Special Feature

Westerners' Perceptions of Baekdusan until the Nineteenth Century: Focusing on Materials in English

Jo Yoong-hee

The Review of Korean Studies Volume 13 Number 4 (December 2010): 133-149

Introduction

Baekdusan (or Changbaishan in China) sits on the northern border of the Korean peninsula. The Manchurian border, which is shared with China, consists of Baekdusan and two rivers, Amnokgang (Yalu River) and Dumangang (Tumen River). In the previous dynasties in Korea and China, Joseon and Qing, the mountain was also shared as the only land border, which was often crossed by local common people from the two countries regardless of either government's prohibitions.

Historical documents show that since the late seventeenth century there was an exchange of views in diplomatic correspondence between Joseon and Qing regarding the border issues of Baekdusan. Emperor Kangxi of Qing wanted to confirm the boundary on the mountain and ascertain the symbolic significance of the area as the birthplace of his empire. By the order of Kangxi, Juwluo Wumone (覺羅武默訥) and Le Zhe (勒輒) visited Changbaishan in 1677 and 1684, respectively. After Wunone's return from his journey to the mountain, Kangxi expressed his will that a national offering be made to the mountain, the home of the Qing dynasty. In 1712, he also sent Mu Kedeng to build a boundary pillar on the top of the mountain.

To ensure Baekdusan was Joseon territory, Kings Sukjong and Yeongjo of Joseon in turn tried to counteract Qing's enterprise. Sukjong did not show positive cooperation for Kangxi's plan for the survey of the border area, and Yeongjo initiated a national offering for the Baekdusan deity, which became the threshold for Joseon to officially designate the mountain as the birthplace of the kingdom. King Yeongjo began the annual national offering for Baekdusan in 1768.

During the late nineteenth century, Westerners were more interested in traveling to Manchuria and the Korean peninsula than before; in many cases, this was for the sake of gaining natural resources concessions in this area. While they were traveling this region, they were also reminded of the special mountain, Baekdusan or Changbaishan. They gained information about the mountain from both East Asian and Western references. Even if they were usually attracted by natural resources, potential industry and labor power of the area, Baekdusan was exceptional in that they just tried

This work was supported by the Academy of Korean Studies Grant (AKSR2009-03).

to understand its geographical characteristics, historical meaning, and the contemporary lives of the local people. To Western travelers in those days, Baekdusan and its vicinity were understood as the place where Korean and Chinese historical contexts were mingled rather than a place which presented restrictions for people with an explicit border line.

I would like to examine how Westerners in the late nineteenth century observed Baekdusan considering geography, historical meaning, and the contemporary phenomena of people's lives.

Geographical Perceptions: Beyond a Mystical Topography

Based on their journey to Korea and Manchuria, Westerners left materials including the maps of the area, which demonstrate their perceptions of Baekdusan in terms of its name, location, and geological traits. This article will identify their perceptions of Baekdusan until the nineteenth century through their travel records which generally encompass the early proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain. Remarkable publications in which the travelers mention Baekdusan or Changbaishan until the late nineteenth century include Du Halde (1735), Williamson (1869; 1870), Archimandrite Palladius (1872)[1], Lowell (1886), Carles (1886), James (1887; 1888), Campbell (1891; 1892), Cavendish (1894), Curzon (1894), and Bishop (1895; 1898).

Most Westerners' travel records of Korea and Manchuria contained maps that showed their travel routes. These maps were usually marked Baekdusan (or Changbaishan) while some earlier ones left it out. Sometimes travelers mislocated the mountain due to wrong information or misunderstandings. Therefore, above all, their mapping often shows how travelers perceived Baekdusan's location. Du Halde's record based on Regis's travel in the early eighteenth century, which is considered the earliest description of Baekdusan (or Changbaishan) by a European, did not mark the mountain on the appended map even though he concretely mentioned the mountain in the

1. Archimandrite Palladius's travel was first recorded in Russian in 1870 and translated into English in 1872 for publication in a journal.

text. This alludes to the fact that Regis and his travel companions tried to measure the height of the mountain from a long distance without actually going to the location.

