

Clothing, Food and Dwelling: Western Views of Korean Life in the Early Nineteenth Century

DUAN BAIHUI Yonsei University, PhD Student¹

Abstract

Despite Chosŏn Korea having been nicknamed the ‘Hermit Kingdom’ by the American William Elliot Griffis in 1882, Englishmen had already been there in the early half of the nineteenth century. This paper considers three journeys by westerners to the Korean peninsula in 1816, 1832 and 1845, utilizing these explorers’ travel diaries to analyze lifestyles in Chosŏn, including clothing, food, and dwelling style. The paper considers westerners’ lively views on the lifestyles of citizens of Chosŏn. Although these narratives from westerners on Chosŏn are tinged with orientalism or racist bias, they still have a great deal of value for historians today who seek to understand everyday life and the social structure of nineteenth-century Chosŏn. This paper sheds light on these useful historical perspectives for the observation of Chosŏn lifestyles in contrast to the high politics of the court, or great power rivalries in East Asia.

Keywords: Nineteenth-Century Chosŏn, Perceptions, Clothing, Food, Dwelling

Introduction

Much research on westerners’ early encounters with Korea has tended to focus on its theological or political characteristics, paying little attention to daily life.² Everyday life in Chosŏn has been gradually discussed since the 1990s, influenced

by the German *Alltagsgeschichte* and French *Annales* schools of thought within Korean academia.³ Although there are some specific studies on clothing, food and dwelling styles, they were mainly based on Chosŏn's historical texts and English language academia is still in the process of introducing more Korean language historical works.⁴ Only a few studies have appeared that examine the more complex cultural aspects of early westerners experience in Korea.⁵ Utilizing G.E. Zhaoguang's concept of "Imaginary Foreign Land,"⁶ this paper tries to introduce the observation of daily life in Chosŏn in the early nineteenth century from the perspective of westerners eyes. The paper does so not simply to recall simple life in Chosŏn, but also to discover value and belief systems, such as caste system, popular trends, and village life.

Despite the opening of Chosŏn's ports in the late 19th century, several groups of westerners had already been to Chosŏn and experienced life there directly in the first half of the 19th century. This paper will utilize two primary sets of sources, six voyage diaries written by these westerners to the Korean peninsula in 1816, 1832, and 1845, as well as an English periodical called *The Chinese Repository* (henceforth *CR*), published in Canton (Guangzhou), from 1832 to 1851. Sometimes, these westerners' narratives may also combine personal preferences and opinions. This phenomenon belongs to what Mary Louise Pratt defined as "transculturation" or "contact zone," where voyage diaries may involve conditions of orientalism, racial superiority, early imperialism and colonialism as western "civilization and enlightenment" met Chosŏn society.⁷ Although more recently Hyaeweol Choi⁸ has used the concept of "contact zones" to illustrate gender and mission encounter in the lives of Korean 'new women' during the period of Japanese colonization; this term is also appropriate to discuss the early western entrances to the Korean peninsula even before the opening of the nation's ports. More precisely places such as Port Hamilton or Komundo 거문도⁹ and Jeju island¹⁰ where westerners had interacted with the Koreans could also be called 'contact zones'. Meanwhile, transculturation in process when westerners taught Koreans to manufacture wine and observed authentic Korean cultures and customs. With this intellectual framework in mind, the paper intends to shed light on the discourses within the narratives provided by the voyage diaries and periodical material and to depict the authentic everyday life of Chosŏn.

The West Encounters Chosŏn Korea

Since the early 17th century, Britain had more systematically begun to seek commercial exploration and development in the outside world. British foreign policies were also made to fit these economic needs. The British East India

Company (BEIC) was established in London in 1600 as an efficient vehicle to seek potential markets, sell products and to collect more materials. Two British voyages listed in this paper were connected with this company. In 1816, at the request of the BEIC, the British government sent Lord William Amherst to Beijing to promote intercourse with China. In 1832 the British East India Company intended to certify the possibility of trade with China or the opening of any ports there, sending an exploration team under the leadership of Hugh Hamilton Lindsay (son of the past Chairman of the company Hugh Primrose Lindsay).

Overall, there were three voyages in 1816, 1832 and 1845, which constitute the most influential voyages from the West to the Korean peninsula in the early 19th century.¹¹ There were six records published based on these voyages, illustrating the early images of Korea in combination with articles published in *CR*, an English language periodical published in Canton from 1832 to 1851. The primary purpose of *CR* was to provide Protestant missionaries working in Asia with knowledge of China. Despite the focus on China, other Asian areas were also illustrated, including neighboring countries such as Korea, and this paper will also utilize these contents.

First, to promote commerce between China and Britain, on February 9, 1816, a British embassy was sent to China under the Right Honorable Lord William Amherst, setting off from the Solent in England aboard the frigate HMS *Alceste*, captained by Murray Maxwell, C.B. and entering the Yellow Sea on August 11th. During the period when the embassy paid a visit to Peking, Captains Murry Maxwell and Basil Hall had the chance to lead HMS *Alceste* and *Lyra* respectively to examine surrounding seas. They landed in Korea on September 1, 1816, and left after ten days. The primary purpose of this voyage to the coast of Korea was evidently to gain as much information as possible to pave the way for subsequent voyages.¹²

Following these pioneering footsteps, during another voyage aiming for northern China in a ship named after Lord Amherst, the crew also visited the Korean peninsula and stayed there for one month in 1832. According to the plans of the British East India Company, the expedition was initially intended to ascertain the possibility of functional intercourse between China and Britain. Besides the Chinese coast, those of Korea, Japan and the Loo-chew (Ryukyu) islands were also to be considered. Hugh Hamilton Lindsay, the East India Company's Secretary in Canton, was entrusted with this mission and employed Rev. Charles Gutzlaff, a Prussian born missionary, as an interpreter. After the voyage, Lindsay submitted his report to the East India Company while Gutzlaff published his *Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China*. Within this account, the second voyage includes the visit to the Korean peninsula from July 17 to August 17 1832. "It was true that

they had never had any intercourse with foreign nations except the Mantchou Tartars, Chinese, and Japanese,” Gutzlaff wrote, “but we came hither for the purpose of bringing on such intercourse for the mutual benefit of both nations.”¹³ The purpose was repeated more formally and politely in the letter to the King of Chosŏn, in the 32nd year of Sunjo’s reign. This letter was also mentioned in the court records of Chosŏn on July 21, in the 32nd year of his reign Sunjo Sillok (True Records of the Reign of King Sunjo).¹⁴

In addition to developing interactions with Korea, another aim of the voyage was to engage in religious evangelism and proselytization. Those involved failed in their first objective. However, they made much more progress with regards to knowledge of the geography of the Korean peninsula and provided geographic information for westerners’ arrival in the peninsula in the late 19th century. Concerning the second goal, they were unable to establish any protestant organization, however, they succeeded in distributing the Bible in the country.¹⁵ After the voyage to Korea, western missionaries confirmed that Korea was accessible to Christianity.

