Korea's Divided Families

Fifty years of separation

James A. Foley

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The divided families problem is the most serious humanitarian issue facing North and South Korea in their difficult and painful path towards rapprochement. Involving hundreds of thousands of first-generation divided family members, the vast majority of whom have not seen their relatives since the Korean War, it is, given the advanced ages of those it most directly concerns, the most urgent and pressing of the many aspects of Korea's long and painful divide. As such, the problem of separated families in Korea is intrinsically connected to the greater issue of human rights on the Korean Peninsula today. However, despite the importance of the issue to Korea's future, surprisingly little serious academic work exists on the subject, in either English or Korean.

This new study, based on research conducted by the author in South Korea, including interviews conducted in summer 2001 with Korean families who benefited from the most recent exchanges to be briefly and temporarily reunited with their loved ones, addresses the many issues surrounding the divided families problem, and highlights its vital importance in the path towards Korean rapprochement.

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This book is dedicated to all of Korea's divided families – North and South – in the hope that it may play some small role in bringing an end to their long and unjust separation from their loved ones.

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Abbreviations

CBM	Confidence Building Measures
CRDC	Committee for the Return of Displaced Civilians
DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea)
DPRKRC	Democratic People's Republic of Korea Red Cross
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Authority
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
KCIA	Korean Central Intelligence Agency (South)
KDP	Korean Democratic Party
KPA	Korean People's Army (North)
KPG	Korean Provisional Government
KPR	Korean People's Republic
NPT	Nuclear Proliferation Treaty
NSL	National Security Law
ROK	Republic of Korea (South Korea)
ROKA	Republic of Korea Army (South)
ROKNRC	Republic of Korea National Red Cross
SCNRC	Supreme Council for National Reconstruction
TCOG	Trilateral Coordination and Oversight Group
TKR	Trans-Korean Railway
TSR	Trans-Siberian Railway
UNC	United Nations Command
UNTCOK	United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea
USAMGIK	United States Army Military Government in Korea
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

Introduction

This book attempts to provide for the reader a clear and detailed understanding of one of Korea's most urgent and pressing humanitarian problems – that of Korea's countless divided families. The divided families are those Koreans still separated from their family members by Korea's division into two rival, ideologically opposed regimes, the subsequent Korean War of 1950–1953, and ultimately by the failure of Koreas' leaders to create a context in which they could be reunited with their loved ones. While the majority of such families live in Korea itself, divided family members are also to be found wherever Koreans have settled to form communities. Korea's modern diaspora has seen Koreans leave their native peninsula to build lives for themselves and their families in all the far-flung corners of the globe.

In the history of divided countries, Korea's division is perhaps the most bitter and intractable. In the years since the redrawing of many of the world's political boundaries after the Second World War, other divided countries such as Germany and Vietnam have been reunited, and China and Taiwan have at least improved relations to the point where family members are allowed to exchange correspondence and visit their relatives, whereas relations between the two Koreas are still not much better than at the height of the Cold War, and a resolution to Korea's division, at the time of writing these words, still seems a distant dream. Although arbitrarily divided in 1945 into rival zones of influence by the United States and the Soviet Union, the two principal victors of the Second World War, Korea's partition has been enormously embittered by the creation of two diametrically opposed Korean states in North and South, and a fratricidal civil war, which, rapidly internationalised to involve over 20 countries from five continents, caused enormous loss of life and damage to property throughout the Korean Peninsula.[1]

Forty-nine years after the conclusion of an armistice on 27 July 1953, Koreans North and South still bear the burden of the bitter aftermath of the Korean War.

1 Estimates for total numbers of casualties in North and South Korea during the Korean War range as high as 5.2 million. See, Ra Jong-Il (1990), 'Han'guk chŏnjaengŭi ŭimi – han'gukŭi ipchang' (The Meaning of the Korean War – The South Korean View), in Kim Ch'ŏl-Bŏm (ed.) *Han'guk chŏnjaengŭl ponŭn sigak*, Seoul: Ŭlyumunhwasa, p. 56.