It was the late nineteenth century when Western travelers began including Baekdusan or Changbaishan on their routes. Depending on whether they traveled from the direction of Korea or Manchuria, the mountain was denominated as Baekdusan in Korean or Changbaishan in Chinese or Manchurian, respectively, on maps.

James, Campbell, and Cavendish (and Goold-Adams)[2] among others produced considerably detailed travelogues after climbing Baekdusan or Changbaishan. They also made maps of their travel routes on which Baekdusan or Changbaishan had been marked. James's travelogue is the first travel record of Changbaishan or Baekdusan conducted by a Westerner from the Manchu side. Accordingly, he ascertained that Changbaishan's geological trait of a white appearance comes not only from snow, but from the pumice stone that covers its summit. Campbell and Cavendish (with his colleague Goold-Adams) also respectively confirmed this characteristic a few years later.

However, James's map shows that he did not seem to recognize that Baekdusan is the other side of Changbaishan. On his map, James located Baekdusan in a southern area somewhat far from Changbaishan. In contrast, Campbell and Cavendish's maps based on their journey from the Korean side located Baekdusan in the correct position. Before their explorations, American diplomat Lowell marked Baekdusan correctly on his map of Korea based on knowledge gained during his stay in Korea. His map is considered the first one which followed Korean pronunciation of Chinese characters for the romanization of Korean place names.

It was not until the nineteenth century that a few Westerners confirmed the correct location and geological appearance of Baekdusan (or Changbaishan) after their firsthand climbing experiences. These travelers finally exposed the true picture of the mountain which had been constantly veiled in mystery ever since Du Halde's descriptions about one and a half

2. Goold-Adams traveled to Baekdusan with Cavendish. Climbing Baekdusan was undertaken not by Cavendish but by his traveling companion Goold-Adams because Cavendish interrupted his journey at the bottom of the mountain in order to return to Hong Kong. Therefore, the record of Baekdusan in Cavendish's book on Korea was written by Goold-Adams.

centuries before. See the table below to check for more cases of Westerners' descriptions and mapping of Baekdusan or Changbaishan.

Travelers	Year(s) of Travel	Travel Routes	Visit to the Mountain	Name of the Mountain Appearing in Publications	Location of Baekdusan or/and Changbaishan on Maps	Remarks on White Appearance of the Mountain
Du Halde	1709	Manchuria	No	Tchang pe-chang; Chanalin (in Manchuria)/ Ever-White Mountain	No notation	
Williamson	1864; 1866; 1867	Manchuria	No	Shan-alin (as a mountain range); Pai-tu-san	In Manchuria	
Palladius	1870	Manchuria	No	Chang-po-shan (long white mountains); Bukhian-shan; (in Manchuria) Tai-po-shan (Great White Mountains); Po-shan (in Korea)	No notation No notation	For whiteness, author presumes possibility of non-snow material.
Lowell	1883	Korea	No	Pek Tu San or "The Ever White Mountain"[1]	Correctly positioned on map	
Carles	1884	Korea	No	Paik-to-san	Incorrectly located near Changbaishan mountain range	
James	1886	Manchuria	Yes	Chang-pai Shan (Long White Mountain(s)); Shan-alin (in Manchu vernacular; Lao-pai-shan(=Old White Mountain)[2] Paik-to-san	Pai-shan (in Manchuria) and Paik-to-san (in Korea) positioned separately[3]	Whiteness owing to both snow and pumice
Campbell	1889	Korea	Yes	Peik-tu San (White Head Mountain)[4]	Correctly shown on border	Whiteness owing to both snow and pumice
Cavendish	1891	Korea	Yes[5]	Paik-tu-san or White Mountain	Correctly shown on border	Whiteness owing to both snow and pumice
Curzon	No visit to the mountain	Korea, Japan, China	No	Paik-tu-San (White Peak Mountain)	Marked as Tai-paik-san	
Bishop	1894	Korea, Manchuria, Japan	No	Paik-tu-san or White Mountain[6]	Correctly positioned on border[7]	