For the third time, after the First Opium War (1839–1842) and the Treaty of Nanking, 1842, England sent the HMS Samarang to conduct more detailed observations of countries passed on voyages between Britain and China. Admiral Edward Belcher captained the expedition and landed on the Korean peninsula at present-day Udo (Cow Island) off Quelpart (Jeju) on June 25 1845 and later visited Jeju Island and nearby islands departing on July 31st.¹⁶ These 40 days provided an excellent chance to conduct a precise survey of Korea. Therefore, this voyage could also be viewed as a surveying expedition or a scientific voyage.

Meanwhile, the government also tried to utilize HMS Samarang to obtain a report from Admiral Sir Edward Belcher, who had scientific and surveying experience and who gladly gave his services to promote the contribution made by the voyage to the field of hydrology and hydrological knowledge: “Sir Edward is firm of opinion that it would tend more to the general interests of navigation if such testimonial stood upon a position where its benefit would be generally useful to the navigation of the China Seas, as well as to the Straits.”¹⁷ On the expedition with Admiral Belcher, the English naturalist and physician Arthur Adams served as Assistant Surgeon, providing elaborate illustrations of Korean physical and human geography through his careful observations. Therefore, this voyage has even been characterized as scientifically important in the field of natural history.

Although all three voyages to Korea shared the same goal to gain further information on the Korean peninsula, they differed with regard to their original objectives, characteristics of the records produced, and correspondent results. Based on documents from these voyages, this paper tries to analyze westerners’

recognition of Chosŏn's culture especially clothing, food, and dwelling. Though there are fundamental cultural and political aspects shared across the globe, different nations can still represent unique features. Through this analysis, the paper encounters the delicate illustrations and differing opinions of the westerners.

Appearance and Clothing

When entering a foreign land, apart from natural views, the natives' appearance and their customs of dress stand out. Located in Asia, Korean people must have something in common with the other Asian nations but still have unique features and customs as Koreans. The descriptions of their appearance are thought to be objective according to what these westerners had seen.

In the 1818 voyage, Korean people were illustrated to have a wild or even savage appearance, demonstrating westerners' relatively negative initial impressions of Koreans. Basil Hall's description illustrates this point well:

The dress of these people is a loose white robe, cloth shoes, and a few wear the broad hats; by most the hair is tied in a high conical knot on the top of the head, but by others, it is allowed to fly loose, so as to give them a wild appearance. Some confine the short hair by a small gauze band with a star on one side, forming, along with the top knot, rather a becoming head-dress. Their beards and whiskers which had never been cut, and their fans and long tobacco-pipes, and their strange language and manners, gave a grotesque air to the whole group, which it is impossible to describe.¹⁸

Judging from their casual dress styles, Basil Hall was more likely to have met some ordinary Korean residents because he recorded that their hair might be styled loosely or their beards may have never been cut. There is no wonder Hall's first impression was that Korean's appearance was genuinely savage. This stubborn poor impression had not changed even by Charles Gutzlaff's voyage diary from 1832, namely that Koreans were not clean or tidy enough.¹⁹

In the 1845 voyage, westerners' observations of the appearance of Koreans and their costumes are closer to the social norms of Chosŏn. Edward Belcher concentrated on the Chosŏn natives' beards, hairstyle, hats, clothes. There were even several pictures of Chosŏn natives drawn in the diary, including a Korean chief with a notable hat and long flowing beard while another picture illustrates a group of Koreans with flowing beards as well.²⁰

Belcher's companion, Arthur Adams, proved that ethnic Koreans resembled members of tribes in areas of northern Asia, known at the time as Tartary, in personal appearance especially their cheek-bones, eyes, nose, and beard.



Korean Chief.

Picture 1 "Korean Chief"



Group of Koreans.

Picture 2 "Group of Koreans"

In personal appearance, they resemble the natives of Siberia and Tartary. Like most Mongolians they have a tawny skin, prominent cheek-bones, some obliquity of the eyes; a rather prominent nose, thick at its base, and wide at the nostrils; strong, well-developed jaws, and long, lank, straight, black hair; but like some tribes of northern Asia, their beard is tolerably thick, and their eyebrows bushy. Their bearing bolder, their Tartar-like features more prominent and striking, and their beards and mustaches being frequently long and flowing.²¹

Belcher's statement on the similarity of the people of Chosŏn's physical appearance in comparison to people from North Asia and Tartary was held in common with the editors of *CR*. Repeatedly, the *CR* stated that citizens of Chosŏn resembled East Asians in manners, characteristics and customs especially in comparison with the Chinese and Japanese. Despite being only familiar with a second-hand illustration of its citizens, Samuel Williams still made an explicit comparison with Koreans when describing the appearance of Japanese people, saying that Japanese and Koreans looked the same so far as their short necks, snub-noses, high cheek-bones and inferior stature were concerned.²² Unconsciously, this evaluation exposes an orientalist strand in the westerners' opinions. Later in James MacDonald's narratives, he said again that a Korean man's eyes resembled those of a Japanese man.²³

During the 1840s the *CR* continued to assert that Koreans were of a Tartar origin, resembling Chinese in manners, customs, arts, sciences, religions, characters, costumes and even hairstyle.²⁴ Adams, in 1845, gave a representative illustration of delicately tied Korean hairstyles, stating that hairstyles in Chosŏn imitated the fashion of Han Chinese, another connection to the East Asian culture. Interestingly, Adams even recognized the different hairstyle of married men and unmarried boys. The differences among girls were not mentioned here. However, similarly to boys, there was also a difference in whether they tied their hair upwards in the middle:

One of the most striking peculiarities which all who have seen them have noticed is the method of confining the hair of the head in a delicate network, beautifully formed of a fine material resembling Coir, and of a glossy black color. The hair is all drawn upwards towards the crown of the head is tied at the summit in a neat and rather graceful topknot, without the help however of pins, as at Loo-Cho. The young unmarried men and boys, however, have the hair parted in the middle, gathered behind, and descending in two long plaited tails, that hang down the back somewhat in the fashion of those of the sons of Han. Frequently a white band of bark or leaf is worn across the forehead, to restrain the loose and straggling hairs.²⁵

Concerning this comment on citizens of Chosŏn similarity to Chinese citizens, the *CR* editor stated that: "there are, in the habits of the Koreans, resemblances to the former Ming dynasty, is doubtless true; but we can hardly receive the

unqualified affirmation, that ‘they preserve the ancient costumes of China,’ wholly unchanged.”²⁶ From this we could conclude that the editors of *CR* must have gained knowledge from previous publications focused on Korea, and tried to provide a more accurate perspective, in particular that there must have some changes of clothing styles in Chosŏn following introduction of those styles from China. In other words, more reasonably, Korea inherited some traditions from the Ming Dynasty while they did also develop their own creative features.

Dress Exposes Social Classes

Not only had westerners described the people of Chosŏn in detail but they had also noticed differences between them in status and identity. Chosŏn people strictly followed social and class traditions of uniform dress, which were composed of at least four levels. This class stratification has been true across Chosŏn’s history; the four classes were the *Yangban* (aristocracy), *Jungin* (bureaucratic middle people), *Sangmin* (common people), and *Cheonin* (base people).

From drawings shown previously, the Yangban as the superior class wore notable clothes and were served by some ‘aesthete’ attendants.²⁷ Similarly, Adams also stated that the upper class, Chosŏn Yangban or chiefs were attractive in their elegant decorations on hats and crown.

