

A Study of A Selection of Literary Essays by Korean Writers Living in Manchuria

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Abstract *A Selection of Literary Essays by Korean Writers Living in Manchuria* is the only anthology of the Manchu essays in Manchukuo, the puppet state of Japan. We find two themes. Geography is one. The literary space is expressed by juxtaposing the present (Manchuria) and the past (Korea) when the essayist talks about geography. Mythology is another to discover the identity of old and current Korea. And several others, who take different ways to express themselves, tend to keep distance from the time and place they are in, and instead focus on literary problems seriously and realistically, to cope with their rages and tragedies in Manchukuo.

Key words travelog; mental space; hybridity; mythology; literature of exiles

Introduction

Thirty years have passed since the literary work written in Manchuria in the 1940's was called the dark age of literature or pro-Japanese literature.¹ But since then many scholars have studied this work, and it still remains a problem to be solved.² The spiritual aspects of Korea in the early 1940's were diverse; some resulted from Japanese Imperialism, others from Capitalism, Enlightenment, Democracy, Exiled Government. Despite this diversity, there appeared pros and cons in everything. Though we were under the Japanese rule, we could not create a variety of applications of the new movements. This paper aims at understanding what happened in Kando (Jiandao) as in the literary essays at that time.³

Literary Scenes in the 1940's in Manchuria

1. Choi Namsun's "Chunsanyugi"

Five of the essays by Choi Namsun are in the book, the selection of which is the largest in it; of these, "Chunsanyugi 1 and 2" draw my attention. Since 1920's Choi has made efforts to make the beauty of nature in Korea known to the people. He does

the same thing in these essays. Literature reflects society, and these essays are his poetic responses to it:

The Liaodong Peninsula is the extension of Baekdu Mountain; so is the Korean Peninsula. Historically, Kojosun extends left and right from Chunsan Mountain; so do Kokuryo and Balhae . Korean people toiled and shed sweat here.... I have just scaled the Ilbong summit and think of the old territory of Korea, and who would blame me for my recollection. (“Chunsanyugi”) ⁴

Choi Namsun retraces the great nations Kokuryo and Balhae, the old Koreas. It is, however, not possible for history alone to restore history; so, to do so, he brings geography so he can cultivate the spirit of Korean people. He observes Baekdu and Keumkang Mountains, and characterizes the people of Korea by their similarity to the looks and features of the two mountains. He summons geography to feel the breath of ancestors in it.

As quoted above, his attitude toward history is shown in the essay. He restores the old territory of Kokuryo and Balhae to the space of Korean history.

He traveled the colonized peninsula to abstract the national characteristics so he could inspire the people with the need for independence. The travel essays “Chunsanyugi 1 and 2” are his efforts to that end. The essays are interspersed with *sijo*, an old form of Korean poetry, the aim of which is to reinvent history so it can interconnect not only past and present, but also future. That he sees Chunsan Mountain as part of the Baekdu Mountain Range is his intention to bring back the old Korean history.

By combining geography and history, he breathed the sentimental, psychological, philosophical, aesthetic breath into the nation. Choi Namsun composes poems overlooking Chunsan, believing it is our territory. This is how Chunsan becomes part of us when we read his essays. He experiences and recognizes what is now foreign soil as where our ancestors lived and tilled the fields. In the 1940’s Chunsan was ruled by Japan. It was in fact a land of war. He attempts to resuscitate a mythology of Korean race, and using the unique form of Korean poetry, *sijo*, he sings to enrich the life of Korean people there. He has written an article “*Bulham Cultural Theory* (1925),” in which he defends Dangun Mythology that Japan denies.⁵ He says that his theory is independent from Japanese scholarship, and it is seen as a diplomatic document in defense of Dangun Mythology.⁶

Literature can internalize geographical beauty, thus making it deeper and more attractive.⁷ Thus, Choi Namsun expands literary space through geography to make room for a new mental space for Koreans. In this respect Chunsan in “Chunsanyugi 1

and 2” is a Korean mountain.

Choi earlier said in the preface to “Simchunsoonrae” that “the rivers and mountains in Korea themselves are the history, philosophy, poetry, spirit of Koreans,”⁸ and again in “Chunsanyugi 1 and 2” locates the spirit of Koreans in geography.