For the generation with living memories of the conflict, the war still painfully colours all aspects of the two Koreas' difficult co-existence. This is especially true for the divided families. Although Germans have been reunited with their relatives after the unification of their country in 1990, and Chinese from Taiwan and the PRC may now enjoy the right to contact and visit their relatives in spite of the unresolved nature of the dispute between Taipei and Beijing, Koreans on both sides of their country's unnatural divide are still forbidden the basic human right of contact with their relatives 'on the other side'.[2] As will be shown below, most divided family members in Korea are still unaware even of their relatives' fates after over half a century of separation. It is for this reason that lost family members often greet each other with the seemingly superfluous words 'Ah, so you survived then?' on the rare occasions when they are reunited.

In spite of the ongoing tensions in inter-Korean relations, and the obvious difficulties this has presented to those millions of South Koreans who have fought a long and hard battle to establish a free and law-driven society, South Korea's transition from authoritarianism to a thriving, if as yet imperfect, democracy has impressed the world and continues to provide a beacon of hope for Korea's long-term future and a model for the aspirations of other developing countries.

Beginning in the early 1980s when still under the oppressive Chun Doo Hwan dictatorship, South Korean scholars began a thorough re-examination of their country's modern history and a reappraisal of South Korea's 'official' historiography. Perhaps surprisingly, however, during this period, relatively little attention was paid to the issue of Korea's divided families. Little has been written about the problem in Korean, and only one book has been published in English – Kim Choong Soon's ethnographic study of 1988, 'Faithful Endurance'.[3] Although other Korean scholars, most notably Kim Kwi-Ok,[4] have attempted to address the issue since, the general feeling among Koreans about the divided family problem is that it is just one of the many problems in Korea which can only really be solved through their country's reunification. Consequently, a plethora of books and articles are published every year on the 'bigger issue' of reunification itself and all its many aspects – political, economic, military, etc. – while the problem of the countless Koreans divided from their loved ones is somewhat neglected.

2 After the signing of the *Ostvertrage* (Eastern Treaties) between the two Germanys between 1970 and 1973, relations improved to allow for cross-border contacts. Two million West Germans visited East Germany in 1970 and eight million in 1973. The number of cross-border telephone calls also rose from about 700,000 in 1970 to 23 million in 1980. See, Gortemaker, Manfred (1994) *Unifying Germany, 1989–1990*, London: Macmillan, p. 34. In November 1987, a new policy was formulated in Taipei to allow visits to mainland China from Taiwan for those who had relatives in the PRC. Within the first 12 months of the new policy, 400,000 Taiwan residents visited the mainland for the purposes of family visits, tourism, trade and investment. See, S.J.B. Weng (1994) 'The Evolution of a Divided China', in Lin Zhiling, Thomas W. Robinson (eds) *The Chinese and Their Future: Beijing, Taipei and Hong Kong*, Washington, DC: AEI Press, p. 357.

3 Kim Choong-Soon (1988) *Faithful Endurance*, Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.

4 See, Kim Kwi-Ok (1999) *Wŏlnamminŭi saenghwal kyŏnghŏmgwa chŏngch'esŏng* (The True Character of the Life Experience of Refugees from the North), Seoul: Seoul National University Press.

Perhaps there is so little work done on this 'human' aspect of Korea's divide and other social issues which may arise through an improvement in inter-Korean relations and unification precisely because there is such an absence of human contact between the two Korean states' citizens. Such feelings of hopelessness have also been reinforced by the repeated failures of the two sides to produce any progress on resolving the problem – despite a history of inter-Korean Red Cross negotiation on this very issue stretching back for 30 years. Until the 2000–2001 Reunion programme, negotiations between North and South on the divided families issue had only produced one set of brief reunions for two exchange groups of 50 divided family members in 1985.

This situation was dramatically altered by the agreement reached by the two Korean leaders during their historic 15 June 2000 Summit in P'yŏngyang, according to which, three series of reunions among divided family members North and South were to be held. The resulting measures taken by the two sides brought about temporary reunions for a 1000 first-generation divided family members, and the verification of status of a further 10,000. In other words, 10,000 Koreans finally discovered the fates of their loved ones after 50 years of separation and hidden anguish.

Although these modest numbers have made little impact on the overall problem because of the enormous numbers of people affected by familial separation in Korea, and despite the fact that the reunions were temporary and brief and no mechanism as yet exists to effectively maintain the contacts fleetingly renewed after 50 years, the reunions are the most wide-ranging measures yet to be agreed by the two sides, and have raised considerable hopes that a comprehensive solution to the problem may eventually yet be agreed.