The Mandarins, or chiefs of the better class, wear long gowns or mantles, with loose hanging sleeves, having red or green cuffs ... Their hats are of enormous size, with very broad brims, and are of a slight and slender texture, being ingeniously made of a network of bamboo, stained black. The crown is very peculiar, high, and conical, and two or three peacock’s feathers appended to a carved ivory ball on the pointed apex, hang gracefully over the capacious brim. The hats of the Mandarins are usually furnished with strings of large amber beads, to fasten them under the chin ... The soldiers wear a plaited string from the crown of their hats, with a quantity of red horse-hair depending from it at the hind part of the rim.²⁸

The various objects used to furnish hats such as bamboo, amber beads, peacock’s feathers, red horse-hair all represent a kind of nobility and luxury. The upper class (probably *Yangban*) could fully show their superiority by wearing hats of enormous-size attached with luxurious, expensive ornaments, a grandiose set of material values accepted in the upper class. They also wore elegant Chinese silks.²⁹ Although in the broad social environment the government of Chosŏn advocated industry and thrift, its upper class emitted an air of extravagance.

Inferior to the upper class, second-class officers (probably *Jungin*) were robust, powerful men including the soldiers and some civilians. They usually wore coarse tunics, loose trousers, and straw sandals with a hat, and appeared a little dirty.

The second-class officers are robust powerful men, ranging between the height of five feet seven and nine. Their dress is coarse, and their manners in character with their subordinate situations. The soldiers are of the Tartar feature and build, sturdy compact men, of broader features, and probably averaging five feet six to eight. Their dress consists of the simple bluish coarse grass-cloth tunic, confined at the waist with very loose unbleached trousers, reaching to the knee, and straw sandals. The hat is generally of a dirty brown felt.³⁰

The lower class, probably *Sangmin*, would appear almost as sturdy fishermen while the lowest class—*Cheonin* refers to laborers. Women were also considered to belong to this lowest class and even had to do heavy, physical work.³¹ Europeans were surprised to know that Chosŏn's powerful men could have the strength to lift much heavier things, especially given the short stature of their bodies. To release the heavy stress from farming, Chosŏn men turned to tobacco pipes. Westerners thus discovered that Koreans were great smokers, always carrying in their hands a long-stemmed pipe, with a diminutive brass bowl, which they filled or emptied at brief intervals.³² However, when it came to their manners, exempting the upper, superior class, Koreans gave a poor impression of having filthy personal hygiene and habits.³³ It is thus possible to judge the enormous gap between aristocratic and lower class in Chosŏn society.

Overall, the people of Chosŏn were more like other East Asians especially those of what was then known as Tartary (Mongolia, Xinjiang etc), when it came to their personal appearance with short necks, snub-noses, high cheek-bones, and small stature. Their clothes and costumes, especially officials' crowns, hats, and beards, differed in status from the superior Yangban class, the second of powerful men to the lowest laboring class or even females. Except for the upper class's proper manners and nobility, other classes tended to be wild, dirty and filthy in westerners' eyes. These illustrations may have had some truth in them at the time so far as the appearance and dress of some Koreans were concerned, given that Chosŏn suffered from poverty in rural areas. There is no denying however that compared to their perceived advanced home civilizations, westerners may have exhibited prejudice at their first sight of this very foreign nation and could not appreciate its beauty.

Chosŏn Females: The Lowest Laboring Class

Despite limited descriptions of women in these narratives, there is still a need to consider the image of the female figure in Chosŏn to see what kind of roles they played in society. From Basil Hall's point of view, Korean women were somewhat rough and stout while their clothes, robe, petticoat, and hairstyle, were complex.

They [women] looked stout, were fairer in complexion than the men, and were dressed in a long white robe, loose and open in front, with a petticoat of the same color reaching a little below the knees, their hair was tied in a large knot behind; a small piece of white cloth was thrown loosely over the head to protect them from the rays of the sun. Some women were engaged in husking rice in a mortar with a wooden beater; these had no dress above the waist. In a square flat place near the village a number of women and children were employed winnowing corn by pouring it from a height so that the husks blew away.³⁴

Females' tough image, loose dress, and bareheaded hairstyle were suitable for engaging in farming and explained why westerners stated that women also belonged to the lowest laboring class. Hall even compared women's clothes with those of slaves, marking and asserting the inferior status of females again.³⁵ Moreover, rural women were reported to be bareheaded, their hair tied in a knot at the top without ornament, giving a real sense of the appearance of agricultural people in Chosŏn society.

At the same time, Hall discovered a unique dressing style among Chosŏn females, a short upper dress with an unconnected petticoat. The short upper dress was typical not only in the case of lower-class women of Chosŏn, but also for elegant aristocratic ladies and very different from Chinese ladies' long dresses. However, it would also be possible to see the differences in superiority of materials and in design of dress to judge the class identities of Korean women.

What is ironic and sad given all of this, is that Korean men were apparently indifferent to females' great efforts. Korean females were rarely seen, and whenever found, they were always working, winnowing grain, taking their children to their own work or even running away from observers. As Lindsay described, Korean women:

are generally robust, and I should say are treated with very little consideration by their partners, as almost every day we saw the women employed in various kinds of labor in front of the village, while numerous groups of men were sauntering about in various directions, and reclining on mats, never assisted them in their work, and rarely spoke to them, excepting to drive them into village whenever one of our boats approached the shore.³⁶

While women were working hard, their partners were wandering nearby and failing to assist them in heavy laboring work, evidently exposing the unbalanced patriarchal family system of Chosŏn to the westerners. Although half a century had gone by between voyages, the condescending image of Korean females as far as westerners were concerned remained. It was suggested that: "The females we saw were very ugly, very dirty, and much more degraded in appearance than the men."³⁷ There was apparently a very serious social and class cleavage between male and female.

When Frenchmen walked on the shore of Korea in 1851, females, as laborers, were also seen plowing up the low ground for rice transplantation. Whenever foreigners showed up, men would shout for their women to stop and hide.³⁸ Given all of this evidence, westerners' perspective was that Chosŏn women were required to be obedient to their male partners, secluded from the outside world and concentrate only on those things they were supposed to do.

Due to a lack of strength to engage in agricultural work, older women could no longer engage in farming work. Hall visited an innocent and homely old lady, consistent with a conventional image of casual and disinterested elderly people in Korea.³⁹ She was described as traditional or 'homely', but almost every resident of Chosŏn was supposed to reside in their home village throughout their life. They may have never been to anywhere else except the small village in which they were born. This intense commitment to the hometown could be attributed to the influence of Confucianism, and this ideology had confined Chosŏn females to their husband's demands mentally and the farming land physically throughout their life.

Overall, the image of a woman of Chosŏn was not beautiful or elegant, but instead they were described as relatively robust and stout. Women were not noticed but whenever met, they were always farming while caring for their babies. It appeared that in comparison with beautiful European women Koreans dressed in a lowly fashion, like slaves, leaving a negative impression on westerners in the early 19th century. Equally, males paid no attention to their partners' hard work but sought to simply enjoy themselves. According to their narratives, westerners realized Chosŏn was a feudal, patriarchal society where women were almost considered to belong to the lowest laboring class with no status at all. As passing travelers they were unable to gain access to the women of the superior, aristocratic or royal class. Certainly, they did not get the chance to appreciate the beauty of Korean women but left with a poor impression of Chosŏn females.

