The JTB corporation's official website lists one hundred fifty company affiliates including some of the same founding Taishō era (1911-1925) *zaibatsu* investors including Mitsui OSK line, the Japan Hotel Association, Sumitomo Mitsui Banking Co. and the various JIR lines (Hokkaido, Kyushū, West, Central etc). Under the JTB umbrella, the JTB group lists travel companies, publishing and advertising companies, commercial companies, and platform service companies. Its travel offices are located in all the major capitals of Europe, North America, Asia, and the islands of the Pacific (Micronesia, Oceania, Australia and New Zealand). See <http://www.jtbcorp.jp/en/company/profile.asp>.

Municipality, the Keijō Tourism Organization hot springs resorts, and station hotels. However, “essential tourist information” such as reference maps, photos of famous places and transportation schedules relied on resource materials distributed by empire-wide railway companies and their regional affiliates (*Keijō Kankōkai 1934*). Thus, by the 1920s, tourist guides all shared a standardized set of textual narratives and visual cues in the form of panoramic postcard views of scenic ports, cityscapes, major landmarks, and exoticized natives designed appeal to all classes of travelers, both domestic and foreign. Consequently, the presentation of tourist information throughout all media platforms including postcards, travel magazines, leaflets and brochures became remarkably uniform in overall arrangement and contents whether they were describing Japan, Korea, Taiwan or Manchuria as follows (Pai 2010a: 76-7).

A city guide map including train schedules, stops, and time-lines were distributed at major traffic junctions so you could decide whether to walk, ride or take a group tour. The main sections of each city covered the major scenic, cultural and business destinations along the main CGR arteries as well as recommended side trips to seaside, hot-springs and resorts such as Kyōngju, Inch’ōn, or Suwōn which were linked by local and privately owned transportation companies from trams, buses, taxis, and shuttle services by the 1920s.⁶⁾ Guidebooks also offered different customer choices and group tour itineraries depending on your purpose for visiting Korea, be it educational or business related. There were historical tours, city tours, mountain resorts, hot springs and even tours of industries represented by commercial museums, factories, and ginseng farms (*Keijō-fu 1934*). Transportation fees, admission to museums, zoos, and the cost of food recommended hotels/restaurants/inns with a choice of either Western, Chinese, Korean, Japanese were also included for the budget conscious consumer. Last but not least, in the appendix of many guidebooks of the empire, Japanese operated businesses such as trams/ taxi companies, inns, hotels,

6) For recent works on the privatization of the transportation industry, labor conditions, and city-life, consult this journal volumes 22 (2004.3) and 29 (2007. 8).

tailors, pharmacies, and department stores were the major advertisers. Local merchants were represented by geisha restaurants, curio-dealers, ginseng shops, and photographic studios. On occasion, a separate section under the general rubric of “Old Customs and Manners” of the land contained brief summaries of languages spoken, local products, and ethnographic reports documenting the daily lives of the natives divided by social classes (Yangban versus peasants), costumes, food, religious festivals, seasonal attractions, kisaeng performances, and finally an appendix listing souvenir shops (土産品) such as ginseng, celadon ware, lacquerware and photo studios where one could order commemoration albums or buy postcards sets (Keijō-fu 1926:71-96, 128-9).

V. The Visual Itinerary of “Old” versus the “New”

In the final section, we will look at a small sample of Keijō views seen in a wide array of travel media including photo-albums, postcards, and guidebooks of must-see destinations along the recommended itinerary of famous places (*meishō*).⁷⁾ Though, the views featured here span over a thirty-year time period from 1905-1935, the selections, compositions, and focus of the camera like the organizational structure of guidebooks were very consistent in narrative structure, presentation format and layout.⁸⁾ By focusing on a handful of most popular subjects and objects of the

7) In recent years, museums have organized exhibitions featuring tourist guidebooks, postcards, and leaflets of famous places, kisaeng and travel paraphernalia (trunks, ticket stubs, cameras, etc) from the colonial era. They are the Pusan Historical Museum (2007, 2008), Inch'on Historical Museum (2007), National Folk Museum (2009), and the Koryō Art Museum in Kyoto (2010).