Drawing on research for a PhD thesis completed among North Korean refugees in South Korea in 1997,[5] and interviews conducted in summer 2001 with some of the participants in the above-mentioned 2000–2001 reunion programme, this book will examine the history, size and nature of the divided families problem against the context of the ongoing inter-Korean rivalry and faltering attempts at rapprochement; the histories and experiences of the divided families themselves; and, attempt to arrive at proposals for an improvement in the present situation which could lead to a resolution to this, Korea's most painful and longstanding humanitarian issue. Such primary research has only become possible in South Korea in recent years, and is still unthinkable in North Korea – certainly on an issue of such evident political sensitivity so closely related to the problem of Korea's division and eventual reunification.

Comparison of the author's experiences of undertaking research in South Korea with those reported by Kim Choong Soon in his book 'Faithful Endurance', for which interviews of divided family members were carried out in 1983, provides eloquent and compelling evidence of the flourishing of individual freedom in

5 Foley, James (2000) *Divided Families in the Republic of Korea*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, UK: University of Sheffield.

South Korea's vibrant and dynamic society. Whereas Kim Choong Soon was often met with suspicion and faced many difficulties in building trust and confidence among the divided family members he interviewed, 14 years later in 1997 and then in 2001 the author met a willingness on the part of interviewees to reveal personal histories of separation and thoughts on the issue of division and unification which testify strongly to the success of South Korea's march towards democracy and a free and open society. Regrettably, such openness is still noticeably lacking in North Korea.

The relentless march of time continues to add urgency to a search for a solution to the divided families problem. Those most deeply and directly affected are the first generation – those with living memories of the relatives from whom they are parted – and this generation is rapidly disappearing. It is a harsh fact that once a divided family member has died, the infringement of human rights that person has lived with for so long becomes irreversible, and the potential that person may have held to play a positive role in the building of bridges across the ideological divide towards a new and united Korea is lost forever.

While it may be argued that the divided families problem is secondary to the greater issue of Korea's division and reunification, it is the author's contention that measures to address the issue would necessarily require something which, though hitherto absent in the context of the two Koreas' attempts at rapprochement, is of fundamental importance for the future of Korea – the renewal of natural human links across Korea's unnatural divide. Without such a renewal, the question must be asked as to whether any really meaningful rapprochement in Korea is possible. It is the fervent hope of the author in writing this book that it will play some small role in bringing about a satisfactory solution to the problem of Korea's divided families, and that Koreans will soon be able to enjoy what most of the rest of us take for granted – the right to communicate with and meet their families.

NOTES ON ROMANISATION

In this book, the McCune-Reischauer system of romanisation of Korean has been adopted. Well-known Korean names, however, are given in their best known forms, for example, 'Kim Dae Jung'. The two Koreas are referred to as the Republic of Korea (ROK), South Korea or the South; and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), North Korea or the North.

1 Diaspora and political division

The historical background to the problem of Korea's divided families

INTRODUCTION

Korea's divided families are essentially the product of Korea's modern diaspora (1869–) and political division (1945–). While this book does not profess to be a Korean history primer, any examination of the divided families problem without a description of the calamitous events which have transformed Korea since the end of the nineteenth century would be incomplete. In particular, some understanding of the huge changes which have been imposed on Korean society and her people as a result of Chosŏn (1392–1910) Korea's collision with modern imperialism is vital for an understanding of the traumatic context of the divided families problem – Korea's modern diaspora. It is for this reason that our study of Korea's turbulent modern history begins with the collapse of the last independent united Korean state – the Chosŏn dynasty.

THE FALL OF THE CHOSŎN DYNASTY

Chosŏn Korea

Korea's Chosŏn Dynasty lasted for 518 years, from its foundation in 1392 by Yi Sŏng-Gye – later known as King T'aejo – until Korea's final ignominious loss of her independence to the rising Japanese Empire in 1910. For a dynasty to last such a length of time is, as far as I am aware, unique in world history, and the Chosŏn Dynasty persisted far longer, for example, than any Chinese or European royal house. Longevity is, of course, a two-edged sword in historical terms. Chosŏn's half millennium of rule testifies to the development of a social and political system which was also unique in the world in its degree of flexibility and success in surviving in a small country surrounded by more powerful neighbours, and in staving off, defusing or absorbing any internal dissent. However, by the last half of the nineteenth century Chosŏn's success in this regard was to prove to be one of the key elements in its ultimate failure and in Korea's subsequent disastrous loss of her sovereignty.