Sacredness of the Mountain: Contested Symbols of the Two Countries

Westerners who traveled to the Korean Peninsula or Manchuria realized that Baekdusan or Changbaishan was endowed with sacredness by people of this area. Western travelers considered Baekdusan or Changbaishan from the two different standpoints. They understood the symbolic significance of the mountain depending on the route they traveled; Joseon or Qing side. For instance, James perceived Changbaishan's sacredness based on China-related references. On the contrary, Campbell and Cavendish (and Goold-Adams) showed that Baekdusan had been respected by Koreans regardless of whether they were upper or lower classes. Western travelers were interested in cultural and historical elements inherent only to one side of the mountain, either Baekdusan or Changbaishan, because they experienced one or the other.

Understanding of Manchuria-Focused Legends

Travelers to Manchuria like Regis, Russian missionaries, and James identified Changbaishan as the sacred ground for the Qing dynasty. In particular, James understood—with the help of diverse sources from both Westerners' writings and Qing materials—the process by which Changbaishan had been developed as a national symbol of sacredness in the Qing dynasty. The following text from the preface of James's book on Manchuria is a summary stating that Changbaishan is the Qing dynasty's royal family's home.

> From a valley on the outskirts of the Long White Mountains there sprang a petty Tartar chieftain, nearly three hundred years ago, who challenged the power of China, and whose sons, after a determined struggle, conquered the Celestial Empire and placed on the throne the present dynasty. (James 1888:vii)

James was interested in understanding the Qing dynasty's efforts to sanctify Changbaishan: Emperor Kangxi sent his subject Juwluo Wumone to explore the mountain in 1677, requested that French Jesuits, including Regis, map the Manchu territory in 1709, and dispatched Mu Kedeng to erect a boundary pillar on the top of the mountain in 1712. It can be said that

James's strong desire to explore the mountain was because he recognized its historical significance to the Qing dynasty.

The two legends below attracted travelers to Manchuria in terms of deities of the mountain and the lake on top of the mountain.

Baiyi Guanyin (白衣觀音) of Changbaishan

Baiyi Guanyin (White-robed Avalokitesvara; Buddhist Goddess of Mercy) is described by the travelers as having a Buddhist and shamanist origin dating back to the Kin dynasty. The Qing dynasty was derived from this legend. Archimandrite Palladius mentions this legend (Palladius 1872:163-64) and James cites Palladius's description in the appendix of his book.

> During the Kin dynasty they [Chang-pŏ-shan Mountains] were reputed to be the abode of the merciful Poi-hwan-in, i. e. the white-robed Hwan-in, who is represented as a woman bearing a child in her arms. The word Poi, white-robed, is in this instance only a play on words; it is applied to Hwan-in in the sense of a lay divinity (lay priests were called white-robed, in contradiction to the monks), and not to express a symbolical white colour as the peculiar attribute of the deity. At that period, i. e. during the Kin dynasty, there was a temple in Corea dedicated to the spirit of the Chang-pŏ-shan Mountains (symbolized as a maiden), and presided over by a shamanka, or sorceress. The Corean Buddhists assigned the Chang-pŏ-shan as the home of their miraculous deity Manchushri. And here we are reminded of the legend of the name of the Manchu dynasty having been derived from this deity. (James 1888:453-54)

Legend of the Great Lake (on the summit of Changbaishan)

Thomas Wade introduced the legend of the Great Lake or the Dragon Prince's Pool, which is on top of Changbaishan, during a discussion session of the Royal Geographic Society after James's presentation in 1887 on his journey to Manchuria. This legend was regarded as the story of the origin of the Manchu race.

> The lake which had been mentioned had a foremost place in the consideration of the present dynasty. The legend was that years ago three ladies were bathing there, when one was met by a stork, which laid some fruit on her lap, and she became the mother of the Manchu race, which

> now reigned in China. The Manchus therefore had brought themselves to regard the Ch'ang Pai Shan as sacred ground, and it had been the subject of compositions both in prose and verse of the great emperor Kien-lung, who reigned in the middle of the last century. (James 1887:566)

Emperor Kien-lung's poem shown in James's book is another example supporting that the lake was deified as the birthplace of the Qing dynasty.