2. Hybridity in Manchuria

It is impossible to see many things in literature from one point of view; each work needs a different point of view to read it. There was not much in Manchuria in the 1930’s, but with the inflow of Japanese capital it turned into a complex hybrid society, and in Korean residents there were pro- and anti-nationalism in the 1940’s. Japan had instilled an Imperialistic ideal of *Ojokhyopwha*, or Five Races Live in Harmony, in Manchuria, where many immigrants considered Manchuria a land of opportunities: investors and politicians in power worked together, all types of people with diverse social backgrounds, who had taken shelter here from the direct dangers of World War II, vied for more power. For nationalist Koreans Manchuria was a space where they gathered to build a nation again; so, their essays’ connotations and denotations were different.

In short, they were between two opposing forces, Japan’s dark and firm control and China’s slow, lukewarm political action. Koreans were second best, after Japanese, as Korea and Japan had just been united, but for this reason, Koreans were held in check by Chinese. As a result, it was not easy to lead life in Manchuria. An essay “Neighbors” by Ahn Sugil clarifies this:

A poet, they say, visited the waiting room at the train station where he could hear people speak in dialects. Or on a night when crickets were singing, he heard a train sound a steam whistle like a calf’s cry, which reminded him of his hometown. My house is in front of the station so the whistle could be heard in bed.

And my house is by the hotel Daewha which has the flavor of Renaissance style. The quietude of the garden, where at dusk an army of crows visit the ancient trees, people could instantly forget that they are at the heart of a city.

But I have never been to the station without a duty. Nor do I have a desire to enjoy the midnight whistle in bed nor the crow cawing in the trees.⁹

We can glimpse the capital flow in. The station is crowded with people who left hometowns; near is an expensive hotel for them. There is a hybrid society forming with the capital flow-in. My house is near the station that could remind me of my hometown, but I do not visit the waiting room without business. Though I work hard,

I lack in and am obsessed with money and not free to enjoy leisure.

In this essay we see the first class people stay and enjoy life in the hotel. Ironically, the second class people have a chance to enjoy the first class people enjoying life in the hotel. “I” also want to drop in and enjoy the leisure at hotel. But he says it’s nothing but a sentiment. It’s ironical, because though he takes pride in being poor as poet, he still wishes to enjoy it. The essay uncovers an aspect of social conflicts arising between classes of people.

In interpreting Korean literary works in the 1940’s, it is not desirable to apply dichotomy even if it is seen from the perspective of nationalist view point. It is not possible to read “Neighbors” in such light, for instance. Mechanical dichotomy could serve as a good tool to explain an epoch. It is not an appropriate means to look into literary works. In particular, it is not good for an essayist who refuses to have his thoughts and consciousness suppressed.

3. National Sentiment in Manchuria

The second largest selection of essays was made from Shin Youngchul’s.¹⁰ He was an important editor in Manchuria but did not treat the living conditions of Korean residents in his work. Literature reflects life, but he escapes from it. Though literature does not depict life as it is, it helps it overcome difficulties by dealing with people’s needs and desires in literary works, the tendency of which is exemplified in “The Morning on the Namman Plain” or “News from Shinkyung.” His essays show how the newly arrived Koreans see the landscapes. Our sentiments, that is, meet with the new places and scenes:

The old apricot trees are pink and in full blossom: it’s my home, a Shangrila. It’s far different from the world that is full of hatred, jealousy, struggles, rivalry. At that time, how could I have imagined that I would come to live on these vast plains where snow falls like mad in April? Who could have known that I would come here?

My dear brother Arim! Now I no longer regret that I cannot appreciate the apricot blossoms in my hometown. Even if I do wish, my hometown cannot embrace me again. So, I will appreciate the yellow leaves of ginkgo trees in late fall instead of the apricot blossom.¹¹

The train has passed the station of Oryongbae, which is famous for hot springs in southern Manchuria. And as we approaches Andong prefecture, the wild flowers are everywhere. Some flowers are blown by the wind like the breast ties of girls’ costume. How soft they are? The white buckwheat blossom is in full bloom on the bank of the

bean field beside the rice fields. It's as if I am hearing a folk song.