Chosŏn society was organised according to a rigid hierarchy in which status was determined at birth according to one's ancestral genealogy. The ruling strata of society were the y*angban* – literally the 'twin orders': military (*muban*) and civil (*munban*). The yangban held and controlled all positions of influence in Chosŏn Korea. Access to this privileged group was zealously guarded by marriage to other yangban families, and positions of influence were awarded through success in state-controlled examinations to the civil service and military. These examinations were based on knowledge of the Confucian classics, and, as the yangban themselves largely controlled access to education, this acted as a further means of restricting positions of influence in Chosŏn to the yangban and their offspring. Although there is some evidence that people of 'lower' birth did rise to achieve yangban status into the muban, or 'military order' through the examination system, throughout the Chosŏn dynasty the munban or 'civil order' was by far the more respected and influential. A key difference in Korean values which sharply contrasts Korea's cultural background to that of Japan with its praise of the *samurai* ideal. While Chosŏn Korea's system took as its guiding principles the precepts of neo-Confucianism – more specifically, the teachings of Chu Hsi (1100–1170) – which came to Korea from China, access to power and social mobility were even more restricted in Chosŏn Korea than they had been in Ming China (1368–1644). Although, as in China, the neo-Confucian literati, who were the proponents of the new Chosŏn order, advocated the adoption of a strict system of primogeniture, this was further narrowed in Chosŏn to include, paradoxically, the *mother's* ancestral background as a determinant of access to yangban status. Women in Chosŏn were rapidly deprived of the relatively favourable social status they had held under the previous Koryŏ Dynasty (935–1392), and marginalised by the essentially patriarchal philosophy espoused by Korea's neo-Confucian scholars.[1]

Although the yangban were clearly a minority in Korea's society, there is some scholarly dispute as to precisely what percentage of society they constituted. Records would indicate that while this was between 9 and 16 per cent in the seventeenth century, yangban status became somewhat diluted in the period of Chosŏn's decline – the nineteenth century – thus allowing access to yangban status to more of Chosŏn's society.

Below the yangban came all the other strata of Chosŏn's rigid system, beginning with the *yangmin* or s*angmin*, literally the 'good' people, or the peasants who made up the majority in Chosŏn Korea. Smaller groups in society were the *chung'in*, or 'middle people': this rather small group provided the petty officials, scribes and functionaries of the Chosŏn bureaucracy, and, the s*angin* or 'merchants', who, while often leading better material existences than the yangmin, were looked down on more than the peasants by the yangban, as was the sangin way of

1 For the most detailed and comprehensive study of the neo-Confucian transformation of Korean society at the onset of the Chosŏn Dynasty, see Deuchler, Martina (1992) *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology*, Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University Press.

life – commerce – which was despised in Chosŏn Korea with its yangban patrician cultural emphasis on scholarship. Below this group came the *paekchŏng*, who were Korea's 'untouchables'. This group included butchers, tanners, undertakers and entertainers.

The lowest group in Chosŏn society were the *ch'ŏnmin* or slaves. Slaves were divided into two groups: public slaves belonging to the government and private slaves held by individual yangban families. The Chosŏn system was heavily dependent on slavery, with slaves probably making up about 30 per cent of the population.[2]

The Chosŏn economy was overwhelmingly agricultural and, therefore, totally dependent on one element – land – which was, therefore, almost the only accepted form of wealth. Ownership of land, however, followed a peculiarly unique and Korean pattern. All land in Korea was ostensibly the sole property of the Chosŏn state. Land would be awarded to yangban families who were perceived to have served the interests of the state, and the families in question were then free to exploit the land and its yangmin tenants. As the state depended for its revenues almost entirely on land, this promoted an obvious conflict of interests between the economic needs of central authority and the economic interests of the yangban aristocracy. Consequently, in spite of the Chosŏn system's outward profile as a strong, centralised bureaucratic state, it was in fact dependent on a class – the yangban – whose interests often clashed as much as they coincided with those of the state. This system also often resulted in a double exploitation of the yangmin peasantry, as both state and yangban landlord did their utmost to extract the maximum in revenue from the same piece of land and the same over-worked tenant.

While scientific achievement, especially in the field of agriculture was impressive, the successes gained in terms of improvements in agricultural productivity proved to be a mixed blessing for many of Chosŏn's inhabitants. Increased agricultural production led to population increase, which in turn added pressure on the production system. This led to a situation in which Chosŏn's agricultural system was stretched to its limits to feed the expanded population. Consequently, climatic events such as floods or drought would prove to be disastrous in that Korea's relatively small cultivable land area was incapable of providing for her relatively large population under such conditions.