> The Emperor Kien-lung, in his poem on Moukden, refers to the mountain in the following terms (I rely on Père Amyot's translation): '… On this blessed mountain, a celestial virgin, a daughter of heaven, tasted a fruit to which she was attracted by the brightness of its colour above all others, ate, conceived, and became the mother of a boy, heavenly like herself. Heaven itself gave him the name of Kioro, to which it added, by way of distinction, that of the precious petal, and ordained that he should be called Aisin Kioro, or Golden Kioro.' (James 1888:454-55)

Travelers, having used Manchu routes, mainly gained knowledge of the mountain from historical materials such as *Qinding Manzhouyuanliukao* (欽定滿洲源流考) recorded by the Qing government, and they focused on the symbolic meanings which had been officially given for Changbaishan.

Understanding of Korea-Focused Legends and Folk Beliefs

> Western travelers like Lowell, Campbell, Cavendish, and Curzon described cultural characteristics of Baekdusan in Korea with an emphasis on legends and folk beliefs as well as national activities considering the mountain. As Lowell perceived, Baekdusan was a symbolic place in Korea in that it had been regarded as "the birthplace of Korean folk-lore" and a "mythical" area (Lowell 1886:18).

Depository of national identity

Travelers understood that Baekdusan had supplied a sense of self-respect to Koreans because Baekdusan had been the home of the ancestral myths of Korea including the Dangun myth. Lowell properly interpreted the significance of the Dangun myth with his perceptive insight. He perceived that the Dangun myth had been handed down generation-to-generation, and that the myth was an integrated with actual history as well. He also

believed that through this myth, Korean people reminded themselves of their origin as the following description shows.

> A long while ago … a certain spirit called Tan Kun, or "The Lord of the Oak-tree," descended from Tè Pek San, and made himself ruler of the country. He called it Chosön, or "The Land of the Morning Calm… Tan Kun is described as a true or real spirit. He is known to-day among the masses rather as a spiritual man than as a manlike spirit. (Lowell 1886:209-210)

In the case of Campbell, the very first person who tried climbing up to the summit of Baekdusan but who gave up halfway, he was not satisfied with James's description of Changbaishan or Baekdusan. He thought that James just emphasized the symbolic significance of the mountain from the Chinese point of view while neglecting the Korean side. At this point we can find, to some extent, a conflicting idea and competition among travelers who traveled from different sides of Baekdusan or Changbaishan. Each traveler described the symbolic meaning of the mountain in the way that reflected his experience. Campbell started his journey to the mountain from the Korean side, and he described Baekdusan and the Great Lake on the summit of the mountain from the Koreans' point of view, which in turn, was followed by Cavendish and Goold-Adams two years later.

> It is true that the Korean stories of the dimensions of both lake and mountain were toned down greatly by Mr. James; nevertheless, lakes in mountain tops 7000 or 8000 feet above sea-level are rare enough, and this one on Peik-tu-san yields precedence in interest, historically and geographically, to few others in the world. (Campbell 1892:141)

Campbell also was the first to document the national offering of sacrifices for the Baekdusan deity conducted annually by the Joseon government. This event was initiated in King Yeongjo's era to emphasize the importance of the northern frontier which was the ancestral home of the dynasty.

> Some 30 miles north of Kap-san the crest of the ridge overlooking the Yalu was reached, and from it we got our first view of the famous Peik-tu San (White Head Mountain). Just at the point where this mountain is first visible a small temple has been erected for the purpose of offering

> sacrifices—which is done by the King of Korea every year on the 4th of the 8th moon (August)—to the Peik-tu San deities. At Seul I was led to believe that the officials deputed to perform this function actually ascended the mountain, but they evidently prefer a compromise, the efficacy of which has apparently never been doubted. (Campbell 1892:151)

He also acknowledged that the Great Lake was "the nucleus of a mass of legend and fable" and "the abode of beings supernatural" for Koreans as it was for Manchurian Chinese. He recognized that Koreans did not have a particular interest in the geological traits of the mountain and the lake as the fact that the mountain was the *cho-san* (ancestral mountain) was enough for Koreans' "knowledge and common sense" (Campbell 1892:154). Cavendish and Curzon also recognized the annual offering rite of Joseon government. Cavendish considered that the geologically special features made Koreans a "nature-worshiping race" (Cavendish 1894:184-85). Curzon interpreted this national event as being attributable to the "semi-aesthetic, semi-superstitious nature-worship" innate to Koreans (Curzon 1894:106).