Lifestyle and Eating Habits

Due to geographical differences, areas in the interior of Korea and at the coast conducted farming or fishing differently, and the eating habits of their residents differed. Every explorer stayed in and observed only a few villages. Therefore, their descriptions were limited to what they witnessed and sometimes the description of one maybe the opposite to the other. However it is certain that the two forms of agrarian civilization were representative of the Neo-Confucian nation where commerce was restricted. Farming and fishing will be introduced along with the products, eating habits and manners in the following section.

Farming Civilization

Charles Gutzlaff and his companions witnessed farming civilization in 1832 Godaedo (now in South Chungcheongnam-do), on the north-west coast of Korea. They commented that the vegetation was much superior to China because Chosŏn people could cultivate everywhere regardless of the barrenness of the land. Nevertheless, they still could not feed their inhabitants. "In point of vegetation, the coast of Korea is far superior to that of China, where barren rocks often preclude any attempt at cultivation; but here, where the land is fertile, the inhabitants do not plough the ground."⁴⁰

By contrast, it was a pity that residents left the fertile land alone, which was supposed to be used to relieve the food shortage problem. Gutzlaff noted the prevalence of hunger:

On the whole, the food of its people seems to be very scanty; they eat everything and swallow it voraciously. It is most lamentable that so fertile a soil in so temperate a climate, which might maintain its thousands, now scarcely subsists a few hundreds.⁴¹

In 1845, food problems were confirmed again in Edward Belcher's records; however, he blamed the scarcity on the poor quality of the soil. The agricultural activity Belcher witnessed is completely confined to the fields along the coastline of Jeju island, therefore, his account is widely different from Gutzlaff's assessments of the fertility of the Godaedo soil.⁴² Belcher's view of Jeju's agricultural situation was as follows:

The productions of the island do not appear to be at all equal to the needs of the population, and are in very small variety; Rice, Wheat, Barley, Sweet Potatoes, large Russian Radish, Maize, and small garden produce, comprise all that we noticed, either in the grounds under cultivation, or amongst the people. This does not appear the result of any deficiency in a land fit for cultivation, but rather in the very poor nature of the soil.⁴³

In addition to Belcher's assessment of agricultural cultivation on the island he suggested that hoes and spades had been the only hand implements introduced from China. Last but not least, Belcher explained that Jeju was once the site of one of Chosŏn's penal settlements, further accounting for the underdeveloped state of agricultural cultivation. These condemned people would be removed as soon as the term of their punishment expired. So no individual was willing to make the effort to improve the barren soil, and neither would his descendants do it.⁴⁴ Even worse, these agricultural workers needed to submit the majority of their harvest to the local government; overexploitation of their labor subdued farmers' motivations and worsened the food shortage. Therefore when it came to agricultural civilization, as far as the westerners were concerned, Chosŏn appeared far from advanced.

Although Belcher and Gutzlaff had been to different villages at different times, both concluded that Chosŏn's agricultural products were insufficient for its domestic needs. Gutzlaff at one point praised the Korean harvest even in barren soil.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, agricultural implements such as hoes and spades found in 1845 exposed its under-developed approach. In other words, in this period in the middle of the 19th century, barren soil in the hills and old, inefficient agricultural tools and technology had worsened Korea's food supply issues.

As mentioned above, farming in Korea harvested a variety of rice, wheat, barley, sweet potato, sizeable Russian radish, maize, bean which had become staple foods in Chosŏn but other fruits were not found there. In a month's stay on the Korean peninsula, Charles Gutzlaff did not find any orchard or garden. Occasionally, he discovered peach trees and grapes growing wild. Gutzlaff was astonished that inhabitants of Chosŏn did not plant these useful trees let alone produce wine from their fruit. Chosŏn residents were said to be ignorant of wine, though they occasionally ate grapes, which were somewhat sour. Gutzlaff described how farmers in Korea cultivated excellent grapes and made a pleasant beverage of the juice of them.⁴⁶ Since there were some Yangban who had drunk the wine on board ships, they could not believe that sweet wine cannot be extracted from sour grapes. Besides this, Gutzlaff and his colleagues taught Chosŏn citizens not only the method of producing wine but also how to plant potatoes. When the westerners went outside to plant potatoes, they also wrote down the directions for Chosŏn residents to follow to ensure success. This was the primary introduction of potatoes from the south, and later on, potatoes were planted frequently, becoming a significant food for Koreans to survive food scarcity and starvation.⁴⁷ During Belcher's visit to Korea in 1845, he also left a few seeds of various melons, cucumbers, orange, shaddock, Chinese plum, pumpkin, mustard, cress, and lettuce.⁴⁸ These plants also became early agricultural and plant imports.

Commonly Seen Fish

At the same time as farming the land, inhabitants of Chosŏn were able to enjoy fish by utilizing their natural advantages given as peninsula's extensive coastlines to develop their fishing and fishing capabilities. Dried fish frequently appeared on the menus that the westerners were served. Gutzlaff and his companions once were treated with dried salt fish and fermented liquor. Chosŏn people, lacking religious sensibilities themselves, did not understand that the Indian Lascars employed as crews on the British ships were unable to taste the things offered them due to religious prohibitions and restrictions. During Belcher's stay in Korea, the Chosŏn residents tried to invite the staff of the HMS Samarang to land and

prepared some food in case the westerners declined their invitation, for them to take back. The contents were fish, vegetables, pickles, rice, and sake, in white metal and porcelain vessels. Fish frequently appeared as commonly received gifts from the Chosŏn people, confirming the ease of access to them and the great social value to them of products from the sea. Indeed, there is a large variety of fish along the East Sea. Even Adams, as a geographer, was unable to complete and conclude his account of the contents of Korea's seas as thousands of fish and various species were observed.

Later in James MacDonald's record, fish as a main dish is recorded together with other various foods. The host ordered a meal for French guests, consisting of boiled rice, dried fish, slices of beef, vegetables, seaweed, and a species of sea slug, accompanied by Samshoo (A Chinese liquor) and a beverage which tasted like cider.⁴⁹ From all these previous records, we can imagine how fish played a vital role in the daily life of Chosŏn. There was of course a massive gap between the food options of upper-class *Yangban* and people of lower classes. Aristocrats and scholarly bureaucrats were able to have a splendid dinner while others would starve due to the food shortage.

Aside from the food served at meal times, fishing-nets and fish were spread to dry on the ground in most houses. When Hall entered one deserted house, he found heaps of corn and straw, rice in wooden vessels, but fish were the most prevalent food items. "Cooking utensils were lying about, and a number of fishing lines coiled neatly in baskets, and split fish spread out to dry on the top of little corn ricks on one side of the court."⁵⁰ Gutzlaff also went to a temple with dried fish laid on the ground.⁵¹

During the westerners' stay in Chosŏn, they experienced meal customs. According to Lindsay, the tasty and delicious Korean cuisine may have gained some reputation in the West, and they even knew how to enjoy it.