Such pressures on a system pushed to its optimum limits by its own 'success', led to a series of peasant revolts in the nineteenth century, and finally to the start of what may be called Korea's modern diaspora.

The Kisa famine,[3] the result of a disastrous series of crop failures which struck northern Korea between 1869 and 1875, was the initial impetus for the large-scale emigration which led directly to the establishment of the Korean colonies in both Manchuria and the Maritime Provinces of Siberia. These Korean communities abroad, especially the Manchurian one, were to play an important role in Korea's subsequent history, and for many divided family members the Korean community

2 Cumings, Bruce (1997) *Korea's Place in the Sun*, New York: Norton, p. 53.

3 The name *Kisa* is formed by the two Chinese characters which mean literally 'to starve to death'.

in Yŏnbyŏn continues to provide a vital channel of contact to their relatives in North Korea.

Nineteenth century Manchuria and Siberia: Asia's 'Wild East'

In 1869 the conditions faced by the hardy emigrants to these vast, largely unpopulated, regions testify to the desperate state of affairs in northern Korea which drove so many poor Koreans to leave their ancestral land in search of a livelihood for their starving families. Witnesses to this desperate trek recorded the extreme conditions the emigrants faced and the scale of the exodus. A British traveller in Manchuria wrote: '... dressed in white in forty below zero weather in the dead of winter ... they crossed the icy Tumen river to seek a new life in Manchuria'.[4] O Yun-Jung, the Chosŏn governor of Korea's northeastern Hamgyŏng Province, in a report to the central government in Seoul, stated that: 'The numbers crossing the [Tumen] river are so numerous it is impossible to punish them all'.[5] As this last quote implicitly reveals, harsh climatic conditions were not the only problem these early pioneers faced.

As early as 1627 when the Manchus invaded Korea for the first time,[6] they had demanded that Chosŏn sign an agreement forbidding the movement of Korean nationals into Manchuria, the Manchu homeland. This provides clear evidence that at least some Korean movement into Manchuria occurred long before that occasioned by the Kisa famine. Throughout most of the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911), after gladly exchanging their spartan existence in Manchuria for the spoils of conquest and the easier life of the rich central plains of China, the Manchus strove to preserve their Manchurian homeland as a kind of hunting preserve for the exclusive use of the Manchu royal family and their supporters. Emigration to Manchuria was even forbidden to Chinese migrants until 1867, when internal pressures in China – one such pressure being overpopulation – had led to the Taiping Rebellion, which had lasted for 14 years from 1850–1864 and had almost brought about the collapse of the Qing Dynasty. External pressures on China's northeastern borders from Russia and Japan also necessitated repopulating Manchuria to keep it securely within the Chinese orbit.

Further evidence for Korean population movement to Manchuria before 1869, albeit on a limited scale, comes from Korean sources. The present day border between China and Korea formed by the Tumen and Yalu Rivers was only finally

4 James, H.E.M. (1888) *Long White Mountain Journey to Manchuria*, London: Longmans Green and Co., pp. 145–146.

5 Shin, Paul Hobom (1980) *The Korean Colony in Chientao: A Study of Japanese Imperialism and Militant Korean Nationalism, 1905–1932*, University of Washington PhD thesis, p. 16.

6 The Manchus invaded Korea twice in 1627 and 1636. As always in periods of Chinese dynastic change, Korea was forced to take sides, and on this occasion had made the fatal mistake of choosing to continue to support the ailing Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) – Korea's cultural mentor in many ways – against the 'barbarian' Manchus, who would go on to set up their own, and China's last, Qing Dynasty (1644–1911).

settled between the Qing and Chosŏn governments in 1712, and the records of Kings Sukchong (1674–1720) and Yŏngjo (1724–1776) – the *Sukchong Sillok* and the *Yŏngjo Sillok*[7] – show that small groups of Korean peasants continued to cross the border to hunt, gather ginseng or even to plant crops in the spring, farm them in the summer, harvest in the autumn and then retreat back over the border to Korea before the onset of the harsh Manchurian winter.[8]

However, the first 'modern', or post-1869 Korean immigrants to Manchuria had no intention of retreating back to their impoverished, famine-struck villages in north-eastern Korea. As Table 1.1 shows, by 1910, on the eve of Japan's annexation of Korea, a substantial community of Koreans had been established in Manchuria.