On the bank of turnip fields a couple of boys in white are chatting, walking with their trouser tips rolled up and their lubber shoes in hand; on the edge of the stream under the train bridge Korean wives and brides in yellow blouses and pink skirts strike and strike wooden mallets on wet clothes to clean. To see them here, how could you say it is Manchuria?¹²

The first one quoted above is the second essay of the three in "New from Shinkyung." The speaker misses his hometown as he is looking at the apricot blossom in Manchuria. The speaker's emotion is vividly visualized in the essay. In Manchuria it is so cold in winter that the head of a cow is frozen; the winter is over and it is spring. The author compares spring both in his hometown and Manchuria. "The first thing in early spring in Korea is the apricot blossom, which adorns beautifully and brilliantly the spring of his hometown," he says in his essay, complaining that spring in Manchuria is never like spring in his hometown. He feels comfortably at home recalling his hometown's apricot trees in full bloom, in the face of the rough spring in Manchuria. He accepts Manchuria as a livable space. Though many problems face him, he makes time to contemplate the landscape in Manchuria.

In the second quote the author treats Andong prefecture as if it is part of Korea. It is the same attitude Choi Namsun has when he considers Chunsan part of Baekdu Mountain. This is what the two writers do by dusting the mildewy names of places in geography books to give life to them in their literary works. The two writers' agony is between the lines in their essays. They summon the meaning of places from history and treat past and present together in the essays. It may be a way for them to live the present without pain. We feel sorry for their literary efforts to be satisfied with the present.

Identity in *A Selection of Essays by Korean Writers in Manchuria*

1. Praising the Land of Life

Manchuria is vastly expansive. The dark land spreads immensely in the three north east provinces. Shinkyung is flat with no mountain. Hyun Kyungjun describes spring in Manchuria as follows:

My ears tickle busily eavesdropping spring come near.

"The snow melts. Which will flower first?"

"Azaleas, maybe?"

.....

My angels lead me out, before me and after, by the hand, and my hair is blown though it's not windy. I feel light as a feather flying in the air, leaving

all the worries behind. The road is the same as I used to travel on, but I feel it strange and am not accustomed to it today.

Glancing over the mountains still covered with snow, they look nearer and snug. The river is not yet a river. The river edge lined with willows is frozen with thick ice.

The river has on its frozen surface places of water glimpsed here and there, like hearts of lovers. The twigs of willows are full of flexibility and vigor and make a circle when they are pulled and let go.¹³

This is a feeling of the landscape of the approaching spring. At that time rice fields covered all over Manchuria.¹⁴ But it is the Mado River, where a wife and a child were buried, as in Kim Dongsik's "Lamentation."¹⁵ That land is described here as a land of rebirth, or an essential place where a dragon rises. Desires of possession and attack are transformed into happiness here. It is purposeless: children are angels, uncles enjoy an outing in spring. The mountains with snow on top look snug, the willows along the river show bursting buds of elasticity. Seeing signs of spring in Manchuria, Korean writers respond romantically:

When I was leaving Shinkyung at 10 pm last night, it was kind of cold and was likely to snow; on the following morning, arriving at Daeryon station, I felt kind of hot with the thick layers of my inner clothes. As I got to the Songpo hotel, I opened all the windows to the south and seated myself: it was a new world now. Looking at the acacias I felt as if I were in spring already, though I had to travel further.¹⁶

If spring comes to my hometown, will it not come to Manchuria? If swallows and nightingales come to Korea, will they not come to Manchuria? Spring inches toward north one step after another.

As I hear from neighbors who lived here for a long time, swallows may be around in the suburbs of Shinkyung by now, and last June during the Ranrang Festival I myself heard nightingales sing from the forest of the Booksan Park.... swallows are flying and nightingales are singing here; then, how can I treat Manchuria coldly?¹⁷

Manchuria is a vast new world. It takes 13 hours from one point to another there. Nightingales come back and sing, which reminds the writer of the spring in Korea. The plain is so wide and wild that the principle of life is felt strongly. Winter attacks as if to kill all in Manchuria. But with spring life comes back. "I" experience the dignity and mystery of life once in spring, which compels him to write his friends

about the wonders of Manchurian spring. Hidden in this essay is something abrasive in life:

The luxurious dreams of the young in Monte Carlo blink in red and blue neon lamps—moderns enjoy things exotic—one little fantasy of hometown melts and passes on the train windows and passes. There is a sign of corrupted conditions in here.