The customs of the Koreans at their meals, it appears, are similar to the Japanese; each guest has a separate little table of about a foot high before him, the chopsticks used are like the Chinese, but they carry a small knife at their girdle to cut their meat with. Most of the dishes, though cold, proved so palatable, that we ended by making a very hearty repast, greatly to the delight of the chiefs.⁵²

This detailed illustration exhibited three central customs of a Chosŏn meal. Similar to inhabitants of Japan or China, people of Chosŏn used a separate table and chopsticks, which were also accounted for in James MacDonald's record.

The dish was served up on small tables of about fifteen inches in height, convenient enough for the posture of the natives. The rice was served up in bowls made of metal, apparently a mixture of brass, with small flat dishes of

common earthenware. Uniquely, the chopsticks were composed of the same metal and flat in shape.⁵³

Even to this day Koreans still keep the habit of using metal utensils. Surprisingly, they shared the same habit of using a small knife to cut the meat, different from Mongolia tradition by using the hands. Another feature is that the most dishes were cold and palatable, earning the westerners' praise. These small dishes must have been Korean side dishes (known as Banchan 반찬), prepared in advance. If the types of side dishes are various and delicate, then the whole cuisine could have been enjoyable for the western visitors.

Overall, as explorers' observations on Chosŏn society and culture developed, it tended to become more and more complete, including some details such as the farming civilization and eating habits in comparison with other Asian countries. Some even indicated Chosŏn's slight development such as in housing conditions, fishing, and shipbuilding in the first half of the 19th century. Moreover, with the further communications between the West and Chosŏn, there were some cultural exchanges taking place simultaneously. For example, while trying to grasp the Korean alphabet, the westerners taught Chosŏn residents several English expressions. From the foreigners, Chosŏn learnt about potato planting, wine producing and acquired the seeds of some western vegetables. However, westerners' generous behaviors may have also derived from missionaries' ambitions to spread the Christian gospel.

Dwelling

Not consisting of a separate category, housing-related comments were scattered throughout the explorers' writings. Exploring and experiencing Koreans homes and household practices was made difficult as the Chosŏn government had restrictions on communications between residents and foreigners. Westerners could not enter Korean villages let alone have a tour of individual houses. Westerners were also reluctant to interrupt natives' normal lives and declined some dinner invitations. At that time, to grasp lifestyles in Chosŏn was not the main focus of the visitors. Instead, geographical information seemed to be more valuable to them. Luckily, along with their expedition records which provides this information, they had recorded their daily activities which involved some descriptions of the living conditions of Chosŏn people.

Due to its insufficiency and poverty, housing in Chosŏn left a poor first impression on the western visitors. According to their recollections, they had formed an image of Chosŏn villages as dirty and muddy and scattered throughout the fields, with reeds and straw covered roofs. Hall's account describes as much:

The village consists of forty houses rudely constructed of reeds plastered with mud, the roofs are of all shapes, and badly thatched with reeds and straw, tided down by straw ropes. These huts are not disposed in streets, but are scattered about without order, and without any neatness, or cleanliness, and the spaces between them are occupied by piles of dirt and pools of muddy water. The valley in which this comfortable village is situated is, however pretty enough, though not wooded.⁵⁴

According to Lindsay, we know that the Chosŏn village they visited had a wattle fence twelve feet high, but no other houses nearby.⁵⁵ As a result, the westerners did not get the chance to see the structure and building style of these houses. Without access, Gutzlaff still tried to give some descriptions of their outlook.⁵⁶ However, after his observation, he gave an extremely miserable judgment: "Every house is surrounded with a fence of dry bamboo: these cottages are generally built very compact and in squares, having small lanes between the squares. Such are the dreary abodes where the Koreans pass their life amidst filth and poverty." Compact and square structures and dreary abodes may have indicated the poor development conditions in the agricultural society of late Chosŏn.

However, there is a high possibility that compactly built cottages would be more convenient and efficient in an agricultural society. Especially in the case of inland villages, by living closer, residents in the same cottage could help each other or harvest together or to fight against natural disasters as was the case according to the rules of some villages such as *Gye*, *Dure*, *Pumasi*.⁵⁷ Similarly, *Hyeopho sari* refers to the practice and tradition of some inferior laborers having lived in landowners' houses in order to provide their physical strength. This practice formed the basic living conditions for laborers in many places, a third of counties in Chosŏn.⁵⁸ Those laborers' houses of no more than three rooms, were built as extensions to their large landowners' houses. Although their houses may have been a little smaller than the owners' houses, it did not mean that they felt unsatisfied with life. Instead, compact living conditions could be attributed to the Confucian collective culture of Chosŏn.

Since Gutzlaff did not witness these social forms of organization, he could not view the collective building styles positively. Instead, he proposed that Koreans were suffering from filth and poverty without actually having had any contact with the natives. Probably, as a westerner from a culture in which the individual and individual property had prime importance, it would be hard for him to understand the collective culture of living in such compact communities.

Enjoyable Living Environment, or an "Eden"

Even Hall's poor impression was ameliorated by another accidental visit to an uninhabited house. Although the kitchen was still dark and uncomfortable in his eyes, the delicate decorations and elegantly carved furniture did earn Hall's praise, "There were three neat small pieces of furniture on one of the shelves, the use of which we could not discover; they were made of wood, elegantly carved and varnished, with a round top about a foot in diameter, and four legs a foot and a half long."⁵⁹ Besides this his previous images of poorly thatched roofs in Korean houses was changed into a well-constructed one. Hall also noticed the design of the window made of slender bars of wood, covered by a thin semi-transparent paper; practical as well as delicate.

More meaningfully, he paid attention to the veranda, emphasizing the unique feature of traditional Korean houses. This ingeniously designed room for relaxation could also be seen as representing an architecture and opportunity for leisure for residents of Chosŏn, which meant they also had the enthusiasm to enjoy life on the stage of the veranda. "Most of the houses had a sort of raised veranda under the eaves, about a foot or more above the ground, extending from the door on either hand to the end of the house; these places were neatly leveled, and must afford a cool seat."⁶⁰

Gutzlaff and his company, while they were out on some excursions, visited several deserted buildings, shaped like ovens which turned out to be part of the infrastructure of the Chosŏn traditional heating system. Gutzlaff gave a detailed description of this traditional Korean heating system, "The kitchen was a separate building adjoining the house. To heat the room in winter, they had a large hole under the floor, by burning a proper quantity of wood in which, the whole apartment was kept warm."⁶¹ This description refers to the traditional Korean floor heating system, Ondol 온돌,⁶² which was remarkably different from what the travelers were used to and perhaps technologically more advanced than western styles.