Common people in awe of Baekdusan

Campbell and Cavendish (and also Goold-Adams) observed that ordinary Koreans, such as their guides and porters for their journey in Korea, displayed a common sentiment toward the mountain Baekdusan: fear and awe. While the national offerings for the mountain were derived from respect for the sacredness of the mountain, common people's feeling of fear and awe is also another response to its sacredness (Jo 2008:60-62).

One of the main reasons why Campbell abandoned his climb halfway up to the summit of Baekdusan was due to his Korean guide's paroxysmal illness. At that moment, all the Korean attendants attributed his illness to the "san-sin, or mountain genii." Even after his recovery, Koreans constantly refused to continue their journey to the summit (Campbell 1892:153). To Campbell, this situation was a good example of the superstitious belief of common Koreans about the mysterious and sacred Baekdusan.

Goold-Adams, who ascended Baekdusan without his colleague Cavendish, also experienced something similar. His Korean aides hesitated to enter the realm of Baekdusan for fear of its deity. These Koreans, like Campbell's attendants, bought some rice at the foot of Baekdusan at a high price before entering the mountain in order to offer it to the mountain spirit

whom they feared.

Above all, Yeong—who was a young and relatively intelligent Korean interpreter—had a great fear of visiting Baekdusan. He—it seemed to Cavendish and Goold-Adams—behaved in a strange enough manner that the situation was recorded in Cavendish's book.

> The interpreter and Yeung were evidently in a desperate fright at going to the mountain, accounting for it by saying there was no joss-house on the top, and that although once upon a time a Korean did get to the top, yet the Spirit was so offended at his presumption, that he caused his neck (other accounts say his leg) to grow a yard longer! Yeung gave me a farewell letter to his wife to take down-country, thinking his last days were come, and his bones would be left on the "White Mountain." This letter I sent on to Mr. Stripling at Soul from Won-san, but I never heard if Mrs. Yeung received it. (Cavendish 1894: 153-54)

Through Yeong's wish to send a farewell letter to his wife before entering Baekdusan, the intense fear that common Koreans felt at the prospect of climbing this mountain is demonstrated. In this manner, Westerners who traveled to Baekdusan from the Korean side showed concrete details about Koreans' feeling of Baekdusan's sacredness, which can scarcely be found in the records based on the journey from the Manchu side.

Mundanity of the Mountain: Coexistence of Joseon and Qing

During their journey to Baekdusan (or Changbaishan), James, Campbell, and Cavendish and Goold-Adams observed the daily lives of both the Joseon and Qing people at the frontier around the mountain. They found that the border was not taken so seriously between the people of the two countries. Regardless of prohibitions by both governments, people near the Baekdusan area crossed the border for their livelihood. Therefore, coexistence of the Joseon and Qing was unavoidable in this region. Westerners' travel records show how they shared the frontier.

Northern Part of the Border: Hunting

Travelers recognized that hunting was the main source of livelihood in the northern part of the Baekdusan or Changbaishan area. Though the Qing government prohibited people from entering southern Manchuria around the mountain which had been designated as the Imperial Hunting Park by the central government, hunters settled down there with the connivance of the local authorities of Jilin. Hunters in that area included Joseon people. Chinese hunters organized guilds to autonomously control that area where ginseng was also collected. A proclamation issued by the guilds showed that a considerable number of Korean settlers coexisted with Chinese beyond the Baekdusan border.