8) In this paper, the descriptions of Keijō rely on the 1929 edition published by the CGR. This edition was selected for it was the most popular form of concise (54 pages) pocket-guide, updated in several editions and was distributed throughout the empire at ports and terminus stations such as Tokyo Station, Shimonoseki, Osaka Sakaisuji, Pusan, Taejōn, Yongsan, and P'yōngyang. By the 1930s, publishers had mostly abandoned the broad historical narrative style described here. Instead, essential tourist information were compacted into fold-out leaflets for portability and reducing costs of production. The itinerary of famous places featured snapshots, accompanied by short description on one side with a map on the other.

“Tourist Gaze” this section will attempt to contextualize how the early twentieth century’s historical, visual, and ethnographic knowledge on Keijō was created, codified, and tailored for the Japanese audience and traveler. As with reference guides, the preface to all Keijō visual guides and leaflets, began with an overview of “Old Keijō” (昔の京城) taking the reader back in time to the city’s legendary origins dating to the mythical eras of warrior kings and heroes when conquering princes of the Koguryō such as Chumong and Ondal/Piryu, had migrated south to set up a fortress of Wiryē-sōng (c. 1st century B.C) on the banks of the Han river. Formerly presumed to have been the capital of the first Paekche kingdom, the authors noted that the capital had also forged close cultural and diplomatic ties with Japan dating back the early Three Kingdoms. As we can see, Keijō’s authenticity and antiquity rested on its two millennia old unbroken cultural lineage and political status as the seat of royal power as evidenced by the high mountains on four sides enveloping the 520 year-old city walls and gates guarding the palaces (CGR 1929: 1-2).

The first stop on the historical bus tour was South Gate (Figure 1 & 2). Often referred to as the door-step to Keijō (玄関) in colonial sources, it became the most advertised symbol of Old Keijō by the 1930s for the following reasons:

First, it was officially registered by the GGC as the Korea’s number one national landmark on August 27, 1934 at the recommendation of Tokyo University trained professors and architects such as Sekino Tadashi (1865-1935) who as the most influential member of the Committee on Korean Antiquities or the Chōsen Koseki Kenkyūkai formed in 1916, had praised its magnificent wooden architectural construction and remarkably well preserved artistic features despite its 600 year old status dating to 1398 during the seventh year of King T’aejo’s reign. All guidebooks also noted that its original Yi dynastic name was Sungnyemun as marked by its large sign seen in figure 1. Second, the guides noted its connection to Japan’s most infamous conquest warlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi whose invasion troops had passed through the gate during the years of the *Bunroku no toki* or better known as the seven

year span of the Imjin Wars between 1592-1598 (CGR 1929:10). Third, the gate was chosen for its central location demarcating the border between Northern “Old City” populated by Koreans from the Southern New Town which was being developed by the GGC military to house soldiers, Japanese businesses, and settlers in the 1900s (Todd 2008). Consequently, the GGC engineers and department of public works had devoted years to chopping of city-walls, pushing out street vendors in order to lay out wide avenues to facilitate traffic flow of buses, trams, pedestrians and rickshaws (CGR 1929: 11). The guides also highlighted its close proximity to Mitsukoshi Department Store (now Shinsegye), the Central Post Office (Figure 9), and the Bank of Chōsen (1919). Finally, Keijō city tour buses and trams also departed from Namdaemun station, in order to accommodate the “Through” ticket passengers who wanted to rest or dine at the nearby Chōsen and Bando hotels or take a half-day off for sightseeing on the way to China or Manchuria.⁹⁾ Therefore, colonial developers, retail merchants, and the commercial print media were responsible for transforming South Gate into the iconic gateway to Chōsen seen by the millions of inbound train passengers disembarking from the Keifu trunk-line.