Belcher and Adams again provided some supporting information that the people of Chosŏn may have lived a relatively peaceful and harmonious life. Regarding external landscapes, Korean houses were built around beautiful and picturesque mountains or rivers. Therefore, Adams illustrated as follows:

The houses of the wealthy members of the population are delightfully situated, being frequently embosomed in groves of umbrageous trees with running rivulets beside them, and all around and towering up behind, gently swelling hills covered with verdure, and with herds of oxen grazing; and when placed near the sea-side, there is generally a fishing-boat close at hand.⁶³

When it comes to their internal layout, houses could be divided into several different functions. Sitting room and a sleeping apartment were similar to the western style while “a shed for culinary purposes, including large earthen vessels for holding rice and water,” is the Korean style and still can be seen in some traditional Korean hamlets and houses nowadays. Belcher explained that “Probably from less exposure, their (house in Korea) complexions are clearer, but their features are more elongated; they are of a larger mold and approach nearer the European, attaining the height of five feet eight to ten.”⁶⁴

There are several possible explanations for the picturesque views around these villages. Indeed, located around the coast, the villages’ extraordinarily rich apartments were guaranteed to be full of shady trees and various flowers. Secondly, geomancy was important to ancient Asian culture and landscape architecture,⁶⁵ and may have been unknown to westerners. Geomantic themes have always been particularly important to Korean culture through concepts such as the Paektutaegan and the frameworks of Sanshin and Sinson worship.⁶⁶ Energetic and durable plants like bamboo served as necessary decoration and the structuring of cottages around a square was also important square. Thirdly, villages with a running river and swelling hills surrounding may at this time have met geomantic needs while the convenient location also provided residents the fish and fruits to be obtained from nature directly.

Such positive views and aspects were neglected or denied by the westerners. Instead, they viewed this scenery as a kind of “wilderness.” According to Gutzlaff, he showed concern for Chosŏn people, afraid they might mistake the wild environment as an Eden. This provided a further excuse for more missionaries to bring the Christian gospel to civilize this area, stating:

“Exclusion” may have kept them [Chosŏn] from the adoption of foreign customs but has not meliorated their poor condition. Walking over these fertile islands, beholding the most beautiful flowers everywhere growing wild, and the vine creeping among weeds and bushes, we accuse ‘the lord of nature,’ man, of shameful neglect; for he could have changed this wilderness into an Eden. Let the gospel penetrate into these regions, and as far as accepted in truth, misery will cease.⁶⁷

These narratives explained the underlying reasons for spreading the gospel in this nation. Regardless of the physical conditions, Gutzlaff tried to illustrate the Korean peninsula as a wildland in need of the Christian message either to rescue poverty-stricken residents or to wake the rich from their Eden, reminding us of westerners’ initial missionary purposes for visiting Korea. Besides, it is also consistent with how westerners persuaded Chosŏn to trade because only by

commercial interaction with the more civilized Great Britain could the nation escape poverty and gain the benefits of trade.

It is hard to draw conclusions on the details of Korean housing from the perspectives of these westerners' given their presumptions and prejudices and the few houses they actually visited. If faced with a deserted house, the visitors would think that Chosŏn residents were suffering from poor living standards while if encountering some other environmentally friendly houses, some visitors saw them as delightful, and some even viewed them as a kind of wilderness without civilization. However, from an external reader's perspective we know that the living conditions of Koreans were not as enjoyable or comfortable as westerners at that time. However, at least residents seemed to enjoy life judging from their elegant furniture, delicate decorations, enjoyable veranda, well-inserted heating system and other designs, different from the westerners' miserable descriptions or misunderstanding of compactly built villages.

Conclusion

This paper has discussed the mental images western visitors drew of the culture of Chosŏn based on consideration of six voyage diaries, and an English periodical *The Chinese Repository 1832-1851*. Meanwhile, this paper has sought to objectively evaluate some early misunderstandings shown in westerners' opinions of Korean culture due to factors such as limited communications, cultural differences, and individual emotions.

The first part of the paper addresses the visitor's views of Chosŏn's appearance and clothing, and westerners came to know Korea's strict class-consciousness through consideration of their dress, and the difficult image and position of females in Chosŏn. The second part deals with Korean food harvested from the nation's two main economic activities-agriculture and fishery. Accordingly, foreigners received easy access to Chosŏn citizens' favorite dish, fish and discovered some local table manners. Cultural exchanges were accomplished through these communications, for example, westerners even offered Chosŏn citizens western seeds and taught them how to plant potatoes which became an important and necessary food for Koreans to survive starvation and food shortage. Part Three exhibits westerners' perceptions developed during these encounters of Chosŏn's dwelling and domestic culture. By combining these records from almost 30 years apart, it is perhaps surprising to witness some improvements in living conditions such as the newly-inserted heating system, and veranda. Because of the primacy of individualism in western civilization, western visitors had formed a prejudice

against the compactly built cottages. However, Koreans at the time tended to live harmoniously in village communities.

The influences behind the early explorers' impressions on Chosŏn still require further discussion through historical contextualization. As there are some studies on the images of Chosŏn society portrayed in western literature following the opening of its ports, this paper seeks to fill the gap from the earlier moment to make connections between the two periods in the future. Furthermore, how much these visits of westerners affected contemporary views of Korea in the West is hard to say. There are many festivals and memorial museums such as Gutzlaff's museum in Godaedo built to record these early modern transcultural communications between the West and Korea. With a similar ambition as these exhibitions, this paper tries to highlight the value of these early 19th century voyage diaries in exhibiting Korea to the West.

Notes

1. Duan Baihui is a PhD student at Yonsei University majoring in History and achieved her masters degree at the Academy of Korean Studies. She focuses on research involving early modern East Asia history especially the transitional period. Other academic interests include early cultural intercommunications between the West and Korea, history of daily life, and travel literature.
2. A few representative studies include, Donald N. Clark. *Missionary Photography in Korea: Encountering the West Through Christianity* (Seoul: Seoul Selection. 2009); Choi JaiKeun. *The origin of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea: an examination of popular and governmental responses to Catholic missions in the late Chosŏn dynasty* (Pennsylvania: Hermit Kingdom Press, 2006); Park Chungshin, *Protestantism and Politics in Korea* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003); Kim Wonmo. "19 Segi Hanyeong Hanghae Munhwagyoryuwa Joseonui Haegumjeongchaek (19세기 한영향해문화교류와 조선의 해금정책 The Maritime-Cultural Interchanges Between Korea and Britain and The Korean Isolation Policy in the 19th Century)". *Journal of Korean Cultural History* (21), 2004.6: 947-993. David Chung, *Syncretism: The Religious Context of Christian Beginnings in Korea*, ed. Kang-nam Oh (Albany: SUNY Press, 2001).
3. U Insu. "Joseonsidae saenghwal sa yeonguui hyeonhwanggwawa gwaje," (조선시대 생활사 연구의 현황과 과제 Present Situations and Project on Research on History of Chosŏn Everyday Life) *Yeoksa Gyoyuk Nunjip* (1999: 23, 24), 826; Gwak Chaseop. "'Saereoun Yeoksahak'ui Ippjanseseo Beon Saenghwal saui Gaenyeomgwawa Banghyang," (새로운 역사학의 입장에서 본 생활사의 개념과 방향 Concepts and Directions of History of Everyday life from a New Historical Perspective *Yeoksawa Geongge* (2002: 45), 167-169. There is a growing list of research on the Korean peoples' everyday lives since the emergence of microhistory or everyday life history in Korean academia since the 1990s. Dankook University Academy of East Asian Studies. *Boksik-Eumsik-Jugeo Munhwa Gwanryeon Jaryojib* (한국 문화 자료 총서 Cultural Collections on Clothing, Food, Housing) (Seoul: Minsokwon, 2010); Hanguk Gomunseo Hakhoe (Korean Academic Association of Old Documents). *Joseon Sidae Saenghwal sa 1-2-3* (한국고문서학회. 조선시대 생활사 History of Chosŏn's everyday life), *Yeoksa Bipyeongsa*, 1996-2000-2006). The third book of this series is *Uisikju, Sal-aitneun Joseon-ui Pung-gyeon* (의식주, 살아있는 조선의 풍경 *Clothes, Food, Houses, Chosŏn's lifestyles*) and has published a collection of papers