> We saw one proclamation warning people not to harbour certain bad characters, whose names were given. A second forbade Coreans to fish. Coreans, be it noted, are employed in large numbers as agricultural labourers by the settlers, who want them, so they said, to labour in the fields, and not waste their time in sport. A third was for regulating the trade in ginseng, and forbade any person buying or selling it before a certain date. (James 1888:251-52)

As this proclamation shows, the Chinese guild placed restrictions on Koreans' life in the Chinese territory of Baekdusan. At the same time, the fact that the proclamation relating Koreans was issued means that Koreans living in this area were recognized as community members who worked in agricultural production.

James also mentioned that southern Manchuria had been occupied by Korean hunters until twenty years ago and maintained many location names in Korean, which meant that the coexistence of the two different national groups in that territory was natural (James 1888:257-58).

Southern Part of the Border: Lumbering

According to Campbell and Cavendish's records, many Chinese worked in the Joseon territory near Baekdusan to make a living, though their residence was rigidly limited to the Manchu side of the border. Chinese were generally

engaged in woodcutting in the Korean area, having good relations with Koreans.

> The Chinese are rapidly populating their frontier. Many of the ever-increasing army of wood-cutters and raftsmen settle down permanently wherever they see a chance of making a livelihood. One could not fail to be struck by the good-humoured relations existing between Coreans and Chinese in the Hyei-san neighborhood at least. There is a good deal of condescension about the Chinaman, who speaks of the Corean as the "little-country man," and of himself as the "big-country man," but it is displayed with tact, and is seldom offensive. The Corean tacitly acknowledges his superior energy, tenacity of purpose, and power of self-denial, and does not object to being patronized by a man who provides him with excellent liquor—for a consideration, and who is always in a position to help him over a bad season on reasonable terms. (Campbell 1891:30)

While Cavendish thought that the Korean authorities were compelled to permit the lumbering "for fear of giving offence to their suzerain lord, the Chinese emperor" (Cavendish 1894:161), Campbell perceived that the permission was based on a spontaneous decision of the Korean government and that the lumbering was reciprocal for both countries. In Campbell's eyes, the Korean government seemed to have permitted lumbering by the Chinese due to its contribution to the revenue of the Joseon government.

> "Lumbering" on the Yalu is a very old industry, so old that the lower reaches of the river, it is said, are denuded of marketable timber on the south bank of the Yalu, but the supineness of the officials, combined with the indifference of the people, makes everything possible to a few determined men, and so it happens that forests, which ought to be a lucrative source of revenue to the Corean Government, only serve as a means of livelihood to some hundreds of enterprising Chinese. (Campbell 1891:24)

As seen from the above observations by the Western travelers, the border around Baekdusan area had a mundane function in that the frontier contributed to the livelihood of the both Joseon and Manchu people.

Conclusion

In the late nineteenth century, Westerners began to recognize much more of Baekdusan or Changbaishan now that a few travelers had finally approached this remote and rugged mountain. Western travelers found that the two countries, Joseon and Qing, were constantly ascertaining the national significance of the mountain and that people of these countries were mingled in this area while pursuing their livelihood. As seen from the case of lumbering, a single activity on the northern border of Korea was believed to provide two different countries with benefits.

In the late nineteenth century, many Westerners in East Asia, above all, focused their attention on examining natural resources and how to retain them for their countries. To a great extent, this was derived from their imperialistic attitudes. However, concerning the matter of Baekdusan, they seemed to forget about their imperialistic aims. After they confirmed the geographical characteristics of the mountain, they were mainly interested in the cultural history inherent in the mountain and how people in that area lived. They barely indicated an intention to acquire concessions at the Baekdusan region during their travels. It was in the late nineteenth century when Baekdusan finally revealed its genuine identity relating both sacredness and mundanity to the West. Furthermore, this mountain was almost the final region of East Asia which Westerners explored. Soon after the travels of James, Campbell, and Cavendish, this area felt the effect of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95). At that time, traveling in peace to this area became a thing of the past. In the case of Mrs. Bishop, her desire to travel to this region was discouraged in 1894 (Bishop 1895:160). As a result, the works of Baekdusan or Changbaishan written by James, Campbell, and Cavendish belong to the few travel records which closely approached the mountain entity in the late nineteenth century.