Considering that the gates’ intersection was the busiest traffic junction by the 1930s, the serene and sparsely populated street view of South Gate depicted in figure 2 would have been highly unusual occurrence. The photographer either went out of his way to shoot the gate’s entrance either early in the morning to show off the architectural splendor of the gate to be reprinted as postcard souvenirs.¹⁰⁾ As we can see the archetypal figures representing “Chōsen manners and customs” such as the ubiquitous street laborers (marked by his A frame as Chige-gun) carrying large baskets walking off to the right of the frame), pedestrians identified as Yangban by the

9) For a detailed description of the itinerary of the Keijō sightseeing bus tour in the late 1930s, please see Kenneth Ruoff, *Imperial Japan at its Zenith*, pp. 116-125.

10) According to estimates proposed by Son Chong-mok, the leading author on the social history of colonial Seoul, on an average day, at least five thousand passengers, commuters, rickshaw drivers, and merchants would have passed by on an hourly basis. (Son, J.M.1996)

longflowing white robes and street children were all artfully arranged to contrast with the distinct signs of urban modernity represented by the symmetry of the street lamps, clean well paved pathway, and a Japanese police box guarding the restored gateway in all its ivy drenched glory.¹¹⁾ The absence of tourists and shoppers was and remains a wide-spread convention of framing postcard views in order to enhance the image of the colonies as pristine, empty, and unpolluted destination ripe for exploration and adventure (Geary and Webb 1988, Selwyn 1996).

City tour buses combining either bus, tram, rickshaw, and walking tours were planned as half-day itineraries departing Namdaemun for Chōsen Shintō Shrine (Figure 3), Namsan Park-Botanical Garden and Zoo (Ch'anggyōng-wŏn)- Pagoda Park (Figure 4) -Chōsen Sōtokufu headquarters building (Figure 7)-Museum located on the grounds of Kyōngbok palace (Figure 5)- Fine Arts Museum at Tōksu palace (CGR1938).

The mandatory stop for all GGC guests, colonial administrators, soldiers and

student groups was the
 〈Figure 3〉 Postcard title in English and Japanese-The
 Stone-Steps of the Chōsen Shrine (Keijō), Pusan
 Historical Museum Collections



nearby Chōsen Jingū built on top of Namsan (Figure 3).

As the largest Shinto shrine in the peninsula, visitors were expected to pay respects to the Goddess Amaterasu and the deceased Meiji emperor (1852-1912) as the divine guardians

11) For recent historical accounts, maps, architectural preservation issues, and city planning policies for Namdaemun and Myōngdong areas, see this journal volumes 19 (2002. 9), 28 (2007.2) and 30 (2008. 3).

and protectors of the Chōsen colony (CGR 1929: 101). The whole Namsan park area was also recommended if one wanted to see a commemoration stele dedicated to the war dead from the Sino-Japanese Wars (1895), a science museum, as well to see a panoramic view of all of downtown Keijō. As can see from Figure 3, a white gate or torii, the marker of sacred spaces signifies it as a site of pilgrimage as identified by the a large stone stele engraved with the characters the “Official Shinto Shrine of Chōsen.” The camera angle is shot from below so as to enhance the height of the colossal archway with its steep flight of imposing stone-steps (identified in the postcard title) leading up to main shrine which remains invisible. As with the postcard view of South Gate in figure 2, white robed peasants and colorfully dressed children placed at the bottom on the steps are “native cultural markers.” They are deliberately depicted as tiny figurines in order to send a powerful message of the towering role that emperor worship played in colonial imperial politics, religion, and assimilation policies.