Samjungjong with all lights gone—Oh, is it the ruins of the last day of Pompeii? In it there might be Frankenstein's monsters dancing in the dark windows.¹⁸

There is some sign of decadence, which is in contrast to the signs of Romantic sentiment. Shikkyung was the new capital of the imperial Japan. Calling the city the special city of Shinkyung, they constructed broad streets, huge buildings for taking care of affairs, and even tunnels under the city, in order to conquer the whole continent. In the essay above, there is some melancholia. The fantasy of hometown conjured over Shinkyung by neon lamps is not a fantasy; it is a sign of the fin de siècle, along with the dark images.

Shin Youngchul was friendly enough to be an editor of *Bandosawha and Naktomanju*, but his essays keep some distance. In his essay there is some sentiment of Korea beneath the surface. It gives solace to us. While editing *A Selection of Literary Essays by Korean Writers Living in Manchuria* he printed the songs of Koryo's Confucian scholars and the sijos of Josun Dynasty's loyal subjects, in addition to lyrics and poems of landscapes, which have nothing to do with politics, on purpose.

2. Mental Space of Korean Residents

A Selection of Literary Essays by Korean Writers Living in Manchuria has many travelogs: Choi Namsun's "Chunsanyugi 1 and 2" as well as "Baekjakjae Banil"; Yom Sangsop's "Travel in the Rain"; Ham Seokchang's "Kilim Yongchungi" and "Recalling Potatoes"; Shin Youngchul's "Morning on the Namman Plain." Also included in it are Kim Jokyu's "Note on Baekmuk Tower"; Park Palyang's "Impression of Shinkyung's Night" which depict travels. They have something common: they also sommon national sentiment. To cite two writers' essays: Choi Namsun's "Chunsanyugi 1 and 2" and Ham Seokchang's "Kilim Yongchungi 1 and 2":

(1)There is grotesque sublimity in granite rocks hit by wind and rain; there the rustling of winds in full forests; there long vales and blue streams; there

shapely rocks: they must be our fathers' land. So, it's not new but old to us. To look at them again, this Donghak is like the entrance to Bobong Mountain in Seoul; to look down from here, the vale's like the front of Byokyeon Rock in Sojang Mountain. I come to enjoy the Korea in Manchuria: once in the Songwha river; twice in the Manroku. Now here in Chunsan I first see the Diamond Mountains but it may be the last for me to do so.¹⁹

(2) It is not enough to say I have seen all of Chunsan. But though I have trodden on a corner of Chunsan, to learn that Chunsan is part of Korea in terms of landscapes and history is a biggest thing for my trip.²⁰

(3) I see the breaking of ice on the Songwha river for the first time; explosions of the river ice into pieces; then all moving. Horses and people traveled on the hard ice yesterday, but the water is glimpsed here and there on the ice. It's like soldiers at the signal tower sending the smoke into the sky to signal the arrival of the time.... It looks like the same news that all places rose by sending the smoke signals: all seem determined to rise for the same purpose, though in silence.²¹

(4) The water now flows again but is still cold. Though it snowed a few more times, it is calm, and I take a walk along the river with some relish. Yet, I am not fully satisfied, waiting for the spring days. It is still as cold as in winter. I think of my hometown with the soft grey buds of the willows; of the hazy hills and the azaleas, which just have twigs of buds like the tits of 16 year old girls' breasts; of the flowers smiling in the sunlight. I murmur the Tang poet Jang Kyongchung's "A Song of River."²²

The first quote combines two summits: Chunsan and Dobong are combined to be the origin of the Korean race. Choi Namsun prepared his lecture note "Manmong Culture" (June 1941) in which Korea and Japan seem to be in harmony and conflicts as well.²³ Choi began to talk about the spiritual aspects of old Korea in "Pungakyugi," (1924) which is a travelog. In "Chunsanyugi" he praises both Manchuria's Chunsan and Korean mountains. He aims at finding the origin of Eastern Culture in Tangun Mythology, which is what he calls "Bulhammunwha." Choi finds the identity of Korea that he finds in Chunsan. He's somewhat impatient. But to use the other's space in his essay is the same as in his earlier essays. His approach to the mythology is to defend the spiritual Korea in the face of Japanese distortion of Korean history. That "Chunsan is part of Korea in terms of landscapes and history" shows that he does not recognize that Koreans are second class citizens to Japan.²⁴ He discovers the people's identity in his mind space.