As these numbers are official records – mainly derived from Japanese sources – of what was, after all, illegal migration, it is not hard to believe that they may represent a considerable under-estimation of the real numbers actually involved.

While the Korean community was establishing itself in Manchuria, a similar process was taking place in the vast, newly opened Russian Maritime Province of Siberia. The Treaty of Peking, signed between Czarist Russia and the Qing government in 1860, acknowledged Russian sovereignty over the vast swathe of land framed by the Amur and Ussuri Rivers and the Pacific Ocean to the east. This advanced the borders of Russia to those of Chosŏn Korea, and realised a long held Russian desire to establish an ice-free port – Vladivostok – on the Pacific Ocean.

Although the Korean colonies in Manchuria and Siberia exhibit a parallel development, there was an obvious disparity in size. According to what data are available, the Korean colony in Siberia was roughly half the size of that in Manchuria. This was probably due to a number of factors: first, the remoteness of the new Maritime Russian Province and the difficulty of access from Korea; second, the existence of substantial ethnic and historic links between Manchuria and Korea, which had been established long before the nineteenth century – a Korean presence in Manchuria pre-dated the Christian era; third, the long, permeable

Table 1.1 Korean settlement in Manchuria, 1881–1910

Year	*Number of persons*
1881[a]	10,000
1894[b]	65,000
1904[b]	78,000
1908[b]	89,000
1910[b]	109,000

Notes
a *Yŏnbyŏn Chosŏnjok Chach'iju Kaehwang*, 1984.
b Hyŏn Kyu-Hwan (1967) *Han'guk Yuiminsa*, Seoul: Omungak.

7 *Sillok* – literally, *veritable record*, sometimes translated as *annals* in some texts.

8 Shin, Paul Hobom (1980) *The Korean Colony in Chientao: A Study of Japanese Imperialism and Militant Korean Nationalism, 1905–1932*, University of Washington PhD Thesis, pp. 15–16.

border between Korea and Manchuria made for ease of access; and fourth, the fact that Chinese government control over Manchuria was rather loose due to the mounting pressures caused by external and internal problems faced by the Qing government at that time.

Official attitudes to the problem of illegal Korean migration, both on the part of the Qing and Russian governments and in Korea, were rather ambivalent. While the Qing and Russian governments were nervous at the prospect of the establishment of a 'foreign' community on their soil, especially as the areas settled by the Korean migrants were so close to Chosŏn Korea itself, on the other hand, both governments were also desirous of the agricultural skills the migrants possessed. Their success in turning wild, uncultivated areas into productive agricultural land was unparalleled, and the part played by Koreans in developing Manchuria is now well recognised in the PRC.[9] In the early period of the development of both Manchuria and the Russian Far Eastern Provinces, Koreans almost invariably succeeded in establishing themselves where officially sponsored immigrants often failed.

Isabella Bird-Bishop, an English traveller to Korea, Manchuria and Siberia at the end of the nineteenth century remarked on the striking differences between the Koreans she encountered in the Russian Maritime Provinces and those she had met during her journeys in Chosŏn Korea itself:

> The air of the men has undergone a subtle but real change, and the women . . . have lost the hangdog air which distinguishes them at home. The suspiciousness and indolent conceit, and the servility to his betters . . . have very generally given place to an independence and manliness of manner rather British than Asiatic.

Bishop attributes this psychological change to a 'manliness . . . rather British than Asiatic . . .' (praise indeed from such a redoubtable Victorian lady explorer!), and the ordered, well-tended aspect of the Korean farms she visited to the fact that:

> There are many chances for making money, and there is neither mandarin nor yangban to squeeze it out of the people when made, and comforts and a certain appearance of wealth no longer attract the rapacious attentions of officials, but are rather a credit to a man than a source of insecurity. All who work can be comfortable, and many of the farmers are rich and engage in trade, making and keeping extensive contracts.[10]

9 Piao Changyu (1990) 'The History of Koreans in China and the Yanbian Autonomous Prefecture', in Suh Dae-Sook, Edward J. Schultz (eds) *Koreans in China*, Honolulu: Centre for Korean Studies, University of Hawaii, p. 41.

10 Bishop Isabella (1898) Bird *Korea and her Neighbours*, London: John Murray, pp. 235–236.