The crumbling ruins of Wōngaksaji Pagoda (Current National Treasure No. 2) was

〈Figure 4〉 View of temple ruins of Wōngaksaji Pagoda dating to the 10th year of Sejo (1464) was registered as Koseki (고적 No. 1) in 1916 (Tourist Photo, c. 1905) Courtesy of the International Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto



also one of the most frequently photographed ruins in Colonial Korea. Located in what is often referred to as the oldest public park designated as T’apgolkongwōn, the name was taken after its name-sakepagoda. This monument dates supposedly back to the 13th century when an emperor from the Mongol Yuan dynasty had presented it to the Koryō King Ch’ungsōn

(1308-1313). It was also the location of a former temple site of Hŭngboksa built during the reign of King Sejo of the Yi dynasty (1455-1468). Kato Kiyomasa (加藤清正?, 1562-1611), a famous general and daimyo serving under Toyotomi Hideyoshi's invasion campaign is also quoted in one infamous anecdote in which he is reported to have attempted to dismantle the pagoda in order to take it back as war loot to Japan. However, unable to transport it, he had abandoned it in its present broken state with the top stories chopped off. Another episode relates that during the time of the notorious dictator Yŏnsan-gun (1476-1506), the area had a one time served as the training ground for kisaeng recruits favored by the king who was known throughout the land for his lascivious life-style and violent purges of the elite who had conspired to poison his mother (CGR 1929:15, Keijō-fu 1934:22).

It is also important to mention here that none of the Japanese guides mentioned that the park was where the 33 leaders of the March 1st Movement had read the declaration of independence on March 1st 1919 (Ruoff 2010: 120). For obvious reasons, Japanese authors did not want to inform visitors that the park was the locus of the largest anti-Japanese uprising which sparked a nation wide anti-Japanesestreet demonstrations. As we can see in this photograph purchased by a tourist in 1905, the photographer had arranged eight street children standing near the base, as well as hanging precariously from the ledges of the ten-story pagoda at various height intervals. Portraits of bedraggled and impoverished street urchins remain one of the most common colonial tropes of the “Conquered Other” mirroring contemporary main-stream literary and missionaries' narratives depicting Koreans as “child-like” and somewhat “helpless” barbarians who needed to be salvaged by civilized nations and Christians (Allen, H. 1908:131, Kwŏn, H.H. 2005). The main intent of photographers and travelers who often employed street children was in all likelihood that they wanted to show off their status as discoverers of unknown and far-off lands as well as embellish the exotic and rustic quality of their travel experiences in order to sell more photographs. Though the exact year remains in dispute, according to the

〈Figure 5〉 Postcard Title-
The Keikarō Pavillion, Keijō



Japanese caption- Kyōnghoeru located in Kyōngbok palace is a must-see destination in Chosen for any person who visits famous Keijō. When one comes upon such as beautiful view located in the inner gardens, the picture reminds one of the magnificent scenery of the Yi dynasty in olden times.

Courtesy of the Pusan Historical Museum Collections

〈Figure 6〉 Original Caption title-Korean
Women Strolling in the Shade



Source: Keizyo (Guide to Keijō), English Edition (JTB 1939)
Courtesy of the International Center for Japanese Studies
Library Collections

current signage posted by Seoul Metropolitan Government, the whole area was re-landscaped as Keijō’s first public park in 1892 by an Irishman named John L. Brown who was an advisor to then British counsel.

The most often recommended walking tours featured in postcards and guidebooks were dominated by attractive kisaeng (courtesans) dressed up as palace ladies sitting in contemplation or strolling in pairs at scenic Yi dynastic palaces and gardens(Figure 5 & 6). Despite the ubiquitous nature of such images, historians now know that such imagined depictions of palace life were very anachronistic in light of the fact, that the power and authority of Yi kingship was abruptly brought to an end by the forced annexation of the peninsula in 1910. Consequently, by the 1930s when such exoticized portraits of beautiful palace ladies admiring the views of Kyōnghoeru and the Secret Gardens of Changdōk palace were in wide circulation, it is estimated that the 600 or so palace maidens had been demoted to commoners, having lost their livelihoods and positions as servants, nurse-maids, cooks, musicians, entertainers and companions to royalty (Kim, Y.S. 1987: 25-30). With the abrupt demise of the Yi