In the third quote the characteristics of travel essays are expressed. To travel is

to move from a familiar space to an unfamiliar space. A travel is to experience new tensions and changes in emotion by meeting with new people and new places of nature, which is expressed well in what is quoted above. As the author watches huge pieces of ice melting, he idealizes the beauty of nature with curiosity and surprise. His consciousness does not conflict with his sense of the epoch nor does he resort to the mythology of Korean race. But as a writer he has the same sense of responsibility for being a Korean writer as Choi Namsun. This is a coincidence, but meaningful.

The fourth is a lyrical depiction of the pleasure of welcoming spring. He meets spring on the frontier but remembers his hometown in spring. His sense of art is compressed in Jang Chunkyung's poem. It's because of the new place. He is in a mental space, free from worries of the age, like the two writers.

3. Life and Death in Manchuria

Choi Namsun's friendliness to Japan has found space in his essays, "Reading," "Chunsanyugi 1 and 2," "Baekjakjae Banil," "Manchurian Incident and Education."²⁵ These essays were written between when he declared nationalism and when he supported Japan openly. "Baekjakjae Banil" is an appreciation of Baekjakjae in Dalian he visited, where could see the calligraphy and books stored; The language in this essay is different from "Chunsanyugi."

"Manchurian Incident and Education" is very different from his other essays. The essay calls the Manchurian Incident (1931) a holy war. Choi, it is unbelievable, justifies the war and teaches its lesson for the young.

"Reading" is free of idealism. He says reading is an act of seeking truth. It should be an act separated from ideology, history, age, he declares. It is different from "Chunsanyugi" which combines history and geography, or from "Manchurian Incident and Education," which lacks logic and reason.

Yom Sangsop was a writer keeping distance from his age. It is interesting that the two writers with different personalities have something in common: keeping distance from his age. At that time Yom had resigned as editor for the *Mansonilbo* and worked for a company in Andong, but he, a writer of realism, was still respected by the Korean writers living in Manchuria.²⁶

Yom's "Wujoonghaengrogi" is set neither in Manchuria nor in the 1940's. He recalls the day when he and his older brother went on a trip to Kimchun as it rained cats and dogs. This essay has nothing to do with the Manchu affairs. It is the same as Choi Namsun's "Reading." Oblivious to the rise and fall of a new empire, he indulges in a different problem in his essay.

In this respect, Kim Jokyu's "Note on Baekmuk Tower" shows a clear characteristic:

(1) All through the night his sister will be waiting for Mr. Choi alone, so he will, he says, have to go back tonight. Thrusting a few crumpled bills into his pocket, he says goodbye to me, which makes me sad. On an unusually cold late afternoon he, pushing his school hat deep down, disappears into the dusk, casting a long shadow, turning back again and again and looking at the front gate of school. Mr. Choi who will walk 50 *li* through the dark country road, and his sister, seized with fear, anxiously waiting alone in the room cocking her ears for the steps of Mr. Choi....²⁷

(2) Since then he has never shown up and I have almost forgotten him, but a few days ago I received a letter written in his beautiful hand. It was from Tokyo. He sold the rest of their property to pay for the tuition of her sister who will graduate in a year and went to Tokyo, and now every morning he runs through the alleys and streets to deliver newspapers.... He is determined that he will succeed.

Compared with the heavy shadow he cast, when he vanished into the dusk on a spring day, his shadow is now full of hope and ambition, as he is shaking the bells of newspaper delivery and running in the alleys and streets.²⁸

As above, the background of what is quoted in the first is Manchuria, while that in the second is Tokyo. In Manchuria Choi is hopeless, while he is full of hope in Tokyo. In Manchuria it is dusk, and it is dawn in Tokyo. In the former anxiety rules while in the latter there is stability. The narrator experiences both conditions of life.