References

Bishop, Isabella L. 1895. Mrs. Bishop in Korea, China, and Russian Manchuria. *The Geographical Journal* 5(2): 160-163.

____. 1898. *Korea and Her Neighbors*. London: John Murray.

Campbell, Charles William. 1891. *Report by Mr. C.W. Campbell of a Journey in North Corea in September and October 1889*. London: Harrison and Sons.

____. 1892. A Journey through North Korea to the Ch'ang-pai Shan. *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography* 14(3): 141-161.

Carles, William Richard. 1886. Recent Journeys in Korea. *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography* 8(5): 289-312.

____. 1888. *Life in Corea*. London: Macmillan.

Cavendish, Alfred Edward John. 1894. *Korea and the Sacred White Mountain Being a Brief Account of a Journey in Korea in 1891. (Together with an Account of an Ascent of the White Mountain by Captain H. E. Goold-Adams)*. London: George Philip and Son.

Curzon, George N. 1894. *Problems of the Far East*. London: Longmans, Green.

Du Halde, P. 1736. *Geographical Observations on the Kingdom of Corea: The General History of China; Containing a Geographical, Historical, Chronological, Political and Physical Description of the Empire of China, Chinese-Tartary, Corea and Thibet. Including an Exact and Particular Account of their Customs, Manners, Ceremonies, Religion, Arts and Sciences.* 4 vols. London: John Watts.

James, H. E. M. 1887. A Journey in Manchuria. *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography* 9(9): 531-567.

____. 1888. *The Long White Mountain, or A Journey in Manchuria with Some Account of the History, People, Administration and Religion of That Country*. London: Longmans, Green.

Jo, Yoong-hee. 2008. Travel Accounts of Two Britons in Chosŏn Korea: A.E.J. Cavendish's Korea and the Sacred White Mountain. *Papers of the British Association for Korean Studies* 12:55-64.

Lowell, Percival. 1886. *Chosön: The Land of the Morning Calm*. Boston: Ticknor.

Palladius, Archimandrite. 1872. An Expedition through Manchuria from Peking to Blagovestchensk in 1870. Trans. Delmar Morgan. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 42:142-180.

Williamson, Alexander. 1869. Notes on Manchuria. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 39:1-36.

____. 1870. *Journeys in North China, Manchuria, and Eastern Mongolia: With some account of Corea*. London: Smith, Elder.

Jo Yoong-hee (yjo@aks.ac.kr) is an associate professor at the Academy of Korean Studies. His research interests lie in Korean classical literature and Koreans' intellectual interactions with foreigners during the pre-modern period. His publications include *Poetic Criticism in the Mid-Joseon Period* (in Korean), *The Relationship between Joseon Envoys and Western Missionaries in Beijing in the Early Eighteenth Century*, and *Joseon and Her People Shown in the Travel Report of Campbell in the Late Nineteenth Century*.

Abstract

Baekdusan (or Changbaishan in China) was the only land border between Joseon and Qing. During the late nineteenth century, Westerners were more interested in traveling Manchuria and the Korean peninsula than before. In many cases, this was for the sake of gaining concessions for natural resources in this area. While they were traveling this region, they recognized the significance of Baekdusan. They gained information on the mountain from both East Asian and Western sources. Even if they were usually attracted by natural resources, potential industry and the labor power of the area, Baekdusan was exceptional. After they confirmed the geographical characteristics of the mountain, they were mainly interested in the cultural history inherent in the mountain and the actual lives of the people in that area. It was in the late nineteenth century when Baekdusan finally revealed its genuine identity relating both sacredness and mundanity to the West. Furthermore, this mountain was almost the final region of East Asia which Westerners explored. In particular, the works on Baekdusan written by James, Campbell, and Cavendish belong to the few travel records which concretely described the mountain entity in the late nineteenth century.

Keywords: Baekdusan, Changbaishan, Joseon, Qing, Manchuria, Westerners' perceptions, sacredness, mundanity, James, Campbell, Cavendish

Submission: 2010. 10. 18. Referee/Revision: 2010. 10. 19. Confirm: 2010. 10. 25.