dynastic clan and disappearance of real courtiers, many commercial photographers operating in Keijō had resorted to hiring some of the most popular kisaeng of the day to pose as models promoting the latest tourist destinations from P'yŏngyang Mokdan to Kyŏngju's Silla tombs (Kim, Y.H. 2009). Therefore, it is highly ironic to think that kisaeng known for their seductive reputations as “flowers of the night” as dancers, singers, recording stars, and fashion icons in the colonial entertainment industry (Kim, Y.H. 2006, Park & Shin 2009) were deployed as stand-ins for palace maidens whose mystique relied on their life-long status as trapped virgins.¹²⁾ Scholars of

〈Figure 7〉 Original Caption-The Building of the Government General of Tyosen



Source:Keizyo (Guide to Keijō) (JTB 1939)

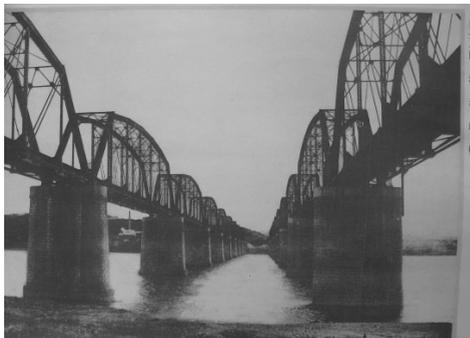
colonial print media and dance have also pointed out that the kisaeng's low social status and availability as sex partners made them also very desirable marketing tools for pushing consumer products such as cigarette boxes, record albums, restaurant advertisement and postcards to be consumed literally and figuratively by the male gaze, both Japanese as well as Korean men (Kwŏn H. G. 2001, Kwŏn H. H. 2005, 2009). Hence, due to the close collaboration of the entertainment industry, photographic studios, commercial art market, and the proliferation of a dozen kisaeng houses (Kwŏnbŏn) in downtown as well as colonial state managed brothel industry (Hong, S.C. 2007), all competing to attract well-to-do male customers, images of “Chō

12) To this day, the romance and unending fascination with real and fictional palace ladies, consorts, courtesans, eunuchs and kisaeng living deep in the forbidden realms of the inner palace are the staples of nightly historical dramas on television as well as marketing tools of Hallyu dramas such as *Taejangūm* (Jewel in the Palace), *Wang kwa Na* (King and I) and most recently, *Dongi* (Shin, M.H. 2004).

sen Beauties” dressed in colorful costumes and dancing poses remain the most iconic image of “local color”(Chōsenfuzoku) representing Seoul (Pusan Historical Museum 2009, Vol.8, Park and Shin 2009).

In contrast with the highly romanticized, eroticized, and exotic images of “Old Keijō” populated by decaying ruins, disheveled children, and beautiful women, the images of “New Keijō” boasted the latest modern architectural monuments commissioned by the colonial state such as the headquarters of the Chōsen Sōtokufu (1925, Figure 7), the Central Post-Office Building (Figure 9), hospitals, universities, and engineering feats such as the Hangang Steel bridge (Figure 8).

〈Figure 8〉 Original Japanese Caption:
Hangang Steel Bridge



Source: Chōsen Sōtokufu Education Department (GGC 1929)

〈Figure 9〉 Keijō Central Post-Office



Source: Chōsen Sōtokufu Education Department (GGC 1929)

Figure 10 shows a panoramic view of the GGC Museum (Chōsen Sōtokufu Hakubutsukan) built on the grounds of Kyōngbok palace on December 1915. Its opening was timed to coincide with the first colonial exposition sponsored by the Chōsen Cooperative for the Promotion of Industry, an executive committee made up of both Japanese and local business leaders mainly based in Keijō. The ostensible goal of the 1915 The Exposition for the Promotion of Korean Industries(朝鮮物産共進会) was to commemorate the fifth year of peaceful annexation and cooperation as well as showcase the nation-wide modernization efforts brought on by infra-structure