What matters here is Choi escapes from the conditions of Manchuria and goes to those of Tokyo: that is, from the marginal of the colony to the center of the empire. He is determined to succeed with all my might: what does it mean to succeed to Mr. Choi and to the teacher?

Kim Jokyu first published a poem in *Shindonga* in 1932. He belonged to *Dancheung*, which pursued pure literary works, but he was a friend to poet Limwha, who was a member of KAPF (Korea Artists' Proletariat Federation). He was imprisoned involved in Kwangju Students' Incident while in Sungshil Middle school. That the narrator in "Note on Baekmuk Tower" remains silent toward reality is incongruous with the author's personality. The author shows emotions instead of rages. Many thought that as there appeared a new nation in Manchuria there will be a new world, but his essay does not show any response, not to mention enthusiasm. Depiction of reality of life is too real, beyond the problem of the colonizers and the colonized. A young man thrown into the cold world is just about to come to life. The writer who witnesses the rise and fall of a nation can predict the resilience of man as

in this work. The emotion expressed in the work is another face of rage and sadness toward reality.

As the circumstances were this complex, if we consider a literary essay is founded on facts, it would not have been possible for us to order him anything. It would be merely an order for another idealism, an order to regulate their philosophy in a different world. Our order is nothing but a today's measure that is ill fit for their cold reality.

Conclusion

Manchurian literature in the 1940's has been studied from different perspectives. However, literary essays by Manchu Korean writers have not been dealt with so far. And this is the result of such an attempt. This paper is a survey of *A Selection of Literary Essays by Korean Writers Living in Manchuria in the 1940's*.

First, this book is a lyrical achievement in prose. At that time literature was concerned with the problem of East Asia, not with reality in Korea. But *A Selection of Literary Essays*, however, reinforces things Korean. It is, as a result, a literature of exiles.

Second, Choi Namsun shows his literary space both in "Chunsanyugi 1 and 2" and "Bulhammunwharon." In contrast to his personal life, his works put Manchukuo and Korea together, and confirm the identity of Korea by comparing the geographical identity in both nations.

Third, all works are based on the places and things in the new imperial state Manchukuo, but they depict realistically the ideas and philosophies that were abstracted from realities. Kim Jokyu's "Note on Baekmuk Tower" is an example. It is a way to cope with rages and tragedies in the face of the rise and fall of nations.

Notes

1. Oh Yang Ho, "Reconsidering The Dark Age of Literature," a paper read at the 23rd National Conference on Korean Language and Literature, Korean Culture Study Center, 1980.
2. The typical example is the subject of diaspora taken by International Association of Korean Studies. I have studied this problem and published four books including *Korean literature in Kando* (1988) and *Kando Literature and Life: Bae Seok*.
3. *A Selection of Literary Essays by Korean Writers Living in Manchuria in the 1940's* is a hand-written copy. Its price is 65 *Jon*. ShinKyung Special City: Josun Literature Publishing, 1941. It was then the only magazine for Korean essayists in Manchuria.
4. Choi Namsun, "Chunsanyugi 2," *A Selection of Literary Essays by Korean Writers Living in Manchuria in the 1940's*. ShinKyung Special City: Josun Literature Publishing, 1941. 46-48.