- on the history of everyday life; Hanguk Yeoksa Yeonguhoe (Korean Historical Research). *Joseonsidae saramdeuroen Ootteohge Salateulkka 1·2* (조선시대 사람들은 어떻게 살았을까 1.2 How Did Joseon People live1·2) (Cheongnyeonsa, 1996[2005]); Hanguk Saenghwalsa Pakmulgwan. *Hanguk Saenghwalsa Pakmulgwan1-12* (한국생활사박물관, 1-12 Museum of Korean daily life history1-12) (Sageyejeol, 2000-2004).
4. Michael D. Shin's *Everyday Life in Chosŏn-Era Korea: Economy and Society* (Boston: Brill, 2014) answers some basic questions on life in Chosŏn Korea (1392-1910). In the second part of this book on society, some themes such as the lives of the peasants, food culture, houses out of royal palaces are included. See also Shin Myunggho. translated by Timothy V. Atkinson. *Chosŏn royal court culture: ceremonial and daily life* (Korea: Dolbegae Publishers, 2004).
 5. There is some representative research on the westerners' perceptions of Chosŏn society in various aspects. Kim Hakjun. *Seoyanggrindeuli Gwanchalhan Hugi Joseon* (서양인들의 관찰한 후기 조선 Late Chosŏn Observed by Westerners) (Seoul: Sogang University Press, 2010); Grayson, James Huntley. "Basil Hall's Account of a Voyage of Discovery: The Value of a British Naval Officer's Account of Travels in the Seas of Eastern Asia in 1816," *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies*. Vol. 7, No. 1, 2007; Grace Koh. "British Perceptions of Chosŏn Korea as Reflected in Travel Literature of the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century," *The Review of Korean Studies*, 9 (4), 103-133. 2006; Boulesteix. *Chakhan migaeren dongyangae hyonja* (착한 미개인 동양의 현자 Kind Barbarian—the Oriental Sage) (Chongnyonsa. 2001). Boulesteix made the most use of French materials to illustrate all the 800 histories of western perceptions on Korea from the first source in the 13th century till present-day time. Hyaewool Chol. *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea New Women, Old Ways* (University of California Press, 2009); Silva, David J. "Western Attitudes toward the Korean Language: An Overview of Late 19th and Early 20th Century Mission Literature." *Korean Studies* 26.2: 270-286, 2003.
 6. Ge Zhaoguang. *Xiangxiang Yiyu* (想象异域 Imaginary Foreign Land), Zhonghua Shuju, 2014. See also Vladimir Tikhonov. *Modern Korea and Its Others: Perceptions of the Neighbouring Countries and Korean Modernity* (London: Routledge, 2015).
 7. Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992[2008]), 8. She defines the terms "transculturation" or "contact zone" to refer to the space where colonial encounters came contact with local people, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict. This term treats not only the relations among colonizers and colonized, but also travelers and 'travelees,' in terms of co-presence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, and often within radically asymmetrical relations of power. See also Choi Hyaewool. *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea New Women, Old Ways* (University of California Press, 2009), 16-7.
 8. Chol Hyaewool. *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea New Women, Old Ways* (University of California Press, 2009), 16-7.
 9. Komundo 거문도 was surveyed by Sir Robert Belcher and the HMS Samarang in 1845 and was later briefly colonized by the British in 1885 in an event known as the Port Hamilton Incident in order to counter Russian naval power at Vladivostok. The British linked Port Hamilton to Shanghai via the undersea telegraph cable and to this date ten British sailors are buried on the island which was abandoned by the Royal Navy after only two years. Coy, Julian, *The British Occupation of Korea, 1885-1887*. Dissertation, SOAS, 2010.
 10. Jeju was known to Europeans as Quelpart, The island had first been accidentally visited by the Dutch Captain Hendrick Hamel when en-route to the Dutch East India Company trading post in Japan at Dejima (off the coast from contemporary Nagasaki), his ship *the De Sperwer* (Sparrowhawk) was shipwrecked in 1653 on Jeju. The arrival of the ship and its European crew was highly problematic for both local and national authorities in Chosŏn and although they were allowed to live freely, Korean law at the time forbade foreigners who had arrived from leaving. Hamel spent some 13 years in Korea before escaping to

- Japan and the finally returned to the Netherlands in 1670, where his book on his Korean experiences had already been published. Ledyard, Gari, *The Dutch Come to Korea*. Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society (Korea Branch), 1971.
11. Before 1816, Captain William Robert Broughton, Royal Navy, was the first Briton who had visited the Korean peninsula in 1797. Broughton led *HMS Providence* towards the north of Sakhalin and then turned south, intending to explore the coast of “Tartary” and Korea. On 14 October 1797, Broughton reached Pusan and had the first contacts with local inhabitants. He noted something evidently visible, such as the rocky nature of the land and local’s dress and clothing. Broughton, in 1804, published his account of the voyage as “A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean ... Performed in His Majesty’s Sloop Providence, and her tender, in the years 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798”. Broughton’s voyage was known to Captain Hall and his colleagues who in 1816 sailed to the west coast of Korea and to the southern islands. Both Hall and Mcleod recited several times elements from Broughton’s book in their voyage diaries, for example, see Hall 1818, 167; Mcleod 1818, 45. Due to limited contacts with locals in Broughton’s voyage, this paper does not choose it as a key text for its analysis. For more research on Broughton, see James Hoare. “Captain Broughton, *HMS Providence* (and her tender) and his voyage to the Pacific 1794–8,” *Papers of the British Association for Korean Studies* Vol. 7, 2000, 49–60.
 12. See Macleod. *Narrative of a Voyage in His Majesty’s Late Ship Alceste, to the Yellow Sea, Along the Coast of Corea to the Island of Lewchew*. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1818, 52. “Here a number of observations were taken, and surveys made, to ascertain the exact geographical position of the land and the qualities of the anchorage; and distinguishing names were, of course, given to remarkable spots, which might serve on future occasions as leading marks.”
 13. Gutzlaff. *Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China*, Seoul: Kyungin Munhwasa (1834) 2000, 350.
 14. Lindsay H.H. *Report of Proceedings on a Voyage to the Northern Ports of China in the Ship Lord Amherst*, Seoul: Kyungin Munhwasa, (1834) 2000, 217.
 15. The Bibles distributed were Chinese language translations and the Bible was not translated into Korean until much later in the 19th century. Similarly a book focused on the Christian conception of God called *Dialogues between Two Friends* was also published in Chinese and printed frequently and spread to Korea. See also, Bridgman, “Literary Notices.” In *The Chinese Repository*, Vol. 2 (May 1833), 46.
 16. Edward Belcher used the word “Quelpart” to represent the present-day Jeju Island. Historically, Jeju Island has many different names including Quelpart, Quelparte or Quelpaert Island. It was Hendrick Hamel who first coined it Quelpart when shipwrecked on its coast in 1653. Because this island looked similar in the shape of a galiot, a slang word for such ships, Jeju Island got the name of Quelpart. See also Hall R. Burnett, “Quelpart Island and Its People,” *Geographical Review* Vol. 16, No. 1 (Jan, 1926), 60.
 17. “Navigation of the Chinese Sea,” *The Chinese Repository*, Vol. 18 (February 1846), 103.
 18. Hall [1818] 2000, 11.
 19. Gutzlaff 1818, 345. “We met with many individuals whose skin was regularly incrustated with dirt; many had not washed themselves for months, and were covered with vermin, which they did not hesitate to catch and to dispatch in our presence.”
 20. Belcher [1847] 2000, 353–7. The two original illustrations are named “Korean Chief” and “Group of Koreans”.
 21. Adams [1847] 2000, 444–5.
 22. See Samuel 1837, 360. “In their (Japanese) oblong, sunken, and angular eyes, they were like the Chinese; but their short necks, snub-noses, high cheek-bones and inferior stature, approximate rather to the Koreans, Kuriles, and northern branches, than to the sons of Han. Many of them have heavy beards, and the majority were large-limbed men.”