〈Figure 10〉 View of the newly opened Chōsen Sōtokufu Museum grounds, c. 1915



Source: National Museum of Korea Archives

〈Figure 11〉 Central Hall of the Museum, c. 1915



Source: National Museum of Korea Photographic Archives

developments, Japanese corporations and commercial ventures, by both public and private enterprises (Moriya 1922). The lavish spectacle full of lighted up pavilions and long exhibition halls lined with the latest manufactured goods, farm products and consumer goods and machinery was financed by major empire wide enterprises such as the SMR, the Oriental Development Co. Mitsukoshi department store, and manufacturers / retailers, large and small from Japan, Manchuria, Taiwan as well as Chōsen (Yi, K. G. 2010). The committee organizers were also responsible for printing postcard sets as well official resource guides, products catalogues, tour maps of exhibition pavilions, and posters advertising the first exposition in Korea, in and outside of the empire (Chōsen Kyōsankai 1915, National Museum of Korea 2009, Vol. 1:135-147).

Figure 11 shows the main hall of the interior of the museum. In order to showcase the largest archaeological

collection in the empire, the GGC had commissioned the building of a permanent museum to a British architect who had designed a two-storied white marbled structure

supported by Greek columns. This so-called, “Japanese Neo-Renaissance” style was very much in vogue and applied to many public buildings both in Japan and throughout the empire. Photographs of the museum building, its well tended grounds as well as the interiors of the Central Hall were featured in the pages of numerous photo-albums, textbooks, travel magazines and printed postcards distributed throughout the empire (Pai forthcoming). In this picture, we can see the orderly arrangements of glass cases in the exhibition rooms radiating out of the central hall. The main display is a large sculpture of a sitting Buddha transported from Kyōngju and raised on a pedestal for maximum viewing effect. The museum walls are also surrounded by replicas of reliefs taken from Sōkkuram. Thus, we can see that the GGC Museum by showcasing the oldest Buddhist art and architectural monuments found in Kyōngju Silla had deployed museum spaces to showcase their racial propaganda and assimilation agenda which had emphasized that the Korean and Japanese races were descended from a common ancestral lineage (Ilsōndongjoron) dating back to Silla times (Pai 2010b, Pai 2011).

Fig. 18 Comparison of industrial silos before and after refurbishment

The ultimate goal of exhibitionary spaces such as the Chōsen Sōtokufu Museum as well as the Yi Royal Museum, zoo, and botanical garden in Ch’anggyōng palace, and the Fine Arts Museum Tōksugung was to show off the spectacular successes of their civilizing mission as evidenced by the wide range of cultural, scientific, technological, and architectural specimens and artwork collected, classified, dated and displayed by GGC employed scientists, scholars, enterprises and architects for all to see and learn.¹³⁾ The museum was soon included in the must-see itinerary of the leading visiting scholars who wanted to consult with the best, the brightest, and most talented graduates of Japan’s leading imperial institutions and universities who had taken up posts at museums in Korea (Pai forthcoming).

13) For recent comprehensive overview of the politics, diplomatic history, architecture, archaeology, and reconstruction efforts in the rebuilding of Kyōngbok palace since the time of King Kojong, see this journal volume 29 (2007. 8) and U, T.S. et. al (2009). For a detailed chronology and the history of Korean Museums, see “The 100 year History of Korean Museums Volumes one and two (National Museum 2009).