5. Jo Hyunsul, "The Dawn of Eastern Mythology and the Formation of Modern Psychological Geography," *A Study of Nationalist Literary History*, Vol 16. Seoul: Nationalist Literature Study Institute, 2000.
6. Oh Munseok, "A Problem of Immanent Continuity in Nationalist Literature and Pro-Japanese Literature – Focusing on Choi Namsun," *Modern Literature Study*, Vol. 30, Association of Korean Literature Studies, 2006.
7. Archibald Geikie, *Types of Scenery and Their Influence on Literature*. Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1070. (1st published in 1898). 59.
8. Ed. Korean University Research Center for Asian Affairs. *Yukdang, Choi Namsun* 6. Seoul: Hyonamsa, 1973. 259.
9. Ahn Sugil, "Neighbor," *A Selection of Literary Essays by Korean Writers Living in Manchuria in the 1940's*. ShinKyung Special City: Josun Literature Publishing, 1941. 67-68.
10. Shin Youngchul (1895-1945) was born in Seoul. His pen name is Yakrim. He studied philosophy at the Department of Philosophy, Dongyang University, Japan, where he was a writer belonging to a society of student writers Saekdonghoe. In 1919 a critique was published in the *Maeilshibo*, and soon he became an editor for *Orinee* and *Beolgeungon*. He went to Shinkyung to become a journalist for the *Mansonilbo*, and edited the essays students had contributed to the paper and published a book *Students' Letters*. In November 1941 he edited *A Selection of Literary Essays by Korean Writers Living in Manchuria* and a collection of literary works *Earth That Awakens*, with a preface "Beyond the Earth That Awakens." In 1943 with a Japanese name Pyongsanyoungchul, he edited *Bandosawha* and *Nakto Manchuria* in which he wrote a long article "Past and Present of Korean Residents in Manchuria." He was the chief of literary section for the *Mansonilbo*, and died in Shinkyung at age 50.
11. Shin Youngchul, "When the apricot trees are in blossom," the same book. 58-59.
12. Shin Youngchul, "The Morning of Namman Plain," The same book. 87.
13. Hyun Kyungjun, "Hand that sells spring," The same book. 4-5.
14. Ji Bongmun, "A Woman of the Arctic," *Korean Literature* (January, 1937).
15. It is a pure Korean name of Manchuria. See "Lamentation," the *Mansonilbo*, May 2, 1942: "The southern country is five thousand ri away; so is my hometown/ My wife is buried; so is my child/ Mado River, bury me here." Also see "Woodland," *Earth That Wakens*. Shinkyung, 1941.
16. Choi Namsun, "Baekjakjae Banil," the same book. 34-35.
17. Shin Youngchul, "Swallows and Nightingales," the same book. 67.
18. Park Palyang (Kim Yosu), "Impression of Shinkyung's Night," the same book. 95.
19. Choi Namsun, "Chunsanyugi 1," the same book. 45.
20. Choi Namsun, "Chunsanyugi 2," the same book. 52.
21. Ham Seokchang, "Kilim Youngchungi 1," the same book. 24.
22. Ham Seokchang, "Kilim Whanjungi," the same book. 25-26.
23. Jo Hyunsul, "Manchurian Mythology and Modern Talk" and "Modern Culture and Geography,

and Manchuria in East Asia,” in The 26th Conference Proceedings of Korean Literature Study Center, Dongguk University, February 2, 2007. P. 8.

24. Yun Hyutak, “The Truth and Falsehood of Second Class Citizens in Manchukuo,” *Yuksahakbo*, Vol. 169 (2001).

25. Choi Namsun drafted “The March 1st Declaration of Independence” in 1919, started *Dongmyung* in 1922 to promote nationalism, wrote “Climbing Baekdu Mountain” in 1926, in which he discovers the souls of Korean race in Korean landscapes and heightens his discussion of race to sublimity. But when he left the Privy Council and became the advisor to the *Manmongilbo* in Shinkyung in April 1938, he changed his mind; as he assumed the professorship at the Konkuk University in Manchuria in 1939, he wrote “On Holy Thoughts of Race in East Asia,” in which he declares the same ideology expressed in his another essay “Manmongmunwha” (June 1941): he justifies the establishment of a nation in Manchuria in terms of cultural backgrounds, and wants to play a role in building a nation of moral and cultural obligation. But what is interesting is that his thoughts are directed to the science of Korean studies with Dangun on top in his theory. He openly began supporting Japanese Imperialism since 1943, when he came back to Manchuria and wrote to support the enlisting of Students Soldiers.

26. Ahn Sugil, *One Goosefoot*. Seoul: Munyechangjaks, 1977. 256, 259.

27. Shin Youngchul, ed. *A Selection of Literary Essays by Korean Writers Living in Manchuria in the 1940's*. ShinKyung Special City: Josun Literature Publishing, 1941. 82-83.

28. Shin Youngchul, the same book. 83-84.

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