23. MacDonald 1851, 502. "He was a man of middle stature, olive complexion, features somewhat sharp but interesting, and his eyes resembled the Japanese more than the Chinese. His look was intelligent and penetrating. His hands and feet were small."
24. Dickinson 1840, 575.
25. Adams [1847] 2000, 445.
26. Dickinson 1840, 575.
27. See Belcher [1847] 2000, 349. "The people themselves appear to be composed of several races; the superior class is entirely distinct, of the small Tartar mould, and very beautifully formed. Although active, and from their general dress, liable to constant exposure, they still exhibit great effeminacy when at ease, being invariably attended by a species of page, carrying boots, slippers, fan, &c.; but these again are far more effeminate than their masters; pale, slovenly, and disgusting, with loose wavy hair, creating almost a doubt as to their sex. These are invariably the military chiefs and their attendants."
28. Adams, [1847] 2000, 459.
29. See Lindsay [1834] 2000, 245. "The envoy was named Woo Tajin, a man about forty, elegantly dressed in Chinese silks."
30. Belcher [1847] 2000, 349.
31. See Belcher [1847] 2000, 349. "Of their women none were noticed but those belonging to the laboring class, excepting an occasional inquisitive portion of face, which merely enabled one to assert that they appear fair ... They are small, very short legged, particularly from the knee to the heel, with an apparent tendency to heaviness about the feet and ankles, and withal disgusting."
32. Belcher [1847] 2000, 447.
33. Belcher [1847] 2000, 349. "Their manners, excluding the superior class, differ from any nation with whom I have held communication: they are filthy in person and habit."
34. Hall [1818] 2000, 45.
35. Hall [1818] 2000, 45. "The dress of the women very much resembles that of a slave of Macao, a short upper dress, with a petticoat unconnected in addition to that, bareheaded, the hair tied in a knot at the top without ornament."
36. Lindsay [1834] 2000, 242-3.
37. Adams [1847] 2000, 444.
38. MacDonald 1851, 503.
39. Hall [1834] 2000, 54. "The women, seated on a pile of stones, in the middle of the village, took no notice of us as we passed; and indeed, she was herself so very homely, as to occupy but little of our attention."
40. Gutzlaff. [1834] 2000, 337. In most nineteenth-century English literature, Korea was written as "Corea" although Korea also appeared. This thesis will adopt the original word used in the primary text.
41. Gutzlaff [1834] 2000, 344.
42. The landscapes of Jeju Island and Godaedo would be the main the attributors for the fertility of soil. The volcanic topography with plenty of stones and wind limited the rice production in Jeju Island. Another reason for the different assessment is due to some cultural aspects mentioned in the following contents. Since Jeju Island was used as a site for one of Chosŏn's penal settlements, people there may not have lived their long and were inattentive so far as land management was concerned.
43. Belcher [1847] 2000, 348.
44. Belcher [1847] 2000, 351.
45. Ibid.
46. Gutzlaff [1834] 2000, 343.
47. This was also recorded in Kim Canghan (김창한金昌漢)'s anthology *Wonjeobo* (원저보圓諸譜), saying that Gutzlaff brought potato seeds to Jeonbug's local residents and taught

- them how to cultivate. See also Yang Jinseok, 2006, 215; Hyun Mook Cho et al., 2003, 841. Both papers mentioned two hypotheses on the Korean origins of potatoes while one is the above-mentioned southern origin and another is the importation of them from Manchuria predicted to be in 1824. However, it is not clear which one became the earliest introduction of potatoes in Jeonbug areas. At least judging from Gutzlaff's record, it can be presumed that potatoes were relatively new to Jeonbug residents and had not been widely cultivated yet until 1832.
48. Belcher [1847] 2000, 345.
 49. James 1851, 503.
 50. Hall [1818] 2000, 46.
 51. See also Gutzlaff, [1834] 2000, 342. "It consisted of one small apartment hung around with paper, and salt fish in the middle."
 52. Lindsay [1834] 2000, 238.
 53. James MacDonald's record 1851, 503.
 54. Hall [1818] 2000, 5.
 55. Lindsay [1834] 2000, 228.
 56. Gutzlaff [1834] 2000, 345.
 57. *Gye* means 계 in Korean and is a village-based contract where the villagers had to follow to work together to gain the most benefits. *Dure* refers to village communitarian mutual aid organization and is written as 두레 in Korean. *Pumasi* 품앗이 refers to contemporary labor exchange. All the three are different but the same regarding their functions. *Hyeophosari* writes as 협호(夾戶)살이.
 58. Im Hakseong 2006, 272.
 59. Hall [1818] 2000, 47.
 60. *Ibid.*
 61. Gutzlaff [1818] 2000, 345.
 62. Ondol is not so different from the Kang used in Northern China with which some foreigners would be aware of. Therefore, Gutzlaff may not have considered it as Ondol but a traditional heating system different from the West.
 63. Adams [1847] 2000, 452.
 64. Belcher [1847] 2000, 350.
 65. The Philosophy of Chinese Fengshui is an ancient landscape technique combined with tech and art, while Fengshui theory deeply influence the building of ancient shanshui cities. See also Yang Liu. *Fengshui Sixiang Yu Gudai Shanshui Chengshi Yingjian Yanjiu* (风水思想与古代山水城市营建研究 *The Research of Fengshui Theory and the Building of Ancient Shangshui Cities*.) China: Chongqing University PhD Dissertation, 2005.
 66. David Mason's (1999) *Spirit of the Mountains* (Hollym, Seoul), is a good account of the importance of geomancy to Korean cultural development, both in the historical and contemporary period. The concept of *Paektu taegan* 백두대간 which is important to Mason's work is the idea that Korea is a network of scared mountain ranges and peaks along which ki energy flows as sort of life force which brings power and abundance to the peninsula. Shrine keepers, house holders and citizens can harness that auspicious energy by paying homage to and worshipping ancestral and mountain spirits and by arranging their property in ways which mirror these energy flows.
 67. Gutzlaff [1834] 2000, 346.

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