Along with the opening of the GGC museums in the former palaces, the seats of Yi dynasty royal power and government were totally re-landscaped to accommodate the millions of anticipated visitors to expositions who expected to see grand spectacles, as well as to insure security against theft and damage for the exhibitors (U, T.S. et. al. 2009). Thus, visually arresting snapshots of scenic views, famous places, and manners and customs of Keijō city were designed to incite curiosity and desire to witness first hand and experience the culture and history of the rapidly expanding multi-ethnic empire in Korea and Manchuria (Ruoff 2010).

In conclusion, colonial era produced guidebooks, maps, and tourist industry played a critical role in the creation and dissemination of an entirely new classification system of city landmarks represented by man-made destinations such as palace buildings, museums, gardens, libraries, zoos, and parks targeting for the first time, a world audience (Weisenfeld 2000). Furthermore, by staging expositions, cultural events, and exhibitions for the first time at formerly forbidden/hidden sacred places such as royal palaces and shrines (Chongmyo, Sajikdan, Hwangudan etc.) and opening them to the public regardless of sex, status, age, and occupation, tourist developers played a major role in remaking the city into a modern and urbane capital. The main business goal was to attract rich Japanese settlers, powerful businessmen, bureaucrats, educators, and students keen on furthering their career, job, investment and educational opportunities while enjoying the cultural attractions and vibrant nightlife. Therefore, the imperial tourist industry advertising campaigns in a short period of two decades between the 1910s and 1930s was responsible for transforming the image of the capital into one of the most attractive and authentic heritage destinations in the Japanese empire full of picturesque ruins, beautiful women, and

14) For nearly three centuries, the image of Seoul and Korea was consolidated in the West as the "Hermit Kingdom" depicted as the last "backward" bastion of xenophobic conservative Confucian Yangban traditions, devoid of cultural attractions and modern amenities as well as limited freedom of movement and social mobility for the masses. For representative images and travel narratives published prior to the twentieth century by Germans, Dutch, French and British soldiers, sailors, merchants, and diplomats, see translations by Kim Yōng-ja (Seoul hak Yōnguso 2006) and University of Seoul Museum exhibition catalogue (2006).

modern cultural and leisure destinations ripe for weekend business trips, exploration, and romance.¹⁴⁾

On the other hand, we also cannot deny that in the process of developing the capital into an administrative/business/cultural hub as well as showcase for displaying the successes of Imperial Japan's civilizing mission in the colonies, the cultural landscape of the five hundred year old capital was irretrievably destroyed. In the past two decades, the CHA (Cultural Heritage Administration) working closely with architects, art historians, and curators have been working hard to reconstruct Yi dynastic symbols such as main city gates, city-walls, waterways, sacred places, and former palace gardens based on early twentieth century maps, measurements, photographs, postcards, and architectural plans. Armed with catchy phrases such as Tongdaemun Culture Historical Park, Namsan Renaissance, and Green Seoul, the ultimately goal remains the same as in the colonial period that is attracting tourists, domestic and foreign.

Today, a century later, such highly exoticized "Orientalists" visions of Yi dynasty courtesans, court ladies, and royals framed by decaying pavilions, palace gardens, and city gates have been transformed into iconic symbols of "Traditional /Nostalgic Seoul" resurrected by the Korea Tourism Organization (KTO) to be disseminated on travel posters, travel magazines, internet based videos, and Hallyu tour websites targeting the millions of television drama fans from Asia (Pai 2010a: 84). Though, romanticized images of the conquered "Other," trapped in time and space in the tourist imagination, is not unique to Korea, it continues to play a major role in which destinations are reconstructed, repackaged and marketed as key markers of Seoul's unbroken antiquity, historicity, and cultural identity.

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ABSTRACT

Navigating Modern Keijō: The Typology of Reference Guides and City Landmarks

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This study discusses the contents of guidebooks to Keijō (1910-1945) published by Government-General of Chōsen (GGC), Chōsen Government Railways (CGR), the South Manchurian Railways (SMR), Keijō Municipal Government, and the Japan Tourist Bureau (JTB). As the first generation of mass produced city editions targeting Japanese settlers, businessmen, travelers, and educated consumers, they are important for understanding how the organization of empirical, reference, and tourist information was designed to show off the latest modern amenities, businesses, and cultural attractions in the rapidly developing capital to a world audience in the early twentieth century. This topic is significant because these turn of the century publications and pictorial images of Seoul in early Japanese transportation industry produced guidebooks and postcard sets played a critical role in the transformation of the image of Seoul into one of the most “authentic” and “picturesque” destinations in the Japanese empire.

Keywords : Travel guides, Japan Tourist Bureau, Picture postcards, Empire Building, Tourist Gaze, Must-see Destinations, Seoul City-life, Urban Planning, Metropolitan Government

ABSTRACT

《모던》 경성의 이미지형성과 근대관광미디어: 제국여행안내서와 도시랜드마크를 중심으로

배형일

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본 논문은 일본관광산업의 발달과 함께 경성의 상업, 경제, 역사, 도시 랜드마크 등의 문화 사회 정보가 여행안내서, 그림엽서, 지도, 잡지, 사진앨범 등을 통해서 서울의 이미지가 전 세계에 어떻게 전달되었고 변화했는지를 살펴본다. 1905년 을사보호조약 후 일본제국의 교통 인프라 개발, 새 시장 개척, 외환 획득, 외교 정책 개선의 일환으로서 일본유선회사(NYK), 남만주 철도(SMR), 조선철도국(CGR), 아사히 신문사, 일본교통공사(Japan Tourist Bureau, JTB) 등 재벌회사들은 식민지의 이국적인 풍경, 풍물, 풍습, 그리고 새 관광시설, 철도호텔 채인, 온천, 유적지, 박물관, 동물원, 공원 등 국제수준의 문화 교육 시설등을 소개하는 여행정보 안내서 출판 선전 사업에 주력했다.

특히 경성은 일본과 만주를 연결하는 제국철도선의 군사 전략지인 동시에 교통의 요지로서 타 제국 여행지에 비해 일찍부터 공·사립기관 그리고 경성주재 신문기자, 조선 전문가들이 수집한 자료, 다양한 최신 시내 상업, 경기, 오락 정보(도시 공공시설, 시장정보, 물가지수, 인구통계, 유락시설(음식점, 기생집, 카페, 유곽), 사진관, 식당, 숙박, 쇼핑가이드)가 실린 휴대용 문고판 여행안내서, 교통시각표, 그림엽서 세트가 1910년대에 등장했다. 1920-30년대에는 조선전국 여행지 안내서, 리플렛,

또 그림엽서 수백만 부가 전 제국의 교통 허브 (동경, 시모노세키, 오사카, 부산, 경성, 대련, 봉춘, 하얼빈, 타이페이 등) 역사 철도호텔, 백화점 지점에 위치한 JTB 사무소에서 일본인 이주민, 관료, 수학여행 단체 관광객, 군인, 사업가, 일반인 여행자 외국인 (선교사, 외교관 등) 에게 배포되었다.

논문의 하반부에서는 경성 상업사진가, 조선철도국, JTB 출판 여행 안내서 속에 몇장의 경성을 대표하는 랜드마크 사진 (궁궐을 배경으로 거니는 아름다운 기생, 파고다 공원, 남산 조선신궁, 경복궁 경회루, 파고다 공원, 조선총독부 박물관) 이미지 속에 나타난 비주얼 “knowledge”를 분석하면서 일본제국의 관광시각(Imperialist Tourist Gaze) 이 백년후 지금의 “Nostalgic/Picturesque” 서울의 관광 이미지 형성과정과 도시개발정책에 미친 역사적, 미학적, 상업적 영향을 본다.

주제어 : 일본교통공사, 조선철도국, 여행안내서, 그림엽서, 경성 관광지 개발, 문화도시시설, 일본제국의 관광시각, 조선풍속사진